

**Title:** *The Witness*, January to December, 1983

**Digital Copyright Notice**

Copyright 2020. The Archives of the Episcopal Church, The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America

All rights reserved. Limited reproduction of excerpts of this is permitted for personal research and single use educational activities. Publication or electronic retransmission or redistribution are not permitted without prior consent. Online or print publication or electronic duplication of any material for a fee or for commercial purposes; altering or recompiling any contents of this document for electronic re-display, and all other re-publication that does not qualify as *fair use* are not permitted without prior written permission.

Send written requests for permission to re-publish to:

**Rights and Permissions Office**

The Archives of the Episcopal Church  
Email: [research@episcopalarchives.org](mailto:research@episcopalarchives.org)  
Telephone: 512-472-6816





**THE** VOL. 66 NO. 1 JANUARY, 1983  
**WITNESS**

*Cults:*

**Hammering the Heretics**

Joseph H. Fichter

**Why Our Children Join**

Owen C. Thomas

---

**The Exquisitely Insensitive  
Approach to Tithing**

Judith Anderson

# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

## Haitian Visibility Raised

On behalf of the Rev. Samir J. Habiby and the Presiding Bishop's Fund for World Relief, and the many Episcopalians and others who have sought to meet the needs of Haitians being released from federal prisons and INS Detention Centers, I want to express appreciation to THE WITNESS for its October articles on Haitians. We are grateful for this help in raising the visibility of the problems Haitians face, since the importance of response to their needs will be ongoing.

The article by Margaret Traxler concerning the women in Alderson, W. Va. was especially moving. The Rev. Harry Nevels, a member of the PBF/WR Board who had recently accepted a call as rector to Emmanuel Episcopal Church in Ohio, undertook the ministry of the release program at Alderson on behalf of the Diocese of West Virginia, the fund and the church. He was grateful indeed for the help of several interested groups like the Institute of Women Today who coalesced to alleviate the plight of these unfortunate women.

Under the auspices of the fund acting for the Episcopal Church, some 328 Haitians have now been placed from four centers at Alderson, La Tuna, Krome and Fort Allen. Many must have a great deal of ongoing care and some have needed to be placed with sponsors a second time after initial arrangements with family or friends did not work out as expected. Only time will tell what the eventual outcome of their deportation or

exclusion proceedings before the Immigration and Naturalization Service will be, but in many cases the asylum process could be extended over years. It is our prayer that these Haitians will be granted amnesty and legalization under the new Immigration Control Act (Simpson-Mazzoli Bill) pending before Congress. They have suffered enough.

**Marion M. Dawson**  
Asst. Director for Migration Affairs  
Episcopal Church Center

## Sit, Standing Committee

John Chane's article on the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Northwestern Pennsylvania's decision on the "inappropriateness" of women priests certainly deserves a response. (November WITNESS) Read the Standing Committee's statement aloud to anyone, and however you say it, it comes out unloving, unkind, un-Christlike, and so, so COLD.

Imagine, if you will, that a certain Mary of Magdala has decided to give full-time service to the Jesus she calls "Master" (not a very suitable candidate for the priesthood — but then I doubt that the Diocese of Northwestern Pennsylvania will have too many former prostitutes applying for ordination!). What was Jesus' response to Mary when she came looking for him, after all the men had fled? He said, "Go to my brothers and tell them that I am now ascending to my Father and your Father, my God and your God." And she gave them his message. She had to — and so do many other women today.

Dear brothers and sisters of the Standing Committee, please, sit down, and as another Mary said to the angel Gabriel, "Let it be."

**Roberta Nobleman**  
Dumont, N.J.

## Baby at Pulpit?

I read John Chane's article in the November WITNESS.

He does quite well in his *defense* of women — that they should be con-

sidered as appropriate candidates for priesthood. And, it is a defense. But I'm afraid that no woman will ever be looked upon as a standard-bearer (in the priestly sense) of Christ's teachings.

Now, truthfully, doesn't John Chane lurch a little at the word, *female*? Imagine one of his heroines in the midst of a sermon suddenly going into labor and having her baby at the pulpit! The "joke" would be an inevitability of their unsuitability as priestesses.

At the right hand of God is the Son. At the left hand? Sorry, no daughter.

**Mike Polavich**  
Grove City, Pa.

## Possible Solution

Concerning John Chane's article on Standing Committee discrimination against women applicants for Holy Orders, I would like to raise three questions, and suggest a possible solution.

First, can we agree that no person, male or female, possesses a moral or legal right to be ordained? Second, can we agree that the free exercise of conscience is an old, desirable, and theologically warranted right available to all Christians? Third, can we also agree — as Title I, Canon 16, Section 4 makes pellucidly clear regarding race, color, and ethnic origin — that within the church certain discriminatory behavior, however much informed by the dictates of conscience, cannot credibly be considered Christian?

A proposal, then: Why not seek to amend and strengthen the so-called Civil Rights Canon referred to above specifically to include sexual discriminations among its provisions, thereby explicitly extending equal treatment under law to churchwomen and removing sexist discriminatory behavior from the area of arguably licit, i.e., "permissive" Christian conduct? It would be, quite literally, a sin and a shame if the Episcopal Church is *unable legally to affirm a proper right for all*

**Letters . . . Continued on page 14**

## THE WITNESS

---

EDITOR  
**Mary Lou Suhor**

---

SENIOR CONTRIBUTING EDITOR  
**Robert L. DeWitt**

---

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS  
**Richard W. Gillett**  
**Hugh C. White**

---

STAFF  
**Ann Hunter**  
**Susan Small**  
**Bonnie Spady**  
**Lisa Whelan**

---

PUBLISHER  
**Episcopal Church Publishing Company**

---

### ECPC BOARD OF DIRECTORS

CHAIR  
**H. Coleman McGehee**

VICE-CHAIR  
**Barbara Harris**

SECRETARY  
**Helen Seager**

TREASURER  
**Robert Potter**

ASSISTANT TREASURER  
**Robert Eckersley**

**Otis Charles**  
**Robert L. DeWitt**  
**Steven Guerra**  
**Suzanne Hiatt**  
**Mattie Hopkins**  
**Joan Howarth**  
**James Lewis**  
**Joseph A. Pelham**

---

THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215) 643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. Copyright 1983 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.

# THE WITNESS

---

## Editorial

### New Year's Resolution

Vice President George Bush made a gallant attempt to convince the Episcopal Church General Convention recently of the Reagan Administration's sincerity in working toward peace. Sincerity, however, is not the issue. The way one chooses to work toward peace involves moral judgments and practical strategies, and the process frequently pits Christians against one another.

For example, Episcopalians Bush and Caspar Weinberger work in an Administration whose strategy includes a 5-year, \$1.6 trillion military defense budget, an arms race to assure a first strike posture, and the installation of a controversial MX missile system dubbed "The Peacekeeper" by the White House.

Meanwhile, the bishops of the Episcopal and Roman Catholic Churches, in the tradition of the social Gospel and the social encyclicals, were writing pastorals forthrightly opposing nuclear arms buildups. Government reaction to the bishops, in the Roman Catholic instance, was swift — motivated, perhaps, by the fact that these spiritual leaders preside over 50 million Catholics (read votes). William P. Clark, President Reagan's National Security Adviser, sent a letter to the National Council of Catholic Bishops arguing that U.S. nuclear policy was, indeed, moral.

What signs of the times can be

discerned here? Surely, as liberal voices become stronger in the churches, conservatives will rise to counterattack. Thus, we see pro-military critics of the Catholic bishops organizing into a group called the American Catholic Committee (ACC), and the emergence of a new magazine, *Catholicism in Crisis*. On the Protestant side, we find the World and National Council of Churches' staff and programs challenged, among others, by *Readers Digest* and *60 Minutes* with regard to disposition of funds and their "radical" stances.

And challenging both the Catholic hierarchy and the NCC is the Institute for Religion and Democracy with Michael Novak, Richard Neuhaus, and Edmund Robb on its Advisory Committee.

Clearly, the forces of the Right are poised to harry the opposition, whom President Reagan has described as "sleepwalking into the future," (duped, no doubt, by the "KGB agents" in their midst).

As the "peacekeeping" efforts of the Government escalate, we should recall with sobriety the many examples in recent history where the church has retreated under pressure from the state, and from the Right. *Therefore, be we resolved*, to stand fast, that a McCarthy-like revival shall not carry the day.

(M.L.S. and the editors)

# Hammering the Heretics: Religion vs. Cults

by Joseph H. Fichter

*The New York Times* reported recently that “the major faiths in the metropolitan area — Jews, Catholics, and Protestants — have joined together this summer for the first time to combat what they call ‘destructive cults,’ mentioning in particular the Unification Church of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon.” The spokesman for the Jewish community Relations council said that the “growth of cults presents a clear and present danger of religions as we know them,” because they are different from the three major faiths we know.

Why does the principle of ecumenism break down in relations between churches and cults? Certainly the Conference of Christians and Jews and the Anti-defamation League have brought together people of different religions. Lutherans are dialoguing with Catholics, Episcopalians with Methodists. Ecumenism seems to work

---

**The Rev. Joseph H. Fichter, S.J.**, is a professor of sociology at Loyola University, New Orleans. Dr. Fichter held the Harvard University Chauncey Stillman Chair from 1965 to 1970 and was a Fulbright visiting professor at the University of Muenster.

well as long as the religions in dialogue are the acceptable, conventional, bourgeois mainstream faiths.

The common secular notion that “one religion is as good as another” seems to apply only to people who are more or less like us, or as Dr. Seymour Lachman said, to those religions “as we know them.” Youth cults are treated like alien religions, promoted by people we do not like. John Hall suggests that when journalists wrote their lurid accounts of the Rev. Jim Jones and his People’s Temple, they “used the cult terminology in the hope that a label would suffice where an explanation was unavailable.”

Definitions are confusing because the objects they define change their meanings as they evolve. Theologians originally defined the cult as *latría*, an expression of divine worship, and as *hyperdulia* for the Virgin Mary, and *dulia* as veneration of saints, sacred objects and events. Traditional cults within the Roman Catholic Church are numerous and varied, like devotion to the Sacred Heart, the nine First Fridays, the cult of the Paraclete (among Catholic charismatics), veneration of the Shroud of Turin, and

many other practices that have declined in popularity: Way of the Cross, Vespers, Novenas, Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.

Sociologically, the cult is defined as the group of people who adhere to these rituals and devotions and reflect the mystical component of Troeltsch’s typology. In contrast to sect and *ecclesia*, the cult is described as a small, informal, loosely structured, spontaneous group clustered around a charismatic leader. Probably all the established religions began as cults. The small group of Jesus’ disciples constituted a cult that evolved over time into a sect, a denomination, and finally a church. The cult of mendicant religious poverty formed around Francis of Assisi and developed into a large brotherhood. Religious history is littered with cults that arose, flourished for a while, and disappeared. The Black Muslims became a church, so did Christian Science, the Salvation Army, the Mormons, and the Holy Spirit Association (also known as the Unification Church).

Stereotypes about these strange cults, and charges now being lodged against the new youth religions, are reminiscent





of the earlier American crusades against Catholics and Jews, Mormons and Quakers. It is as opprobrious now to be a Moonie as it was to be a Papist 150 years ago. Have we forgotten the *Protocols of Zion* and the flood of anti-Semitic hate literature during the 1930s? And to remind themselves that they were targets of earlier persecution, Roman Catholics ought to read Billington's *The Protestant Crusade*, as well as the slanderous *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk*.

Similar accusations are now updated and applied to the contemporary cults. For example, the common charge of enticement, deception and brainwashing was made in the New York Archdiocesan newspaper this summer by the Rev. Edwin O'Brien who is sure that when young people convert to the Unification Church "their minds are completely broken down. They are totally dependent on the system once this process takes place." The Hare Krishnas, Children of God, the Way, the Forever Family, as well as the Moonies, were specifically singled out in November, 1981 by the General Secretary of the U.S. Catholic Conference. His letter of warning to all the American Catholic Bishops was careful not to attack or condemn these religious groups, but it included a copy of *Cults and Kids*, which is a pseudo-psychological "Study of Coercion," published by the Catholic Boys Town Center in Nebraska.

The influence of religion is being employed by the anti-cultists in an outright attack against religion. In the name of religion they are hiring agents to kidnap young people, hold them captive, apply physical and psychological coercion to force a renunciation of their religious faith. Some parents, with at least the tacit approval of clergymen, pay exorbitant fees for agents like Ted Patrick to brainwash and deprogram their children.

One of the more frightening aspects of the anti-cultist crusade goes beyond the physical abduction and coercion of members. It is the insistence that conversion to a youth religion is a kind of mental illness. Some anti-cultists claim that if you join other than an approved religion you suffer a mental sickness called "snapping," a sudden personality change. Last January, *Science Digest* asked the question in all seriousness: "Have Cults Created a New Mental Illness?"

Most clergy and many parents are reluctant to have the young cult convert abducted and subjected to coercive religious restoration. The alternative is

*"Charges lodged against the new youth religions are reminiscent of the earlier American Crusades against Catholics, Jews, Mormons and Quakers. It is as opprobrious now to be a Moonie as it was to be a Papist 150 years ago."*

to appeal to the courts for a writ of "conservatorship" in which a judge orders the child to return home for a month. Even though, as the American Civil Liberties Union argues, "the use of the temporary conservatorship statute for mental deprogramming threatens the first amendment freedoms of all members of unconventional religious or political organizations," a California judge in March, 1977, handed over five adult Moonies to their parents.

Conservatorship proceedings require these converts to justify their religious faith and also prove to the satisfaction of the court that they are not mentally incompetent because they hold these religious beliefs. In this case the judge ruled that the parents "are in charge of their children. And these are adults, but as I said before, a child is a child even though the parent may be 90 and the

child is 60. They are still mother and child, father and child. The parents are still in charge, and they are to work for the benefit of their children."

The most injurious consequence of kidnapping and deprogramming is the creation of angry apostates who disseminate atrocity stories in an attempt to justify themselves for having followed a religion that they now denounce. Their captors forced them to relinquish the cult with which they had been affiliated. By some strange psychological twist they transfer this experience back to the time they joined the youth religion. If they were brainwashed to give it up they must have been brainwashed to accept it in the first place. The thought control that deprogrammed them from their religious beliefs has now switched them to a strong aversion for their former faith.

These apostates and renegades are witnesses at first hand, and the only way their allegations can be successfully challenged is through the testimony of members who continue happily in the religious movement. In the distant past it was the life and work of faithful Roman Catholics that repudiated the horror stories told by apostate priests and nuns on the lecture circuit to anti-Catholic groups. The steadfast fidelity of the membership of cults ought to have the same effect today.

While the animosity of defectors may be traced to the frightening experience of abduction and deprogramming, it is not clear why others are drawn into a crusade of hatred and antagonism against the cults. The common element of animosity among those who have had no bitter experience, or hold no personal feelings (as parents do) seems to be a xenophobia coupled with a selfish notion that their turf, cultural if not territorial, is being invaded.

The fairminded religious person will hardly find an objective treatment of the youth religions in the public media, or

even in the religious press. Some social scientists have provided careful analysis of the cults and sects, but little theological writing has been done about them. A good current article appears in *Religious Studies Review* by theologian Lonnie D. Kliever (July, 1982) who says that "despite a burgeoning sociological literature on the Unification Church, little attention has been given to Unification theology within academic circles."

One model of an ecumenical approach to a cult is the critique of Moonie theology made by four Christian theologians invited to act for the Commission on Faith and Order of the National Council of Churches. This group made the judgment that the Unification Church is not genuinely Christian, but in no way challenged its right to exist and propagate its doctrines. The Unificationists were not crushed or discouraged by this theological assessment. Indeed, they are the only American church willing to finance a conference of non-Moonies deliberately for the discussion and criticism of their church. Sometimes these critics are quite friendly, but others are sharply critical, as were the Evangelicals who were invited to dialogue with the Moonies at the Barrytown seminary in the summer of 1978.

Another example of the ecumenical approach is the study made by Stanford professor and theologian, Frederick Sontag, who spent 10 months in a personal investigation of the Unification Church. He demonstrates a sympathetic understanding of beliefs and practices with which he is not in agreement. His synopsis of the 14 charges most frequently made against Moon and the Moonies is an example of balanced reporting which takes their religious and ecclesial system seriously.

The ecumenical approach to the analysis of a religious movement requires something more than an

objective description of its central tendencies. We are enjoined to seek out the truth of the particular religion. The expectation in the Vatican decree on ecumenism, which many antagonists completely ignore, is that good human relations, dialogue and interaction are desirable between the members of the different faiths. The purpose is that "everyone gains a true knowledge and more just appreciation of the teaching and religious life of both."

Instead of "hammering the heretics," which seems to be the popular reaction of many conventional churchgoers, we are enjoined to recognize that which is true in the doctrines of others who call themselves Christian, as well as in the

---

*"The attempt to deprogram has not been limited to cult members, but has been applied to a Mormon, a Catholic charismatic, an Episcopalian charismatic, a lesbian, a member of the Socialist Labor Party, and even two young women whose Greek Orthodox parents wanted to get them back into the church."*

---

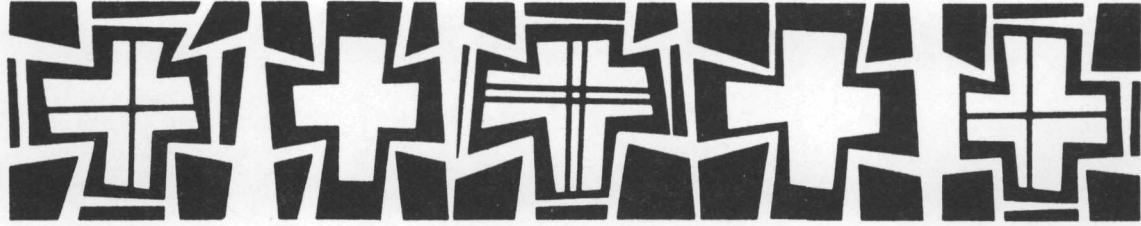
non-Christian religions, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam. Pope John XXIII specifically forbade the Council to issue anathemas, condemnations, reprovals or repudiations. This does not mean a readiness to accept theological error, or to embrace unethical teachings, but it does mean that the church rejects, as foreign to the mind of Christ, any discrimination or harassment "because of race, color, condition of life, or religion."

Logically and morally connected with both the religious and the ecumenical interpretation of the cult phenomenon is the democratic defense of religious liberty. Protecting U.S. citizens against kidnapping is even more serious than establishing some kind of

anti-defamation league to protect the reputation of the cults. The threat of legalized deprogramming is increased by the various proposals to allow temporary conservatorship of cult members by court order. In an article in *The Nation* Thomas Robbins discussed this possibility when he insisted that "Even a Moonie has Civil Rights." And the Rev. Dean Kelley, an official of the National Council of Churches, has shown that the attempt to deprogram has not been limited to cult members like Children of God, Moonies, or Krishnas, but has been applied to other cases: a Mormon, a Catholic charismatic, an Episcopalian charismatic, a lesbian, a member of the Socialist Labor Party, and even two young women whose Greek Orthodox parents wanted to get them back into the church.

In the final analysis it is likely that we fear and distrust that which is strange and unknown to us. To meet personally with young members of some of the cults is a kind of revelation to most of us. They are a bit unusual, of course, if one is accustomed only to materialistic and ambitious U.S. youth who represent the typical middle-class values of our society.

When Steve Allen's son wrote to him in 1971 that he had joined a cult, the Church of Armageddon in Seattle, Allen replied in part: "My feeling in regard to this matter, I suppose, is much like that of those parents whose children decide to enter one of the contemplative orders of the Catholic Church, to become a monk or a nun secluded from the world and to devote their lives to prayer in relative solitude. Here again, selfishly speaking, the parents' hearts ache at the knowledge that they will henceforth be deprived of the sight of those they love. But if they share their children's faith, their sorrow is balanced by a sense of happiness that the children are doing what brings *them* a sense of spiritual satisfaction." □



# Why Our Children Join the Cults

---

by Owen C. Thomas

**M**y main qualification for addressing myself to the subject of cults is that for the past seven years my youngest son has been a member of the Children of God, now known as the Family of Love. Needless to say, this has caused me to think, read, and consult a great deal on all the issues related to cults from deprogramming to their historical significance to the churches.

I believe that the cults are now in a period of retrenchment, reorganization, and settling in for the long haul. There has probably been an overall decline in membership but also an increase in the number of long-term members. They are beginning the long transition from

---

**Owen C. Thomas** is Professor of Theology at Episcopal Divinity School in Cambridge.

sects to churches.

In what follows, I discuss some of the things I have learned over the past six years about the cults and about their significance for the churches. This is based primarily on my knowledge of the Children of God through visits to six different "colonies" in France, Sweden and the Caribbean and extended study of their literature, both public and restricted. I will not be arguing for or against the validity or value of the cults but rather addressing their significance for the churches.

First, why do young people go into the cults? Shortly after my son joined the Children of God I happened to be reading Erik Erikson's *Young Man Luther*. I suddenly became aware that page after page was luminous with meaning for the situation of my son and

helped me to understand the psychodynamics of why one would join the cults. I do not mean to suggest that there may not be authentic religious and other reasons involved in joining the cults, but only that Erikson has illuminated for me in a striking way the psychological side. Erikson, of course, was not addressing himself to the cults, since he wrote long before their appearance in their current form on the American scene somewhat over a decade ago.

According to Erikson, adolescents are in a stage in their lives in which they deeply need many of the things which the cults are offering. The human life cycle involves several crises. In adolescence it is what Erikson calls the identity crisis. Adolescents must move out of their childhood identities, which



they have received largely from their parents, and forge new adult identities. The intensity of this crisis will vary with the individual and the times. It will be intensified especially in times of rapid social and cultural change and upheaval, such as our own times.

Thus adolescents have a deep need to reject and repudiate an old life and set of values, the ones they have grown up with, and to give their complete devotion to a new life and set of values. This need is met by what Erikson calls an ideology, a total view of things which offers a new way of life, cosmic in scope and often utopian in character. Adolescents need an ideology which will help and justify them in repudiating their old lives and which will offer an object of devotion which is demanding, strenuous, and which involves discipline. Young people need an ideology which challenges and channels their earnestness, sincerity, and indignation, and which involves testing, hardship, perhaps some wandering, and the call of new frontiers. In taking on a new identity, adolescents are willing to suffer restriction, asceticism, and obedience.

All of this offers young people a potential solution to the pain and suffering of the identity crisis. As Erikson puts it, "The ideology is the guardian of identity." He notes that this process often involves the experience of conversion, and he quotes William James (who is quoting Starbuck): "Conversion is in its essence a normal adolescent phenomenon."

One of the stages in the crisis of moving from a childhood to an adult identity is the one referred to by Erikson as identity diffusion in which adolescents simply do not know who they are. He quotes the statement of Biff in Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*: "I just can't take hold, Mom, I can't take hold of some kind of a life." Because of this the adolescent needs a moratorium, a time-out period, so to speak, in which

*"The mainline churches have tended to lose the vision of the radical and demanding character of the Christian faith and life, the strenuousness of what it means to be a follower of Christ."*

the identity crisis can be worked out. The moratorium relieves young people of the burdens of decision about life and career which they are not ready to assume. Historically, most societies have offered to young people a moratorium for the purpose of resolving the identity crisis. In Luther's time it was often the monastic life. In our time it is often college, military service, or something like the Peace Corps.

Erikson concludes that young people are very susceptible to ideological movements which are organized to fulfill exactly these needs. In every age these movements have used a kind of indoctrination which we call thought reform, or more colloquially, brainwashing. The ingredients have always been the same: "removal from family and community and isolation from the outer-world; restriction of sensory intake and immense magnification of the power of the word; lack of privacy and radical accent on the brotherhood; and, of course, joint devotion to the leaders who created and represent the brotherhood." Along with this goes a heightening of introspection and self-criticism, which aggravates identity diffusion. This is followed by the offering of a new identity informed by the ideology and supported by the solidarity of the group. This is an exact description not only of initiation into the Augustinian monastery in Erfurt in 1505, but also of modern Chinese thought reform and the methods of the cults. Erikson describes them all as "experiments in first aggravating and

then curing the identity diffusion of youth."

This is Erikson's theory and he applies it in detail to the young man Luther. I think it is quite obvious how it can be employed to interpret the modern cults. I can attest that it applies almost perfectly to the story of my son.

In the light of this interpretation, the main differences between the psychodynamics of joining a cult and joining a mainline church are quite clear. Joining a cult involves a radical discontinuity. It is entering an entirely new and demanding way of life, with a new view of reality, a new set of values, a new and rigorous discipline, a new community, and a new leader requiring complete obedience. Although there may be considerable variety in joining a mainline church, there is usually a maximum of continuity. We call it religious affiliation, and it is often much like joining any other voluntary organization.

This is the major difference between the cults and the churches as spelled out by Troeltsch in his well-known distinction between sect-type and the church-type of Christianity. The church-type and the mainline churches appeal ideally to everyone, to all sorts and conditions, all ages and classes, and tend to be rather heterogeneous in faith



PS. 34



and membership. The sect-type and the cults, on the other hand, appeal to a relatively narrow slice of the population, to those whose particular needs will be met by what they have to offer. In the case of the cults, this will be, as we have seen, primarily young people. Thus the cults, unlike the churches, will have a sharp cutting edge in their approach to new members.

Now what does this mean for the mainline churches? Does the flourishing of the cults represent a failure on their part? Just because they are churches and not sects, the churches usually have not been able to offer to young people exactly what they need in terms of Erikson's analysis. This is especially true because in the experience of most young people the churches represent their parents and their old life of childhood which they need to leave behind. Throughout Christian history the sects can be seen as judgments on the churches for overlooking some particularly important area of life and experience. If there is one word of the Lord in the existence of the cults today, it is that the mainline churches have tended to lose the vision of the radical and demanding character of the Christian faith and life, the strenuousness of what it means to be a follower of Jesus Christ.

This reminds me that my son writing to me from his colony of the Children of God in Paris could quote with telling effect many passages of the New Testament in order to contrast his way of following the Christian life with mine. The reason for this is, of course, that early Christianity was a sect rather than a church in Troeltsch's sense. So some of the Christian cults can claim to be much more like the primitive church than can the mainline churches. But the primitive Christian sect became a church with all the problems, responsibilities, and opportunities involved in that. And I would argue that this was the right decision in the light of

the universal character of the mission of the church.

What then should be the response of the churches to the phenomenon of the cults? First, the churches need to work in a variety of ways on the issue of the radical and demanding character of the Christian faith and life, to work on what it is that Christians and the church are called on to be and to do today, in our private and family lives, and in our work and public lives as well. I sense that many Christian people in the mainline churches today are eager to explore these issues and to entertain a more rigorous view of the Christian life.

Second, I believe that we in the mainline churches ought somehow to launch an experiment aimed directly at young people and their needs. What I

have in mind would be something like a combination of a religious order, Outward Bound, an ecumenical work camp, and the Peace Corps. Why these analogies? Religious orders from the fourth century on have harnessed Christian and youthful vision and energy in constructive and creative ways. Erikson demonstrates that it was Luther's moratorium in the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt which made possible the emergence of the reformer. The Children of God have always looked to St. Francis and the beginnings of his order as a model, especially as celebrated in the movie *Brother Son, Sister Moon*.

Outward Bound involves the elements of concentration, endurance, strenuousness, and even danger which young people seek in order to test and discover themselves. A former member of the Unification Church recently compared his experience favorably with that in Outward Bound. Nothing caught the imagination and commitment of the youth generation of the 60s as did the Peace Corps. Finally, perhaps the best model is that of the ecumenical work camps sponsored by the churches of Europe for the rebuilding of churches and hospitals and similar work after World War II.

Certain ingredients of these models are essential to such an experiment: a disciplined community life ordered by a rule; daily Bible study, worship and meditation; commitment to and involvement in helping the poor, the sick, and the oppressed; some kind of work for justice, peace and the preservation of the environment; at least partial self-support; a minimum two-year commitment. Perhaps this model is too old-fashioned and biased by the vision of my generation. Sponsorship by the mainline churches might be the kiss of death. But some such experiment, I believe, is an essential response to the challenge of the cults to the churches. □

## **Beloved, Believe Not Every Spirit**

*(In sad memory of November, 1978)*

**Out of poor, non-nutritive soil,  
the carnivorous plant raises its sinister head,  
arrays its colorful traps,  
and waits to allure an unsuspecting member  
of the insect world.**

**Suddenly, a delicate creature  
is seduced by irresistible scents,  
submits to the sweetness,  
and is trapped!**

**In startling revelation of its foolishness,  
it struggles;  
but it's far too late.**

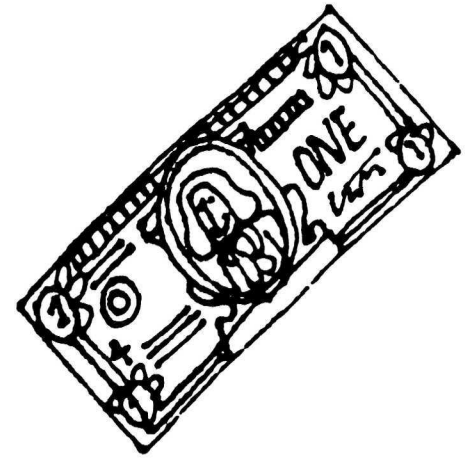
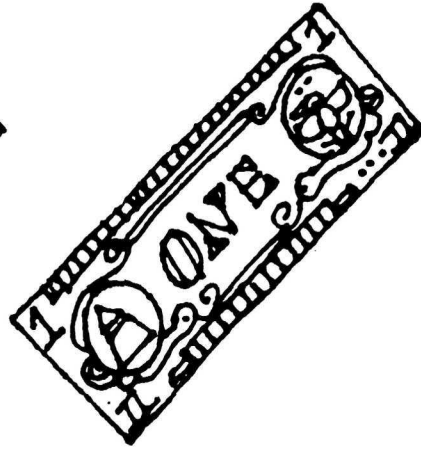
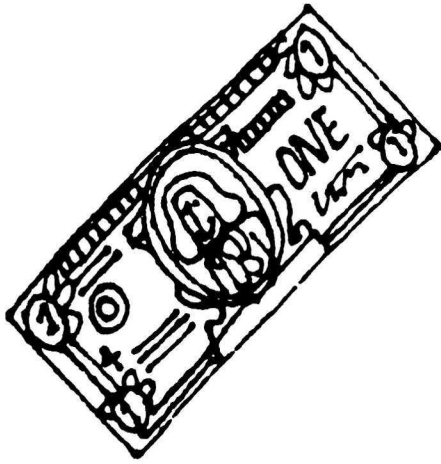
**Slowly its life-giving juices are drained;  
its beauty dissolved.**

**Whatever it was or hoped to become  
is gone forever,  
fully absorbed by the insatiable evil.  
Now, mutilated and almost impossible to  
identify,  
its coffin is closed,  
and a plane lifts it from Guyana enroute  
home.**

**Its message is repeated over 900 death-  
choking times:**

**"Give not but to God your Soul. . . ."**

**— Madeline Ligammaro**



## The Exquisitely Insensitive Approach

A current joke going around tells about the government that urged its people to tighten their belts. They replied, “Send belts.” This open letter to the church is a plea for the church to find out about those belts first in order to show a bit more empathy, sensitivity, and imagination in discussions about stewardship. For example, at the recent General Convention of the Episcopal Church, a resolution from the Standing Commission on Stewardship and Development was passed “that the tithe be affirmed as the minimum standard of giving for Episcopalians.” We have had the Every Member Canvass since then, winter is here, and we are now discovering the harsh effects of Reaganomics’ slashing of funds for many social services. The church’s *intention* may well be to encourage us to give generously of our time, our talents, and/or our treasure. But what we actually *hear* is that stewardship means giving money. We also hear the familiar assumption that if we Christians are not firmly and repeatedly reminded of our stewardship duties, we will ignore them.

I’ve been reading Presiding Bishop John Allin’s “Testimony of a Tither” which was distributed in our parish at the time of the canvass. He speaks here of the tithe as Convention defined it, as the gift of 10% of one’s income for the work of God. Since Bishop Allin is not referring to time or talents, I am impelled to ask, to whom does he assume that he is speaking? To comfortable Episcopalians (professionals, middle-managers, stockholders) with disposable income who can, if they choose, rearrange their priorities in order to tithe? If that is the audience, fine, but then that assumption should be made plain. Because there are many of us to whom Bishop Allin and the Convention

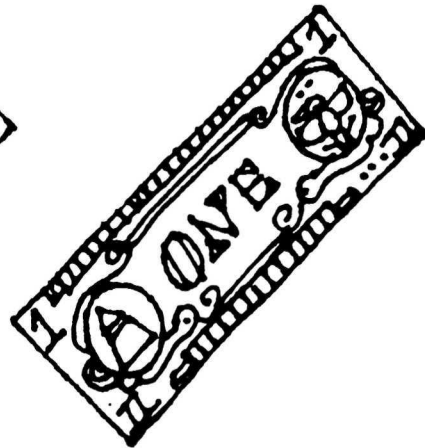
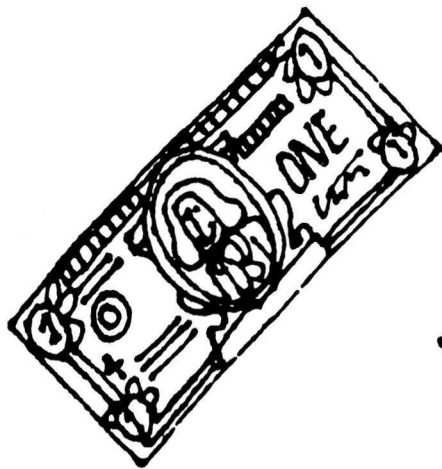
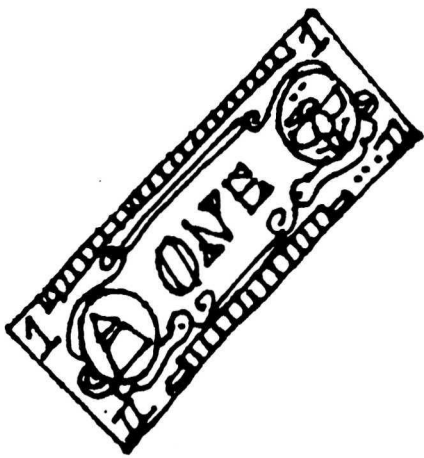
---

**Judith Anderson**, of East Lansing, Mich. is a feminist printmaker, woodcarver, and free lance writer.

cannot possibly be speaking about tithing 10% or 5% or even 3%.

I live in Michigan where unemployment is at 16.1% and underemployment and financial traumas are epidemic. I am a divorced working mother, a single head of a household, like thousands of others. I have two teenagers at home. Increases in the cost of living, especially in energy costs and utilities, far outstrip the small yearly wage increases I receive. I am moving backwards faster than I can notice. And I am one of the lucky ones: I at least *have* a job that, while low-paying, is relatively secure. Increase my pledge? Pledge 10%? Out of the question. Laughable. The small monthly pledge that I gave today means that I will not pay the dentist for several weeks. It means that of course I do not buy clothing for myself or eat out or go to movies. I do give to my parish as much as I can of my time and talents; and by conviction and necessity, I think a great deal about priorities and simplicity of life.

As statistics about poverty are becoming better known, the vulnerability of the poor becomes clearer. Unemployment nationally is now 10%. Unemployment among young Black people in urban areas is notoriously high. Men and women are being laid off without warning, which means, among other things, that they have no medical benefits. And we should remember that all of us are only one serious accident away from disability. By the year 2000, the “feminization of poverty” will mean the great majority of the poor will be women and children, and the elderly, most of whom are also women. Many women are becoming aware that they may be one husband (and a few child-support payments) away from poverty, and the majority of divorced women with children do not receive child-support payments. Women earn 59¢ for every \$1 men earn — those women, that is, who can find a job, even a low-paying one.



# to Tithing

by Judith Anderson

Surely these facts do not need repeating to anyone who reads a newspaper or a news magazine.

What does need repeating is that many of these people are also parishioners. Or may be, or once were. Sometimes I think there's an assumption that the "worthy poor" are always *outside* the church; that they are those to whom the comfortable parishioners in their largesse can minister through outreach programs. Is there a hidden assumption that "we" are here and "they" are there? Does the Episcopal Church, God help us, mean to be another one of the exclusive Old Boys' Clubs? I would rather not believe that bishops and priests (and vestries) are making these assumptions.

But if they are not, then what I think we should hear from Convention, from every pulpit, and from the Every Member Canvass is something like this:

*"Yes, we know that many of our parishioners are in unstable and difficult economic situations. We do know that single mothers are having a hard time feeding and clothing their children and paying the rent. We understand that some of you are out of work, and some are barely making it. We realize that people on pensions and social security are having trouble making ends meet and have increasing medical costs. We're aware of fathers who are paying child support and who have second families. With all of this in mind, we ask that you contribute to the parish and its outreach some of your time and talents, and money if you are ever able. We also realize that there are parishioners whose circumstances are comfortable and stable who can afford to pledge steadily and, in some cases, to increase their pledges. We are asking that each of you, as Christians, rearrange your priorities so that your stewardship is, in praise and*

*thanks to God, a generous giving of what you can afford in time or talent or money."*

If the church does not say all of this explicitly, if it does not clearly acknowledge the varied circumstances of its parishioners, then it is, however unintentionally, extremely insensitive. By really listening to one another, we can at least try to go beyond the thoughtless blindness of classism (and of racism and sexism). In response to the insensitivity, many parishioners and visitors will wonder, "*What are we doing here? They don't even know we exist!*" And many will go away or try to be invisible because they have been made to feel that they cannot "afford" church.

People who are poor may feel unacceptable. They will have been made to feel guilty for being poor. And to lay that trip upon anyone is surely a sin. Our culture is, as we all know, success-oriented and competitive, with little respect or consideration for those whom it considers under-achievers. Money is obviously a sensitive subject, but do we realize how symbolic it is? Do the Presiding Bishop and other church leaders understand that people can indeed very easily be made to feel guilty when they cannot contribute money? Guilt is an odd weapon in the hands of charity.

Would anyone preach about tithing 10% to a poor inner-city parish? No doubt there is more realism and sensitivity in the preaching there. And the church does not have to tell the disadvantaged about sharing and about helping one another — they already know about the widow's mite and support systems, about babysitting for neighbors and relatives, about sharing food and housing. The poor also know about the humiliations in "qualifying" for foodstamps, welfare, ADC, disability insurance, and handicappers' benefits. Surely the church in its inclusiveness should be a place where one does not need to qualify for membership in order to share in its joy, comfort, and fellowship. □

*What does it mean when 41,000 people die  
of starvation each day while 20% of U.S. women  
college students vomit up their dinners to stay slim?  
And 95% of food addicts are women?  
The author explores these phenomena of "a food hell."*

## Bulimia: Catharsis or Curse?

by Judith Moore

"I'm one of those persons 'by food possessed'," Kitty told me. "I eat compulsively. Not one ice cream cone or two cookies. I consume bags of cookies, loaves of bread, quarts of milk."

Kitty, a 30-year-old seminarian, was described to me by one of her fellow-seminarians as "a good student, good with books and people."

She was articulate, attractive, on the afternoon she explained herself to me as, "like an alcoholic, except *I'm* obsessed with food and eating. Three or four times each week since I was 15 during an hour's time, I have eaten the equivalent of four or five meals. Then, I throw up."

Nothing in her manner indicated what she said was, for her, "a food hell."

I knew that an increasing number of women had trapped themselves in food addiction, of which bulimia — binging and purging — is one variant. I knew, too, that not only the food-addicted woman, but women generally, more than men, are preoccupied with food, body size and appetite control. I knew most women felt some embarrassment at this preoccupation.

Sensing in all this some nut I wanted

---

Judith Moore is a free-lance journalist based in Berkeley, Cal.



to crack, I began to ask women about their eating habits. Because I knew Kitty, bulimia especially intrigued me.

*Buli*, I learned, comes from the Greek word for "huge hunger," or, "hunger never satisfied." Bulimia is characterized by compulsive eating and "purging," usually self-induced vomiting. This vomiting, a physician who treats bulimic dancers wrote, "may come to take on a life of its own, an

habituating effect."

Jane Fonda, bulimic during her boarding school and Vassar years, reports she acquired the habit after reading about the orgiastic eating habits of Romans. But the Roman who went to the Coliseum's vomitorium ate socially. A bulimic eats alone, and in secrecy.

Bulimia was not listed until 1980 in the "Diagnostic and Statistical Manual



of Mental Disorders” of the American Psychiatric Association. Food addictions only recently have found increased recognition, and psychiatrist John A. Sours writes, “an *absolute* increase in incidence in the United States, Japan, Scandinavia, Great Britain and the countries of Western Europe.”

In late 1981, several months after Kitty first told me her story, physicians from three teaching hospitals announced, through three separate publications: 20% of women college students and 5% of the general female population in the United States are at least mildly bulimic.

During her 15 years of food addiction Kitty had attended a variety of group therapies for women with eating disorders. These figures did not surprise her.

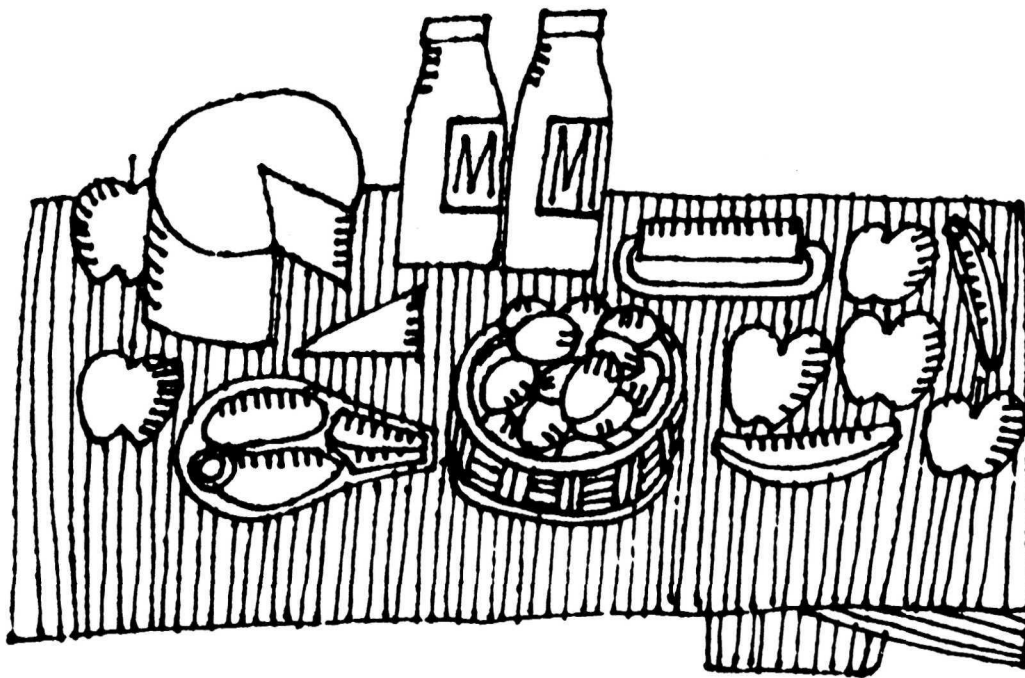
“I’m surprised,” she told me, “that *you’re* surprised.”

The physicians’ announcements roused public interest in bulimia. Experts began to speak out. I continued to be surprised because the experts made no mention of a connection between the omnipresence of food in women’s lives with the figures that showed 95% of food addicts are women.

In case anyone doubted my argument for a connection I copied out the numbers. In 1979 personal expenditure for food in the United States was \$268 billion. In 1978 advertisers spent \$13 billion to influence choices in spending that money — up from \$2 billion in 1950.

It doesn’t take an expert in anything to see that food ads appeal to men as eaters and to women as consumers.

Of the 1600 advertisements pumped into our consciousness everyday, some mean to encourage women to buy one food and not another. This impingement of sophisticated food advertisements has to have its effect on women, has to keep them more preoccupied than men are with food.



Common sense shows us that food money is often a woman’s only money. Food purchases may offer her only discretionary spending, her only power with money, her only treat.

Flesh and appetite-control products direct their advertisements primarily toward women. The numbers I could discover showed that in 1979 advertisers spent \$23 million to advertise reducing salons on local TV. That same year 46% of Americans told Gallup pollsters they felt too fat and 52 million said they wanted to lose weight. Over 75% of these 52 million were women. Almost all diet salon clients are women. The few men I have seen in advertising for the new and popular over-the-counter diet pills are all encouraging women to take the diet pills and are not themselves taking the pills.

Talking with women about diet and appetite control, I began to doubt the Age of Reason had ever dawned.

Hannah, a slender college senior on the Dean’s Select List, once weighed over 200 pounds. “My life,” she told me, “centers around what I weigh. Diet is my life sentence, I’d rather be dead, frankly, than fat again.”

Hannah throws up about half of her meals, almost all of her snacks, takes

laxatives and over-the-counter diet pills.

“I’ve dieted off over 1000 pounds in the last 10 years,” she said, “and I’ve tried diet clinics, but they are mostly bare rooms with a scale and an attendant who keeps a chart on your weight.”

Even though fears like those Hannah expresses were commonplace testimony, women are heavier now than in 1960. Two department store buyers tell me one-third of American women wear larger than size 14. During the past two years many department stores added larger size clothing. A look through bookstores shows books and magazines are being published now that encourage heavier women to simply accept fleshiness, and a number of movements are underway dedicated to consciousness-raising among the obese.

Sarah, at 250 pounds, did not have much hope for a happy future for fat ladies. “Hatred for fat women won’t change just because of F.A.T. clubs,” she laughed, sneeringly. “That’s the acronym for Fatphobia Awareness Training.”

“No,” she assured me, “Men will continue to boycott fat women and thinner women will keep on being

contemptuous. If I could bring myself to vomit, I probably would.”

Leila, 24 years old, vomits as a regulatory function to stay at 92 pounds. “Women,” she said, “envy my thinness. One said, ‘Let me sit next to you. Maybe I will catch anorexia.’”

By the spring of 1982 stories like Leila’s, Hannah’s and Sarah’s began to fill up a stack of recording tapes teetering in a pile on my desk.

The voices were filled with sorrow, desperation, self-loathing, and relief at simply letting go the secrets. Women’s preoccupation with food, overweight and appetite control began to seem women’s occupational hazard!

Kim Chernin, in her brilliant book, “The Obsession: Reflections on the Tyranny of Slenderness,” has suggested that when we open the door onto women’s obsession with food and body size, we have entered into the secret emotional life of women *and* into one of the most serious forms of suffering undergone by the contemporary woman.

Maggie Scarf, talking about an

anorexic, describes what the eating disorder can accomplish in the psychological arena: “By confusing mastery of her biological needs with mastery of her psychological needs, she gained the fanciful belief that she had put herself in charge.”

Food and flesh offer women readily available, culturally approved materials for expressing conflict between parts of the self and between the world.

“Think,” Kitty suggested to me, “how many things a woman says to the world by getting fat or thin. Think how many things she says about herself *to* herself by gorging, by vomiting, by filling herself with ice cream or laxatives or by fasting for three days.”

“Women,” Sarah taught me, “must cook, but not eat.”

This double bind appears to be so deeply institutionalized with culture that “experts” don’t connect eating disorders and women with women’s constant exposure to food and food issues. Treatment of food addictions remains notoriously difficult.

As Mike Wallace pointed out on *60*

*Minutes*, “More dollars are spent on worthless cures for obesity than for all medical research combined.”

But obesity’s cure rate remains less than cancer’s. No matter what diet is used, losses last two years in only 5-10% of the dieting population. A special problem of food addiction not present in alcoholism, for instance, or drug habituation, is that the food-addicted person must continue to eat; and the food-addicted woman, usually, must continue to plan, shop for, prepare, serve and clean up meals.

Before one begins to levy stern judgments against the food-addicted, one might consider the figures for fat recidivism and imagine, then, how stubborn is its cure. Months after our first chance conversation, I asked Kitty, “What can be done about addictions like yours?”

“The first step,” she told me, “in solving any problem still is — admit it exists.”

One woman, beating her compulsive eating addiction, said, “The more I talk, the less I eat.” □

---

### Letters . . . Continued from page 2

*communicants — not to be discriminated against solely on the basis of sex.*

**The Rev. Reginald G. Blaxton  
Washington, D.C.**

## Center of Superstition?

The Rev. George Porthan’s letter in the October WITNESS refers to the shrine at Knock in Ireland as a “center of superstition.” I visited there a number of years ago and found the holy water piped conveniently to the parking lot to be a bit much. But behind this rather kitsch imitation of American hardsell (don’t we have drive-in churches here?) there is an interesting message from Our Lady to be heard at Knock.

The appearance took place in 1879, in the west of Ireland, politically oppressed and famine stricken. There was no

verbal message, as claimed for other epiphanies of the maternal presence. But there’s a great deal of significance in the meaning of the tableau/apparition testified to by the witnesses.

Bridget Trench, 75, said she saw three figures: “The Blessed Virgin was in the center; she was clothed in white, and covered with what appeared one white garment; her hands were raised to the same position as that in which a priest holds his hands when praying at Holy Mass . . .”

Mary Beirne, 26, saw St. John “at the gospel side of the altar, with his right arm inclined at an angle outwardly, towards the Blessed Virgin.”

It occurs to me that the message of Knock is that a woman — the Blessed Mother — stands at the altar of the Lamb of God. Can it be that this appearance of Our Lady will finally be understood in, of

all places, Ireland?

The Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, when I visited there, had already leapfrogged the Church of Ireland into the 20th century, liturgically and in its concerns for social justice. Will the Roman Catholics there ordain women, too, before the Church which claims the name of Ireland can see the vision at Knock?

**The Rev. Grant Gallup  
Chicago, Ill.**

## Prison Articles Helpful

Our community is planning a special celebration recognizing the Prison Ministry in our Diocese.

We found your August article, “Are Prison Systems cheating the Taxpayer?” very helpful. We are expecting

100 people. We would appreciate as many reprints of Margaret Traxler's article as is possible.

**The Rev. James Markunas**  
San Francisco, Cal.

## Favorable Comments

Thank you for permission to reprint Jack Woodard's "God Is Not a Pet Rock" (September WITNESS).

There were many favorable comments regarding the article and some interest expressed in its source. I continue to circulate THE WITNESS through our library and reading tables throughout the parish.

Thank you for your continuing good work in the church. I feel better knowing you are on the job.

**The Rev. Charles M. Roper**  
Columbus, Ga.

## Articles Timely

I would like to order extra copies of the September issue of THE WITNESS.

What a grand magazine THE WITNESS is! Such timely articles written with conviction and compassion. I hope to share the article by Frances Fox Piven ("The Transformation of City Politics") and the ones regarding the GE iron plant closing by Richard W. Gillett with members of a Northside Pittsburgh cluster group. It is sponsored by the Roman Catholic Thomas Merton Center, dedicated to peace and justice. (Molly Rush of the Plowshares 8 is from the Merton Center.)

**Margaret Kirk Stone**  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

## Prized September Issue

Your coverage is exceptional. I especially prized the September issue about America's disappearing industry, which does seem to be ignored by those who should be alerting us to this important phase in the ruination of America. I wish some of our Catholic papers/magazines would do such conscientious work.

**Marcella Michalaski**  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

## Seeks Addresses

How about some addresses? Where can we get the T-shirts like the one worn by Bishop Welles on the cover of the November WITNESS (*A Woman's Place is in the House of Bishops*). And where do I write to the Church of St. Stephen & Incarnation to get a copy or two of the lectionary for the year C in inclusive language?

To paraphrase a letter in the November issue, most of the issues you deal with "are central to the church's task of preaching the Gospel." So please, keep on as you are.

**Marion Apsley**  
Martinsville, N.J.

*(Delighted. For T-shirts write the Rev. Judy Upham, Grace Episcopal Church, 819 Madison St., Syracuse, N.Y. 13210 — sizes S, M, L and XL: \$6.95 plus \$1 postage and handling. For the lectionary, St. Stephen & the Incarnation, P.O. Box 43202, Washington, D.C. 20010, \$15.95 — Eds.)*

## Hooked on Stringfellow

As a result of the notice of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company award to William Stringfellow, I started to read him, and managed quite easily to get from the United States four of his latest books.

The problem, however, is that I am 24 and an ordinand in the Diocese of London, and I am too young to have been able to lay hands on his earlier work. I fear that I am "hooked" on Stringfellow's theology, and I wonder whether your readers have any ideas as to where second-hand copies of the following may be obtained: *A Second Birthday, My People Is the Enemy, Dissenter in a Great Society, Count It All Joy, Free in Obedience, A Private and Public Faith, The Death and Life of*

### Credits

Cover, Beth Seka, adapted from a design by Margaret Longdon; pp. 4, 7, 8, Margaret Longdon; pp. 10, 11, 12, 13, Dana Martin; p. 17, *Cuba Internacional*, courtesy Cuba Resource Center.

*Bishop Pike, Suspect Tenderness.* I shall be grateful for any suggestions.

**Peter D. Eaton**  
St. George's Anglican Church  
7 Rue Auguste Vacquerie  
75116 Paris, France

## Kudos From W. Germany

As a former subscriber to *Radical Religion*, I have received the copies of THE WITNESS offered to complete my subscription when that journal stopped publishing recently. Thank you for this offer. It is good to know that there are Christian periodicals in the United States that speak freely about the conflicts in society and are not afraid of the majority and the administration! In West Germany you will not find a good chance to do the same in a regular Christian periodical.

But at the same time, I must cut down my subscriptions and I have one other U.S. periodical that I can read regularly. I simply have too much to read! How many West German periodicals do you read regularly? Sorry to let you down. With best wishes for your work, and I am very grateful for your service.

**Gerhard Koeberlin**  
Hamburg, W. Germany

## Must Reading

The prophetic stance of THE WITNESS makes it must reading for me each month. I am consistently grateful for both the message and quality of the articles.

WITNESS subscribers are probably the kind of people who would relish Eileen Zieget Silberman's new book, *The Savage Sacrament*. It is the best breakthrough of truth-emerging-from-experience-confronting-official-church-theology that I have ever read. The subtitle, "A Theology of Marriage After American Feminism" speaks for itself. It was published by Twenty-Third Publications, P.O. Box 180, Mystic, Ct. 06355.

Keep publishing WITNESS! We need it!

**Patricia Kluepfel**  
Ledyard, Conn.

# Hispanics Bring Suit Against U.S. Government

In a dramatic turn of events, five Hispanic advocates of Puerto Rican independence — two closely connected with the Episcopal Church — have launched a civil suit against the Government, which is trying to subpoena them to testify before a Federal Grand Jury.

The civil suit brought by their attorneys includes a motion to quash the subpoena, it was learned as *THE WITNESS* went to press.

The five Hispanics are Maria Cueto, former executive director of the National Commission for Hispanic Affairs of the Episcopal Church; Steve Guerra of the Board of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company; Ricardo Romero, of Alamosa, Col., and Andres and Julio Rosado, of New York.

Figuring prominently in their decision to sue was the recent dismissal of a case brought against them for criminal contempt for refusing to testify. This decision was largely influenced by a prejudicial press release handed out by the FBI, labeling the five as the “unincarcerated leadership of the FALN,” an alleged terrorist group advocating independence for Puerto Rico.

The press handout amounted to trial by newspaper, and prompted Judge Charles Sifton to voice his displeasure at the way the Government had handled the case.

As the case was dismissed, U.S. marshalls moved across the courtroom to serve new subpoenas to the five on the spot. The new subpoenas again call upon them to testify before the current Grand Jury.

One of the more serious implications of the court appearances to date is the apparent decision of the U.S. Govern-

ment to elevate political organizing to the organized crime category by bringing criminal rather than civil contempt charges against the defendants, all of whom advocate independence for Puerto Rico. Heretofore, criminal contempt charges for refusing to testify before a Grand Jury had been reserved for organized crime figures such as the Mafia.

This could put political dissenters on notice that the consequences of disagreeing with U.S. policy could be a formidable jail sentence.

In November, Joan Trafecanty of the Church and Society staff interviewed Maria Cueto about her recent jail experience in Los Angeles and the plight of the five. The complete interview is available from Church and Society, 2808 Altura, Los Angeles, CA 90031.

**JOAN:** Did they give any reason why you were put in maximum security in Sybil Brand Institution?

**MARIA:** No. A prisoner may ask, which I did, and they said they didn't know, but that I should know. I wasn't allowed to do anything, even the things that women in maximum are normally allowed to do — like bathe. I wasn't allowed to read or have anything to write on. I was put in what they would call “the hole” in another prison. It's exactly that — just a room with the door padded and there's a hole in the ground for your toilet. I couldn't believe what they were doing and even some of the guards wondered. One said, “What are you charged with?” I said, “Criminal contempt.” She said, “What did you do to warrant this kind of treatment? This charge doesn't warrant that. Did you hit the judge? Did you threaten somebody?” She couldn't understand it either.

**JOAN:** Before you were subpoenaed last November, did you have hopes that this period of harassment was over?

**MARIA:** You mean after I was released in 1977 up until 1981? Yes, I did think that it was over. I guess mostly it was wishful thinking, because I knew that the FBI had been around. When I moved from New York to Arizona I knew that they were there. When I moved to Texas I knew that they were there. So it didn't shock me. It just made me very angry. When I appeared before the grand jury in January of 1982, I was kind of indignant. I thought, “What makes you think I'm going to testify before you if I didn't do it before the other one?”

**JOAN:** Now, do they want to you to testify about the same thing?

**MARIA:** The exact same thing, which I won't. I will not have spent a year in jail for nothing. I still believe in the same principles. I don't have to rethink my position. What bothers me is all the other things that go with it — losing your job, putting family through changes, a whole disruption. Those are the hard things that you have to deal with, and all the while you're wondering whether they're going to let you go or will they put you in jail?

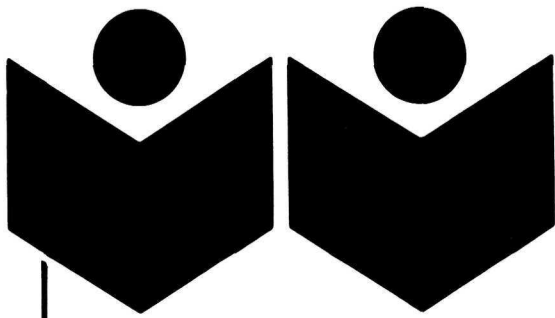
**JOAN:** So you really can't plan for your future because you have no idea what's going to happen next?

**MARIA:** I can't really do anything. I just have to wait from month to month to see if I have to go back to Federal Court in New York. The waiting period, I think, is the hardest. It's like being in limbo. I can't look for a job. Unless I lie when I apply for a job. Most employers wouldn't give me a job if I tell them the truth. Besides the FBI is liable to go there and also want to know what I'm doing.

**JOAN:** In your own words, could you explain what your position is, and why are they singling you and a few other people out to bring before the grand jury?

**MARIA:** I'm not exactly sure why they've  
Cueto . . . *Continued on back cover*





# THE WITNESS

## 1982 Index

**M**aking its debut in this issue is the first index to be published since **THE WITNESS** was reinstated in 1974. It was compiled by Bonnie Pierce-Spady of **THE WITNESS** staff, who is wearing a happy smile these days to be rid of the mountains of index cards, cross reference notes, and reams of typing paper from her desk. Typesetter Dorothy Forde is equally euphoric.

It has been noted that an index is either the most valuable or the least valuable section a magazine publishes

every year. Librarians and researchers rejoice, authors may thumb through to see if we spelled their names correctly, students doing papers have easy access to given categories, and the FBI has a handy dandy reference if they're interested in pursuing a topic — or an author. Many other readers totally ignore these pages.

We would appreciate your reaction to this innovation, and welcome any queries concerning the availability of back issues or articles by your favorite authors.

## AUTHORS

Alazraqui, Nina, 3/82  
Ambelang, John, 12/82  
Bain, Edrick, 5/82  
Beerman, Leonard I., 6/82  
Berckman, Edward M., 10/82  
Berrigan, Daniel, 10/82  
Boyd, Malcolm, 5/82  
Bozarth-Campbell, Alla, 6/82  
Brewster, Mary Jane, 6/82  
Campbell, James M., 4/82, 8/82  
Cannon, John K., 5/82, 11/82  
Carr, Burgess, 11/82  
Casson, Lloyd, 5/82  
Chane, John B., 11/82  
Christie, Marjorie, 5/82, 11/82  
Callahan, William/Dolly Pomerlau, 7/82  
Chavis, Ben, 2/8  
Condren, Mary, 4/82  
Crew, Louie, 1/82  
Cromey, Robert, 8/82  
Cushing, Gloria, 3/82  
Dauenhauer, William, 12/82  
Day Jr., Samuel H., 11/82  
DeWitt, Robert L., 5/82, 7/82, 12/82  
Doane, Jennifer, 10/82  
Ford, Clyde S., 8/82  
Fortunato, John E., 5/82  
Gallup, Grant, 4/82  
Gessell, John M., 5/82  
Gillett, Richard W., 1/82, 5/82, 9/82, 11/82  
Golden, Renny, 12/82  
Gordon, Myrtle, 2/82  
Hamilton, Michael P., 9/82  
Harris, Barbara, 3/82

Hawes, Charles, 1/82  
Heyward, Carter, 3/82  
Hiatt, Suzanne, 2/82  
Hines, Deborah Harmon, 2/82  
Hopkins, Mattie, 3/82  
Johnston, Eldred, 8/82  
Keshgegian, Flora, 3/82  
Krasman, Barbara, 1/82  
La Forge, John, 6/82  
Lewis, James, 12/82  
Lynch, Roberta, 6/82  
Mansfield, Richard, 3/82  
Mason, Bayley, 8/82  
Medsker, Larry, 8/82  
Meyer, R. Charles, 1/82  
Miller, Jim Wayne, 4/82  
Montgomery, Nancy S., 4/82  
Neumann, A. Lin, 4/82  
Nielsen, Carl F., 12/82  
Nobleman, Roberta, 2/82  
O'Grady, Ron, 7/82  
Osgood, Charles, 6/82  
Park, Patricia, 5/82  
Pelham, Joseph A., 5/82  
Pierce, Janette, 2/82  
Piven, Frances Fox, 9/82  
Regas, George F., 6/82  
Reinhart, Rod, 2/82  
Renouf, Jeannette and Robert, 7/82  
Renouf, Robert, 7/82  
Rodman, Edward W., 5/82, 11/82  
Schies, Betty Bone, 3/82  
Spong, John S., 7/82  
Stringfellow, William, 12/82  
Suhor, Mary Lcu, 1/82, 2/82, 4/82, 7/82, 9/82, 11/82  
Tompkins, Joyce Ulrich, 6/82  
Traxler, Margaret Ellen, 8/82, 10/82

Watkins, Deborah L., 9/82  
Wells, Abbie Jane, 1/82, 10/82  
Weiss, Chris, 9/82  
White, Hugh C., 3/82, 6/82, 10/82  
Williams, Leslie M., 1/82  
Wilson, Charles R., 1/82  
Winter, Colin, 2/82  
Wittig, Nancy Hatch, 3/82  
Woodard, Jack, 9/82

## SUBJECTS

### CHURCH AND STATE

"Affirming a New Public Philosophy," James M. Campbell, 4/82  
"Churches Confront INS, Offer Refugees Sanctuary," Renny Golden, 12/82  
Haitians: "Episcopalians to Host 57 Women From Alderson," Margaret Ellen Traxler, 10/82  
"In the Matter of Marriage: Should the Church Divorce the State?" Charles R. Wilson, 1/82  
"INS Disrupts Theology Meet, Departs Grenadian, 20," Mary Lou Suhor, 7/82  
"A Letter From the Country," Charles Hawes, 1/82  
"Probing Future Energy Alternatives," Larry Medsker, 8/82  
"Resolutions Rap Racism, INS," Resolution adopted by Episcopal Women's Caucus, 10/82  
"The Transformation of City Politics," Frances Fox Piven, 9/82  
"Why Haitians Risk Treacherous Seas to Reach U.S. Shores," Mary Lou Suhor, 10/82

## CLASSISM

- "Are Prison Systems Cheating the Taxpayer?" Margaret Ellen Traxler, 8/82  
"Can Middle-Class Stay Neutral," Editorial, Hugh C. White, Jr., 6/82  
"Facing Up to Realities," Editorial, Hugh C. White, Jr., 3/82  
"Freeing Prisoners With the Bible," Ben Chavis, 2/82  
"Grenada: A Revolution a Republican Tourist Could Love," A. Lin Neumann, 4/82  
"International Profit Vs. Community Well-Being," Richard W. Gillett, 9/82  
"Ireland: A Primeval Drama With Economic, Political Roots," Mary Condren, 4/82  
"A Letter From the Country," Charles Hawes, 1/82  
"Next Steps Toward the Year 2000," Burgess Carr, 11/82  
"Revolution on Thursdays," Editorial, Mary Lou Suhor, 2/82  
"Signs of Colonialism Jar Public Hearings in Puerto Rico," James Lewis, 12/82  
"Third World Tourism: Who Wins, Who Loses?" Ron O'Grady, 7/82  
"The Transformation of City Politics," Frances Fox Piven, 9/82  
"Unemployed Women: The Thin Line Between Us and Them," Chris Weiss, 9/82

## CRIMINAL JUSTICE/PENAL SYSTEMS

- "Are Prison Systems Cheating the Taxpayer?," Margaret Ellen Traxler, 8/82  
"Churches Confront INS, Offer Refugees Sanctuary," Renny Golden, 12/82  
"Freeing Prisoners With the Bible," Ben Chavis, 2/82  
Grand Jury Investigation, Mary Lou Suhor  
— "New Grand Jury Subpoenas Cueto Again, Guerra of ECPC," 1/82  
— "Prosecution 'Re-Evaluating' Charges Against Hispanics," 2/82  
— "Fate of Hispanics Still in Suspense," 3/82  
— "Hispanics Face Possible Jail Sentence ...Again," 11/82  
Haitians: "Episcopalians to Host 57 Women from Alderson," Margaret Ellen Traxler, 10/82  
"INS Disrupts Theology Meet, Deports Grenadian, 20," Mary Lou Suhor, 7/82

## ECUMENISM

- "Christians and Jews in Context," Barbara Krasner, 1/82  
"Ecumenism Reaches Out to Gays," Clyde S. Ford, 8/82  
"Putting a Human Face on Urban Ministry,"

- Edward M. Berckman, 10/82  
Roman Catholic Women Who Celebrate Eucharist, Five-Part Commentary: 3/82  
— "Chipping Away at the Rock," Carter Heyward  
— "Institutional Misogyny Undermines Wholeness," Nancy Hatch Wittig  
— "New Ordinations Pose Hard Questions" Nina Alazraqui  
— "Seeking Equal Rites for Women," Flora Keshgegian  
— "Take Back the Church, Indeed," Betty Bone Schiess

## EPISCOPAL CHURCH

- "Blessed Are the Frustrated," Marjorie L. Christie, 5/82  
"The Challenge of Being Episcopalian," Bayley F. Mason, 8/82  
"Changing the Angle of Vision," Editorial, Richard W. Gillett, 11/82  
"Color to Break the Beige?" Mary Lou Suhor, 11/82  
"Colorful Moments, Personalities From Convention Since 1952," Robert L. DeWitt, 5/82  
"Committee Invokes 'Conscience,' Bars Women to Priesthood," John B. Chane, 11/82  
"Costs Heeded . . . Somewhat," John K. Cannon, 11/82  
"Crescent City Blues," Edward W. Rodman, 11/82  
"Demythologizing the Episcopal Church," Malcolm Boyd, 5/82  
"Deplores Site of General Convention," Statement — Episcopal Church Publishing Co., 11/82  
"Disarmament, Peace Focus of Episcopal Peace Fellowship Efforts," John M. Gessell, 5/82  
Episcopal Church Publishing Company Award Winners, 6/82  
Haitians: "Episcopalians to Host 57 Women From Alderson," Margaret Ellen Traxler, 10/82  
"Episcopal Urban Caucus to Pursue Tough, Multi-Issue Platform," Lloyd Casson, 5/82  
"Frustration-Generated Action Anticipated for 1985 Event," Marjorie L. Christie, 11/82  
"Gay Ministry Vital as Violence Escalates," John E. Fortunato, 5/82  
"Hands Across the Sea: U.S. Ordains Woman from England," Suzanne Hiatt, 2/82  
"Next Steps Toward the Year 2000," Burgess Carr, 11/82  
"Racial Justice First on Black Agenda," Edrick Bain, 5/82

- "Saying 'No' to the Nuclear Cross," George Regas, 6/82  
"Show Biz or Stewardship," Edward W. Rodman, 5/82  
"Steps for Economizing," John K. Cannon, 5/82  
"Taking History Seriously," Editorial, Richard W. Gillett, 5/82  
"To Hear and Not To Heed," Joseph A. Pelham, 5/82  
"What to do With Hungry Sheep," Grant M. Gallup, 4/82  
"Women to Politic, Stage Arts Festival," Patricia M. Park, 5/82

## GAYS

- "Ecumenism Reaches Out to Gays," Clyde S. Ford, 8/82  
"Gay Ministry Vital as Violence Escalates," John E. Fortunato, 5/82

## HUMOR

- "Friendly Persuasion," Charles Thomas, 12/82  
"How Lion, Lamb (Almost) Live Together," Leonard I. Beerman, 6/82  
"Mad Lady' Had Message for Time Present," Roberta Nobleman, 2/82  
"Meditation: Poor Mrs. Job," Abbie Jane Wells, 1/82  
"Of Martha's Pots and Mary's Place," Abbie Jane Wells, 10/82  
"Pews Are Not For the Living," Eldred Johnston, 8/82  
"War Is Fun! Like Pac-Man," Charles Osgood, 6/82  
"What If?" John Ambelang, 12/82

## INTERNATIONAL

- "Ambassador Noncommittal Re Fate of Bishop Tutu," John S. Spong, 7/82  
"Bishop Tutu and the Cycle of Violence," Samuel H. Day, Jr., 11/82  
"Churches Confront INS, Offer Refugees Sanctuary," Renny Golden, 12/82  
"A Code of Ethics for Tourists," Christian Conference of Asia, 7/82  
"15 Million People Refugees at Christmas," Carl F. Nielson, 12/82  
"For Shame, Mr. Begin," Editorial, Mary Lou Suhor, 9/82  
"Grenada: A Revolution a Republican Tourist Could Love," A. Lin Neumann, 4/82  
Haitians: "Episcopalians to Host 57 Women from Alderson," Margaret Ellen Traxler, 10/82  
"Hands Across the Sea: U.S. Ordains Woman From England," Suzanne Hiatt, 2/82  
"INS Disrupts Theology Meet, Deports Grenadian, 20," Mary Lou Suhor, 7/82

"International Profit Vs. Community Well-Being," Richard W. Gillett, 9/82  
 "Ireland: A Primeval Drama With Economic Political Roots," Mary Condren, 4/82  
 Ireland: "Needed — The Conference Table," Nancy S. Montgomery, 4/82  
 "Next Steps Toward the Year 2000," Burgess Carr, 11/82  
 Nicaragua: "Doing Theology Is Real Here," Jeannette and Robert Renouf, 7/82  
 "The Peace of Jerusalem," Michael P. Hamilton, 9/82  
 "Puerto Rico's Nightmare," Editorial, Hugh C. White, Jr., 10/82  
 "Signs of Colonialism Jar Public Hearings in Puerto Rico," James Lewis, 12/82  
 "Systems Theory Applied to Nicaragua," Robert Renouf, 7/82  
 "Third World Tourism: Who Wins, Who Loses?" Ron O'Grady, 7/82  
 "What's Happening to the Miskitos? Religious Study Group Evaluates Resettlement," Dolly Pomerlau and William Callahan, 7/82  
 "Why Haitians Risk Treacherous Seas to Reach U.S. Shores," Mary Lou Suhor, 10/82

## PEACE/DISARMAMENT

"Bishop Tutu and the Cycle of Violence," Samuel H. Day, Jr., 11/82  
 "The Christian Dilemma: Violence or Non-violence," World Council of Churches, 10/82  
 "Disarmament, Peace, Focus of Episcopal Peace Fellowship Efforts," John M. Gessell, 5/82  
 Graphic: "Firepower to Destroy a World," James Geier and Sharyl Green, 12/82  
 "How the U.S.A. Will Rise Again (After a Nuclear War)," Mary Jane Brewster, 6/82  
 "Ideologies Irrelevant in Nuclear Arms Race," Daniel Berrigan, 10/82  
 Ireland: "Needed — The Conference Table," Nancy S. Montgomery, 4/82  
 Map: "Nuclear Weapons Location in U.S.," Center for Defense Information, 6/82  
 "The Peace of Jerusalem," Michael P. Hamilton, 9/82  
 "The Power of the Dove," Editorial, Robert L. DeWitt, 7/82  
 "Profession of Faith," John LaForge, 6/82  
 "Saying 'No' to the Nuclear Cross," George Regas, 6/82  
 "This Is More Than a Peace Movement," Roberta Lynch, 6/82  
 "Transfiguration," Alla Bozarth-Campbell, 6/82  
 "War Is Fun! Like Pac-Man," Charles Osgood, 6/82

## RACISM

"Ambassador Noncommittal Re Fate of Bishop Tutu," John S. Spong, 7/82  
 "Bishop Tutu and the Cycle of Violence," Samuel H. Day, Jr., 11/82  
 "Black Women's Agenda" — Introduction, Janette Pierce, 2/82  
 — "Racism Breeds Stereotypes," Deborah Harmon Hines, 2/82  
 — "Bigotry 'Fashionable' Again," Myrtle Gordon, 2/82  
 — "Other Struggles Seducing Blacks," Mattie Hopkins, 3/82  
 — "You Don't See Most of Us," Barbara Harris, 3/82  
 "Freeing Prisoners With the Bible," Ben Chavis, 2/82  
 "Racial Justice First on Black Agenda," Edrick Bain, 5/82  
 "Resolutions Rap Racism, INS," Resolution adopted by Episcopal Women's Caucus, 10/82

## THEOLOGY/PRAYER

"The Christian Dilemma: Violence or Non-violence?" World Council of Churches, 10/82  
 "Christmas as Parody of the Gospel," William Stringfellow, 12/82  
 "Death Planning: What We're Afraid to Ask," R. Charles Meyer, 1/82  
 "Freeing Prisoners With the Bible," Ben Chavis, 2/82  
 "God Is Not a Pet Rock," Jack Woodard, 9/82  
 "Ideologies Irrelevant in Nuclear Arms Race," Daniel Berrigan, 10/82  
 "In Praise of Marriage," James Campbell, 8/82  
 "Indelible Image of Christmas," Editorial, Robert L. DeWitt, 12/82  
 Nicaragua: "Doing Theology Is Real Here," Jeannette and Robert Renouf, 7/82  
 "No to School Prayer," Robert Warren Cromey, 8/82  
 "The Power of Believing," Editorial, Richard W. Gillett, 1/82  
 Roman Catholic Women Who Celebrate Eucharist, Five-Part Commentary: 3/82  
 — "Chipping Away at the Rock," Carter Heyward  
 — "Institutional Misogyny Undermines Wholeness," Nancy Hatch Wittig  
 — "New Ordinations Pose Hard Questions," Nina Alazraqui  
 — "Seeking Equal Rites for Women," Flora Keshgegian  
 — "Take Back the Church, Indeed," Betty Bone Schiess  
 "Saying 'No' to the Nuclear Cross," George

Regas, 6/82  
 "Shaliach: Women as God's Agents," Richard Mansfield, 3/82

## URBAN MINISTRY

"Episcopal Urban Caucus to Pursue Tough, Multi-Issue Platform," Lloyd Casson, 5/82  
 "International Profit Vs. Community Well-Being," Richard W. Gillett, 9/82  
 "Putting a Human Face on Urban Ministry," Edward M. Berckman, 10/82  
 "To Hear and Not to Heed," Joseph A. Pelham, 5/82  
 "The Transformation of City Politics," Frances Fox Piven, 9/82

## WOMEN

"Committee Invokes 'Conscience,' Bars Women to Priesthood," John Chane, 11/82  
 Haitians: "Episcopalians to Host 57 Women From Alderson," Margaret Ellen Traxler, 10/82  
 "Frustration-Generated Action Anticipated for 1985 Event," Marjorie Christie, 11/82  
 "Hands Across the Sea: U.S. Ordains Woman from England," Suzanne Hiatt, 2/82  
 "Life in an Unratified Country," Editorial, Mary Lou Suhor, 4/82  
 " 'Mad Lady' Had Message for Time Present," Roberta Nobleman, 2/82  
 "Of Martha's Pots and Mary's Place," Abbie Jane Wells, 10/82  
 "Poor Mrs. Job," Abbie Jane Wells, 1/82  
 Roman Catholic Women Who Celebrate Eucharist, Five-Part Commentary: 3/82  
 — "Chipping Away at the Rock," Carter Heyward  
 — "Institutional Misogyny Undermines Wholeness," Nancy Hatch Wittig  
 — "New Ordinations Pose Hard Questions," Nina Alazraqui  
 — "Seeking Equal Rites for Women," Flora Keshgegian  
 — "Take Back the Church, Indeed," Betty Bone Schiess  
 "Blessed are the Frustrated," Marjorie Christie, 5/82  
 "Shaliach: Women as God's Agents," Richard Mansfield, 3/82  
 "Unemployed Women: The Thin Line Between Us and Them," Chris Weiss, 9/82  
 "Vocation is Stronger Than Nationalism," Statement — John S. Spong, 2/82  
 "What to do With Hungry Sheep," Grant Gallup, 4/82  
 "Women's Publication Seeks Contributions," 7/82 □

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company  
P.O. Box 359  
Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002  
Address Correction Requested

NONPROFIT ORG.  
U.S. POSTAGE  
PAID  
North Wales, Pa.  
Permit No. 121

**Cueto . . . Continued from page 16**

bunched us together. I keep thinking it must be several different reasons, because back in 1977, if there had been something incriminating, they would have found out. I say back in 1977 because the National Commission on Hispanic Affairs was one of the main focuses of the investigation at the time because of the membership. That was the question, and also because of all of the grants that we made to the community. The government took every single piece of paper that was in that office. They came and took the files away. With all their technology and their experience at their finger tips, if there had been something to hide, it would have been in there somewhere, hidden. That was what they had assumed to begin with. The assumption of the government was that we were siphoning funds from the church into the FALN. But nothing came out of their investigation. I thought that they would leave me alone when they hadn't found anything by 1978. So I suspect that they still think somehow that through the church I helped this group.

**JOAN:** Have church people been supportive, or have you felt like an outcast?

**MARIA:** There are a couple of things here in reference to the question of the church. One is that just because it's 1982 doesn't mean that the issue has changed. This investigation of me surfaces from my work that took place at the Episcopal Church. The involvement of the church in the FALN — there has never been any on my part or other people's part. The question of the integrity of the church is still something to be dealt

with. After the arrest back in 1977, it is very clear that on a national level many, many things changed. Programs changed . . .

**JOAN:** Specifically, what was revoked?

**MARIA:** The social programs. Each of the commissions no longer had the autonomy that we had enjoyed before that — the Native Americans, the Blacks, the Asians, etc. What I'm saying is that what the FBI did in 1977 — people say that it had no effect on the church — but it *did* have an effect. The government *intimidated* the church. This pulling back also took place in the National Council of Churches. I was dealing with the Hispanic Office in the Episcopal Church. There were also 20 other people like me dealing with the Presbyterians, the Methodists, etc. All of the different minorities were doing the same thing, so if it could happen to me, it could happen to each and every one of them.

**JOAN:** Because of the way the church reacted, do you think a lot of minorities became disillusioned with the church?

**MARIA:** I think it had a two-fold effect. What the government did intimidated everybody. It shook the church to its very toes. The government was shaking its finger at the church and saying: "Don't do this any more." It hadn't been the first time that the FBI had brushed with the National Council of Churches or any of the denominations around questions like Wounded Knee and all those other things, but this was different. It was different because it went straight for

the throat. The government went straight inside — it walked inside and said "I'm going to take whatever I want." And that's what it did.

**JOAN:** Was their real purpose to intimidate the church? Or were they looking for the FALN, or what?

**MARIA:** I think at first, they *really* thought that they had something. They went for everything. The government jeopardized a great deal actually, because it was so bold in what it was doing. They *thought* they really had something.

**JOAN:** So why would they go through this whole process again?

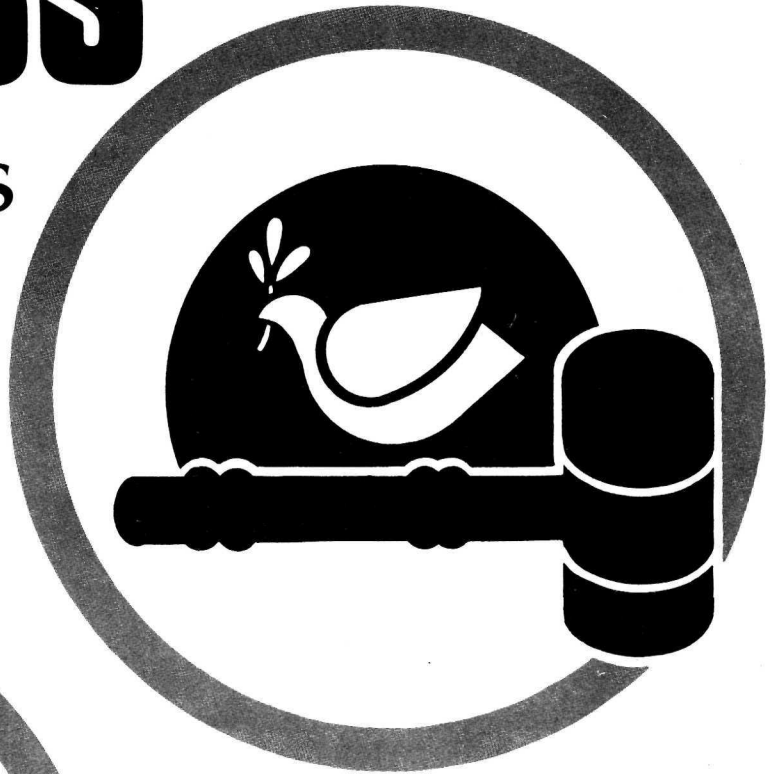
**MARIA:** I think they may feel that I might be isolated in the sense that I am no longer with the institutional church. There's also a difference, and the FBI knows this, and that is that originally there was a question of the institutional church being attacked by the government. The National Council of Churches was concerned about this. Now that I'm no longer with the institutional church, it's just the individual, with or without her principles, that they're dealing with. The people who are supportive of me now are the ones who understood from the very beginning what we were talking about as opposed to breaking it up into the different issues that people think are safe. But I think that some individuals from different parts of this country understand what is happening and at this point I think that's important. □



# THE VOL. 66 NO. 2 FEBRUARY, 1983 WITNESS

With Liturgies  
and Justice  
for All..

Nathaniel W. Pierce  
Pauli Murray



## Our Ideal New Presiding Bishop

A collage by:  
Episcopal Women's Caucus  
Union of Black Episcopalians  
Integrity  
Episcopal Peace Fellowship  
Hispanics  
Asian-Americans  
Episcopal Urban Caucus

# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

## Hopes to Offer Sanctuary

The article about Salvadoran refugees (December WITNESS) was very moving and an eye-opener. Why has there been so little coverage about INS practices?

We hope to move our local church to provide sanctuary or perhaps become a stop on the underground railroad.

**Helen Kemper**  
Philadelphia, Pa.

## Light in Dark Times

We happened to read a friend's issue of THE WITNESS and were deeply moved by the article describing the plight of Salvadoran refugees. A grass-roots church movement to harbor refugees in defiance of law is astonishing and hope inducing in a culture where civil religion is synonymous with unenlightened compliance with repression. That some North American churches are willing to act on behalf of Central American victims of our State Department's collusionary policy, is surely a light in these dark times.

**Phillip and Jan Rogers**  
Bronx, N.Y.

## Required Reading

Your November issue largely covering the church's September General Convention in New Orleans proved even more enlightening than I'd anticipated and should be in the hands of all churchpeople.

Your format of presenting interpretations by Ed Rodman, Marge

Christie and John Cannon, with "color" by Mary Lou Suhor, enabled these differing viewpoints to be thoughtfully considered for some time to come.

"Changing the Angle of Vision," the editorial's title, might well have served for the theme of your coverage. I personally felt that the editorially-heard "whisper" (of the church building faithfulness in attempting to speak through the poor) was more than a whisper. Indeed, at this GC, I saw a new spirit of reconciliation working to build new coalitions and overall unity that presages at last a real turning point away from our former dichotomy of "personal pietism vs. social action" to a prayer-grounded, activist thrust towards Jesus' beloved, the poor.

Best of all was Canon Burgess Carr's "Next Steps Toward the Year 2000" wherein he summed up the rationale for our society's current bewilderment with his superb recap of former prophecies which have raised expectations that still remain unfulfilled. His forceful outline of some of the issues confronting us, e.g., "The inseparable triad of hunger, poverty and injustice. . ." and his call to Christian protest and equipment of ourselves as a "eucharistic fellowship" gave a vitally-needed perspective.

Canon Carr's article, and the whole issue, should be required reading for all of us committed to Gustavo Gutierrez's belief that "The poor is the place of the encounter with God."

Thank you for raising my hopes once again!

**Julie Wyatt**  
West Texas Diocesan  
Hunger Committee  
San Antonio, Tex.

## Need to Integrate Ideas

Paolo Friere, in his critical volume, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, reminds us of the foolishness of adopting a "banking theory of knowledge" wherein one makes one deposit after another and rarely, if ever, draws on her/his account. Burgess Carr reminded us of the prophetic words spoken by the National Council of Churches in the

1960s in its report entitled, "The Triple Revolution." Words, I fear, largely lost after being deposited.

We are so taken by speaking and writing, our capacity/willingness to integrate ideas is diminished daily. Indeed, fully recognizing the implied anti-intellectual bias implied, perhaps we need to develop better methods for integrating the part of the Gospel we do understand rather than continuously seeking new light about truths only faintly perceived.

Is there an inverse relationship between the reading and intellectual debate of today's ideas, and our capacity to live as Christians with at least modest ability, but ability nonetheless, to act in a caring and prophetic manner?

**Richard R. Fernandez, Director**  
Northwest Interfaith Movement  
Philadelphia, Pa.

## Can't Serve in Diocese

I am writing as a seminarian and as a woman who until recently was from the Diocese of Northwestern Pennsylvania. On the personal level, my interaction with the diocese has been less than satisfactory. Having been denied the opportunity to serve the people in the geographical area in which my faith was nurtured and seeing firsthand the disorder into which the diocese has plunged, has caused me anguish as I experience the brokenness of the church. (See "Diocese Invokes 'Conscience', Bars Women to Priesthood" in November WITNESS.)

I feel it is imperative that the Bishops of Province III respond to the breach of canon law in the Diocese of Northwestern Pennsylvania. Not to do so would be to ignore the fracturing of the diocese, to allow the damage to individuals to continue, and to jeopardize the validity of canon law. I trust that God will grant the Presiding Bishop courage to break the silence surrounding this issue.

**Anne Elizabeth Gilson**  
Episcopal Divinity School  
Cambridge, Mass.

THE WITNESS

---

EDITOR  
**Mary Lou Suhor**

---

SENIOR CONTRIBUTING EDITOR  
**Robert L. DeWitt**

---

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS  
**Richard W. Gillett**  
**Hugh C. White**

---

STAFF  
**Ann Hunter**  
**Susan Small**  
**Bonnie Spady**  
**Lisa Whelan**

---

PUBLISHER  
**Episcopal Church Publishing Company**

---

ECPC BOARD OF DIRECTORS

CHAIR  
**H. Coleman McGehee**

VICE-CHAIR  
**Barbara Harris**

SECRETARY  
**Helen Seager**

TREASURER  
**Robert Potter**

ASSISTANT TREASURER  
**Robert Eckersley**

**Otis Charles**  
**Robert L. DeWitt**  
**Steven Guerra**  
**Suzanne Hiatt**  
**Mattie Hopkins**  
**Joan Howarth**  
**James Lewis**  
**Joseph A. Pelham**

---

THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215) 643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. Copyright 1983 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.

# THE WITNESS

---

## Editorial

## Worldwide Unemployment and Human Rights

In our concern over the double digit jobless rates in this country, we miss the wider picture: Unemployment is a worldwide phenomenon of depression proportions. By the middle of 1983, unemployment will reach about 17.5 million throughout Europe; one-sixth of all Europeans will be unemployed.

And forecasts for industrial nations pale beside those for the Third World. Between 300 and 500 million are unemployed in the developing world, (pressing 20 to 30% in many countries). By the turn of the century, only 17 years away, the demographic figures suggest 900 million to 1 billion.

U.S. unemployment meanwhile continues to rise. There is a new word in the American lexicon: *exhaustees*. The word does not mean tired, worn out or lazy, but rather refers to those workers who are in the growing army of jobless who have used up their unemployment insurance benefits and now must find some new way to stay alive.

If all the unemployed people in the state of Michigan lived in one city, that city would be the 11th largest in the nation.

Today's scenario bears a chilling resemblance to the great depressions of 1873-93 and 1929-

40: bankruptcies, the beginnings of bank collapses, cutbacks and layoffs. Around-the-block lineups for food stamps, public assistance and unemployment claims are a familiar sight. Break-ins and holdups burgeon; soup kitchens and shelters for the homeless are strained beyond capacity.

The problem everywhere in the world is greatest for those just arriving at working age. On the principle of "last come, last served," young people find it extremely difficult to elbow their way into an ever-tightening labor market. When they do find jobs, they are frequently near minimum wage and sometimes displace older workers drawing higher wages.

A number of solutions to the problem have been proposed, but none offers much help. Wage concessions, shorter hours and job-sharing are at best stop-gap, at worst not true solutions. We are in the midst of a great social turmoil — one that calls for basic structural change. Fundamental human rights are at stake.

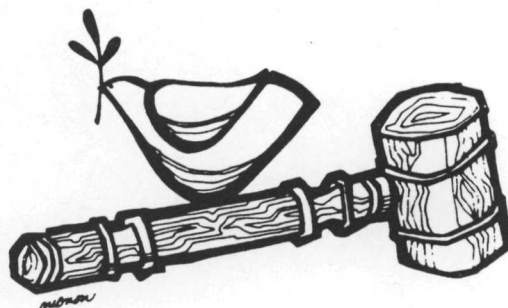
The people of the world have always been interdependent, related, connected, but never so intimately as today. Planet Earth will not survive if, as some

*Continued on page 6*

# Vietnam War Vigils: 1969, 1982

## When Does Prayer Become Political?

by Nat Pierce



Authentic prayer must be fully integrated into what we are and what we do. Often, however, prayer can become a substitute for substantive action: We pray for our enemies but hate them as much as ever.

Prayer by its very nature requires the pray-er to be open to God's initiative and direction. The pray-er should always be prepared to respond in concrete ways.

To be sure, there is danger in our prayer life of imitating the hypocrites by praying on "the street corners for people to see us" (Matthew 6:5). But Jesus' warning speaks more to motivation. Sometimes public witness is inherent in the very act of prayer. We saw an example of this recently at the Washington Cathedral.

The stunning Vietnam War memorial

---

**The Rev. Nathaniel W. Pierce** is rector of Grace Church in Nampa, Idaho. In 1969 he was the Co-Director of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship. He was appointed to the Joint Commission on Peace in 1979 and recently reappointed to serve until 1985.

was dedicated on Nov. 13, while earlier in the week a spoken memorial was initiated by our National Cathedral. There a group of volunteers gathered to read the names of those who had died — an effort which required 21 hours per day for three days.

In undertaking the spoken memorial, the cathedral was following through on the mandate from the Episcopal General Convention to observe "Sunday, Nov. 14, 1982, as a day of special remembrance of all Americans who served in the Vietnam War, and as a day of prayer for reconciliation of those divisions of our nation caused by that war."

I have yet to hear of any controversy about this witness of praying for those who died in Vietnam, but I was reminded of a time in 1969 when such was not the case.

At that time I opposed the war in Vietnam as a senseless waste of human life on both sides. I was a young seminarian then, and it was difficult to translate my convictions into

meaningful action. It seemed to me, though, that the least I could do was to pray for those who had died.

On June 18, 1969, I traveled with a group of Quakers and Episcopalians to Washington, D.C. to do just that. Later some would accuse us of mixing prayer with politics, but as the recent report of the Episcopal Joint Commission on Peace reminds us, this mixture is inevitable for the mature Christian. Our act was as political in that time as Billy Graham's prayers in Moscow are today. Incarnational theology will not let us escape this reality.

We gathered as a group on the steps of the Capitol building. The names of the war dead to date had already been entered in the Congressional Record and we had a copy of this. Five Congressmen who shared our concern for those who had died joined us at the noon hour. I later wrote in the Episcopal Peace Fellowship Newsletter: "The reading of names of the dead is to the participants a litany — a litany of intercession. We pray for those who have died and we pray for peace."



Christians who offered such prayers of intercession on the steps of our nation's Capitol were a visible reminder that young men had died and were dying. The governmental authorities did not like such prayers. No less a person than the Chief of the Capitol Police, J.M. Powell, came to order these unauthorized prayers to cease at once, and he brought his bullhorn for those with hearing impairments. The prayers continued, and the praying Christians were arrested, some 34 in all.

It was the first time I had been arrested under such circumstances. It was quite an experience and I felt very nervous. Yet, I took comfort in my feeling that it was right to pray for the Vietnam War dead on the steps of our nation's Capitol. Sometimes God listens to unauthorized prayers, I think.

The arrests put the matter before the courts and the case was heard by Judge Harold Greene of the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions. On June 20 Judge Greene stated the obvious: "No public official can have the power to prohibit assembly on property belonging to the people." He went on to say that any group has a legitimate right to assemble on the grounds of the Capitol to put their grievances before the Congress, and indeed, even to pray. All cases were dismissed. The government did not appeal the ruling. The reading of the war dead continued uninterrupted by arrests.

The courts probably did more to preserve our democracy during this difficult period than any other institution in our society.

The scene then shifted to our great cathedrals. On Sunday, August 3, 1969, two people rose from the congregation at St. John the Divine in New York at the end of the prayers during the morning liturgy. One was Pfc. Thomas Hawkins of the Signal Corps at Fort Monmouth, N.J. The other was Miss

Margaret Pearson, a member of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship.

As reported by *The New York Times* on Aug. 4, the two approached the altar bearing a red folder which contained a list of the 161 men from the Episcopal Diocese of New York who were killed in Vietnam before 1967. Those who had died since that cut-off date were not included as the list would have been too long.

Pfc. Hawkins and Miss Pearson approached Canon Edward N. West who was the celebrant for the service. Canon West took the folder and read the names while 200 worshippers bowed their heads in silence. At the end of the reading, Canon West offered this

prayer: "Almighty God, remember all thy servants who have laid down their lives. May they rest in peace. Amen."

The EPF and Canon West were immediately attacked on the editorial page of *The New York Times* for what they had done. For example, the Rev. Peter Chase, himself a canon of the cathedral, wrote in a letter published several days later:

*What a shame that the best the Episcopal Peace Fellowship can do for peace is to have a list of departed servicemen's names read during a cathedral service — names of men who gave their lives on a military mission assigned them by the elected representa-*



Donald E. Smith, Jr., of Annandale, Va., 16, was perhaps the youngest of the volunteer readers of the names of Vietnam War dead at the Washington Cathedral in November. He read a section that included his own father. Joining him in the vigil was his step-father, Col. John Browne.

tives of the nation and who had a sense of obligation and responsibility to their country notably absent in the peace group, whose role for peace seems only to protest.

Surely the departed servicemen deserve more gratitude and appreciation than that.

The New York Times printed our response:

*It was Canon Edward West and not members of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship who read the names of the dead in Vietnam.*

*Further, these names were not merely read. They were offered up to God as part of a religious service, after which the celebrant prayed for all who have died in combat. Canon Chase commented that it was a shame that this was the best the Episcopal Peace Fellowship could do for the cause of peace; we agree, although probably for different reasons.*

*If American soldiers have died in vain in Vietnam, it is not the messenger of this news whom Canon Chase should criticize, but rather the American Government and its policies which sent them there to die.*

Canon West was one of the few truly courageous religious leaders of that era, which will come as no surprise to those who know the man. The search for other great cathedrals where there was a willingness to pray publicly for the individuals by name who had died in Vietnam continued for some months, a search, I might add, which included the National Cathedral. Praying for those who had died was too controversial in 1969, however. Canon West and the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine turned out to be the notable exception, and took the risk.

The 1982 Report of the Joint Commission on Peace, which was received by the General Convention,



Sandie Fauriol, Reader  
Vietnam Vigil, 1982

offers this insightful comment: "When modern war breaks out, genuinely patriotic criticism is too often swamped by a tide of uncritical war emotions. In the face of such events, the Hebrew prophets stand as a mighty example of faithful response."

Today, it must seem incredible that praying for the Vietnam war dead in 1969 would provoke such controversy, that it would lead to the arrests of those who dared to do such a thing on the steps of our nation's Capitol. But such were the times, such was the "tide of uncritical war emotions." Perhaps the present controversy over a memorial which simply lists the names of war dead of Vietnam on black granite is even now a residual of those earlier events.

I sometimes wonder what might have happened if churches and cathedrals all over this country in 1969 had prayed by name for those local sons and daughters who had died in Vietnam. Would the war have come to an end sooner? Might there have been fewer names to read in our National Cathedral during those November days in 1982? □

**Editorial . . .**Continued from page 3 knowledgeable theoreticians are forecasting, the division of labor in our society will split into two categories: a rich and powerful "knowledge class" and a "serf class" that performs menial services. No solutions to unemployment must be allowed that do not maintain and extend human rights worldwide. Meaningful work is a basic human right.

The economic and political decisions of the United States — the most powerful nation on earth — deeply influence world trends. As committed Christians, our responsibility is to have a global vision and advocate solutions that will embrace the whole human family.

(H.C.W. and the editors)

---

## To George Herbert At the 10 O'Clock Service

Knocked from a horse I have not been,  
No more than you were.

Not even

Knocked from the comfort of a padded pew  
Deep in the suburban captivity.

And yet something  
Impels me, tremulous,  
Toward the abyss, the mystery  
Of that ancient pain.

I turn and turn

Rattling the cage of my complacency,  
Those ropes of iron strands  
That stand

Between me and some dark beyond.  
And like George Herbert, tender, angry priest,  
I rave, and grow more fierce and wild  
In my mind's own imaginings.  
Inwardly, passion can prevail.

But outwardly I am, like George  
One of God's frozen chosen.

How to thaw

My Anglican inheritance?  
How to pierce through  
Centuries of the soul's propriety?  
Pierce to the wounds that heal?

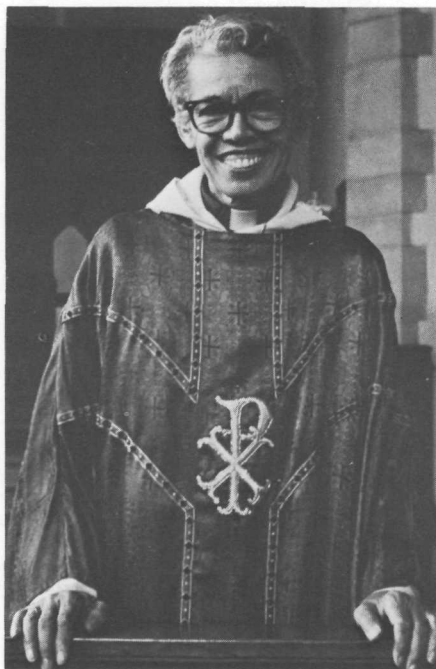
— Anne C. Fowler

# Congregation Explores Femininity of God

The Rev. Pauli Murray, noted civil rights activist and co-founder of the National Organization for Women (NOW), retired as priest-in-charge of the Church of the Holy Nativity in Baltimore early this year after reaching the age of 72. A pioneer in efforts against sexism and racism, she was in a unique position at Holy Trinity to explore the issue of sexist language in worship.

Ten of the 12 members of the Advisory Council were women — including both senior and junior wardens — and the staff included one woman priest and two women who were perpetual deacons.

“While this came about more through default rather than by design or commitment, it was also true that Holy Nativity was one of the churches that consistently supported women’s ordination and articulate feminism is a strong current within the multiracial congregation,” Dr. Murray said. During Pentecost, she arranged a



The Rev. Pauli Murray

series of two sermons on “The Holy Spirit and God Language,” and set a dialog with the congregation on the third Sunday inviting their response. The accompanying article

is taken from her second sermon; the box carries key questions probed.

Pauli Murray put the experiment in context for the Holy Nativity membership as follows: “By the power of the Holy Spirit, a small band of disciples went out and preached a radically new Gospel in language that was understood by people of many foreign tongues,” she said. “In time that Gospel encircled the world. This congregation has been at the cutting edge in our church — in liturgy, in the ordination of women, in the calling of women to serve. It seemed appropriate, therefore, that we take a further step and explore some of the new developments in theological research that point to rediscovery of the feminine dimension of the divine in Scripture.”

The WITNESS shares this experiment with its readers, and eagerly awaits Pauli Murray’s autobiography, her current project for Doubleday.

## The Holy Spirit and God Language

by Pauli Murray

*I beheld the working of the blessed Trinity in which, beholding, I saw and understood these three properties: the property of Fatherhood, and the property of Motherhood, and the property of Lordship — in one God . . . The human mother will suckle her child with her own milk, but our own beloved Mother, Jesus, feeds us with himself and with the most tender courtesy does it by means of the Blessed Sacrament. (“Revelations of Divine Love,” by Dame Julian of Norwich, commemorated in the Church Calendar, May 8.)*

*For she is the breath of the power of God, and a pure emanation of the glory of the Almighty. (Wisdom of Solomon 7:25)*

The above texts — one taken from the Wisdom literature written in the latter half of the first century before Christ and the other a Christian classic written in the late 14th or early 15th century — express the hunger of humankind for a feminine dimension of the divine absent from our formulation of the Holy Trinity as God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. If we were to go to the other extreme



and speak of God the Mother, Daughter and Holy Spirit, probably we would be shocked; yet this juxtaposition of language dramatizes the effect which sexual imagery has upon our concept of God. In reflecting upon this theme my purpose here is to call attention to the growing tension in Judeo-Christian tradition between a rhetoric which undeniably emphasizes the maleness of God and the results of biblical research within the past 15 to 20 years which point to the rediscovery of a long neglected "feminine dimension of the divine" in scripture. Our dilemma is: How shall this feminine symbolization of God be expressed?

When Paul says, "So then brethren . . . all who are led by the Spirit are sons of God . . . When we cry 'Abba! Father!' it is the Spirit himself bearing witness with our spirit that we are children of God." (Rom. 8:14, 15b-16), he seems to be speaking of a community in which women have no place and of an attribute of the divine which excludes all feminine experience. In the Old Testament lesson, when God says to Moses, "I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," ignoring their counterparts Sarah, Rebecca and Rachel, it has the same effect upon many thoughtful women as the words "I am the God of White people" would have upon the Black members of a congregation.

Such passages led biblical scholar Phyllis Bird to comment, "the Old Testament is a man's 'book' where women appear for the most part simply as adjuncts of men, significant only in the context of men's activities. . . a collection of writings by males from a society dominated by males. These writings portray a man's world. They speak of events and activities engaged in primarily by males (war, cult and government) and of a jealously singular God, who is described and addressed in terms normally used for males."

Consequently, we have inherited from a male-oriented tradition metaphors such as God as Father, Lord, King and husband. However, recent biblical scholarship has uncovered female imagery in the Old Testament, long ignored, sometimes mistranslated, and generally repressed, but which provides scriptural basis for symbolizing God as "Mother" as well as "Father." Consider the opening verses of the Book of Genesis:

*In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth. The Earth was a formless void, there was darkness over the deep, and the Spirit of God hovered over the water.*

This is the image of God's life-giving power associated with birth, including the birth of human beings. It can be seen as the image of a mother hovering over her child, an image captured by the 20th century Black poet and co-author of the Negro National Anthem, "Lift Every Voice and Sing,"

James Weldon Johnson. In his sermon-poem "The Creation," Johnson writes:

*And there was the great God Almighty  
Who lit the sun and fixed it in the sky,  
Who flung the stars to the most far corners of the  
earth,*

*. . . This great God,  
Like a mammy bending over her baby  
Kneeled down in the dust  
Toiling over a lump of clay  
Till He shaped it in His own image.*

Old Testament scholar Dr. Phyllis Tribble has discovered that while the Bible overwhelmingly favors male symbols for deity, there are also expressions of God in female images "such as God the pregnant woman (Isa. 42:14), the mother (Isa. 66:13), the midwife (Ps. 22:9), and the mistress (Ps. 123:2)." Tribble found that the theme of God as Mother, "who conceived, was pregnant, writhed with labor pains, brought forth a child and nursed it" was "not a minor theme on the fringes of faith. To the contrary, with persistence and power it saturates scripture." In the Song of Moses found in Deuteronomy, recounting the history of Israel, Moses says of Israel, "You were unmindful of the Rock (Creator) who begot you and forgot the God who gave you birth." (Deut. 32:18) Here God is depicted as both father and mother, for while the Jerusalem Bible translates the second part of the text as "the God who fathered you," Tribble points out that the Hebrew word used in the second phrase "only designates a woman in labor, and this activity the poetry ascribes to the deity."

The Book of Isaiah frequently uses maternal symbols for God as the compassionate mother. When Zion/Jerusalem lamented, "The Lord has forsaken me: my God has forgotten me," God answers, "Can a mother forget the infant at her breast, or a loving mother the child of her womb? Even these may forget, yet I will not forget you." Again, when the nation of Israel is defeated, Yahweh (God) cries out, "I have kept silence and held myself in check; now I will cry like a woman in labor, whimpering, gasping and panting."

The most dramatic references in Hebrew tradition to a female figure who personifies attributes of God are found in the Wisdom literature of the Old Testament and the Apocrypha, written between about 250 B.C. and the early years of the Christian era. In a well-documented study, Dr. Joan Chamberlain Engelsman points to the recent upsurge of scholarly interest in the role of Wisdom in the Old Testament "as well as a widening discussion of the affinities between Wisdom and Christ as they were developed in the New Testament." In Jewish religious tradition overlapping the early Christian era, Wisdom is not only associated with

the Spirit, depicted as God's helper, and with God from the beginning, but there are also remarkable similarities and parallels between Wisdom (whose Greek name is *Sophia*) as the Wisdom of God and the attributes ascribed to Christ as the Word of God in the New Testament writings of Matthew, Paul and John. We can give only a few hints of these parallels:

In *Proverbs*, Wisdom says:

*The Lord created me at the beginning of his work,  
the first of his acts of old,  
When he established the heavens, I was there. . .  
When he marked out the foundations of the earth,  
I was there beside him, like a master craftsman,  
delighting him day after day. . .*

Hear the resonance of this passage in the Nicene Creed's affirmation of the pre-existent Christ — "begotten of his Father before all worlds."

In the *Wisdom of Solomon*, believed to have been written by a Hellenistic Jew during the latter part of the first-century before Christ, Wisdom's divine characteristics are recounted in a hymn of praise:

*I have learned both what is secret  
and what is manifest,  
for wisdom, the fashioner of all things, taught me.  
For in her there is a spirit that is intelligent, holy,  
unique in its kind yet made up of many parts,  
subtle, free-moving, clear, unpolluted, distinct,  
invulnerable, loving what is good,  
eager, unhindered, beneficent, kindly towards men,  
steadfast, unerring, untouched by care,  
all-powerful, all surveying, and permeating all*

*intelligent, pure and delicate spirits.*

*For wisdom moves more easily than motion itself,  
she pervades and permeates all things because she is  
so pure.*

*For she is a breath of the power of God,  
and a pure emanation of the glory of the Almighty;  
therefore nothing defiled can enter her by stealth.*

*For she is a reflection of eternal light,  
a spotless mirror of the working of God  
and an image of his goodness.*

*Though she is but one, she can do all things,  
herself unchanging, she makes all things new;  
age after age she enters into holy souls  
and makes them friends of God,*

*for nothing is acceptable to God but the man  
who makes his home with wisdom.*

*She is more radiant than the sun, and surpasses  
every constellation of the stars,*

*Compared with the light of day, she is found  
to excel; for day gives place to night,  
but against wisdom no evil can prevail.*

*She spans the world in power from end to end, and  
orders all benignly. . .*

*Wisdom it was who kept guard over  
the first father of the human race when  
he alone had yet been made; she saved him after  
his fall, and gave him strength to master all  
things.*

Now compare these images of the female figure of Wisdom with Paul's depiction of Christ as "the image of the

*Continued on page 19*

## Questions for Dialog With the People

1. Think back to your earliest mental picture of God. What did God look like to you then? Can you remember where you got that picture of God? Has your mental picture of God changed since then? In what ways? Repeat this thought process with respect to Jesus, both the historical Jesus and Jesus as the Risen Lord. Repeat this process with respect to the Holy Spirit.

2. The biblical tradition has used many images of God and God's relation to humanity that are drawn from family life. What positive things do you see in this? What negative things? The Bible has also used many images of God that are taken from nature. For you, are the "nature" or the "familial" attributes the most important?

3. When you were a child was one person of the Trinity more prominent for you than the others? If so, which one? Did this change as you grew older? If so, how?

4. (a) Write down five adjectives that for you are very important ways of describing God the Father. Do the same for God the Son and God the Holy Spirit.

(b) Write down as many adjectives as you can that describe a mature human being. Compare the lists in (a) and (b).

5. Look once more at the lists you drew up in question 4. Ask yourself, for each adjective, is this a masculine or feminine characteristic, or both?

6. List the attributes you associate with the idea of father. Then list those you associate with the idea of mother. What differences seem to emerge? Why?

7. Now try to visualize God as mother. What different characteristics would seem to emerge from thinking of God as mother? How is this image different from thinking of God as father? Does God as father in the biblical tradition also have "mothering" qualities?

*Compiled by Mary Louise McIntyre of Baltimore, doctoral candidate in theology at the Catholic University of America. McIntyre has used as a resource Rosemary Ruether's "Mary: The Feminization of the Church."*



## Our Ideal New Presiding Bishop

**W**hat characteristics would you like to see in the new Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church?

THE WITNESS asked that question of seven constituencies whom it serves: Women, Blacks, Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Homosexuals, the Episcopal Peace Fellowship and the Episcopal Urban Caucus.

We initiated the poll mindful that the Joint Nominating Committee for the Office of the Presiding Bishop will meet in April to review a draft of a profile for the position, and has welcomed suggestions from members of the church-at-large.

The constituency responses appear in full on the following pages, with these items especially worth noting:

- Most of the issue-oriented groups specify that *their* issue is not *the* issue (although, indeed, they are cautioned to assure advocacy for their causes). In other words, they hope that the new P.B. will be sensitive to their issue *and* the others as well.

- Perhaps the most provocative response came from the Episcopal Urban Caucus, which proposed that nothing less than restructuring is called for to produce the best possible candidate. The House of Bishops offers too restricted a slate from which to choose, EUC contends, and the times call for two posts: a Presiding Bishop who will rule over the House of Bishops, and a President of the Episcopal Church as well.

- A repeated hope was that the new P.B. have a global vision to match concerns for the domestic scene.

- Theologically, the constituencies seek a candidate at peace with self as well as an effectual advocate of peace; a leader rooted in the Gospel; a person of the Spirit; a prophetic reconciler; one familiar with the theology of liberation.

Responding from the various constituencies were: Ms. Carol Cole Flanagan, of Erie, Pa., General Convention coordinator for the Episcopal Women's Caucus; the Rev. John M. Gessell of University of the South, Sewanee, Tenn., president of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship; Dr. Deborah Harmon Hines of Meharry Medical College, Nashville, president of the Union of Black Episcopalians; Ms. Marsha Langford of Pasadena, president of Integrity; Byron Rushing of Boston, acting executive director of the Episcopal Urban Caucus since June, 1982; the Rev. Floyd (Butch) Naters Gamarra, rector of St. Mary's in West Harlem, N.Y., Hispanic concerns; and the Rev. Seiichi Michael Yasutake, a Nisei (second generation Japanese American), for Asian-American concerns. Dr. Yasutake is casework supervisor of the Episcopal Social service agency Cathedral Shelter of Chicago and on staff at St. Matthew's Episcopal Church in Evanston, Ill.

THE WITNESS will forward these responses to the Joint Nominating Committee, and urges readers interested in the forthcoming election to make their views known both to our magazine, and to the Committee before its April meeting: Write Committee Secretary Charles M. Crump, 100 N. Main Building, Suite 2610, Memphis, Tenn. 38103.

# 'Jubilee Time' Calls for Restoring Justice

by Carol Cole Flanagan

In the election of a Presiding Bishop, as in the idea of Jubilee (Lev. 25:8-12) we have a periodic opportunity to restore justice as we undertake anew the historical project of freeing our captives, liquidating debts and restoring property. We can view the ingredients of a just and viable society in the light of changing circumstances, recognizing in change the possibilities for conversion.

For a Presiding Bishop, overseeing the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, participating in Ecumenical Councils, and pastoral supervision of the church in general, and its bishops in particular, is a tall order. If God's words are to be truly spoken and truly heard then we must have a Presiding Bishop able to live and move among the outcasts of our day as readily as among the princes of our church. We'd like to find him celebrating with members of Integrity as well as preparing meditations for the House of Bishops. Discernment! Let us find him with the tax collectors and the fishermen, rather than with the Scribes and Pharisees. It is our experience that there would be a good deal less pastoral work to be done if we had strong prophetic leadership.

We observe that we often confuse "to do good," with "to make nice." Avoiding confrontation, we distance ourselves from our Hebraic tradition of self-criticism and repentance, exhortation and encouragement. We adopt a high-minded neutrality which supports the status quo. We make nice. The Conscience Statement of Port St. Lucie was nice. Harmful and short-sighted, but really very nice. To do good, we must have an iconoclast, whose vision can draw us toward that metanoia which permits God's will to be done on earth. Many women retain what Daniel Maguire refers to as "an appropriate horror of non-flourishing human life." It is essential to us that we have a Presiding Bishop with the courage to *act*. If the church is to respond to the desperate human need in the church and the world, we must have someone who is at peace with power. Not to be conceived of in zero-sum fashion, power only increases when given away.

The Episcopal Women's Caucus looks for someone with discernment, vision, and courage, with the confidence to

empower us all to do good.

Active opposition to the ministries of women is now being colored with benign neglect. In Northwestern Pennsylvania where the ordination of women has been inhibited, conscience is used by rectors to excuse canonical disobedience. In Southwest Florida authority is used to deny women the opportunity to serve as lay readers on the basis of sex.

In many places, churches claiming to support and affirm the ministries of women just aren't "ready" to receive them yet.

After decades of courtship, and more than six years of marriage, the relationship has yet to be consummated. A new Presiding Bishop must face the fact that as long as the church remains an unresponsive lover, women will express their dissatisfaction with their feet. Women clergy and laity alike wrestle with clericalism, sexism, racism, the authority of the laity, the nature of ministry, a meaningful role for Triennial, and the development of new models of ministry. Women actively seeking creative ways of responding to human need do so with no visible means of support.

A Presiding Bishop must also understand that the concerns of women are not the concerns of a minority, nor are they confined to the status of women in the church. Peace, hunger, poverty, domestic violence, the plight of Third World countries, ecology, and the challenge of the New Religious Right must be added to those already noted. Of special concern though, is that at the root of many such evils we find social domination based on the fundamental male/female split. How else "Mother Nature," and the "rape" of the earth?

Not only are a majority of the victims of hunger, poverty and domestic violence women, but the fascism, sexism and racism of the New Religious Right will soon reach dramatic proportions. The establishment of so-called Christian schools and the expectation that 51% of U.S. school children will be enrolled in such institutions by 1992 is no small matter for many of us.

As a church we have struggled much. Now is the time to survey those things we have done, those things which we have left undone, and to institute correctives. Let us have a Presiding Bishop committed to restoring justice, that the mission of the church may go forward through the ministries of *all* its members.





# Church Needs a President

At the upcoming Fourth National Assembly of the Episcopal Urban Caucus one of the issues that work groups will consider is how the Caucus can influence the selection process of the next Presiding Bishop. Out of those deliberations may come an action proposal endorsed by the Caucus. At the Assembly in February, I will suggest that the Caucus adopt a strategy along these lines:

First, at this time, we say to the nominating committee and later to the House of Bishops: Yes, the P.B.'s duties include initiating, developing and implementing the policy and strategy of the Episcopal Church (Title I. Canon 2. Sec. 4. (a) (1)). The next P.B. cannot be confused about what the church is called to be. The P.B. must have a clear understanding of his "response to God's creative, redeeming and sanctifying love for us." Policy and strategy are our proclamation of the Gospel; our policy and strategy are for the struggle for justice and peace. The ultimate evaluation of the policy and strategy occurs at the Judgment; until then we are told that they are authentic when they bring us in closer contact with the oppressed and the violent to whom we proclaim active liberation and peace.

The next P.B. must lead us to follow Him — into the desert, into the garden, onto the Cross. The next P.B. should come to this leadership with qualifications that are as emotional and irrational as they are intellectual. He should have experienced poverty, oppression and violence firsthand; and thought through it all. The next P.B. should say, I have been poor; I have been oppressed; I have been unemployed; I have been imprisoned; I have been beaten; I am not White; I am not male.

Which gets to the second line. The pool of possible candidates — the House of Bishops — is just too small. Ninety-nine and forty-four one hundredths of the people are denied even applying. It's too late this go 'round. But not too late to begin a new look at our structure of leadership for our national church. The office of Presiding Bishop of the House of Bishops needs to be separated from the office of president of the Episcopal Church. We need a leader to help us proclaim a Gospel that is "integrally related to work and struggle," to help us share the sufferings of the poor and "empowered by that sharing . . . proclaim by word and



by Byron Rushing

example the freedom and joy which is God's purpose for all people." Let the House of Bishops elect their leader; in 1997 let us all elect a president of the Episcopal Church.

## Aware of Racial, Cultural Differences

by Floyd (Butch) Naters

The following article gathers the opinion of Hispanic clergy and laypeople, primarily from the Northeast, who were polled over the Christmas holidays:

First of all, a Presiding Bishop must be God-centered, a pastor, a spiritual leader. From a Hispanic perspective, a candidate should be open and sensitive to cultural and racial differences. Since the Presiding Bishop is also a pastor to Third World people both here and overseas, such a bishop needs to know and understand our history, our struggles and our theology of liberation. Liberation theology is not another buzz word nor just one more theological cliché — but rather a human quest to put into theological perspective the struggle to survive in oppressive and dehumanized societies.

A candidate for this office needs to have a clear vision of the state of the world beyond the United States, Europe and Middle East. Especially crucial is knowledge of Latin America. How many North Americans, and clergy in particular, truly understand what is happening in El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala and Nicaragua? How many are aware of the racist immigration policies that welcome Eastern Europeans with open arms while Haitian refugees are washed up on the shores of Florida, and Central Americans are shipped back to dictatorial military governments?

A candidate for this office must be willing to take risks in



### Credits

Cover, Beth Seka; graphic p. 4, Margaret Longdon; photos p. 5, 6 courtesy *Cathedral Age*; Murray photo p. 7, Susan Mullally; Rushing photo p. 12, Don West; Hines photo p. 13, Gunter's Studio, Nashville; graphic p. 16, Bonnie Pierce-Spady.



the Lord's name and with the Lord's power. Such a person must have this church confront and eradicate the sin of *racism* which permeates every level of this church as it does our society. Such a person must truly understand the issues that affect minorities as well as the structure and dynamics of the political system that creates and maintains instruments of deprivation.

The candidate must be an advocate for the human and civil rights of all people, for the Gospel impels us in this direction. Corollary to this is the desire to empower and share leadership, to get beyond the paternalism, the tokenism and the politics of divide and conquer.

We also hope that the new P.B. will understand and speak the language of Cervantes as we do the language of Shakespeare. We look for someone who will be committed to mission and evangelism and spiritual nurturing of people; someone who will create the ambience where there can be more Hispanic clergy; someone who would advocate the election of a Hispanic bishop for the Hispanic people in the United States.

We look for someone who will address the problem of urban ministry and the decay of our cities, where the poor live and are now being displaced. As a church we have very little staying power in our involvement with issues affecting poor people's lives. We look for someone who will go beyond the faddish and trendy "modus operandi."

A P.B. candidate should possess the ability to inspire and move the church to pour itself out. This person hopefully will lead by example. We also look for someone who will be committed to the building of ecumenical bridges; we can no longer afford the luxury of just doing our own thing in witness to this broken world.

Above all, we look for someone who is rooted in the Gospel of the Lord of life. And finally, we look for someone who is willing to be the servant of all. God willing, maybe this time around, the church will elect its first minority P.B.

## Woman, No; Black, ???

by Deborah Harmon Hines

In an unofficial poll of the leadership and membership of the Union of Black Episcopalians, a sort of "shopping list" developed of characteristics that the Union considers paramount in serious candidates for Presiding Bishop. The criteria listed fell into either one or two major categories.

First and foremost, a candidate for P.B. must be of the

Spirit. This person must be lead by the Holy Spirit in the ways of God, preaching in the name of Jesus. As one frequently visited by the Spirit, the candidate would be sensitive to the injustices of this world.



The candidate would not hesitate to speak out about and go after the insidious evils that afflict and divide humanity. Within our own church these demons are lack of equal employment opportunities for minorities and women, especially at "815," (the Episcopal Center) and no strong affirmative action program. The candidate must have concern for the total membership of the Episcopal Church, not

just the White majority, but the Black, Brown, Red and Yellow peoples who enrich this church by the special gifts they bring to it. The candidate must unequivocally stand for the total involvement in the life of the church on all levels by all of its members. Good candidates would have already demonstrated their convictions on this issue by the constituency of their present staffs. A candidate for P.B. should be sensitive to the social injustices of racism, sexism, classism, hunger, poverty and unemployment, as they ravage this country and the world.

The poor, sick, homeless and victims of our industrialized, mechanized and computerized society will look to our spiritual leaders to make their plight known and to plead their cases. In the world at large the candidate should have already demonstrated social consciousness by speaking out against apartheid in South Africa, U.S. involvement in El Salvador and the proliferation of nuclear arms. The candidate should seek to establish peace in the world without compromising the word of God.

The Episcopal Church, besides being a spiritual entity, is also a political institution. The candidate must be able, secondly, to deal with the politics of the church. As its temporal leader, a candidate for P.B. must be a skilled listener and communicator, a conciliator. The candidate should shun the blanket of insulation that goes with the office of P.B. and actively seek information on the status and effectiveness of the church in delivering the true Gospel and making a difference in the quality of life. The candidate for P.B. must be a competent administrator and chief executive of the corporation guided by Christian principles and not the usual principles of corporate management.

Our unofficial poll also indicated that the Episcopal Church is not ready for a female P.B. In a church that only gives lip service to female priests, where many bishops still refuse to ordain women as priests and some of those that do

do not enforce the placement of female clergy in congregations that “are not ready for them yet,” a female candidate will not be taken seriously. Perhaps by the next election, more female priests will have paid their dues in the “good old boy network” of the Episcopal Church. They will have served as deacons, archdeacons, canons, etc. By 1997 a female candidate for P.B. will be a serious contestant.

Is the Episcopal Church ready for a Black P.B.? In a church where Black clergy have served since the time of Absalom Jones in the early 1800s, which has chosen only two Black diocesan bishops, and where female clergy (500 plus) who have been ordained only in the last few years outnumber Black clergy (under 400) who have been able to be ordained for more than 160 years, I doubt it. The names of one or two Black candidates will surely emerge to show how liberal the Episcopal Church is. However, if the 1982 General Convention, where no Blacks were elected to Executive Council, is any indication, Black candidates will remain candidates. I would like to be proven wrong.

## A Bishop at, for Peace

by John M. Gessell

The election by the General Convention of 1985 of the next Presiding Bishop is a matter of intense concern to those of us who are members of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship and those of us who have been active in the peace movement in our church.

Episcopalians have begun to put a lot of energy into peace-making and this momentum should not be lost; indeed, it must be increased. To provide the kind of leadership I believe we will need for the last years of the 20th century, I will suggest a few characteristics.



First of all, a Presiding Bishop should be clear about the distinction between presidency and prelacy. The Episcopal Church has rightly been suspicious of the latter and rightly needs the former. A presiding officer must exhibit those qualities of servanthood implicit in the Gospel and commended by Christ himself.

He should be a reconciler, not a polarizer: one who is deeply compassionate and who can enter wholeheartedly into points of view held by others, but which he himself may not share. He should be skillful in such a way

that he does not alienate others and yet does not appear to agree with the last person with whom he has spoken.

In other words, a prime characteristic of a Presiding Bishop is that he be a person of peace, who is profoundly at peace with himself and with God, and who can be an effectual peacemaker starting with himself.

A second prime characteristic of a Presiding Bishop is that he should possess extraordinary sensitivity to peace and justice issues, in the church, in the nation, and in the world. This is both a personal and a theological attribute, an imperative of the Gospel. As we know, there can be no peace in the world without justice.

Basic to such peace and justice concerns is, I think, the kind of discernment which maintains the tension between the Gospel and the world. Otherwise, faith becomes purely a private matter and is no faith at all. The Gospel, as witnessed by the Scriptures, does not distinguish between private and public virtue. They are inseparable, and the privatization of the Gospel becomes the occasion of its secularization. So long as the church maintains an uncritical relationship to the secular powers — capitalism, imperialism, militarism — its virtue will be sapped and its vital relationship to its own tradition will be eroded.

An implication of this quality of discernment is a commitment to distinguish between the claims of the church and those of the state, to uphold the proper separation of church and state. When the church too easily accepts the claims of the state or conforms to the “American way of life” it merely studies institutional survival instead of the revelation of God’s judgment and of God’s reconciliation with the world. The church must be led to its messianic task of siding with the poor and the powerless and, if needed, to provide sanctuary for the victims of unfairness and injustice.

## ‘80s Issues Demand Risk

by Marsha J. Langford

There is a joke currently wending its way through the Diocese of Los Angeles: How many Episcopalians does it take to change a light bulb? The answer is six — one to change the bulb, and five to lament because the old one used to work so nicely. That joke, it seems to me, sums up the single most important ability the new Presiding Bishop must have; the ability to unify the church, to bring Episcopalians beyond the issues of Prayer Book and liturgical reform that

have been so devious during the past decade, and to lead us as a whole denomination to the issues we must face if we are to live firmly grounded in the Gospels.

The new Presiding Bishop must be able to confront the realities of the '80s regardless of risk or political expediency: We must be willing to recognize that gay and lesbian people are a reality, women in changing roles are a reality, upwardly mobile Blacks and Hispanics are a reality, families in transition are a reality, and all must be dealt with according to their special needs.



Perhaps more compelling, the new Presiding Bishop must be prepared to respond with courage to the mandate presented to Americans by an uncaring and inhumane government. The new P.B. must have the ability to call Episcopalians to respond to the needs of the poor, the hungry, the unemployed by encouraging the members of our denomination to take an active part in the solution of these problems. Moreover, the new Presiding Bishop must be willing to speak out against life-threatening acts such as the build-up of nuclear arms.

The church is in the business of feeding and nurturing people so that they can attempt to make sense of what is going on in their own lives, and those of their families, friends, neighbors and enemies. As "Chief Shepherd," the Presiding Bishop must be sensitive to these needs through listening and praying with his people so that he can articulate what the Spirit is calling us to become in the 1980s.

## 'Prophetic Reconciler' With World Vision

by S. Michael Yasutake

In preparation for this statement on the characteristics of a Presiding Bishop, I interviewed by phone across the country some dozen Asian-American church leaders, mostly clergy and some lay, asking for their thoughts. Their comments helped to stimulate my thinking. While I incorporated some of their views, I take responsibility for the opinions expressed here.

I use the term "him" in my text only because at this time it

seems unlikely that a female candidate has a chance of election or consecration, although I would personally favor such with some of the characteristics that I have listed below.

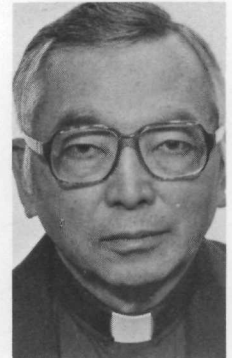
First, I would want a candidate for the Episcopal office of the Presiding Bishop to possess a clear sense of world mission. I view this candidate as one who interprets the Gospel and the church as having societal and global tasks, rather than one who presents Christianity mainly as a matter of individual and personal relationships relatively isolated and sheltered from God's total creation. As a person of Asian parentage, I am particularly sensitive to a sense of mission that incorporates a healthy respect for Pacific and Asian histories and cultures, which constitute a significant part of the world population today.

Second, I want a candidate with considerable experience as an advocate of human rights, one who asserts equality for ethnic-racial minorities and any other group or community whose rights are ignored or denied. This requires a leader faithful to Christ who empowers the powerless and "casts down the mighty from their thrones." It calls for prophetic characteristics in a candidate who would publicly and openly speak up for those being victimized as the result of racism, economic and political injustice and the wasteful arms buildup.

Another quality would be that of reconciler in a society affected by severe social dislocations. One Asian-American church administrator I talked to used the term "prophetic reconciler" — one who is prophetic but at the same time can take on the role of reconciler when faced with those not in accord with his stand, which he would not compromise.

Administratively, a candidate would require the skill to select the most competent staff at the national level, with proven ability to perform in various offices to which they have been called. An important consideration here is that the staff be truly representative of various significant constituencies in the church and the nation. A candidate must avoid making appointments of only "token" minority or other "representatives" in an institutional attempt to conform merely to the letter of the law of equality while missing its spirit.

The core of the Gospel lies in "setting at liberty them that are bruised." A candidate who can proclaim this message for the Episcopal Church could sound a clarion call that would be difficult to ignore.







# Dancing Toward Freedom

by Claire C. Hill

The recent Womanspirit Rising Conference at Holy Trinity Episcopal Church in Gainesville, Fla., provided an opportunity for some 100 women to experience a new authenticity of self.

As we moved through the weekend of consciousness-raising workshops into closing worship, movement itself became liturgy. One workshop had offered creative body movement to express a psalm of praise. Following Eucharist, concelebrated by the Revs. Alison Cheek and Constance Chandler-Ward, half of the group moved gently from the circle into a dance of jubilation around the parish hall.

In the midst of gladness, for me, there was sadness. Earlier in the day we had pondered the parable of the lost coin (Luke 15:8-10) in which the woman swept her house, seeking diligently the one silver coin she had lost. In a soft, low voice the workshop leader asked us to identify with that woman: "How did you lose the coin? Why did you let it get lost? You have found it now; pick it up

and look at it. Clean it off and polish it." The sorrow in my reaction is described in this parable of my own:

There was an architect who provided houses for people at the beginning of their lifespans. Each house was constructed in a way to enable the fullest kind of living. The architect said to a certain woman, "*This is your house. There is potential in it for the development of many rooms. There can be a room for daughtering, a room for wifeing, a room for mothering, one for working, one for studying, a room for friending. But the most important room in the house is the room of your own. It is located in the center of the house; off it all other rooms open. The life that you live in the room of your own will shape your life in the other rooms. Therefore, live in it fully; live even in the corners.*"

The woman heard the instructions but she failed to comprehend. She lived in a piece of the room of her own: the most obvious piece — in the center. She didn't struggle to stretch herself into the corners, and so the cobwebs filled the corners instead. Life in the other rooms of the house took so much of her that she spent only her leftover time and energy in the room of her own.

One day after the woman had lived there 48 years, the architect came to visit and upon observing, asked, "*Why did you let the corners of the room get filled with cobwebs? Look into the corners now; see what's there. Clean them out and live in them.*"

The woman was filled with great sorrow — that she had not listened carefully enough to the architect in the beginning and therefore had forfeited some valuable space in her house. She grabbed a broom and with rage she began to knock down the cobwebs from the corners — and then she washed the floor with her tears. Her strength to continue was reinforced by her life in a newly-added room: a room for sistering, where sisters gathered to speak of their struggles.

There ends the parable but the story of the woman goes on.

I feel caught up now by movement. The movement of the dance perhaps. I perceive God as Force: Inside me, beyond me, connected to me by clear ribbons tied taut. I am dancing along, toward Freedom.

New images of God! The Woman sweeping her house, the Architect, Force, Freedom. They all call me to movement, to move into new space in my house. □

---

Claire C. Hill is an active layperson in Holy Trinity Parish, Gainesville, Fla.



# Capitalism: System Without Spirit

by Michael Parenti

In the Broadway musical, *Fiddler on the Roof*, Tevye launches into one of his many conversations with God by observing: "It's true as you say, God, that being poor is no disgrace. But neither is it such a great honor." He then sings "If I Were a Rich Man," in which he fantasizes about the many advantages of wealth. The sweetest pleasure that comes with being rich, Tevye concludes, would be the chance to sit in the *shul* for hours on end and study the writings of the sages and prophets. And here is the heart of the matter: the contradiction he experiences between his desire for learning and his class experience, between his spiritual need and his material reality. To study God's word and so engage his own mind and spirit, he would need more leisure, more relief from the dawn-to-dusk toil and the cares of poverty.

As Tevye's unfulfilled aspirations might demonstrate, the material and spiritual, often conceived as two things apart and antagonistic, are usually inextricably related. Bad housing and hunger are "merely" material conditions only for people who do not experience them. For others, poverty is a daily misery of the spirit as well as the

flesh, affecting the most intimate areas of life, one's sense of self-esteem, one's peace of mind, the equations of joy and sorrow in one's soul, the ability to concentrate, to work, hope and care for oneself and others, to cultivate one's mind and spirit. Class oppression also dehumanizes the spirit of the rich, often teaching them elitism, exclusivity, acquisitiveness, love of power, insensitivity toward the needy and hatred for anyone who challenges their privileges.

The conservative view would have us ignore the linkage between spiritual and material conditions, positing the spiritual as something "above" the material, something that helps us overcome our material hardships. So today, a millionaire president in the White House, wallowing in opulence, admonishes us (as did his millionaire predecessors) to take firm hold of our spiritual heritage: Old Glory, self-reliance, neighborly charity, family and religion. The *New York Times* reported that President Reagan called for a "spiritual revival." (4/14/82) In doing so, he treats the American spirit as something floating above history, free of any material base, something which — we are left to suppose — can ignore and even overcome plundering corporations, regressive taxation, poverty wages, inflation, unemployment and the destruction of Third World countries.

Poised critically against this conservative view has been an ongoing

dialogue between Christians and Marxists, given new impetus by the strategic alliance of these two groups in liberation movements in the Third World. In early Christian-Marxist encounters, Marxism was wrongfully criticized for having no regard for the spiritual side of life. Certainly most Marxists, as philosophical materialists, have ruled out theological and supernatural questions. Philosophical materialism says that ideas do not exist as independent forces apart from matter, but this does not mean that Marxists are "materialists" in the crass consumer definition of the word. The deepest and highest experiences of the human spirit are of central concern to Marxism. Indeed, at the heart of the Marxist critique is the charge that capitalism is a system which kills the *spirit*. Marxists do not fault the productive capacities of capitalism. No one showed themselves more impressed by the material accomplishments of the system than Marx and Engels who wrote in the *Communist Manifesto*: "The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce 100 years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together."

But at what price to human life and human spirit? While creating the technological potential for abundance, capitalism continues to bring us economic scarcity and insecurity, oppression in industrial and Third World countries, and environmental

---

**Michael Parenti** is the author of *Democracy For the Few, Power and the Powerless* and numerous other books and articles on American political and social life. He is a guest fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies.

devastation — not because of the system's productive limitations but because of the purpose to which capital and labor are put and the social relations so created.

Propagandists have assured us that "capital works in partnership with labor." Marxists argue, however, that one cannot speak of a partnership between boss and worker any more than between master and slave or lord and serf. There are reformers who demand that labor be paid "a fair wage." Marxists argue there can be no such thing as a fair wage under capitalism. For a fair wage would consist of giving workers, as a class, all the wealth they create, minus what is needed for social services and industrial maintenance and growth. But that would leave nothing for the capitalist. There would be no private fortunes, no great accumulations of wealth and power for the Morgans, Rockefellers, DuPonts and Mellons.

Contrary to the Horatio Alger myth, hard work seldom makes anyone rich. The secret to wealth is to have others work hard for you. This explains why workers who spend their lives toiling in factories or firms retire with little or no wealth to speak of, while the owners can amass fortunes from such enterprises without ever setting foot in them.

Class oppression and great concentrations of wealth have existed in all previous class societies. What is unique about capitalism is the *rational* and *systematic* expropriation of labor for the sole purpose of a *perpetual* capital accumulation. The ultimate purpose of work is not to fix the lord's fortress or supply the master's table, nor to make cars or breakfast cereals or perform services for consumers, or sustain life and society, but to make more money for the investor so that he will have more to invest in order to make still more money. Capital annexes living labor in order to make more capital.

Worse still, capitalism transforms all things into its own spiritless image, moving into every area of work, culture, consumption, community and environment to advance its sole *raison d'être* — the accumulation of profit. Capitalism has no loyalty to anything but itself, no loyalty to any particular tradition, nation, church or people, nor to the generations yet unborn, nor to the environment, nor to justice or God or, for that matter, atheism. Human and social values are subordinate to the accumulation process. Capitalism will rely on democratic states or fascist regimes, whatever political system best legitimates and protects its class interests at any given period and place. There prevails a rational systematization of human endeavor in pursuit of an irrational, mindless end. All this was enough to move even a bourgeois scholar like Max Weber to write the stinging indictment: "Specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart; this nullity imagines that it has attained a level of civilization never before achieved."

Will getting rid of capitalism make things any better? The Roman Catholic *Pastoral Letter on Marxist Communism* rejects the notion that "structural revolution can entirely cure a disease that is man himself" nor can it provide "the solution of all human suffering." Addressing himself to this argument, Herbert Aptheker, writing in *Political Affairs*, reminds us that Marxism makes no claim to eliminating all suffering "given the myriad of personal, medical and accidental causes of such suffering." Furthermore, to see the miseries of class oppression and poverty as arising from within "man himself" is, as Aptheker says, a case of "blaming the victim with a vengeance."

The just (if still imperfect) society is achieved in two necessary ways. First, through moral exhortation and personal application of individual will, people must try to overcome selfish,

parasitic and dishonest attitudes. This sounds very Christian and it is, but it is also the social agenda of every Marxist revolutionary society.

But not all the purposeful individual effort can produce a just society without a restructuring of institutional and class interests so that cooperative and generous impulses are made functional, while anti-social ones are made dysfunctional. The problem with capitalism is that it best rewards the worst part of us, the ruthless, competitive, acquisitive drives, giving little reward and often a good deal of punishment — or at least much handicap — to honesty, compassion, fair play, hard work, love of justice and a concern for those in need.

Capitalism, and its various institutional arrangements, affect the most personal dimensions of our everyday life experience in ways not readily evident. A very compassionate friend of mine once trained as a nurse. In training, she had three patients to care for and she enjoyed every moment of chatting with them, tending their needs and lifting their grateful spirits. She felt she had a knack for the work. But when put on a hospital ward she had 25 patients and could not keep up with their calls for assistance. She became anxious and then irritable and convinced that patients were expecting to be pampered. Soon she learned to ignore certain requests and found herself speaking sharply to sick people. The patients saw her behavior as a deficiency in her personal temperament, yet she was the same dedicated and conscientious person she had been before, with the same human nature as before.

What might be overlooked in this story is that the hospital was controlled by a board of directors who drew huge salaries and extracted large profits for the corporate shareholders. (Most hospitals are run on a private profit basis, contrary to the common

**God Language . . . Continued from page 9**

invisible God, the first-born of all creation,” (Col. 1:15), or with the Prologue of John’s Gospel on the coming of Christ:

*When all things began, the Word already was. The Word dwelt with God, and what God was, the Word was. The Word, then, was with God at the beginning, and through him all things were made; no single thing was created without him. All that came to be was alive with his life, and that life was the light of the world. The light shines in the dark, and the darkness has not mastered it.*

At the beginning of the Christian era, we find that the Wisdom of God and the Word of God were synonymous in currents of religious thought. Philo, the great Jewish philosopher who lived from about 25 B.C. to 45 A.D. during the life of Jesus, and whose work influenced early Christian theology, actually equated Wisdom with the Word but in different books. In one book he wrote, “And who is to be considered the daughter of God, but Wisdom, who is the first born mother of all things and most of all of those who are greatly purified in soul?”

In another he wrote, “For if we have not yet become fit to be thought sons of God, yet we may be sons of His invisible image, the most Holy Word, for the Word is the oldest-born image of God.”

According to Engelsman, Philo later transformed the feminine attributes of Wisdom into masculine attributes associated with the male personification of the Word. Wisdom/Sophia was replaced by Logos (Word)/Christ in Christian theology and Wisdom disappeared from the

Christian religion of that time. She concludes that as a result of this transference of attributes to a male figure, overt access to the feminine dimension of the divine was cut off and repressed, and that patterns for this repression were set in the first five centuries of the Christian era, the same period in which the doctrine of the Holy Trinity was being forged.

What are we to make of these new investigations by an increasing number of biblical scholars — male and female, Roman Catholic and Protestant? Obviously, they have important and disturbing implications for Christian theology and the language of faith. They raise the question whether Christians will continue dependency on a relatively narrow image of the divine as male, particularly as a male parent, which may have stifled our faith and limited our experience of God, or whether the time has come for the return of the feminine dimension as one of many images of God, which conceivably may renew and expand the Christian faith.

How shall the church respond? □

**Resources**

Phyllis Bird, *Religion and Sexism*.

Joan Chamberlain Engelsman, *The Feminine Dimension of the Divine*.

Rosemary Ruether, *Disputed Questions on Being a Christian*.

Phyllis Trible, *God and the Rhetoric of Sexuality*.

*Hearing the Word: An inclusive-language liturgical lectionary for Year C*. Published by St. Stephen and the Incarnation Episcopal Church, P.O. Box 43202, Washington, D.C. 20010 \$15.95.

impression, and even the “non-profit” ones are usually milked by the top surgeons, directors and pharmaceutical and hospital supply companies.) So there had to be cutbacks in staff and one nurse on an entire floor would have to do. Thus the interpersonal experiences of nurse and patient were deeply affected by forces not directly visible to either.

Every time we try to explain history and society as merely personality writ large, or “human nature” doing its thing, we overlook an essential point of Marxist analysis: that the social structure and class order (and the class struggle) prefigure our personal behavior in many ways, generating forces that may be intimately experienced even if remote from the

immediate scene. The task of the social investigator is to penetrate appearances and see the inner qualities and moving forces of things. “All science,” Marx said, “would be superfluous if outward appearance and the essence of things directly coincided.” (Indeed, the reason so much of modern social science is superfluous is because it settles for the rigorous tracing of outward appearances.) To draw the link between the personal and the structural is to move from appearance to essence.

Socialism does not promise utopia. But it does promise what capitalism cannot and has no intention of accomplishing: adequate food, housing and clothing for all, economic security at all age levels (including old age), free medical care, free education at all age

levels and the right to non-exploitative employment. These “merely” material conditions would represent an enormous betterment of life and spirit for millions of impoverished people at home and abroad.

This is one of the goals of Marxism: a society in which people like Tevye can be free from the imprisonment of spirit that comes with economic want, and where they do not have to get rich off the labor of others in order to be able to think, grow and feel fully human. In a just and economically secure world, people like Tevye will spend less time complaining to God and more time developing themselves and serving and loving each other. This is certainly a Marxist dedication. And, for all I know, it may be God’s will.



The Episcopal Church Publishing Company  
P.O. Box 359  
Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002  
Address Correction Requested

NONPROFIT ORG.  
U.S. POSTAGE  
PAID  
North Wales, Pa.  
Permit No. 121

## SPECIAL OFFER TO WITNESS READERS

Order *Must We Choose Sides*, or *Which Side Are We On*, two of the best-selling Study Action Guides on the market — dealing with Christian Commitment for the

1980s — or Moral Majority Survival Kit, *The New Right*, for only \$5.00 and save up to \$1.95.

### Must We Choose Sides?

1979, 127pp. \$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.

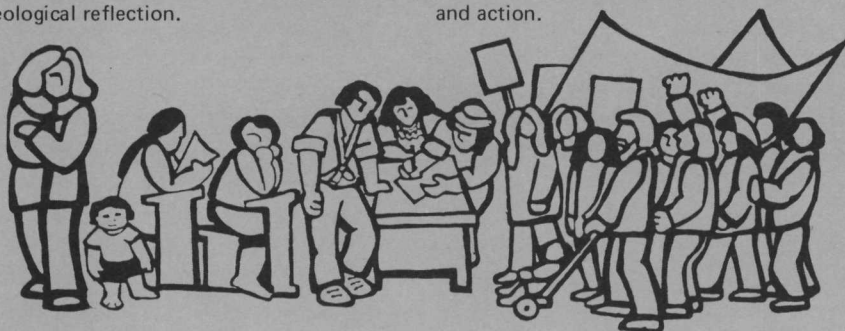
### Which Side Are We On?

1980, 172 pp. \$6.95

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.

### The New Right

Keep track of Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority (and how to cope with them) with an authoritative and illuminating report on the New Religious Right. Produced by the Data Center of Oakland, Cal., in association with THE WITNESS, *The New Right: Fundamentalists & Financiers* underscores the role of Right-wing evangelists in the New Right Movement. A compilation of reports and analyses from the nation's leading newspapers and magazines. Up-to-the-minute, authoritative — it's \$6.50, but available to you as a reader of THE WITNESS at the special low price of \$5.00.



Yes, I want to take advantage of your special offer. Please send me the book(s) I have checked at \$5.00 each. Payment is enclosed.

- Must We Choose Sides**  
 **Which Side Are We On**  
 **The New Right**

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

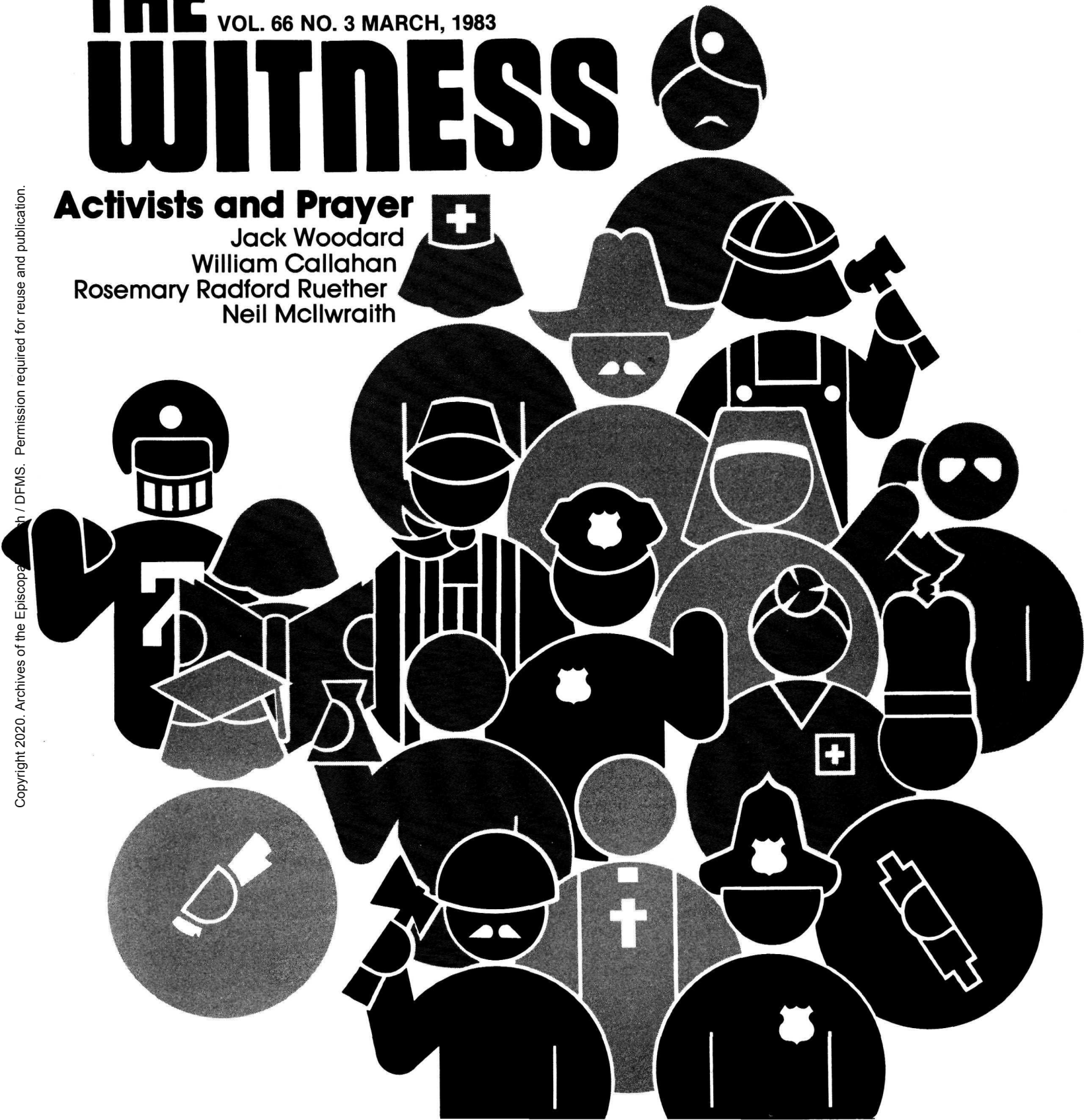
(Fill out and mail today to THE WITNESS, Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002.)



# THE VOL. 66 NO. 3 MARCH, 1983 WITNESS

## Activists and Prayer

Jack Woodard  
William Callahan  
Rosemary Radford Ruether  
Neil McIlwraith



Copyright 2020. Archives of the Episcopal Church / DFMS. Permission required for reuse and publication.

# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

## Varied Forum in January

Thank you for your continued excellence in providing a forum for the discussion of important issues of our time within the context of the Gospel. Your January 1983 issue, including fine articles on youth cults, women's eating disorders, tithing, reveals your understanding of the relevance and essential primacy of the spiritual in all aspects of our lives — mental, physical, psychological, emotional, sociological, political, and economic.

**Connie Coht**  
New York, N.Y.

## Cults Exploitive

Your articles on cults (January) woefully misrepresent the far reaching effects of these exploitive groups.

It is safe to take the civil libertarian stand allowing everyone to "choose their own poison." However, the deceptive techniques used by many so-called new religions often prevent the option of choice thru misinformation and manipulation of naive idealism with coercive tactics — some as simple as sleep deprivation and peer pressure, others as extreme as physical life-threats.

True, the origins of our faiths may be similar to those of many cults, but the cliché concerning the product of two wrongs is not inappropriate here, particularly in light of the damage to the lives of young people and their families which I (and many youth advisors) have encountered.

Cults challenge the church to re-

evaluate its priorities and commitments, especially with respect to youth. If THE WITNESS agrees that a goal of ministry is to support people in their search for meaning and a faith to live by, and that to help make this possible we must offer love and truth, you will print further articles on the cult phenomenon detailing other facts of their effects and the issues raised by them — good *and bad!*

**Sunny Hallanan**  
Coordinator, Diocesan Youth Council  
Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts

## Emotional Theme

The twin articles on cults in your January issue set forth an emotionally charged theme. It may be impossible to view cults with anything approaching prim journalistic objectivity. As Episcopalians, however, we should strive to maintain our theological balance between (in the words of the Book of Common Prayer) "the two extremes, of too much stiffness in refusing, and of too much easiness in admitting any variation." Just as one man's education is another man's indoctrination, and vice versa, so one man's religion is another man's blind faith, and vice versa.

The Bible records that the earliest Christians dwelt communally (Acts 2:44,45) just as thousands of contemporary people do in numerous and various monasteries and convents. These communal institutions, sustained under the auspices of the church, often exact uncompromising submission to authority and a full measure of physical and spiritual conformity from their members. Could not these respected societies be classified as "cults," differentiation being largely subjective?

The long-established "cloistered" communities have, of course, withstood the test of time, and thus retain acceptance as worthwhile and beneficial hosts for alternative lifestyles. But ought the passage of time be the only touchstone for judging validity here? All our ancient religious orders were once new.

**William Dauenhauer**  
Willoughby, Ohio

## New Index Helpful

The index in the January WITNESS is super, do keep it up! I've used back issues many times in study groups and seminars and the index will make the preparation a breeze!

I am also reminded that a friend walked off with my July 1982 issue and I would like a replacement if you've got one. I didn't even get a chance to read it!

**Carol Cole Flanagan**  
Erie, Pa.

*(Copies of the January WITNESS which includes the index of all articles published in 1982, are available free of charge from THE WITNESS, Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. — Eds.)*

## Tourism Article Chosen

It is time to select the articles for the annual supplements to the volumes on 32 topics in the Social Issues Resources Series. We are requesting permission to reprint "Third World Tourism: Who Wins, Who Loses?" by Ron O'Grady in the July 1982 WITNESS.

SIRS photocopies articles — maintaining the original format when possible — from newspapers, magazines, government documents, and professional journals. Our major objective is to encourage dialogue among students about the issues confronting society, and to acquaint them with the excellent informational resources that are available.

Our staff reads thousands of articles before a selection is made of the most exemplary for each topic. We would like to include the above-referenced article in our volume.

**Elaine Weingarten, Assoc. Ed.**  
Boca Raton, Fla.

## About to Have Baby

I was shocked and saddened once again to read the irrational thinking about women as priests expressed in Mike Polavich's Letter to the Editor in January.

But the first time I read of it was in Urban Holme's otherwise inspiring book,

*Continued on page 18*

THE WITNESS

EDITOR  
**Mary Lou Suhor**

SENIOR CONTRIBUTING EDITOR  
**Robert L. DeWitt**

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS  
**Richard W. Gillett**  
**Hugh C. White**

STAFF  
**Ann Hunter**  
**Susan Small**  
**Bonnie Spady**  
**Lisa Whelan**

PUBLISHER  
**Episcopal Church Publishing Company**

ECPC BOARD OF DIRECTORS

CHAIR  
**H. Coleman McGehee**

VICE-CHAIR  
**Barbara Harris**

SECRETARY  
**Helen Seager**

TREASURER  
**Robert Potter**

ASSISTANT TREASURER  
**Robert Eckersley**

**Otis Charles**  
**Robert L. DeWitt**  
**Steven Guerra**  
**Suzanne Hiatt**  
**Mattie Hopkins**  
**Joan Howarth**  
**James Lewis**  
**Joseph A. Pelham**

THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215) 643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. Copyright 1983 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.

# THE WITNESS

## Editorial

### As Others See Us

Within the past 12 months, THE WITNESS has printed a number of articles on international issues, particularly articles about Latin America. Why this emphasis on the international dimension?

Because we are concerned that the so-called "free flow of information" in this hemisphere is largely a myth. A recent issue of *Latinamerica Press* (LP) from Lima, one of the alternate press services from which we get our news, alleges that information is overwhelmingly controlled by a handful of international power centers. Globally, the flow of such information is largely from North to South. "Five large agencies, United Press International (UPI), Associated Press (AP), French Press Agency (AFP), Reuters and Tass are responsible for 80% of world-wide news cable traffic," LP reported in its first issue this year.

Other data presented by *Latinamerica Press*:

- Two-thirds of the foreign news appearing in major Latin American dailies comes either from UPI or AP.
- Over half the movies shown in Latin America are from Hollywood.
- Three First World broadcast networks provide *all* the daily international TV news footage aired in the Third World.
- Two-thirds of all advertising in Latin America is controlled by U.S. based firms.

The recent Latin American Conference on the Church and Communications, meeting in Sao Paulo, summed up its concerns in these words, "Under the present system, the mass media are in the hands of business corporations and are thus controlled by a small minority of the population. Instead of being used for the benefit of all society, they disseminate material designed to reinforce established values and neutralize the people's desire for change."

The heavy communications bias is magnified because what is transmitted by the communications giants, says LA Press, "is a culture, an entire constellation of ideas and values. Through the electronic and print media, and even more powerfully through advertising, an entire way of life is inculcated.

"One study of the impact of electronic media on the poor showed that exposure tends to blur their perception of class differences and to create an almost magical belief that having or not having the products displayed on TV is a matter of luck. It also, in the words of the researcher, 'creates the impression that happiness, achievement and being White all have something to do with one another.'"

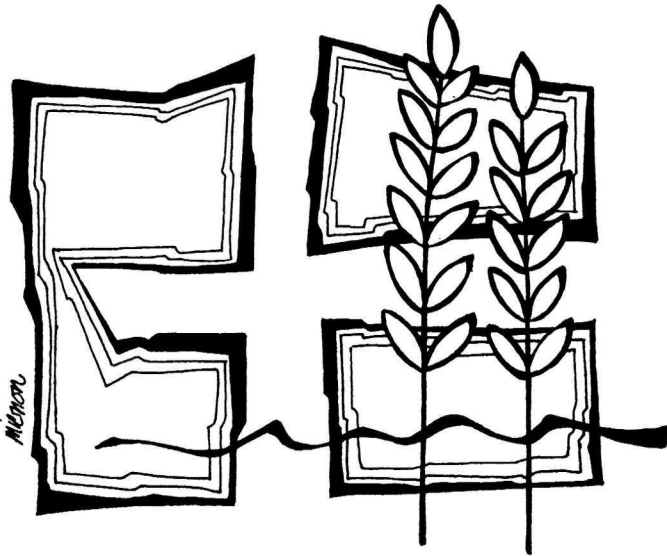
This indicates that church editors, to overcome this news bias, must if they have not done so, begin to connect with the network

*Continued on page 19*

## Avoiding Burnout

# How Can Activists Stay Spiritually Fit?

by Jack Woodard



Using *activist* and *spiritual* in the same sentence is still fairly novel. Augustinian dualism with its dichotomy between the temporal and the spiritual, the sacred and the profane, still profoundly affects our religious outlook 15 centuries later. But today, the activism of the '60s and the spiritual emphasis of the '70s seem to be melding into a holistic self-understanding. Christians are beginning to learn that to attempt activism without a spiritual discipline is like trying to make wine without first making grape juice.

Further, activism is not a handy pejorative for pietists to toss in the direction of demonstrators. Rather, to be an activist is to *do* as well as *be*. If someone says, "I'm not an activist," it is good theology of discipleship to ask, "Why not?". But indisputably, there are ministries, callings, which inherently demand more doing than being, and it is these with which this article is primarily concerned.

Typically, those few members of each seminary class who feel a strong personal calling to an activist ministry go into their first assignments full of

drive and optimism. All too often, 10 years or less later, they are tamed cynics either out of the ordained ministry or quietly playing custodial roles somewhere, making no discernible waves.

For some, the principal cause may have been faulty vocation in the first place, or for others, it may have been the triumph of seminary conditioning. But more commonly, it is a case of not staying spiritually fit.

Knowing "who I am" is a basic of spiritual health for an activist.

I am not Christ. I am me. The people I serve are not mine, but Christ's. The ministry in which I share is not mine, but Christ's. Thus I am fully human, able to make mistakes, quite able to act out of pride or anger or lust or greed instead of the pure motives I like to claim as mine. It is quite normal — not disgraceful — for me to be wrong.

### **Christ on the Job**

Christ is on the job day and night. Thus I am able to be absent from the parish and neighborhood and city I serve and not thought to be irresponsible. I can give equal priority to time with my family and time to rest and play without disaster befalling anyone or anything. I am dispensable; useful, perhaps even important, but definitely dispensable. I can even get excited about

a satisfying life beyond retirement. My present role is not me, but simply what I do presently. I should and do take it very seriously, but it is not me.

It is appropriate that isolation begins with "I." Solitude and isolation must not be confused. Solitude is intentional. I need solitude frequently. Isolation is inadvertent and usually unnecessary. The first pangs of loneliness and isolation can be the trigger for depression. But it is spiritually possible to use them as signals that it is time to be in community with colleagues. In isolation "I" becomes magnified and distorted. Truth exchanged among colleagues keeps me down to size and my self-image clearly focused. Life in community is not a distant ideal to be envied as the experience of others. It is a realistic possibility for everyone who genuinely seeks it, though for an activist it is more likely to take shape across denominational lines.

A healthy activist ministry is driven by the biblical vision of what God wills in this world that is still being created. That vision is one of shalom — a state of peace which exists because justice prevails and thus there is nothing to fight about. The condition of shalom is the Kingdom of God realized as the purposive end of creation. And it is to

---

**The Rev. Jack Woodard** is rector of St. Stephen and the Incarnation Church, Washington, D.C.



be realized here, on this planet Earth, not by and by in the sky.

Jesus' words, "My Kingdom (or realm) is not of this world," mean, "My realm is not rooted in what you are familiar with as the values and habits of the present society. Instead, *my* realm is of God." They do not mean, "My realm is somewhere other than here." Though its fulfillment is to be in the *kairos* (God's moment) and not the *chronos*, (our time) the Promise is about the reality we see and touch and experience. As former Presiding Bishop John Hines once said, "There is no Gospel in 'if only'."

Some people involved in peace and social justice movements are not driven by that vision, do not believe in its possibility. Some take action, make witness, out of desperation, anger, sheer determination. But when spiritually healthy activists get involved in the peace and/or social justice movements, they are pursuing that biblical vision of shalom. They honestly believe it is going to happen. The movement is understood to be anything but futile because it is in tune with God's Promise which is actually going to be fulfilled here in God's world in God's own time.

Like Elizabeth and Mary in the early chapters of Luke, the whole creation waits on tiptoe in pregnant expectancy for the keeping of the Promise — which is on the verge (in *kairos* terms) of being kept.

### Spiritually Fit Tension

When such a vision of the practical, realistic prospect of the condition of shalom comes to the forefront of our worldview, our whole relationship with what-is becomes tensive. What-is begins constantly to be held up beside what-is-to-be. A discontent with what-is emerges. A new realization is born: the injustice, the oppression, the cruelty, the greed, the callousness, the exploitation, the militarism in what-is *do not*

*have to be*. And the activist's relationship with present patterns of behavior, cultural mores, political and economic policies, institutional forms and practices, is never again entirely at peace. A critical faculty, missing in most seminary graduates, comes into automatic operation. The cross becomes a daily experience of tension with what-is, a tension which can only be borne by a cultivated dependency upon God's grace.

This perspective results in living in tension with the institutional church. And this simply means living by a set of values which are not customary in the institution. Radical social change activist Saul Alinski once said to an auditorium of Roman Catholic seminarians, "The way to take seriously the commitments to the poor I have been talking about is first to give up any idea of ever becoming a bishop."

The same principle applies to "career development" or advancement up some conceptual ladder of ecclesiastical rewards to something like a cardinal rectorship. For example, in the early 1970s all that finally kept a priest from receiving the call to become the powerful rector of one of the wealthiest parishes in the Anglican communion was an outspoken critique of the Vietnam War he had written for *The Episcopalian*.

Then, *effectiveness* gets argued about in movement circles perhaps more than any single word. To some, it is like a four-letter word, not worth considering. That attitude usually results from the absence of a vision of shalom as being possible in the real world. To others, an opposite view prevails; namely, that nothing should be done or risked which does not bid fair to be *effective*. That attitude is a sure-fire guarantee against ever taking action on anything. The prophetic calling is to bear the relevant Word intelligently to the world's inter-sections and there to lift it up at

whatever the cost. Little reflection on Isaiah or Jeremiah or Amos or Jonah is required to realize that the effectiveness of that bearing and lifting up is God's responsibility, not the prophet's.

### The Role of Discipline

An activist who is not spiritually fit is living without discipline. Spiritual health comes from continual prayer — from constant communion with God. "Continual" and "constant" are sharply distinct from "occasional," the correct word to describe the relationship of many Christians with the creating, redeeming, active One. "Continual" and "constant" are not possible without discipline.

Just as a sedentary life causes a former athlete to go to flab, so an absence of regular centering, regular listening prayer, regular meditative reading of the Bible, regular reflective writing, regular accountability to a group of Christian colleagues, and regular sessions with a spiritual friend, produces the dry hollowness seen all too frequently in activists. "Regular" may mean several times a day or just once daily, but there must be regularity and that is just impossible without discipline. **Discipline simply means committing ourselves to do something even when we do not want to do it.**

Within whatever pattern of discipline an activist establishes for her or himself, there needs to be at work a faith-concept of an activist God. God is not a pet rock, truly. The activist's God acts — still creating, always loving, calling, bearing our pain, judging, forgiving, purposefully moving in the guts of human affairs.

In these cruel times, no word is more urgently needed in the activist's often lonely heart than the Word that God is up to something now, that God is taking action omnipotently. On that Good News, an activist can keep going — and without desperation. ■

# Noisy Contemplation

by William Callahan



Did Jesus pray intermittently, when he had peace and quiet or a chance to get apart, or did he pray steadily throughout his busy ministry?

The question is important because Jesus is our model for Christian living. We need not, unless specially called, lay expectations on our own praying that Jesus did not meet. Let's look more directly at his active ministry for further evidence of his prayer.

Prayer apart was integral to Jesus' ministry. But such moments seem insufficient to explain his actions, including many of his richest encounters with human beings. Jesus often established strong bonds with people when time for building relationships was not present. For example:

- How do we explain Jesus' encounter with the woman reputed a sinner at the house of Simon the Pharisee (Lk. 7)?

Jesus was invited to a dinner to be observed and even judged. While they were eating, a woman came in, washed Jesus' feet with her tears, dried them with her hair and anointed them with ointment. Simon scorned Jesus in his own heart as not much of a prophet to allow such a disreputable woman to

touch him. Jesus defended the woman and celebrated her love as more hospitable than that of Simon.

How could Jesus risk his reputation after such a brief, public encounter with the woman? Could it be that Jesus, as many of us treat him, was really "God in a man's suit," able to use his godly wisdom in order to confound his critics?

If Jesus was simply God in a human disguise, we are protected against having to act as he did.

Archbishop Oscar Romero, martyred in El Salvador, employed as his liaison with labor unions, a fiery priest whom he was warned not to trust.

The priest did great service but was eventually killed in the midst of popular forces fighting against government troops. Even Romero's closest advisers urged the bishop to distance himself from the priest's funeral.

Romero asked them, "Do you think his mother will be there?"

"Of course," they answered.

"Then," said Romero, "I think his bishop should be there, too." He presided at the funeral.

- When Jesus, from the midst of a crowd, saw the despised tax collector Zacchaeus in a tree, he invited himself to stay with him. The people around Jesus complained bitterly. But Zacchaeus was deeply touched and seems to have been radically changed.

How could Jesus respond this way? Perhaps Jesus drew upon the mysterious

beatific vision? Perhaps when Jesus got up that morning he reviewed the divine scroll of history and planned the encounters of the day ahead?

Any of these solutions would defend us from having to live and act the way Jesus acted. He was God and we are not!

- When Jesus looked on the crowd with compassion (Mt. 14:14) and longed to gather the people of Jerusalem "as a hen gathers her chicks under her wings" (Mt. 23:37-8), what did he see? What vision of love made him ready to condemn the leaders of Israel for their failure to serve the people?

- When Jesus met the Samaritan woman at the well (Jn. 4), he was breaking multiple social taboos. She was a woman and a Samaritan, i.e., a heretic. He talked to her, alone, in the most public of places, at the well. She was a public sinner, five times married and living with a man not her husband. Yet Jesus' meeting with this woman engaged her in the liveliest dialogue of the New Testament.

She went back into the town. By the sheer contagion of her enthusiasm, like a moviegoer infecting others with a desire to see a favorite picture, she drew the people forth to listen to Jesus until they believed on their own.

How could Jesus encounter this woman so swiftly and bond so deeply?

- When Jesus was moving in a crowd one day (Lk. 8:40-48), he suddenly

---

**William R. Callahan, S.J.**, is a co-director of the Quixote Center in Mt. Rainier, Md. A former physicist, he was part of the founding team of the Center of Concern in Washington, D.C. and organized Priests for Equality in 1975.

asked "Who touched me?" He said, "I felt that power had gone out from me." A woman came forward and witnessed her cure from lengthy bleeding.

What empathy was there in Jesus that enabled him to sense her cure?

- When parents were bringing their children to Jesus, the disciples, perhaps acting like adults who feel that children ruin a religious environment, tried to prevent their coming (Mk. 10:13-16). Jesus rebuked them, called the children to him, and proclaimed them a model for all believers.

What did he see that differed so deeply from the disciples?

- When ten lepers, standing afar, called out, other people saw the ravages of the dread disease. Yet Jesus saw people waiting to be healed. He made them well (Lk. 17:11-19).

How did Jesus see through their brokenness?

- When Jesus was dying, what dynamic enabled him to reach across the distance to the adjoining cross and bond with the penitent thief: "Today you will be with me in paradise" (Lk. 23:43)?

In these examples and in many others, Jesus established bonds of love more swiftly than the ordinary dynamics of human relationships make possible. The examples suggest that Jesus approached life in a contemplative way.

Jesus seems to have used his physical senses, his compassion and empathy to contemplate life and the people whom he met. He looked at people, touched them, felt their presence, and empathized with their plight with a love that brought deep insight and bonding. This contemplative posture, as the Trappist, Thomas Merton, said, "achieves insight beyond analysis."

Jesus' preaching and parables suggest that he contemplated the earth. Yeast, wheat, figs, fruit trees, oil, salt, light, weather, wine and grapevines are images for faith.

He saw people with a love that cut through past social judgments. He "tuned in" to their present condition and needs. Jesus contemplated people with a love which revealed their hearts to him. He shared his own heart in return.

I believe that this contemplative approach to life was the dynamic which nourished Jesus, the basic way he prayed throughout his days. Sometimes he prayed apart to gain perspective and to rest. But most of his praying was done in the midst of his ministry.

*Jesus prayed constantly and simply by contemplating life as he lived it. Jesus practiced noisy contemplation.*

Such a dynamic would mean that most of Jesus' praying took place by contemplating the people and events of his life at the time he experienced them.

These experiences of contemplative bonding were deeply nourishing. Far from draining him, the encounters were nourishing and brought him insight into people's hearts and built bonds of love which lasted for lifetimes.

Deep prayer, if it is not to be the exclusive domain of a privileged few who are backed by the resources of "religious multinationals," must be so simple that it can be attempted by any person of good will who attempts to follow Jesus.

The more complex the demands of deep prayer, the more specialized and professional the required support staff, and the more costly the needed environment of silence and separation, the fewer the people who can consider the journey. Affluent prayer, like affluent pilgrimages, is available only to affluent people.

Simplicity of life is a Christian call that applies not only to our consumption of the earth's material goods, but also to the resources we devote to nurturing our life of prayer.

Deep prayer for people who want to follow Jesus must be as available as

Jesus was to those willing to walk with him. In fact, his promise of the Spirit affirmed that he would be far more available to people of faith than when he trudged the dusty roads of Israel.

Such prayer should be able to begin with children and be achievable by people of all educational levels, classes and nations.

Deep prayer must be simple, yet as deep, as the "Lord's Prayer" which Jesus wove out of their experiences.

Deep prayer must be as portable as the human being who journeys after Jesus. No "Airstream camper" spirituality, it must be simple enough to be smuggled into prison cells, comfort people who grieve alone, and pass between people who have nothing but love to share.

**Not for a moment does this emphasis upon simplicity deny the place of professional spiritual directors, of silence, of profound and cultivated skills, of intercultural experiences of prayer, of leisure, learning, serenity, or tranquility.**

But what this does challenge is the tendency to make such resources seem so essential that ordinary people are kept from the dream of praying deeply when all they have to bring to their following of Jesus are the ordinary, poor, uneducated, tense, anxious, insecure surroundings in which most people exist.

Jesus comes today to the simple and marginal people of the earth, just as he did in Palestine. Modern spirituality must come to grips with that fact. ■

---

*This article is excerpted with permission from **Noisy Contemplation**, a 24-page tabloid study guide by William Callahan, S.J. linking spirituality and social consciousness. Single copies are available for \$1.50, prepaid, from the Quixote Center, P.O. Box 5206, Hyattsville, MD 20782. Copyright by the Quixote Center.*

---



# The Bible and the Religious Left

An Interview  
with Rosemary Radford Ruether  
by Tony Clarke-Sayer



Rosemary Radford Ruether, Feminist Theologian  
Professor of Applied Theology  
Garrett Evangelical Seminary, Evanston, Ill.

## How did you first read the Bible?

**Ruether:** I never had a fundamentalist or literalist relationship to the Bible. I learned the Bible through the medium of historical criticism. Obviously I'd heard passages read in church, but I think it's quite different when you grow up in a church that reads the Bible in a fundamentalist or literalist way and then later on you learn historical criticism. That's a great shock and turmoil, which I didn't experience because I read the Bible seriously in the context of college and graduate courses.

## How did you view the Bible prior to that? Was it just an emblem of the authority of the church?

**Ruether:** The Catholic Church didn't evoke the Bible as a symbol of authority.

**The Rev. Tony Clarke-Sayer** of Asheville, N.C., is a United Methodist minister and freelance writer.

The Bible was a subversive tool of dissenters all through the Middle Ages. Then of course it surfaced during the Reformation, which carried it away into another series of churches and then proceeded to cover up for those churches the fact that the Bible was subversive. But the Catholics never forgot that the Bible was subversive, and so they didn't want people to read it. As a result, when modern Catholics read the Bible for the first time from the standpoint of liberation theology, they rediscover it as a subversive instrument.

## But not so much from the standpoint of historical criticism?

**Ruether:** No. Historical criticism can be a way of making the Bible inaccessible. You raise up such a superstructure of scholarship that ordinary people feel they really can't use the Bible because they lack all these critical skills. There are two

ways of making the Bible into a tool of the status quo. One is the fundamentalist way of picking out a certain series of things in the Bible, excluding all the prophetic material, and then using it in a very literalistic way to support patriarchy or creationism or whatever. The other way is the historical-critical method, which is the academic establishment's way of making the Bible something that ordinary people are not equipped to read accurately.

## But you have colleagues who teach these critical skills to budding young ministers.

**Ruether:** Yes, to make them into clerics. I think it's not accidental that the most neglected degree around here is the Masters of Theological Studies, which is a lay degree. Nobody here seems to have any idea that that could be a creative degree. I think it could be a very important pursuit where all kinds of people —



without any intention of becoming clergy — could do serious theological study. They could study theology without adding all these courses that make you clergy, and they could specialize in things like peace studies or feminism.

**You're proposing that the seminary should not be a place primarily for the training of clergy?**

**Ruether:** I think that would be much healthier. It would break down at least partially the clericalization of learning, the use of learning as a way of setting up class divisions in the church.

**Would you recommend that persons considering seminary do studies elsewhere before entering seminary?**

**Ruether:** The seminary is a better instrument for doing what I want to do than the only other available institution that teaches religion, which is the department of religion. Departments of religion programmatically cut off any connection between what they teach and a kind of faith-stance or action. In seminaries you aren't just doing academic searches but trying to apply what you learn to helping people in the world. You have to raise questions of value and meaning. That's a deeper dimension than just the academic study of religion.

What I do think, though, is that seminaries have to start connecting people with social issues right away. Something that interests me very much, and that we're working on as an interseminary project, is to connect a number of women pastors who are in small, dying inner city churches. What the churches — Methodist, Congregational, and various others — are doing with the glut of women ministers that they have on their hands is placing them into these extremely difficult situations in the city: dying churches.

Sociologically, those churches are situated in important places, from the standpoint of understanding the real

crises of cities and the relationship of races and so on. What we want to do is to network women in those situations. They have access to many more resources that way. Instead of just surviving day-to-day, they have a little space for analysis with other women ministers across the city. And then we want to have a program that places women seminarians with these women pastors for a six-week course, where they would do both Biblical and theological reflection and social analysis. An added dimension would be to get those pastors to identify a core-group of laity who could participate in seminars where we would come and ask about the neighborhood. Nobody is better equipped to talk about that than the people who live there. Also a great deal of the organizing in those areas is done by women, so you could link up with community organizations. We see this project as potentially very creative, giving support to these women pastors and at the same time turning their inner city assignments into a resource rather than a debility.

**I want to return to the thought that the historical-critical method functions as an ideology and renders the Bible inaccessible. I think that for many liberal Protestants, if you go say, to a liberal Methodist or Presbyterian church, you'll find a division between the people who want to read the Bible for the sake of reading the Bible and those who are interested in other issues. There will be five or six adult Sunday school classes, and one of those classes, composed primarily of relatively elderly and conservative people, will be "the Bible study class." Everyone else will be studying world hunger or marriage enrichment or whatever. All these other classes quote the Bible, but it's all one-liners, all pretty shallow.**

**Ruether:** There is an alternative way of using the Bible which is neither fundamentalist nor based on clerical credentials, and that is the kind of Bible study

that has developed in predominantly Catholic basic Christian communities. What you have here are Catholic Christian cultures which traditionally didn't use the Bible, which essentially built the religious faith of the people around sacramental life, with clerical authority rooted in the clergy's "private property" position over the sacraments. The Bible is discovered and read by people in these cultures very much as it was read in the Middle Ages and by left-wing Protestants in the 16th and 17th centuries: as a subversive document, an anti-clerical document.

In Latin America, *comunidades de base* are very much working-class groups. You also find this in Italian basic Christian communities, which use the Bible in a similar way. There you have working-class and more educated groups. But they all feel perfectly competent to get a small number of people together and simply sit down, study a passage, and then reflect on it. The method is that you reflect on it together in the context of your social experience.

With this liberation theology method it seems possible to avoid both the fundamentalist and clericalistic traps. I saw this in the Diocese of Cuernavaca, where the bishop, who happens to be a socialist, has promoted basic Christian communities throughout the parishes, and they really now form the militant core of the parishes. We went to one basic Christian community — lower-middle-class Mexicans in a poor section of town — and the Gospel text for that Sunday was the parable of the many soils.

**The parable of the sower, in Mark?**

**Ruether:** Yes, the sower sows the seed and it falls on rocky soil, good soil, and so on. All in the group were laypeople. Nobody had gone to seminary or had a big structure of expertise. They read the parable and discussed, "What does this

*Continued on page 17*

# William Temple —



The Rt. Rev. William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury during World War II, has been called the most influential British Christian social thinker in this century.

Too often our desire to set the church on new paths leads to a suspicion of the church's past as a chronology of compromise and unfulfilled hopes. Such dismissal is dangerous: it makes it all the more likely that our own enthusiasm will be short-lived; failing to learn the lessons of history, we will make mistakes that have been made before and our own hopes will be frustrated. William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury during World War II, represents a long and distinguished tradition in Christian thinking. It is important that we know that tradition, and recognize that we are in its line.

The great changes in 20th century church life and thought are highlighted by a brief chronology of Temple's life. He came from a privileged background — his father himself was Archbishop of Canterbury from 1897 to 1902. He was educated at Rugby and Oxford. At Rugby he made a friend who would have a great influence on his thinking, the socialist historian, R.H. Tawney, author of *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, *Equality* and *The Acquisitive Society*.

Temple was ordained in 1909, by which time he was a committed socialist. He had been involved in adult education and was the first President of the Workers' Educational Association from

1908 to 1924. He joined the Labour Party in 1918, and, though he resigned when he became Bishop of Manchester in 1921, he did not hide his socialist convictions.

In 1918 and 1919 he worked energetically for the Life and Liberty Movement, set up as a ginger group pressing for legislative independence for the Anglican Church. Previously, the church had had to have all legislation concerning its internal affairs enacted in Parliament. The pressure paid off in 1919 with the passing of the Enabling Act, after which the Church Assembly was set up.

In 1924 he chaired the first major interdenominational conference to discuss social issues, the Conference on Christian Politics, Economics, and Citizenship (COPEC).

In 1926, he was the subject of political controversy when he and other bishops attempted to mediate in the dispute between miners and pit-owners.

## Leading Ecumenical Figure

He became Archbishop of York in 1928, by which time he was already a leading figure in the ecumenical movement. He attended the first world conference of the Faith and Order Commission in 1925, and became its chairman four years later. The second world conference was held in 1937, the same year that the Life and Work Commission met in Oxford to discuss Church, Community and State; here again Temple was a major contributor. These two commissions agreed in principle to unite; the fruit of that agreement was the plan to set up the World Council of Churches, with

---

Neil McIlwraith is secretary to the National Student Christian Congress and the Student Christian Movement's director of resources. He is also carrying out research on theology and society for the University of St. Andrews. A longer version of this article appeared earlier in the SCM publication, *Movement*, No. 48.



# A Voice for Today?

by Neil McIlwraith

Temple as its provisional chairman. He would undoubtedly have been its first president had he lived until its official foundation in 1948 but he did see the inauguration in 1943 of the British Council of Churches, with himself as president.

During the Second World War, Temple was in the center of discussions about the social changes that would be needed when Germany had been defeated. Central to his thinking was the sanctity of the person. The 1930s had shown the limitations of the ideology of individualism: applied dogmatically, it sacrificed so many of the individuals it pretended to value. In 1938 Temple chaired the committee of the Pilgrim Trust which published the famous report, "Men Without Work," documenting the great personal suffering caused by the recession and mass unemployment. In 1941, he called together a conference at Malvern to "consider from the Anglican point of view what are the fundamental facts which are directly relevant to the ordering of the new society, and how Christian thought can be shaped to play a leading part in the reconstruction." The Conference concluded that the maintenance and concentration of private industrial ownership could be a stumbling-block to the living of Christian lives.

In the same year he published *Citizen and Churchman*, in which he was the first to use the phrase, the "welfare state." Shortly thereafter, he wrote his most famous work, *Christianity and Social Order*, in which he defended the Church's right to intervene in society, outlined the principles with which Christians should approach their social

and political responsibilities and suggested a radical program in housing, education, social security, worker participation in industry, and shorter working hours. Much of his program was incorporated in the "Beveridge Report," and Temple's book stands with that report as one of the foundation stones of the welfare state. It was published in 1942, the year that Temple became Archbishop of Canterbury, which he remained until his death two and a half years later.

## Changing Structures

Many of the questions with which Temple wrestled are the same for any effective Christian witness today. An investigation of his life and thought yields many lessons for us.

Some need to be learned more thoroughly by conservative Christians, some more by radicals. I shall try to give examples of both.

Whether social transformation is achieved through the changing of individuals or the changing of structures is a question asked as often today as it was in Temple's time. In his youth he fell in with the predominant answer of the time. Great political problems seemed to demand and could only be saved by a great spiritual renaissance, directed at the individual as a responsible agent.

*"If it can be done, the housing problem, the temperance question, the differences between employer and employed, will solve themselves and the British Empire will become an instrument of real justice."*

He later came to realize that an increase in the number of Christian politicians and citizens, Christian em-

ployers and workers, however good in itself, need not change their social relationships. He underestimated the strength of the systems of which they were a part. Spiritual and political events could not be separated so easily.

Social conditions, bad housing, alcoholism and alienating work were **real impediments to the spiritual uplift** Temple sought; degrading conditions themselves limited the moral freedom and thus responsibility, of the individual. People's spiritual horizons are defined by such material conditions, so the problems therefore had to be tackled by both political and spiritual means. Temple's dialectical understanding of the dynamics of social change is a lesson that has been forgotten by many modern churchpeople. Ronald Preston writes:

*"It is an indication of how far there has been a regression since Temple that the Archbishop's call to the nation in 1975 was based on two questions: 1) What kind of society do we want? and 2) What kind of people are needed to create such a society? It omitted a third question, what kind of structures are needed to produce the kind of people we need? It is inconceivable that Temple would have made such an omission."*

## Role of Duties, Rights

Another error among conservatives is the assumption that an emphasis on a citizen's duties is more moral and "Christian" than an emphasis on rights. Temple himself wrote in *Christianity and the State*:

*"The temper of a movement that rests on rights will be aggres-*

*sive, violent, contentious; and the temper of a movement that rests on duties will be persuasive, public-spirited, harmonious."*

Temple later came to realize that preaching the priority of duties over rights could have dangerous consequences. In a dispute between weak and strong the call to both to recognize the priority of duty was ineffectual, idealistic, unjust and a failure of the Christian duty to look to the needs of the poor. An emphasis on duty, equally applied to two sides can only be permissible in a situation of existing equality between them. Otherwise Christian mediation could easily fall back into tacit endorsement of prevailing forms of domination. Temple came to realize that a trade union leader must assuredly be made aware of his duty but his main duty is to fight for the rights of the workers. Rights must be clarified in a conflict because they define duty as seen by those with whom one is in discord. Expressed biblically, in order to love our neighbors we must know what it means to them to be loved; otherwise we will deny love by imposing our own scheme upon them.

Among radical Christians there have been many who have been content to work with too easy an identification of God's ultimate purpose for humanity in his Kingdom with the human project of socialism. Temple himself was so enchanted with the explosion of the Labour Party in his early work that he identified socialism completely with Christianity: "*The alternative stands before us, socialism or heresy.*"

He saw socialism as the economic structure of the Kingdom of God, and the task of the church as "*making England into a province of the Kingdom of God.*"

Temple later came to see that such a grandiose vision was a product of an imperialist Christendom doctrine. The ecumenical movement in which Temple

played such a large part grew under the shadow of rising Fascism and Nazism. These ideologies identified their political fulfilment with God's purpose for history in the same way as Temple had identified socialism. The certainty of moral rectitude and ultimate historical vindication for a doctrine tends to justify any conceivable means, however diabolical in itself, that might bring the promised end nearer. By the time of the Second World War Temple had ceased to identify the Kingdom with an earthly project. He now saw it only "*as the standard of judgment whereby we are all included under sin.*"

### Turning Saints to Demons

Temple's experience should also serve as an effective antidote to the lack of realism in much contemporary Christian radicalism. With the rise of totalitarianism and the wastefulness of war, Temple came to realize that any doctrine which emphasizes the human potential for good must also recognize the depths of human sinfulness. Treating imperfect historically conditioned persons as saints could turn them into demons.

As they began to believe that their best efforts were unambiguously good, they became the proud center of their own universe. Temple believed that we must be made aware that even the best courses of action in any circumstances may still be inadequate. But his sober and realistic assessment of the human condition never became an excuse for weakening his commitment to social justice:

*"We are involved in an entanglement due to the sin of mankind, in which the best thing we can do is still a bad thing. Nonetheless it is right to do it, because it is the best possible. And so we have got to do it, and be penitent while we do it."*

As we embark on our own search for

the authentic voice of Christian prophecy it is as well to learn from the life of William Temple, lest we identify prophecy with an idealism which has little to offer to those who struggle for social justice. George Bell, who was Bishop of Chichester and a close friend of Temple, considered him above all as a prophet. But Temple was also a priest — for all his radical criticism, very much a man of his time and of his church. John Atherton, a director of the William Temple Foundation, writes of the necessity of balancing prophecy and priesthood:

*"If we are concerned . . . with moving towards an adequate theology in Britain, our agenda will surely not just be for prophets, but also for priests. As Reinhold Niebuhr noted so perceptively when writing of the opening years of his pastorate in Detroit, the trouble with prophets is that they can always move on: the priest has to stay."*

William Temple was one who prophesied and stayed. So we must learn to combine the virtues of prophecy and priesthood. It is all too easy to denounce, and then stand back, pure and happy in our isolation. If we want our prophetic voice to be taken seriously, we must show our willingness to undertake thorough analysis and partake in the detailed debates over policies. Unless we do, a radical Christian perspective will remain as irrelevant to today's political questions as the conservative theology it opposes. ■

---

---

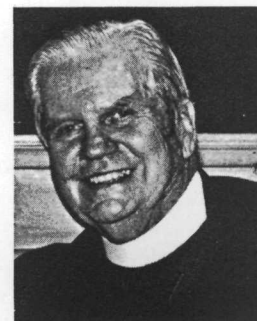
### CREDITS

Cover, Beth Seka; graphic p. 4, Margaret Longdon; graphic p. 6, Robert F. McGovern; p. 10, Bishop Temple, courtesy *Movement* magazine.

---

---





The Rt. Rev. John Hines

# John Hines on Today's Church

by David E. Sumner

The Rt. Rev. John E. Hines, Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church between 1965 and 1973, guided the church through some of its most turbulent and controversial years. He was identified mainly with the General Convention Special Program, which administered grants to civil rights and minority groups seeking empowerment and social change.

At 34, Bishop Hines was elected Bishop Coadjutor of Texas, to become one of the youngest bishops in Episcopal Church history. A native of South Carolina, he graduated from the University of the South and Virginia Theological Seminary. He is now retired and lives in Highlands, N.C., with his wife, Helen.

In a recent interview, he offered some comments and reflections on the 1982 General Convention, the Episcopal Church today, and its role in the future:

**On General Convention:** "The General Convention showed that the church is pretty well frustrated in its pursuit of mission, still. There is a quiescence, perhaps a hoping that a quiescent attitude will help the giant problems go away. I think that was about the mark of the General Convention to me."

**Jubilee Ministry:** "The forces that strove to help extend or recreate a socially active ministry of the national church did a heroic job, but they were too little and too late. Even though having been guided by some astute minds of people, they didn't get started soon enough. They didn't understand

sufficiently the financial structuring the General Convention goes through, and therefore, they came up with their proposition too late to get it budgeted adequately."

**Lutheran-Episcopal Relations:** "Probably the most significant action. The resolutions were ones of hope. They didn't attach the main difficulty and problem in ecumenism, which has to do with the validity of orders. But they did accept mutual recognition of sacraments which will enable Lutherans and Episcopalians to live together and work together as Christians. I see it as very beneficial, very helpful."

**The Nominating Committee for the Presiding Bishop:** "The most critical thing, in my view, was the creation of the Nominating Committee for the Presiding Bishop. I think the leadership in the office of Presiding Bishop depends how accurately this Nominating Committee reads the needs of the church for strong, effective, imaginative, and courageous leadership in the years ahead. I doubt if the church is well enough to pick the kind of person who will give it the kind of leadership the next decade is going to require. The church is still afraid, still scared, too unsettled for controversy, still sees itself in the reconciling role."

**The House of Bishops:** "There's not much leadership in the House of Bishops now. The ablest and best minds are those that are about to retire, with a few startling and good exceptions. As a result of the fact that they are about to retire, they are themselves coasting and don't want to join the issues on the floor.

"The present administration has had a regrouping and

---

David E. Sumner is Director of Communications for the Diocese of Southern Ohio.

hold-the-line approach. There's been an attempt to reconcile the differences in the church. I really haven't seen a church worth very much which is totally a reconciling church. In the conflict and tension between reconciliation and the pursuit of justice, justice always loses. Reconcilers do not want to pay the price for justice."

**Liturgical Renewal:** "The Episcopal Church has moved towards a Eucharistically-centered worship. But it's had both good and bad aspects. One of the good aspects is that the church is beginning to understand worship much more seminally than it did in the past century. It's gone beyond worrying whether the priest is wearing the right vestments, etc. I think the church has benefitted by a Eucharistically-centered worship.

"It's also, unfortunately, made our church a more

exclusive church. The Eucharist is still a mystery and will always be a mystery. The liturgical aspects of having the Eucharist as the main service presents a barrier to those who are not acquainted with the Episcopal Church, but might like to explore it."

**Other Changes:** "I think generally the church is more socially sensitive and sensitized than it was 20 years ago. I think gains were made in the 60s and 70s that never will be totally lost. I also think the church has retreated badly from engagement in world issues and human issues of life. I think we're in a trough now, and have been for 8 or 10 years. The church (all churches) has diminished in its influence. It really isn't regarded as very effective, except on some occasions with certain visible leaders, such as the Pope. So I'm not very high on the church right now as an institution." ■

## The Unknown Clothier

by Abbie Jane Wells

*(Abbie Jane Wells, a WITNESS subscriber in Juneau, Alaska, has a continuing preoccupation with the down-to-earth aspects of the heavenly events recounted in the Bible.)*

What did the Christ wear on the first Easter morning? Well, it wasn't "the same old thing," that's for sure. His grave clothes neatly folded in the tomb, his robe gambled for by soldiers at the foot of the cross — what on earth was he to put on for Easter?

At first glance, Mary mistook him for a gardener. Could it be that was because he was dressed like a gardener? Is it possible that a gardener shared his clothes with Jesus — the very first instance of "I was naked and you clothed me" in post-Resurrection history?

Did Jesus come bursting out of the tomb in grave clothes just as a gardener went by, and scare the poor chap half to death? Causing

the gardener perhaps to say, "Man, you can't go running around like that, you'll scare people. Here, let me give you some of my duds so you'll look alive instead of like a corpse."

Or had Jesus stripped the grave clothes off and folded them neatly before he burst forth, causing the passing gardener to say, "Man, you'll catch your death of cold and besides, women come this way often. Here, let me give you some of my clothes."

It's said that Mary was the first one who saw him that Easter morning. But maybe not; it might have been the one who gave him the clothes who saw him first.

So someone unknown clothed

him, and he looked like a gardener to Mary.

I wonder what effect this had on the one who gave Jesus clothes to wear on that first Easter. Did he (or she, maybe?) know who he or she was giving clothes to? Did that person always share clothes with anyone who needed them or was this the first time?

Well anyway, Jesus was decently clad in someone's clothes when Mary came and Jesus didn't scare her by wearing grave clothes. The one to whom we never give a thought, or thanks, the unknown clothier who provided Jesus with something to wear on the first Easter, deserves some recognition, so here it is, belatedly, and with my thanks. ■

# A Journey Is a Person in Itself

by Malcolm Boyd

I went looking for signs of vitality and hope in American religious life. It was a zigzag geographical and psychological adventure that introduced me to vastly different people, moods, experiments, feelings, reactions and approaches to problems.

The muscular Black rector of a Roman Catholic parish in Harlem took hold of my shoulder and guided me to the window of his church office.

“Look outside that window across the street,” he said. “There is trafficking in drugs right there. The church has to be a sign of hope for our people. We do this with our school system. A second emphasis is the liturgy.”

An energetic woman minister in California told me about her work with young adults.

“We’re thinking of opening a laundromat and developing it as a new village well. Most young adults spend time in a laundromat. This would also produce income to help support our ministry.”

A middle-aged nun, a handsome woman and a leader in her community, spoke to me in Houston about the future of religious orders like her own.

“I hope we may be women whose priorities and goals are based on belief in, and concern for, the social scripture.

---

**The Rev. Malcolm Boyd** is Writer-Priest-in-Residence at St. Augustine-by-the-Sea Episcopal Church in Santa Monica, Cal. He is a social critic and author of 20 books including *Are You Running With Me, Jesus?*, *Take Off the Masks* and *Look Back in Joy*.

To live the Word. Isaiah. Amos. Jesus. We have the financial freedom to be true leaders and witnesses. We are not yet really sensitive to, and aware of, our freedom to be prophets. We will not starve if we stand up to powerful institutions and multinational corporations, and speak the Gospel to them. But we are too often afraid to be embarrassed.”

The rough-hewn modern counterpart of an ancient prophet, the director of a center for runaway youths in Portland, spoke about social change.

“Because of media trappings that triggered recollections we’ve finished the ’50s, ’60s, and ’70s. That’s bringing everybody to the point of living right now. Regardless of class or sex, the individual today is being forced to confront change.”

I examined social implications of the teachings of Jesus Christ as interpreted by minorities.

The Latino director of a Mexican-American community center in Texas spoke critically of his experience with White leadership.

“They wanted to keep me at a ‘Chicano-boy’ level,” he said. “Generally we Hispanics have to submerge our ego down a hole in confrontations with Anglo power. I decided to take a stand — advocating, enabling and facilitating. I have a responsibility to let the church’s resources be used creatively and constructively in these communities. I am basically a minister of the Gospel. I must witness to what the Lord has done. Love must break through as a gift of God. My concept of ministry is holistic.

If we develop a church we should know what else is in need in that community.”

In Harlem, a Black Protestant minister talked about his own struggle.

“Blacks have been ripped off, abused, kept quiet by the wrong use of religious authority. Jesus made his most important political speech about releasing the captives, preaching good news to the poor. How do you do this without making changes?”

I saw new forms of religious expression emerging to meet the needs of spiritual hunger. In a suburb of Chicago I found an experimental church that occupied space in an office building across from a large shopping center. People came from five counties to be members of the congregation. Membership was based on an annual renewal of covenant.

Outside San Francisco I visited a church on a hillside and talked to its minister.

“Ten years ago this building was a public relations social club on a hill — cold, lifeless, angular,” he said. “For the first two years I tried to keep it alive and going. But we had to let the church die in order to be reborn. This process had to do with my personal growth, too, in order to move toward my own aliveness.”

We sat in silence for a few moments. Then he continued:

“Healing is a recent experience. Twelve of us took a commitment to be a healing community for six months. There was a healing yesterday of a child

with a brain tumor operation. We'll visit the child again and again, involving different members of the group. We've not been afraid to risk, to let the Spirit nudge us into new levels of being. God works in our lives around the edges rather than hitting us over the head. We move toward the aliveness that nuances provide."

In Chicago I discovered evangelical faith coupled with a strong commitment to social action in a church.

"You have to teach people from the Bible," the minister explained. "Four hundred passages talk about responsibility to the poor, many speak of justice. I look upon piety and social concern as two oars of a rowboat. Both are essential. The guys without piety burned out. The merely piety guys left because their methods didn't work.

The most extraordinary church I found was in the Pacific Northwest. Its hallways and offices were literally filled with fresh produce and stacks of discarded clothing for the hungry and needy. The church was packed with service organizations including a learning center, a school for high school dropouts, a police-community relations committee, a Balkan dance group, a Catholic Worker kitchen, a community underground newspaper, a basement coffeehouse, a theater group, and a center for gay men and lesbians.

"We try to get systems changed," the director of the church's emergency service, a registered nurse, told me.

Looking at the complex mosaic of religious experience that I saw in various parts of America, I found some connecting links. For example, a Protestant church in Northern California had similarities to the *havurah* that I found in a Los Angeles synagogue whose families met together in homes, rediscovered their Jewishness, celebrated the home festivals, and developed a sense of family.

In the synagogue, half of the families

belonged to *havuroth*. The church that resembled it in this aspect was divided into six extended families. These cross-generational groups spent much time together outside of church but, on Sundays, developed and utilized themes in worship, brought food and greeted strangers.

Another connecting link I found in Harlem. A Black minister told me: "An interesting model for Black children is the Hebrew School, where Jewish traditions are learned. We need a counterpart for Black kids to get Black history and culture."

During my journey I found new components of the American religious scene outside Will Herberg's classic, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*. These included Islamic influences, new age consciousness, cults and neo-traditionalism. Many young adults who are single, feminist women, gay men and lesbians, and people engaged in developing alternative lifestyles, wish to be a part of organized religion with the rights of first-class citizenship in the churches.

I discovered a pervasive anti-intellectual mood among a large number of people who increasingly trust only their gut feelings and reactions. This augurs the reliving of history, when its truths are unrecognized or unknown. Also I found evidences of a biblically and theologically illiterate generation in contemporary America. This may well be the greatest challenge within Judeo-Christian structures.

During my journey I perceived the need for a network of linkages — in the sense of providing information and a supportive community — for many disconnected persons and small groups. Although these are linked in spirit and intention, their dislike and fear of bureaucracy often keeps them isolated from one another.

The most fearful moment of my pilgrimage came in a meeting with a Jewish Young Leadership Group in

suburban New Jersey.

"I am haunted by the question of what might happen if there were a Hitler kind of leader in America," a young woman said. "Another Holocaust. Whom could I trust among my Christian friends? To whom could I entrust my childrens' lives, the life and future of my family? Sometimes I wonder if there is anyone. Or, if the person I think I could trust would in reality betray me."

The group commented on the appalling ignorance of Christians concerning Jewish life, attitudes and beliefs. A Christian friend had asked one member of the group if Jews still engaged in blood sacrifices.

The most daring experience I encountered during the journey was in a situation where four West Coast churches had just recently become one. Worshipping together for the first time, the combined ministers represented a strong diversity — female, male, Black, White, Asian, young and old.

"We had a full church for the first time since 1960 for any of our congregations," a minister said, "There's no way any of these churches could keep enough people and generate energy to exist alone. We had to work through denominational differences, church leadership dilemmas, and questions of ownership and economics.

"We're creating the structure of a new church. Nobody knows what it's going to be. You have to let the old dream die if you're going to have a new creation."

My journey in search of creativity and hope reminded me frequently of John Steinbeck's personal odyssey in *Travels with Charley*, his encounters with different people and moments of fresh discovery. "A journey is a person in itself; no two are alike," he wrote. I felt the same way as my enlightening trip played itself out. And, (again from Steinbeck) "We find after years of struggle that we do not take a trip; a trip takes us." ■



**Ruether . . . Continued from page 9**  
mean in terms of our experience?" And what they came up with is, "Well, that's very much like when we try to talk about questions of poverty and wealth in the churches, and when we try to talk about the peace issue in the churches, or when we tried to talk about what was happening in Cuba in the churches, and the reception we got. Some people were very open, some people were closed." Their language was much simpler than this, but what they decided was that socio-economic status proved, in effect, to be the equivalent of fertile soil or rocky soil and so on. If people had privilege and wealth, then they didn't want to hear the message. If they were really experiencing oppression, then they were receptive. Their socio-economic status created a consciousness that made them open or closed to the message. I thought, "This is brilliant exegesis," and of course they were drawing it right out of their experience. They were recounting stories about how they had tried to speak in this or that parish.

**It certainly speaks well for the method, but the parable itself seems to indicate that the method is only feasible for people who are in fertile soil. What are we to do about the affluent White liberals or the fundamentalists? They don't want to hear that message, and if they used that method, if they reflected on their social experience, they would come up with different results.**

**Ruether:** Of course the Latin Americans are explicit on that. They talk about "the hermeneutical privilege of the poor." The prophetic texts themselves are written from the point of view of the oppressed, and therefore the oppressed can connect up the Biblical text with their social experience. They're coming out of the same perspective of looking at the structures of wealth from the underside. But if you're not looking at the structures of wealth from the underside, it is a much harder struggle to connect with the

Biblical message.

I've experienced that coming from a Black seminary to a predominantly White context. At Howard University in Washington we had a program for storefront pastors and ministers, about half of whom were women. These were people who didn't have the education to qualify for seminary, who for the most part didn't have college educations. But they had a lot of street experience and they knew the Bible. They had no trouble at all connecting the Biblical symbols with social issues. I remember doing an interpretation of the beast in the Book of Revelation as a symbol of international political and economic power. I looked at the economic structures that are described there in terms of international trade and at the structures of military power, and then I connected this with military power and multinationals. Those people didn't have any trouble at all seeing a direct analogy between those things. Trying to do that in an affluent White church would make people hopping mad.

**Or they would want to talk about the Soviet Union. Yes, the beast represents corporate and military power, but not ours.**

**Ruether:** I've just done a course on basic Christian communities with Ed Grace, who is the primary networker for basic Christian communities in Italy. There you have middle-class communities, like St.-Paul's-Outside-the-Walls, which are primarily scholars, academics, journalists, ex-priests. They're definitely middle-class, but they're all people who in one way or another have been marginalized by both the church and the society because they've made political commitments. So, even though they are not "the oppressed," this also gives them a kind of handle on reading the Bible in this way.

**You have taken a step in Biblical interpretation that liberal theologians by and**

**large have not taken. You have looked at the Bible essentially as the record of a power struggle and thus are not startled by contradictions in it.**

**Ruether:** I don't know how much liberation theologians have articulated this explicitly, but there is a normative principle of prophetic critique which includes critiquing the oppressive social and economic power of the rich vindicating the poor and the oppressed, critiquing the dominant religious ideology, which is used to sanctify the power of the wealthy, and opening up an alternative vision. But this normative prophetic principle is something that has to be constantly reappropriated in new situations. Any particular way of stating it could be deformed, including ways of doing it within the Bible itself. You could, for example, identify God and Christ with servanthood in order to critique kingship. You could raise up the notion that we are God's servants and are at the same time liberated from oppressive power. But then that same language can be deformed into a sanctification of slavery. Because Christ was a slave, you should docilely accept being a slave. Which is exactly what happens by the time you get to 1 Peter and elsewhere in the New Testament: servant language is deformed into slave language. In order to read the Bible, you bring that same critical principle to bear and you recognize that same power struggle going on in the Bible.

**Are you concerned about the fate of the liberal church?**

**Ruether:** What worries me about the left-wing exodus is that the American left in general, and Catholics in particular, tend to be very purist and anti-political. They want to do something utopian. Consequently, their activity fails to have historical impact because they don't know how to reconnect with at least some parts of the existing institution and transform the openness there into vehicles for their option, thereby greatly magnifying

that option. I'm very anxious that the feminist left, and the left in general, begin thinking more politically about the creative dialectic between the renewal movement and the historical institution.

Right now many people are forming basic Christian communities in the United States like the ones in Latin America and Italy. Feminists in the Catholic context are increasingly thinking that the only way to go is feminist base communities. They are undecided whether they are simply disinterested in the institutional church and are just pursuing a feminist agenda, or whether they also have a mission to the institutional church. Feminist base communities are an important development because there one can freely make liturgical changes that cannot be done in almost any of the institutional churches because of the enormous resistance to language change. But I put feminist communities in the framework of being an exodus within and for the sake of the church. Many feminists are over the arrogant notion that their community is the true light. They recognize that there just might be some parishes here and there that are doing things comparable and compatible to feminist concerns.

**This is really a serious break, though. In all the mainline denominations we see defections of individuals and sometimes whole congregations splitting away because the church is too liberal, too concerned about social issues. Then there is this other exodus: Christian base communities, feminist communities, and so on. How badly are all these departures going to weaken the liberal church?**

**Ruether:** In the case of the Roman Catholic Church, and I suspect it's true of a number of mainline Protestant denominations, the institutional structure is a lot more durable than you might think. There is no question in my mind that these living fossils called the institutional church will roll right along and

socialize the next generation, because they have the structure. And the only way in which the renewal movements are going to make a difference historically is to get hold of parts of the institution around the edges and translate them into vehicles for their option.

What I hope would develop would be a creative dialectic between the people who stay in the churches — and I don't doubt that the majority are going to stay — and the small groups of people who create feminist basic Christian communities. What those small groups do will be important if they can create models which other people can then appropriate. ■

---

---

## Again Gethsemane

Here, if we'll pull through or no,  
I can't say. Though I do say  
we walked to the garden with Christ;  
He only asking that we watch a while,  
and I trying terribly not to sleep.  
I really did. But with the body dim  
from drink and dream it's not easy.  
He shook us twice up. I kept falling  
back to dreams — beasts, bloody and wild.  
I knew He knelt near the rocks, crowned  
with moonlight.  
It was just a night like any other,  
wasn't it? He often went off, praying alone.  
We didn't know.  
After the bright palms, the children  
singing, I didn't want this silence  
of despair.

There, torches and drawn arms  
fell from the night.  
The shadows parted. I slipped in too easily,  
swearing "I don't know Him,"  
(even to that third cry).  
Yes, I ran off — to the fields beyond town  
weeping, out of my head somewhere,  
shaken and alone. And now back, lost  
with the others within this room dark  
as the garden, without moonlight even,  
these walls unshrinking as rock, I, Peter,  
who couldn't rise, can find no rest.  
I face this cup. It can't pass, ever.  
It is waiting, being full once more,  
where on knees, so terribly awake as He's  
sleeping, we sweat forth our own blood  
of hope.

— Robert Kotansky

---

---

Letters . . . Continued from page 2

*The Future Shape of Ministry* (Seabury)!  
Page 261: "Emotionally the idea of women as priests is repulsive to many of us ('Mother cannot say Mass this week, she's about to have a baby.'). but intellectually it is very difficult to defend the relationship between sexual differentiation and prohibition to the priesthood."

Susan M. Mass  
Minneapolis, Minn.

## Neither Parent in Pulpit

Why I let myself be drawn into this kind of retort is a mystery to me, but the urge seems irresistible! Re: the "Baby at the Pulpit" letter in the January issue — interesting idea. After all, the birth of a baby was front and center at the most important event in history. However, that is not what hit me about this.

My mind trips to the fact that no *male* priest, whose baby is about to be born, should be standing in that pulpit either. The writer of the letter touches a chord in my parently heart. A baby is never "her" baby. It is always "their" baby, and when that baby is born neither parent should be standing in the pulpit!

Mildred P. Boesser  
Wasilla, Alaska

## Overeaters Anonymous

I want to thank you for publishing Judith Moore's "Bulimia: Catharsis or Curse" in January. I am a compulsive overeater who had considered vomiting, but was a coward so I just gained weight or starved.

The joy in my life is that I've found a solution! I'll be celebrating my 27th birthday in January plus two years of abstinence (freedom from compulsive overeating, binging, dieting, and the food crazies)! Two years ago my life began to change when I went to my first Overeaters Anonymous (OA) meeting.

OA is a fellowship of men and women who have common eating disorders. We believe we share a three-fold illness: physical, emotional, and spiritual. Our program is based on the 12-Steps of

Recovery in Alcoholics Anonymous.

Our program is an anonymous self-help program. If readers of THE WITNESS would like further information, they may write to Overeaters Anonymous, World Service Office, 2190 190th Street, Torrance, CA 90504; Telephone (213) 320-7941.

**Name Withheld  
Upon Request**

## Forced to Renew

Your January issue *forced* me to decide that I must renew my subscription. As a student doing internship I had decided that I am too busy to read all that I would like to; the January issue would have been my last. Every article made me decide to change my mind. Thank you for the student rates, too.

**Jan Marvar  
Royal Oak, Mich.**

## Despair to Excitement

Again, my personal and enthusiastic thanks for continuing to give us perspective in difficult perplexing areas.

Each issue has something (often *much*), that turns despair to excitement. It's that small but intense light that burns when new understanding points to what we perceive as Christian action.

**Virginia S. Meloney  
Claremont, N.H.**

## 90% Provocative

This "new senior" had originally decided, as a matter of establishing new priorities not to renew, but I can't resist!

Occasionally I get furious with the "junk" I find in the magazine, but 90% of the time this "moderate liberal" finds the articles both informative and provocative. I know we need to get "provoked" sometimes — perhaps even stimulated to action — if we are to keep the democratic process, not to mention our faith, working. Thank you for prodding.

**Margaret E. Johnson  
Watsonville, Cal.**

*Continued from back cover*

cution had argued that the jury "should be permitted to reach its verdict uninfluenced by concern arising from the FALN's proven record of violence." The FALN is an alleged terrorist group advocating Puerto Rican independence and suspected of setting off a number of bombs, the most recent on New Year's Eve, which seriously injured three police officers.

Judge Sifton in his instructions to the jurors made clear that this was not an FALN trial and that the defendants were not charged with violent acts, but the defense lawyers claimed that an anonymous jury prejudices the case, cloaking it with an aura of mystery and implying that the five on trial are somehow connected to the FALN.

Many supporters of the five expressed surprise that the trial was still in progress. They pointed out that this could have been an open and shut case — the five had freely admitted that they

had refused to testify before the Grand Jury. The question has now turned to *why* they did not testify, with the defense presenting character witnesses to get at their motivations.

The issue, therefore, is not whether the defendants have disobeyed the law, which they have admitted. The question has become, how can justice be done?

Testimony of character witnesses centered around the confidentiality of the ministry, the nature of lay ministry, the chilling effect of a community worker testifying before a Grand Jury, and the job performance of the defendants.

In January, THE WITNESS reported that a counter suit had been brought against the U.S. Government by the five, including a motion to quash and pointing to a prejudicial press release issued by the FBI labeling them the "unincarcerated leadership of the FALN." (See interview with Maria Cueto, January issue.) But Judge Sifton denied the motion.

Deadlines prohibit further details, but outcome of the trial and other developments will appear in the April issue. ■

## Inertia

The Primal Passion was so great  
It burst upon the bones of Nothingness  
It pulverized, exploded them to being.

But still the Nothing drags. It tugs  
and pulls against the hem of Being.  
Inertia of matter, it is called.  
The quantum pulse, the constant  
push of being  
Must fight each instant against  
oblivion.

And what are sin and evil but that drag?  
They scream and claw  
against the larval Spirit  
So that the Nothingness  
may rest once more, and sleep.

So Christ upon the Cross and  
in the Bread  
Is still the Primal Passion fighting on  
To overcome reluctance of the World  
to being born.

— Odell Prather

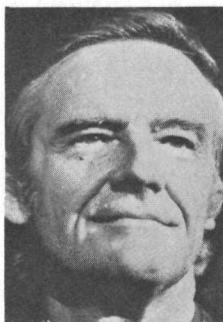
**Editorial . . . Continued from page 3**

of small alternative media such as LP and the Ecumenical Press Service to fill the information gap. Other sources of information are socially concerned missionaries overseas and culturally aware church people who travel abroad.

The more affluent church publications are sending their own reporters to cover stories, especially in Central America. It's an expensive venture, but one eminently worthwhile, in the interest of finding out whether "that's the way it (really) is."

(M. L. S. and the editors)





MOORE



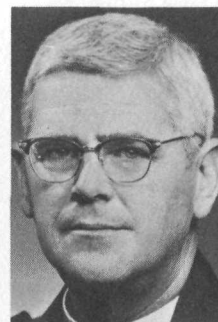
HOPKINS



DeWITT



McGEHEE



BLANCHARD

## Character Witnesses Stir Trial

by Mary Lou Suhor

As THE WITNESS went to press, four bishops and three laypersons had testified as character witnesses for the defense in the trial of five Hispanics charged with criminal contempt for refusing to testify before a Federal Grand Jury in Brooklyn. Two of the defendants, Maria Cueto and Steven Guerra, have close ties to the Episcopal Church.

The testimony Feb. 9 marked one of the highlights of the trial, as the case moved into its second week. Among those taking the stand were:

- The Rt. Rev. Roger Blanchard, former Bishop of Southern Ohio, currently attached to the Diocese of Massachusetts; and the Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Jr., Bishop of New York, who testified on behalf of Maria Cueto. Bishop Blanchard was deputy to the Presiding Bishop when Ms. Cueto was

employed as executive director of the Episcopal Church's National Commission for Hispanic Affairs;

- The Rt. Rev. H. Coleman McGehee, Jr., Bishop of Michigan and Chair of the Board of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company; the Rt. Rev. Robert L. DeWitt, Senior Contributing Editor of THE WITNESS; and Ms. Mattie Hopkins, Chicago educator and ECPC Board member, who appeared on behalf of Steven Guerra, who is also a member of the ECPC Board;

- Dom Velazquez and Yolanda Sanchez, professional social workers serving in East Harlem, who spoke on behalf of their co-worker, defendant Andres Rosado.

- Other defendants are Julio Rosado, who is serving as his own attorney, and Ricardo Romero, of Alamosa, Col.

Asked about the heavy church presence in the courtroom, which included a number of clergy — men and women — and a broad spectrum of lay people, Bishop McGehee said, "We are here to express our pastoral concern, of course. Many of us have worked closely with some of the defendants and have anguished as they served previous jail terms on a similar charge. But beyond that, we want to be one with them in upholding the social justice issues around which they have rallied — Grand Jury abuse and the rights of Hispanics, especially the right to support Puerto Rican independence."

Another highlight of the week was the decision by Judge Charles P. Sifton to try the case before an anonymous jury; that is, a jury identified only by numbers, not names and addresses. The prose-

*Continued on page 19*



VOL. 66 NO. 4 APRIL, 1983

# THE WITNESS

To Repair the Ruined Cities

Donald W. Shriver, Jr.

Something New in the Wind:

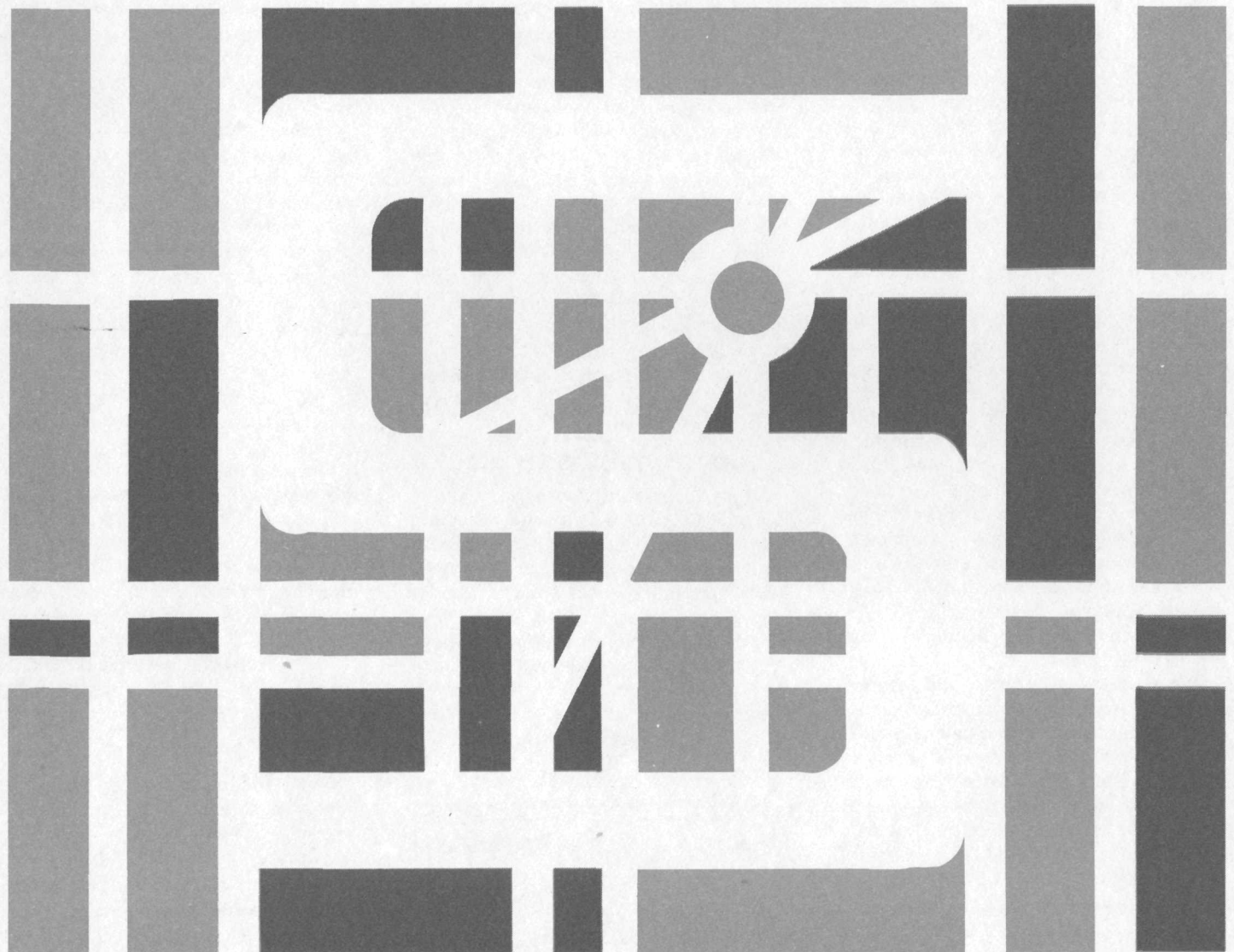
Bishops vs. Economic Policy

Richard W. Gillett

Sheltering the Homeless:

The Power of Futility

John Poppy



LETTERS  
LETTERS  
LETTERS  
LETTERS  
LETTERS  
LETTERS

# Re: Exquisitely Insensitive

## Tithing Fiscal Archaism

Judith Anderson makes a number of excellent points in her protest against pressure for tithing ("The Exquisitely Insensitive Approach to Tithing," January.) She has, however, overlooked one of the most fundamental.

The biblical standard of tithing was established when the Jews were governed theocratically — the church and the state were one. Moses and his assistants and their successors were responsible not only for the spiritual well-being of the people, but for the maintenance of public order, public health, education, national defense, the conduct of foreign relations, the standardization of weights and measures, and whatever other governmental functions there were to perform. The tithe supported all of this. Hence, the modern equivalent of tithing is not to give 10% of income (either gross or after-tax) to the church, but to give 10% of gross income to the church and government combined.

My advice to Ms. Anderson is this. First, calculate your total income. Don't fuss about technical exemptions — this is not for some lawyer or accountant, but for God. Put it all in — gifts from parents, child-support payments, food stamps, everything you have available to meet your expenses. Second, calculate 10% of that total. Third, subtract all your tax payments, federal, state, and local. If the remainder is positive, this is what you should be contributing to the church; if it's negative, you could try asking the church to pay it to you, or just regard it

as a carry-forward of supererogation. In either case, you can look the Presiding Bishop and other apostles of stewardship in the eye when they come around on their tithing canvasses, knowing that you are doing your fair share according to the Word of God.

It is of course true that this fundamentalist interpretation of tithing would let affluent communicants off the ecclesiastical hook along with those in Judith Anderson's income bracket. This might make the Standing Commission on Stewardship and Development regret that they brought the matter up in the first place, which would be all to the good, since tithing really has no more relevance to 20th century American Christendom than do animal sacrifices and patriarchal polygamy. If, however, they wish to persist in fiscal archaism without losing the support of the wealthy, they should consider resurrecting the *sin offering* and the *thank offering*.

**The Rev. David F. Ross**  
Lexington, Ky.

## Little Contact With Blacks

Just an observation about the contents of the article, "The Exquisitely Insensitive Approach to Tithing," by Judith Anderson. It is obvious that the author either has little contact with churches in the Black religious tradition as well as in the inner-city Pentecostal and Holiness tradition or has misunderstood the place and urgency of tithing in those churches. Contrary to her well-meaning protests of sympathy, these churches with their

august buildings as well as their storefronts are largely made up of the people whom the author thinks should be exempt from the rigor of giving a tithe of 10%: the unemployed, the underemployed, the female single parents, the poor, the ADC parents, the Food Stamps recipients as well as middle-class Blacks.

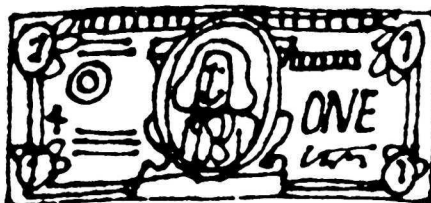
Tithing is a crucial part of their tradition and spirituality, a point always emphasized in their worship at the time of the offertory and in the preaching. Nor is the tithe trivialized and made less rigorous in those churches by stretching the idea of 10% to include "time" and "talent" as the author is wont to do. Such a stretching may be appealing to Episcopalians and others in churches whose giving is not at all commensurate with the suspected affluence of its membership, but not in the churches of the Blacks and the poor. A tithe is understood to mean 10% of one's income for the work of God and His kingdom both for the poor and the oppressed. It is an important understanding of stewardship for them.

I trust this answers the author's rhetorical query about "Would anyone preach about tithing 10% to a poor inner-city parish?". Black churches as well as the Pentecostal and Holiness churches have done it for decades and their people respond accordingly.

**The Rev. R. E. Hood**  
General Theological Seminary  
New York, N.Y.

## Often Feel Guilty

Thanks to Judith Anderson for her sensitive article on tithing. I am an "older" university student working my way through a Ph.D. Funds are not available for basic repairs, TV, etc. which



# Approach to Tithing

everyone takes for granted, to say nothing of new clothes. We want to give, but often feel guilty because the amount is so small.

**Jane E. Rasmussen**  
St. Louis Park, Minn.

## Asking Right Questions

As to Judith Anderson's questions in the January WITNESS about to whom the Episcopal Church is talking when it talks about tithing, the answers are yes, yes, and yes. Yes, it is the middle and upper classes talking to the middle and upper classes. Yes, we (the above) and they (the "worthy poor") are alive and well as functional categories. Yes, the Episcopal Church tries its darndest to remain an Old Boys' Club in matters of money (just as it does in a quite literal way in sacramental matters, in this neck of the woods). Your questions, sister, are the right ones to be asking; I'm sorry that the answers can only add to your anguish.

In fairness to the General Convention, it must be said that, given the predominantly upper-class base of support for our church, and given the relative stinginess of the rich (an average 1-2% of income given away) as compared to the poor (+5%), some kind of mandate to this group to give has long been necessary. Moreover, this action does take one step toward moving monetary income — specific dollar amounts — out of the sacred silence which "politeness" imposes on it in our society, and into the realm of ordinary conversation and analysis. This is a piece of de-mystifica-

tion essential to overthrowing money as an idol and reducing it to what it is — a thing, a tool, a necessary commodity, an (other) occasion for stewardship — and that's *all*. No mystery, no symbolic value no basic importance.

Your questions, however, go beneath that practical response to given social norms and call us to yet further demystification of the causes and rationale for the norms themselves. I only hope that your plea is heard by a church which mostly keeps itself ignorant of and goes supinely along with its own identity in the class-structure, and is thereby incapacitated from addressing itself to the fundamental issues of justice which that raises.

But cheer up; things could be worse. You could live in our diocese instead of your own. Unemployment and job insecurity is just about as bad here as it is there; the concentration of elderly people is probably much higher. My husband, our parish treasurer, practically weeps as he counts out the nickels, quarters and \$1 bills pledged mostly out of Social Security (or less) to the weekly offering (no upper-class base of support here!).

"Money," you say, "is a very sensitive subject, but do we realize how symbolic it is?" Oh yes, Judith Anderson, I think we do; I really think we do. The only question is, how long we will tolerate such "symbols" as communications appropriate to the Body of Christ?

**Carol Carlson**  
Mt. Jewett, Pa.

## Ms. Anderson Responds

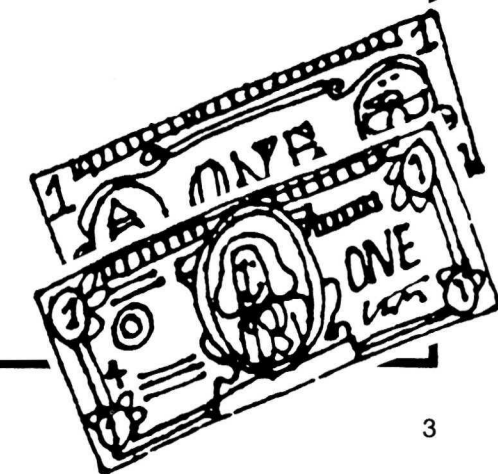
I find the letters, and the dialogue, most interesting. In answer to R. E. Hood, it is true that my background does not

include direct experience with the Black religious tradition and the Pentecostal and Holiness traditions. But I understand that another aspect of these traditions is a long-standing sense of community, empathy and mutual support, like that of a very close-knit family, sensitive to its members in need; a warm, rather egalitarian atmosphere with less of the hidden hierarchies and classism one senses in the ordinary Episcopal parish church. I admire the generosity and awareness (and exuberance) in these traditions.

David Ross's comments about the "theocratic" history of tithing are helpful to bear in mind in this context, underscoring the idea of a community's sensitivity to its "family" responsibilities. If we can treat one another in the household with more tact, perhaps we can better offer Christ's gifts to the world.

I think we should all welcome the frankness of Carol Carlson's letter, the call to some hard self-examination of ourselves and our denomination. The anger and outrage and pain are very real. As we begin publicly to tell our stories in vivid detail, we may learn to communicate truly in every sense of that liturgical word.

**Judith Anderson**  
East Lansing, Mich.





## THE WITNESS

---

EDITOR  
**Mary Lou Suhor**

---

SENIOR CONTRIBUTING EDITOR  
**Robert L. DeWitt**

---

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS  
**Richard W. Gillett**  
**Hugh C. White**

---

STAFF  
**Ann Hunter**  
**Susan Small**  
**Bonnie Spady**  
**Lisa Whelan**

---

PUBLISHER  
**Episcopal Church Publishing Company**

---

### ECPC BOARD OF DIRECTORS

CHAIR  
**H. Coleman McGehee**

VICE-CHAIR  
**Barbara Harris**

SECRETARY  
**Helen Seager**

TREASURER  
**Robert Potter**

ASSISTANT TREASURER  
**Robert Eckersley**

**Otis Charles**  
**Robert L. DeWitt**  
**Steven Guerra**  
**Suzanne Hiatt**  
**Mattie Hopkins**  
**Joan Howarth**  
**James Lewis**  
**Joseph A. Pelham**

---

THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215) 643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. Copyright 1983 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.

# THE WITNESS

---

## Something New in the Wind:

In the religious community's perennial and frequently controversial engagement with societal issues, something new is in the wind. Following the widespread public debate engendered by the U.S. Roman Catholic Bishops' draft pastoral letter on the nuclear arms race — itself a milestone — there is now emerging from the churches the beginnings of a major moral challenge to current economic policy.

The most recent example came in a statement titled "Ethical Reflections on the Economic Crisis" issued in January by the Commission for Social Affairs of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops. In that statement they urged the Canadian government to develop an industrial strategy to create permanent and meaningful jobs. They characterized the present recession as possibly "symptomatic of a much larger structural crisis in the capitalist system." In a similar vein, last September the Urban Bishops Coalition of the U.S. Episcopal Church issued a Labor Day pastoral letter which called the present crisis of plant closings and high unemployment "the most

severe economic upheaval in more than a century," and stated that the "internationalization of investments and production, combined with new technologies, places the economic future of millions of families and hundreds of local communities in jeopardy."

Other denominations either separately or in concert are also beginning to issue declarations and initiate programs attempting to deal with the economic crisis in a structural way. The U.S. Roman Catholic bishops are slated to issue a major pastoral letter in 1984 on capitalism and Christianity which promises to stir widespread discussion.

These efforts are more than a generalized cry to aid the unemployed and restore social welfare cuts. They begin to question on moral and religious grounds some long-held assumptions about profit, jobs, capital and economic freedom in America — the underpinnings of the free enterprise system itself.

Is the new trend simply a headline-grabbing effort by clergy to distract from an inability to "speak convincingly about such



# Churches vs. Economic Policy

Richard W. Gillett

untrendy subjects as sin and salvation," as columnist George F. Will put it? That cynical dismissal ignores what some economists and even a few politicians are beginning to recognize: that there is a profound crisis in the structure and shape of work occurring in the Western industrial world. In America the crisis is afflicting millions of workers in the form of plant closures and layoffs and is dooming hundreds of communities across the country to economic lifelessness.

The sweeping dimensions of the economic crisis are beginning to convince many that they go far deeper than mere criticism of Reaganomics.

According to Massachusetts economists Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison, this economic crisis has seen the loss of between 30 and 50 million jobs in the 1970s, in a massive "deindustrialization" of the United States and a rapid shift to a service and information-oriented economy. The increasing ease in moving capital and equipment across the globe, and the accelerating use of robots and other automation techniques are

additional developments which seem to bode ill for a return to any acceptable rates of unemployment and community stability.

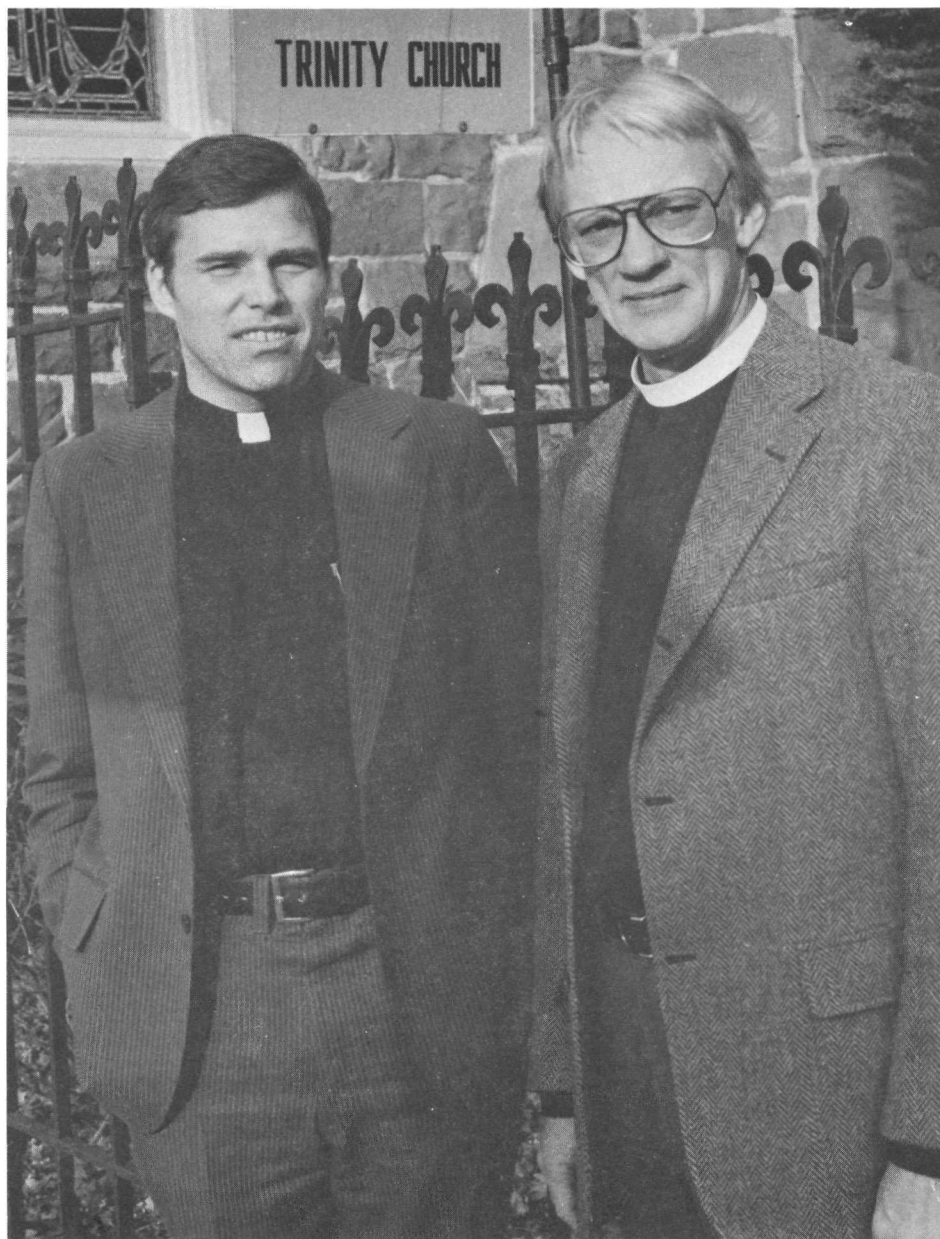
Unemployment among people of color, (among Black teenagers it is about 50%) has long been chronic — a systematic denial of training and placement opportunities for people who may never even enter the work force, thus constituting a "permanent underclass" in the wealthiest nation on earth.

What is important about the new religious statements on the economy is not necessarily the specific analyses they offer, but rather that they come out of substantive moral beliefs that have deep religious foundations in the Judeo-Christian tradition. Among these are the special value and dignity of human work in the divine plan for creation, the inherent preciousness of the community of all human beings, and the strong scriptural emphasis upon the poor and the outcast as special objects of the divine concern. Coming from that angle, they have the power that religious institutions at their best can offer society: the ability to judge the performance of

all of our economic and social institutions by the plumbline of how well they enhance the fulfillment of the individual and promote a wholesome and caring society for even the least of its members.

These criteria should be applied to such critical emerging questions as whether the use of capital is now serving and enhancing community (or whether it increasingly serves its owners); whether work is for the person (or whether a person is a mere cog in the production process); whether workers ought to have participation in major work-related decisions affecting them, such as their own disemployment (or whether both unions and management treat them as less-than-intelligent automatons), and how each of these questions relate to the rising racism and sexism of recent years.

If churches and synagogues have the courage to do so and the conviction of their own religious beliefs, they could make a major contribution to what ought to become the focus of a great national debate: how our economic system can be designed to serve the people and not vice versa. ■



**T**he day before Thanksgiving, rector Robert Cromey (right) told the staff at Trinity Church in San Francisco, "Things have reached the point where we ought to have a Trinity flophouse." The Rev. Richard Kerr (left), a volunteer assistant said, "I'll make it happen if you'll let me." Cromey said, "Go." A week later, the church was the first in its city to take in homeless people overnight, and the congregation has rallied around a shelter program that could have an impact far beyond the 125 men a night to whom it offers refuge.

**T**he doors were just closed, not locked, and the men waiting on the pavement outside wanted very much to leave the night chill and go in. Around the corner, the staff monitors had opened the nave of the church. They did it every evening for people who wanted to sit in a pew and stay warm until 10 o'clock, when the meetings in the parish hall would be cleared out and volunteers would have 120 cots and blankets set up. Many of the volunteers had been homeless themselves; they worked swiftly and un sentimentally to get things ready.

## Sheltering the

At 10 p.m. the men started coming in. Each one showed his referral slip from a city distribution point, then headed for a cot where he would spend the night. (Women, couples, and children had been sent to several hotels in the city's Tenderloin, half a mile farther downtown.) If one didn't have a slip, he went in after those who did. Some wore clothes that had long since lost their shape and carried bundles that probably needed cleaning, but most looked little different from the way you or I would look if we had spent some days outdoors. Which they had. The one thing common to all the men was that they had no home to sleep in that night.

A few hand-lettered signs over the rows of cots said "NO Smoking — Alcohol — Stealing — Fights — Gambling — Sex — Weapons — Drugs." The calm presence of the monitors, combined with the generally

---

**John Poppy**, a former senior editor of *Look* and managing editor of *Saturday Review: The Arts*, contributes to numerous national magazines. He and his wife Julia attend Trinity Episcopal Church in San Francisco.

subdued bearing of the men as they came in, made the signs seem almost a polite formality. Besides, a spirit of community had taken hold in the shelter within days after it opened; old-timers tended to answer newcomers' questions and keep them from rocking the boat. There was no milling around, not much noise. Just men finding cots, lying down, and going to sleep as soon as they could. People are tired when they come in off the streets.

Some, however, would sit up and talk quietly in two areas set aside for smoking. Mario has lived in the city for

all of his 38 years; he drove a cab for 12 years; now, no job, no home. "But I'll get something." He doesn't look beaten. John, a neatly trimmed blond in his middle 20's, wearing a light sweater, clean shirt and carefully kept jeans, looks more tense. He moved from New York last summer for a job as an assistant office manager but lost it when he showed up two days late; he's been sleeping in the church for a couple of weeks, looking for work during the day. "One problem when you don't have a place to stay is keeping yourself presentable to look for a job," he

remarks. "And when they ask, 'Where can we call you?' I can't give them the church's phone number." Andy, a wispy youngster barely out of his teens, arrived in the city three weeks ago; he wears an AA battery hung from his left earlobe, and is so bewildered and exhausted that he breaks into laughter at odd moments while telling about tearing up his papers in a fit of impatience at the General Assistance office that morning. He asks to be awakened at 5 a.m. so he can go back with a new acquaintance who has promised to show him how to act, and try again. "If somebody doesn't give me

Copyright 2020. Archives of the Episcopal Church / DFMS. Permission required for reuse and publication.

## Homeless: The Power of Futility by John Poppy



As soon as evening meetings clear out of the Trinity Church parish hall, volunteer assistants have half an hour to set up 125 cots with blankets. Then they open the doors to homeless people who, without the support of this congregation, would spend the night on the streets.



some help I don't know what I'm going to do," he keeps saying.

"Get some rest so you can control yourself better," says Ken, a monitor. "Go on, now." Ken himself used to spend his nights sleeping on chairs at another shelter. Now he puts his experience in homelessness to work as a paid monitor here.

By 11:30 every cot was claimed and most of the occupants were asleep. On average, about 90% of them have completed high school, and 30% are college graduates. Somewhere between a third and a half are alcohol or drug abusers, are physically or mentally disabled, or are street-wise wanderers who aren't looking for work. More than two-thirds have held jobs that lasted more than a year. At a rough guess, more than half of them are immediately employable. Some are just out of luck, out of ideas, unsure of what has happened to them. Some, like Ken, figure that they put themselves where they are, one way or another, and plan to move on. "I ran the red light and I'm paying the ticket," is the way Ken put it.

By 8 a.m. the next morning everyone was up, had coffee and a brown-bag breakfast of hard-boiled egg, roll, and fresh fruit, and was back on the street. The guests in the church had received something else, too, in the way they had been treated: a bit of dignity. "Maybe it's only 2 or 3% more than they've felt somewhere else," Ken suggested, "but they take it out on the street with them. It sticks."

This is happening, as it is in other locations around the United States, at Trinity Episcopal Church in San Francisco. Last Dec. 1, Trinity became the first church in that city to offer overnight sleeping space to the homeless. Robert Cromey, the rector, knew that churches in other places such as Atlanta had started housing people several years ago, and set in motion the program in his own parish. Richard

Kerr, a volunteer associate priest at Trinity, made it happen, getting a pledge of \$20,000 from the city government for the first two months, finding supplies, recruiting staff and volunteers. The congregation of about 250, growing under a vigorous new ministry yet sometimes seeming outnumbered by its guests, firmly supports the presence of the guests. One churchgoer mobilized her catering service to provide the breakfasts. Others donated money they could scarcely spare, and time. The people of Trinity have shown extraordinary generosity and care.

It is all so decent, and good-hearted . . . and ineffective.

What will providing a warm place to sleep for 120 men a night do about the conditions that put them on the streets?

San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein made headlines in the local papers last fall when she started saying that her city, with a population of just 680,000, had 10,000 homeless people on its sidewalks and dark corners every night. The figure was recently revised to 4,000; the truth is, nobody knows the real number. But you can see the people wherever you go. Such estimates don't count the thousands of others who get free meals from the dining rooms and soup kitchens run by the churches and community groups.

"Feeding the hungry has become so big a task that it is stretching the resources of volunteer agencies." That statement comes not from some angry radical paper but from a recent article in the *Wall Street Journal*, which goes on to quote Karen Kordisch, head of the Hunger Task Force, a private group in Cleveland: "We're a Band-Aid and Cleveland is hemorrhaging." In Cleveland, San Francisco, and communities across the United States, the hungry and the homeless are younger than they used to be; many are women; more and more of the people at the soup kitchens are couples with children, ashamed to

be asking for a free meal but grateful for something to tide them over while they look for work.

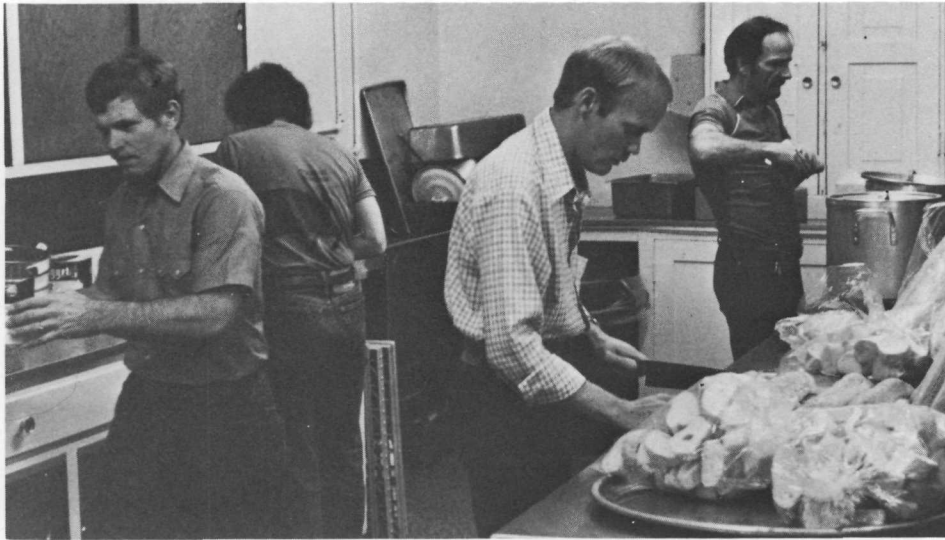
"At no time since the Great Depression," says the Community for Creative Non-Violence in Washington, D.C., "have the homeless poor represented so broad a cross-section of American society as they do today." Or such a large portion of us. The number of homeless persons in this most wealthy of all countries has risen, by some estimates, to at least 2 million.

What do the people in a church feel when they know they are just treating a symptom, while the disease, as far as they can see, gets worse? What do they feel about the impact an individual can have on the arms race? What can they do when they hear a sermon in which Trinity Rector Robert Cromey quotes Pope Paul VI: "Armaments kill the poor by causing them to starve"? What about big-city real-estate speculation? Cromey cites condominium conversions and soaring rents that price housing beyond the reach of many. What about a distorted distribution of wealth? Cromey notes that some people let food rot in storage while others go hungry. Last year the stock market rose 171 points, as the Boston *Globe's* columnist Ellen Goodman reminds us, while unemployment rose by 2.5 million. Are the congregations of churches like Trinity, even with the best of intentions, doing anything to fix the political and economic conditions that produce such discordant realities?

"We don't extend ourselves for other people because we're going to be ineffective," says Rick Kerr, who directs the Trinity shelter program. "We do it because there is no way to be a human being and not do it."

Robert Cromey speaks of a responsibility for *ministry* and for *prophecy*, intertwined. "Here are human beings who are not being taken care of; we'll do the best we can for them as a stopgap





Trinity Church volunteers hustle to produce a brown bag breakfast of hard-boiled egg, roll and fresh fruit for the homeless men who have slept at the parish hall the previous night.

measure. We all know that I Corinthians is where Paul tells us we are members of the body of Christ: 'And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it.' We honor the poor by feeding them and giving them a place to sleep. But that is only *partially* honoring them. We also honor them by doing something about the conditions in society that keep them hungry and homeless.

"And that is where our ministry leads to prophecy. The ministry is a proclamation, a dramatic way to point out to the community that we've all got work to do. Remember the Old Testament prophets such as Isaiah, Jeremiah, Amos, Micah: One of their ideas is to use prophecy not in the sense of predicting the future, as we say, 'Next Tuesday we're going to have rain' — but in the sense of pointing a direction for a people. The prophetic voice says, 'If you don't take care of the poor and the homeless and if justice isn't being done, this nation will fall.' We might not want to put the consequences in such dire terms, but the point is that there will be consequences."

That is the catch in what they are doing: the consequences.

They have no intention of making mere gestures. Rick Kerr's motive is not to be effective, it is to be human. Of course there is effectiveness in that. "It seems to me that the message of the New Testament and the witness of the church," he says, "is that God has handed over to humanity the responsibility to solve our problems, and the power to do it."

"Responsibility," says Cromeey, "can be translated as the ability to respond. You're only alive if you keep responding to what is happening around you. When I say I have a responsibility for the sun coming up in the morning, I don't mean that I cause it but that I can respond to it. That is a gift we all have."

During Communion, when Cromeey recites, "Do this in remembrance of me," he puts particular emphasis on "*remembrance*," driving home its dimension — beyond simply thinking about Jesus at the moment — of re-joining, being present with, one flesh with. "When we do Eucharist," he says in response to a parishioner's question, "we do it in remembrance of Christ, and

also we're re-membered with the homeless downstairs. We're joined with them symbolically, and we don't get to escape the connection with people in the world.

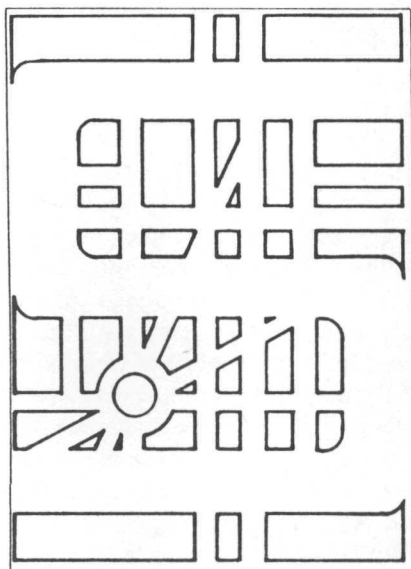
"The prophetic dimension comes naturally out of regular participation in the feeding of bread and wine. Of course we've got to feed people. Of course we've got to house people and take care of them. We are saying, day in and day out, week in and week out, 'We are being fed,' and therefore we ought to feed others."

Rick Kerr continues, "Social problems are soluble. For evidence, look at the elimination of slavery as an institution. Abraham took Hagar, his slave, to produce an heir, and it was not until 5,000 years later in the United States (less in some other countries) that slavery was repudiated as a moral possibility. But it did happen — and on religious grounds. Slavery was repudiated theologically before it was rejected politically."

Such politics as the church has, he suggests, are "the politics of total inclusiveness. No one is to be excluded. That gives us a unique opportunity to accomplish some things. Of course this is more theoretical than actual in the lives of many parishes and congregations. In this parish at this time, there is a radical openness — to the traditional and the new, to old people and young, from a few parishioners with wealth all the way to the many who have nothing, to gay and non-gay, and so on."

That assessment is accurate. Trinity is the oldest Episcopal church west of the Rockies, built by the rich burghers of San Francisco, and the congregation still includes members of old-line, traditional families. In addition, about a third of the congregation now is gay. They and the non-gay parishioners, certainly including most of its straight-laced older ones and the crusading rector, work harmoniously together.

*Continued on page 14*



**T**rinity Cathedral, Cleveland, marked its 75th anniversary last year with a festive service highlighting its role as a major institution with a long record of service to the needs of the city. Dean Perry R. Williams invited Donald Shriver, president of Union Theological Seminary, New York, to preach for the occasion.

Dr. Shriver outlined the biblical criteria of a great city, and explored the following "Trinitarian foundations." A great city, he said, is one where:

1. People have stopped worshipping idols, because they know and worship God, creator of earth and all creatures;
2. People are organizing themselves to meet the earthly needs of the weakest citizens of the community; and
3. In the hearts of people, hope for the future is winning out over despair.

**THE WITNESS** agreed with Dean Williams that Dr. Shriver's sermon should be made accessible to all who care deeply about the repair and welfare of the cities.

**T**he Mayor of Cleveland looked President Reagan in the eye and told him that Cleveland was in deep trouble. In a recent visit to the White House, as reported in the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, the Mayor said youth unemployment was up, and at least half of the minority youth were out of work. Man Power training funds were a third of what they were in 1979. Bankruptcies had doubled. And on the way to Washington he had met in a parking lot an ex-convict, an out-of-work machinist who could not find work and was having trouble accumulating the \$1.50 a day required to keep his alcoholic habit going. The Mayor, it is reported, told the President about this ex-convict. What will military might do for this country, he asked the President, if our cities are unable to rehabilitate such a man with a job and with treatment for his alcoholism?

Our cities, he said, need attention — not only their sewer and transportation systems, but their people as well. From that report, the Mayor sounds like a public leader who thinks that Cleveland is in need of repair. That puts him in the biblical ballpark.

Down through history cities have been great centers of idolatry. That is why on many of its pages the Bible seems to read like an anti-urban tract. In early, medieval, and modern urban history, one confronts a series of reasons for the founding of cities that are not very attractive to the prophets. The first city in Israel's memory was mythological Babel, city of the proud tower, built to celebrate the clever achievements of humans who were quite willing to forget that theirs was a life received from God

## To Repair the

the Creator. Babel, Israel remembered, collapsed of its own weight of pride.

Then there were the historical cities of that memory: Thebes, Memphis, Pithom and Raamses, the shrine cities of Egypt, where the Pharaohs ruled as gods and enslaved people like the Hebrews to build tombs meant to last forever — more towers of Babel, of course. Further into their historical memory, the imperial cities of Nineveh, Babylon, and finally Rome — all monuments to the human lust for power, all of them grinding little nations under their heels.

Can anything good come out of cities? Israel's historic experience made the prophets wonder. Even Jerusalem, allegedly God's favorite city, becomes the center of corrupt religion and equally corrupt politics. "It is not possible for a prophet to perish out of Jerusalem" (Luke 13:33) said Jesus, and he said it with a sigh: "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, you that kill prophets . . . how often have I longed to gather your children as a hen gathers her brood under her wings . . ." They threw him out of Nazareth, but they killed him in Jerusalem.

Not a very optimistic picture of human life in cities.

But strange saving events are associated with many of these same corrupt cities. Prophets from Amos to Jeremiah insisted on preaching in the midst of cities like Bethel and Jerusalem. And there, in the midst of Jerusalem, we find apostles preaching "Jesus and the resurrection," because this Jesus, risen from the dead, instructed them that they are so to preach, "in Jerusalem" (Acts 1:8) — to make a new start in this human adventure, beginning in the place where some of the worst in humanity

# Ruined Cities

by Don Shriver

had come to expression. Run away to preach the Good News in the countryside? Retreat to the suburbs? Not by the grace of God you won't. *Beginning* in Jerusalem.

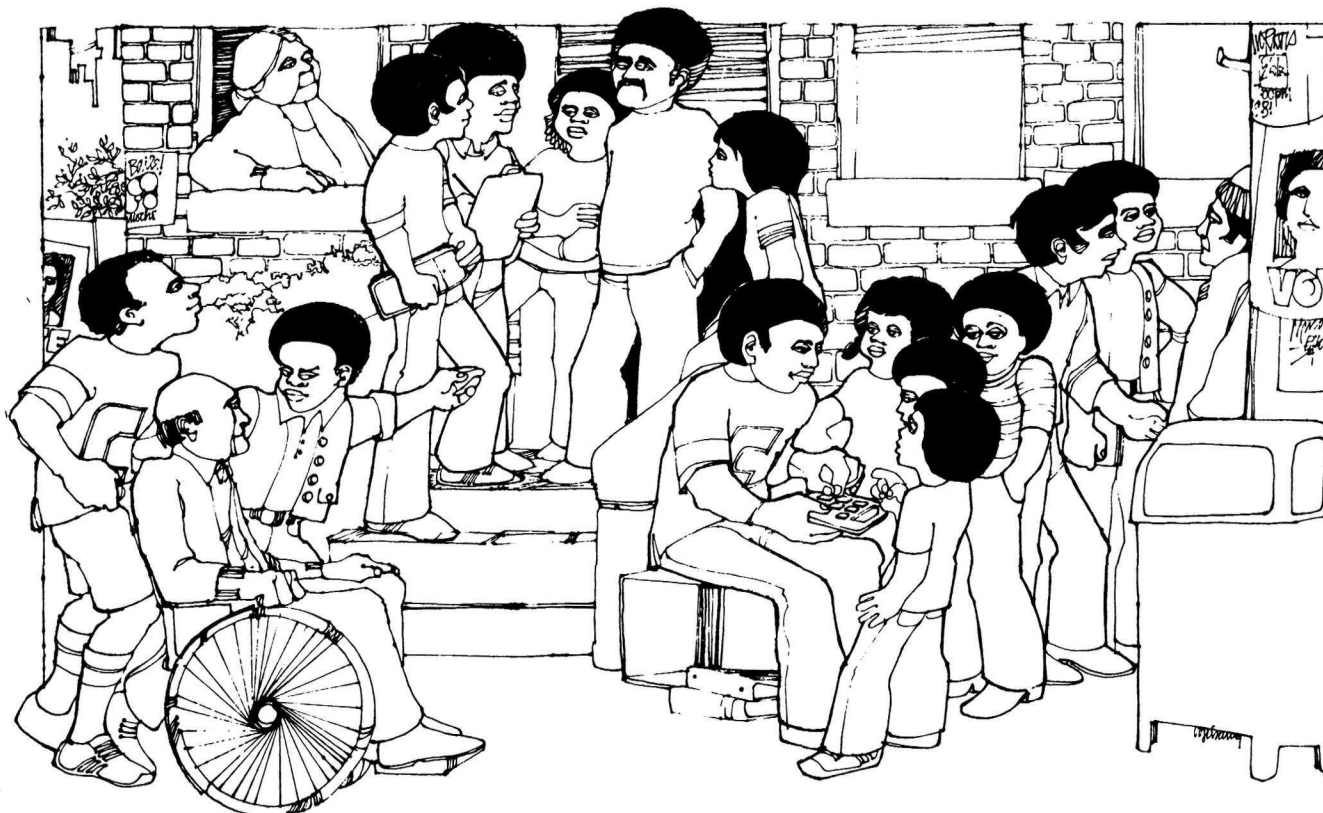
Before a dozen generations of Christians had done their share of obeying those apostolic instructions, the great Imperial Whore of Babylon, Rome the Idolatrous, decided officially to give up its idolatry. It made peace with the Christians, who until then — 312 A.D. — were going to the lions because they were no more willing to worship Caesar than their Hebrew ancestors were willing to worship Pharaoh.

All this led to the possibility of building human cities around some other principle than the worship of idols. The

medieval city, that *bourg* built with stout walls, was a theological improvement on the Babylons and Romes of old. The walls protected nobility and the aristocratic system of the time, but it also protected even the country serfs from the full brunt of international anarchy. If a cathedral tower sprouted there, pointing upward to the Great God of the Universe, how could idolatry flourish quite so readily as before?

Then there was the market-city of the Renaissance, built from the collaborations of princes and middle-class merchants — the middle class, that built its houses outside the walls of the fortified city, in between the aristocrats and the country peasantry. And that is where a long history lesson arrives at last at the history of Cleveland, Ohio.

The cities of this American continent are late arrivals in this 5000-year-old history. The people who came here beginning in the 16th century, were almost all merchants-in-the-making: they came to build Boston, Norfolk, Philadelphia, Savannah, Albany and all-points-west on the Erie Canal. The people who founded my home town of Norfolk needed a port for shipping out their peanuts and tobacco from the upriver plantations. Then they needed the same port, expanded, for shipping out the West Virginia coal. Memphis was the city that cotton built; Chicago, "Toolmaker, Stacker of Wheat, Player with Railroads" for the westward trek of Europeans across the Great Plains. And Cleveland: the city of interlocked ships and rail lines, the city that steel





built and machine tools, too.

This nation of cities — who built them, if not mostly poor people with an ache in their bones never to be poor again?

Historically and spiritually speaking, we are up to the present moment. But we have not left the first theological point: the danger of idolatry in urban life. If you think that idolatry is no longer a danger to the people of modern secular urban America, look again. In the early 1970s my family lived in a housing subdivision inside the city limits of Atlanta. A social agency in town, working with “problem” teenagers referred to them by the courts, decided that suburban living was an influence towards normality in American society. (By moving there, our family showed its agreement with that assumption.) So the agency took steps to buy a home on our block, to make a “halfway home” for a couple and four or five of these young people. Not all of these teenagers, of course, would necessarily have white faces. There were 15 homes on our block. Could you not write the scenario that followed? Thirteen of the 15 families organized to block the purchase of that home by the social agency. Failing to do that immediately, they made the atmosphere of the neighborhood so bitter that no social workers would bring even slightly disturbed teenagers into such a place. So the agency backed out.

If you had surveyed those 13 families, they would have said, “It would hurt our property values.” What would you call the fear in that statement, and the racism and classism hiding under it? From a biblical perspective, you would have to call it *the sin of caring for money more than for needy people*.

How is it in Cleveland on such a point? More righteous than Atlanta?

American cities are segregated by race and class, more so now than a mere 75 years ago when this cathedral was a-building. More than ever in the history

of cities on this continent, income determines where we live, who our neighbors will be. There is no iron law that requires this. People of different income levels could live close together, especially if we had an ethic and an economic-political commitment to make it so — and a real estate industry encouraged by the market (that is, customers like most of us) to work with weak people to make them stronger.

To do this we would have to go along with maxims like the one Jesus repeated to the Devil, that old Idolater: “Humans do not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God.” (Matthew 4:4) To do this we would have to call a halt to the notion

---

---

***“Down through history cities have been great centers of idolatry. That is why on many of its pages the Bible seems to read like an anti-urban tract. In early, medieval, and modern urban history one confronts a series of reasons for the founding of cities that are not very attractive to the prophets.”***

---

---

that property values are sacred in the organization of human affairs. And the notion that the most human life is one with the lowest taxes. For love of lower taxes many of us are willing to tolerate second-class public schools, understaffed police forces, poor sanitation, and more air pollution than any human habitation should tolerate.

Why not higher taxes, if we can find a way to use them for the rehabilitation of drunks and drug-addicts and homeless poor people, all of whom are as human as anyone else in this society? I like what Mayor George Voinovich said to President Reagan the other day; but with his colleagues in the state legisla-

ture, he would have said such things even more forcefully if he could say them backed up by the loud voice of a high proportion of the people who are attending church and synagogue. I think of a state legislator, a woman, in Connecticut who recently said to an interviewer: “One church lobbyist up here doesn’t mean anything to me because I’m not sure many people are behind him . . . what it takes is signed statements from parishes that are involved in a given issue — the grass roots people. If I had 500 signatures from different churches . . . people saying, ‘I support the call to make decent housing for the poor through these methods . . .’, you know, with all those signatures, we could get something done up here (in Hartford).”

Sad to confess, one trouble with American political life is that the dividing line between those who worship idols and those who worship the Lord is likely to run right through many a Christian congregation. A recent survey sponsored by the Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company concludes that people most actively religious in America are the ones most enthusiastic about keeping the United States *militarily* superior to the rest of the world. Do we rest easy in this association of religion in America with the power of guns? It is enough to make one suspect that religion is not necessarily a good thing. The prophets thought it was not, for it could easily be the clothing of idolatry.

No wonder, then, that in the final book of the Bible, *Revelation*, the ultimate future of the world is pictured as a future without organized religion. The wonder is that, in this allegedly anti-urban Bible, the future is finally imaged precisely as a *city*, “come down from heaven.” There in that City of God, religion will have done its creaturely work in the old world. What we have then is the human community, repaired

and restored, living in a truly great city. At the center of that city, not a temple, not an idol, but “the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world.” A little lamb, enthroned in the place where religion and government and commerce might have liked to have been enthroned, but now they all are allocated the status of worshippers. The center of the real city stands revealed: an innocent lamb from the countryside, reminiscent of the “meek” who have now “inherited the earth.” Humility and love have at last come into their own. *Compassion rules.*

So there is the second great anticipation of the City of God among the human cities. A city within hailing distance of the City of God is one where the least of these, the brothers and sisters of Jesus, have become the objects of neighborly compassion. Chapters 24 and 25 of Matthew indicate the human action that best anticipates the Lamb’s rule of the world comes down to mundane things like water, food, shelter, medical care, and decent prisons. It’s what politics and economics ought to be about, from here to eternity.

Humane urban politics will always be about arranging this and every city as places where the weak and the meek and the down-and-out *get included* in the human community. Hubert Humphrey had the Christian flavor of it when he said, “The moral test of government is what it does for people in the dawn of life — childhood; the twilight of life — old age; and the shadows of life — bad fortune in all its forms.”

To pass that moral test every single citizen may have to engage in a mighty struggle to sift the facts from the fancies of politics, and to rearrange collective priorities that will always be in dispute in any nearly-democratic society. Consider that the new F-18 fighter program of our national government will cost just about the amount of money cut recently from the welfare budget — lots

of struggle over priorities there. But what is the relation of our religion to our politics if not an invitation to a form of spiritual struggle known in the Bible as repentance?

And the repentance might as well begin in the churches. Ten years ago in Atlanta, an elder of the Presbyterian church, who made his living in the construction industry, pondered the problem of land-availability for the building of low-and-moderate income housing. He discovered that some of the largest landowners in the suburbs were churches. He went to a number of large suburban Presbyterian congregations with the question, “Would you consider using some of your spacious church sites as locations for subsidized housing for low and moderate income people?” No, we will not, said they, one and all,

---

*“This nation of cities — who built them, if not mostly poor people with an ache in their bones never to be poor again?”*

---

Presbyterians, mind you, who are supposed to believe, with John Calvin, that the world is the “theater of God’s glory.”

Don’t tell me that religion is the solution to all of Atlanta’s or Cleveland’s problems! One of our cities’ problems is religion — its institutions, its people. What we worship in fact is not always what we worship in name.

Jesus came into the world to give us strength and hope for doing what we are supposed to do and have not yet done. The message to the church and to the world, is not: “You ought to be good!” But: “God sent not his son into the world to condemn the world but that the world through him might be saved.” (John 3:17) What the world needs so obviously is not religion, but the power of that Holy Spirit who brought creation

out of chaos, who inspired the prophets as a minority to believe that the majority were capable of repentance, and who raised Jesus from the dead so that the confidence of his disciples might shift from their despairing selves to the God of heaven who means that God’s will be done on earth.

Faith, love, and hope are the great words for a great city. God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are the bearers and sustainers of the reality in those words. Such faith and love and hope must sustain us in our struggle with all the other realities that yield the Houghs, the South Bronxes, and the South Sides of our American city. Facing them, it is quite indispensable for Christians to confess: “Nothing shall separate us or our city from a love that never lets us go. Death is not the final word of God upon this city, but *life.*”

What does all this say about the active ministry of a cathedral to the life of a city like this? The possibilities are clear; but they all involve forms of collaboration between the churches and other human organizations. The church’s part in the making of a great city can at least start in a certain ministry of words. It’s not enough, but it is a start, especially if the words are brimful with facts and straight-aimed at issues of urgent public policy. They did another study in Hartford, Conn. in 1980, interviewing 44 prominent political and business leaders of that city. “What do you expect from the churches?” they asked. Almost unanimously, the 44 replied: *More leadership on public issues.* By “churches” they meant whole congregations, not just ministers. Said one local politician: “People don’t realize that when a congregation puts its mind to something it’s remarkable what it can do . . . Federal grants come and go . . . the city government, too . . . but the church will be there . . . Churches are one of the few

institutions where we have honest-to-God free speech.”

At the very least the church should be debating, among its own members, what it can do institutionally to supply the ailing cities of our land with a few parables, a few shining examples of what a great city, a repaired city might look like. The Community Development Fund of this cathedral and the Lutheran Housing Federation of this city are on the track of such parables. Here is another, full of encouragement, from the Borough of Brooklyn, New York:

A coalition of 36 local churches in several devastated neighborhoods of Brooklyn has developed what it calls a “Nehemiah Plan.” Nehemiah, you remember, rebuilt Jerusalem after the Babylonian invasions. The Babylonians didn’t fall upon Brooklyn — just the “natural” workings of the housing market which over a generation or two can turn mansions into slums in any American city. These modern-day Nehemiahs are bent on building 5000 new townhouses for low and moderate income families. They have assembled a loan fund of \$12 million for the first 1000 homes, from their own congregational and denominational resources. With this “challenge fund” in hand, they recently went to the New York City government for an additional loan of \$10 million. As quoted by the *New York Times*, a city official said: “No group has ever come to us like that before. Basically they said, ‘We’ve got our \$12 million; what have you got?’ What else could we say?” And a local housing expert said: “They haven’t got the remaining 4000 homes covered yet . . . The Federal government has disappeared as a housing-aid resource, and Albany is a poor man’s town. (But) The thousand homes are a good starting point — big enough to convince people that the effort is not a toy but small enough to be manageable.”

Neither Isaiah nor Jesus would be surprised. Both would rejoice:

*“They shall build the ancient ruins,  
they shall raise up the former  
devastations;  
they shall repair the ruined cities,  
the devastations of many genera-  
tions.” (61:4)* ■

## Boycott Goal in Sight

An action against Taster’s Choice coffee, which commenced March 1, may turn out to be the last step in the international boycott of Nestle products.

Inaugurated in 1977 by INFACT (the Infant Formula Action Coalition) the boycott has already impelled Nestle to announce its compliance with the World Health Organization Code of Marketing for Breast Milk Substitutes and to create a Compliance Audit Commission chaired by former Secretary of State Edmund Muskie.

In spite of this, monitors in developing countries continue to report infractions by the company. Advertising and free samples (prohibited by the Code) still persuade mothers to shift from breast milk to infant formula. Many of them use unsanitary containers, which may produce diarrhea; others over-dilute the formula because they cannot afford adequate supplies.

The company is now conferring with representatives of the International Boycott Committee. Thus, there are grounds for hope that the intensified action against Taster’s Choice, one of its leading money-makers in this country, will produce agreement and full compliance with the Code.

— Mary Jane Baker, Chair  
Committee on Corporate Responsibility  
Episcopal Church Publishing Co.

---

---

### CREDITS

Cover, Beth Seka adapted from a design by Johanna Vogelsang; photos pp. 6, 7, 9 by Edward A. Hart; graphics pp. 10, 11, Johanna Vogelsang; photos pp. 16, 17 courtesy Christians for Urban Justice.

---

---

## Homeless . . . Continued from page 9

The shelter program, in fact, is administered almost entirely by gay men — a deliberate decision by Rick Kerr, to make the point that “the gay community is a reservoir of wholesome, intelligent people who have real expertise in human services and human crisis which needs to be engaged for the health of the whole community.” The response of even the most conventional-minded among their fellow parishioners has been, in effect, “Keep up the good work and what can I do to help? It’s going to take all of us to get this done.”

Kerr concludes, “When that radical openness — that catholicity — is truly experienced on the local level, it can break through traditions that have become encrusted and no longer serve the human race. It can make a new statement.

“Allowing so many voices to be heard enables us to speak with power. Obviously I mean not practical political power, but moral or spiritual power.”

Yet not necessarily ineffective power. The Trinity congregation has been touched by what it is doing, in ways that could make it a model for others. Their bishop noticed what they were doing, and Grace Cathedral in San Francisco started taking in the homeless at night; so did a Baptist congregation, and a Lutheran. You can see at Trinity’s post-Communion coffee hour that the people have a mission, and are glad of it. The retired secretary who gave \$1,000 of her savings to the shelter program before the first city check arrived, “in case you need a little spending money,” is elated, even though she doesn’t think she did anything special.

What really makes you stop and think about all this is the ordinariness of the people. They are just paying attention to their responsibility; nothing extraordinary about us, they say. But the light we all see by would be much dimmer without them. ■



# An Explosion of Love

by Joan Trafecanty

Perhaps it could only happen in the highly impersonal setting of a sprawling city. Down some anonymous lane a young girl's lifeless body is discovered — the victim, they say, of four strangers looking for a brief respite from boredom. Five months after the burial, a form letter — like an intrusive afterthought — summons the parents to the Coroner's Office to claim "the personal property that was found on the decedent." With practiced indifference a silent employee shakes out the contents of a 7 x 11 manila envelope onto the ancient green mat behind the iron grille. Three twisted and broken dime store rings and a plastic hairbrush. The last remains of a life . . .

It was on June 16, 1982, that our 14-year old daughter, Tammy Jo Trafecanty, was raped and murdered, her violated body dumped in a field in Compton. The death certificate listed the cause of death as "gunshot wounds to the head."

Unidentified, she lay in the morgue for a month. On July 17, when two policemen knocked at our door and asked the family to assemble, we knew in an instant that Tammy was dead. We had had many visits from police officers before, but they had always had Tammy in tow, the sullen culprit roaming the streets at improbable hours of the night.

Tammy was an adopted child, a fact

which she absorbed with hidden rage. The first time we saw her she was a bright and lively 4-year old feeding the ducks in Reseda Park with the social worker who had brought her to meet us. She had cautioned the caseworker that "you better not make me go with those people." But after several hours of sly adult maneuvering, Tammy was persuaded to remain in our home. The strategy was to convince her that she had helped choose her new parents, but she wasn't fooled. She knew in her heart she didn't want to be our daughter. From the beginning, she shut herself away from us, but this did not become clear until many years later.

The months passed and Tammy learned to adapt to her new family. She made friends easily and was extremely active. She loved to charge down the sidewalk on roller skates, sliding to a perfect stop on the front steps of our house. There were problems. She was "sneaky," a tendency later analyzed by a psychologist as "passive aggressive" behavior, a way of covertly expressing anger. She stole small things, told lies, only obeyed when she was being watched. We felt guilty because we found it difficult to care much for this child, but it was only later that we came to understand that she was unconsciously inviting our rejection.

We hoped that our move to an Hispanic neighborhood would be a good thing for Tammy, but it merely widened the gulf between us. She was embarrassed to explain to her new friends how she, with her Latin looks, had come to be in this Anglo family. She had her joyful moments — winning a

swimming medal, skating with her class at the *Great Skate*, gaily flirting with a good-looking admirer. She took an interest in many of the guests who came to the Catholic Worker. She would sit on the porch of Hennacy House talking to them for hours.

When Tammy was 12, she began to hang out with kids who were as confused and reckless as she was. We went to great lengths to control her behavior but it became apparent that we would only be able to do this if we used a lock and key. One night she jumped out of the bathroom window. Tony chased her for several blocks but she disappeared into the heavy brush beside the freeway. Even the police hesitated to enter this dangerous area, frequented by gang members and vagrants. When they finally went in to search for her, she had long since escaped. After that, she rarely spent more than a few days at home. We soon discovered that Los Angeles has no viable programs to curb the incorrigible runaway.

It was difficult to fathom the depths of rage which drove her to wander, penniless and dirty, completely dependent on the good will of strangers. Sometimes sleeping under houses, stealing clothes off clotheslines — could she really prefer this lifestyle? She lived her own version of voluntary poverty. She appeared to have only a vague attachment to the things of this world, and gradually most of her clothes and belongings were left behind in various temporary sanctuaries throughout the city. Last month when I went to the Coroner's Office to pick up the "property" that had been found on her body, it

---

**Joan Trafecanty** is editorial assistant in the Church and Society office, Los Angeles. She and her husband, Tony, and their five children live at the Los Angeles Catholic Worker, where she co-edits the Worker paper, *The Catholic Agitator*.

seemed pathetic but fitting that there were just a few worthless trinkets.

She spent a year in a juvenile probation camp. It was a good time for her. A controlled environment forced her to settle down a little. She learned to like herself better, but even daily counseling could not help her face the pain of past memories. As soon as she was released she began to wander again.

Our struggles with Tammy have taught me that love is not necessarily a cozy emotion, nor are painful conflicts always possible to resolve. One of the vivid memories of my childhood is of the occasions when my family would watch a movie or TV show in which the involved tribulations of the protagonists were somehow neatly and happily resolved in the end. As the credits flashed on the screen, my father would rise from his seat and inquire in a mischievous tone: "Now didn't that come out all nice and tidy?" The message was that, in his experience, life was a lot less manageable.

I suppose the wisdom of this decade would say that it would have been better if Tammy's existence had ended in her mother's womb. But despite all the pain, I can't agree that her life was expendable. I'm glad that she lived. I'm glad that we struggled together. The implications of her sojourn with us will always haunt me. Our relationship never really worked and perhaps never could have. But I'm ready to accept the premise that life's struggles seldom come out "all tidy." Human love frequently fails, and sometimes we must let that failure fall into Mystery.

At her graveside service, Father Roger gently reminded us that Tammy had suffered Christ's passion and ignominious death and that she was now most certainly resurrected with Him. "At the moment of her death, she met an explosion of love." Let it be so. In her own troubled way, that was what Tammy was always searching for. ■

## 'Weatherization Ministry

Scenes from last winter: A smooth, unbroken line of tube caulk on a cracked door frame and the exuberant smile of a retired church deacon who thought he was only good with words . . . the sheen of drum-tight plastic being fastened over a window by two 13-year-olds who've been intently concentrating for 20 minutes straight (unheard of even in basketball!) . . . a single mother learning to use six fingers at once to apply rope caulk to one of her windows and laughing because there are at least 10 other family and church members with her doing the same thing on a snowy afternoon . . . and a circle of prayer at the end of a training session with church members spontaneously lifting up thanks and expressing their hope of serving others with the newly learned abilities.

These glimpses of one group's experience in weatherization training reflect the dynamics of a practical and loving ministry originated in the Boston metropolitan area. It is a ministry by Christians for Urban Justice (CUJ).

CUJ was founded in 1976 and moved to Codman Square, Dorchester, Mass. in 1978. There it began its neighborhood ministries and helped to establish and maintain a Community Development Corporation. Currently CUJ is developing a network of over 100 inner-city churches for mutual support and Christian community development, and its weatherization service has become an urban model for building love within communities.

Christians for Urban Justice trains and enables churches to strengthen the needy, starting within their own church families. It has begun in the area of housing, especially low-cost energy conservation; and its goal is church-based economic development. Through



**A tenant: "The peace I felt during the training session wasn't like what I usually feel working on jobs like that with others. No one was aware of occupations; we could have been doctors, lawyers, or anybody, but while we worked we were all one. Not only did we learn how to weatherize, but we got the right materials to continue with our own work. Now I know I can do it myself." (Sarah Small, Roxbury, Mass.)**

seminars, internships, retreats, and publications, CUJ teaches God's whole concern for all of creation's reconciliation to God and to each other, justice, stewardship, healing, and the abundant spiritual life.

Roger Dewey, CUJ's executive director and president of the local merchants' association, emphasizes that "it's hard for an urban church to be strong when so many in its congregation are poor." "Each winter," says Dewey, "some people in our churches go without heat or spend most of their money to buy fuel." Recognizing this

# Helps People to Save

need, CUJ has developed a program of teaching small groups within congregations to do basic weatherization. This enables them to teach the rest of their congregation, leading to a church-wide *Weatherization Day*.

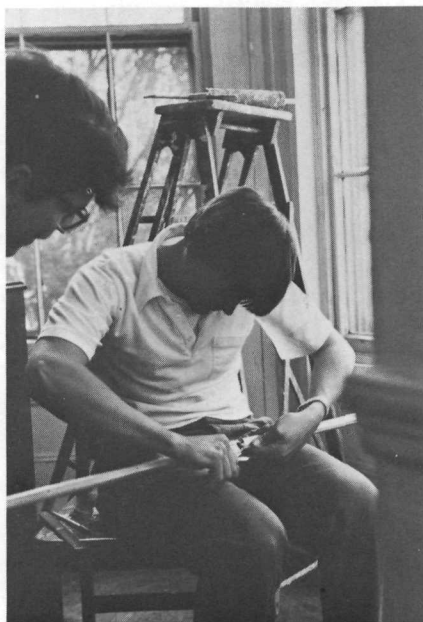
Churches are encouraged to use these new skills as part of their youth programs and adult fellowships and as a creative evangelistic outreach to their neighborhoods. To support such actions, CUJ has an emergency fund for assisting churches in subsidizing the cost of oil or weatherization materials for their poorest members. Also, rooms full of displays at CUJ's headquarters clearly explain how people can save on the cost of home heating by spending time and a little money. Exhibits include emergency and no-cost measures, low-cost options, insulation, furnace efficiency, insulating window shades, shutters, passive solar heat, and low-cost greenhouses.

"Our hope," adds Dewey, "has confirmed again and again that this service will affect more than just room temperatures, for learning stewardship at this level of need becomes a vital and liberating event." One participant, upon learning that a tube of caulk had to be punctured before it could operate, exclaimed, "Oh! That's why mine never worked!" Another's immediate ability to squeeze out an even line of tube caulk amazed others working with him, and then they learned that his was the experienced trigger-pull of a police officer. A Weatherization Day brings together diverse individuals, and they experience community as one of loving concern.

In preparation for their Weatherization Day, volunteers from Dorchester Temple Baptist Church received training from CUJ, which also helped in selecting apartments for the group to weatherize.

On a given Saturday, the church's teams, composed of three persons, gathered at the church and prayed for wisdom, for personal safety, and for their witness to the non-Christian members of the families into whose apartments they were going. They reminded each other that their work actually would be a form of worship. Together they sang: "*We will work with each other. We will work side by side. We will guard each one's pride. And they will know we are Christians by our love . . .*"

It was dark by the time the last of the groups had finished their assigned apartments, and it had begun snowing. It grew much colder that night; it was the first major storm of the winter.



**A trainee: After our training, with about \$30, we turned a disaster of drafts, colds, and enormous heating bills into a comfortable home. It had sizable fuel savings after half a winter. I feel I have a valuable ministry tool that can help meet people's real needs in a way that complements a spiritual ministry." (Peter Furth, Dorchester Fellowship)**

The next day the pastor of Dorchester Temple Baptist Church asked for testimonies from those who had been involved in Weatherization Day. People spoke in praise and gratitude for 20 minutes. One woman told how her husband had pitched in when a team visited their house. "He never attends church," she said, "but yesterday he met some Christians who are men he could relate to."

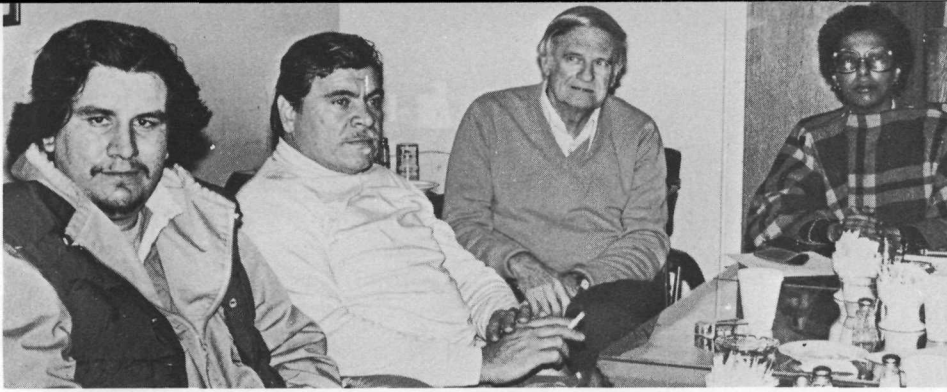
Others shared that they had no idea how much warmth could be saved by a sheet of plastic and some rope caulk. A woman said that she and her son learned enough to do work for themselves next year. Another woman told how she first hesitated to use a caulking gun and then learned, doing a good job and feeling better about herself and her abilities. "The Weatherization Day was one small but fantastic step for our church," said the Rev. Daniel Buttry, "and because we had the help of volunteers from other churches, we started building relationships with other Christians and established a sense of family across racial lines."

Roger Dewey states that CUJ's weatherization service has brought many different groups together, including eight members of an African Methodist Episcopal brotherhood, a youth team from a Baptist church, a contingent from a Pentecostal denomination, and many others — women and men, young and old, White, Black, and West Indian. Some have come for information, and many others have completed two training sessions and have gone on to organize their church's own weatherization efforts.

For further information about CUJ's weatherization service, readers should write Christians for Urban Justice, 563A Washington Street, Dorchester, MA 02124.

*(Reprinted with permission from Cities magazine, July/August 1982.)* ■





Defendants Steven Guerra and Julio Rosado with the Rt. Rev. Coleman McGehee and the Rev. Barbara Harris, chair and vice-chair of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.



Defendants Maria Cueto of Los Angeles and Ricardo Romero, of Alamosa, Col. Missing from photos, Andres Rosado of New York.

## Hispanics Await Jail Sentences Mary Lou Suhor

As THE WITNESS went to press, Judge Charles P. Sifton was to impose sentences April 8 on five Hispanics declared guilty of criminal contempt for refusing to testify before a Federal Grand Jury in Brooklyn. The five include Maria Cueto, former director of the National Commission on Hispanic Affairs of the Episcopal Church, and Steven Guerra, of the Board of Directors of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

The Grand Jury has been convened to investigate bombings perpetrated by the FALN, an alleged terrorist group, but in that process, the defendants claim, the Grand Jury is being used in a witch hunt to destroy all legal groups advocating Puerto Rican independence.

An anonymous jury — its members unknown to the defense and prosecution as well as to the public — deliberated almost two days before delivering a verdict. The jury also advised the court that they believed the five were guilty of a "serious" crime — one appropriately punished by more than six months in prison. The Government has announced that it is seeking prison sentences of 10 years, even though four of the five have served previous sentences on civil contempt charges for a similar offense.

Defense lawyers contend that such a heavy sentence is virtually unprecedented for criminal contempt, and

represents an effort by the Government to punish the Hispanics for crimes with which they have never been charged. The sentence for criminal contempt is at the discretion of the judge, the only limit being "cruel and unusual punishment." The defense also argued that selection of an anonymous jury created the impression that the defendants themselves were involved in violence, even though the criminal charge is limited to refusal to testify.

Judge Sifton had explained to the jurors that the case "did not involve charges that the five were members of the FALN," but even the press had difficulty recognizing that non-cooperation with a Grand Jury is not the equivalent of membership in the FALN.

A headline in the *New York Times* during the trial read, "Nameless Jurors Selected in Trial of 5 in FALN," and the first paragraph in a *News* story referred to "the trial of five accused FALN leaders charged with contempt for refusing to answer Grand Jury questions about FALN bombings." The FBI had issued a more damaging press release earlier labeling the five as "the unincarcerated leadership of the FALN."

Defense lawyer Michael Deutsch called upon the Government during the course of the trial to indict the defendants if it had evidence of criminal wrongdoing, to allow them to defend

themselves. "These people have been called to court and separated from their families and communities eight times in 15 months, and this is cruel and unusual punishment in itself," he said.

*The New York Times* reported Feb. 17 that the Government had asked for a criminal contempt prosecution before a jury "both to punish the five for refusing to testify before a Grand Jury and to deter others from refusing to testify."

"They are using us to set a precedent," said Julio Rosado, a Puerto Rican defendant who conducted his own defense. "Deterrent is a term we recognize from the nuclear lexicon. The Government is not going to deter us from our political beliefs. We insist that the independence of Puerto Rico is more properly settled in the political arena between the U.S. Government and Puerto Ricans. The status of Puerto Rico has not been juridically determined, and the courts are not the framework in which to carry on the discussion."

Four Episcopal bishops and three lay persons testified as character witnesses for the Hispanics during the eight-day trial (see March WITNESS).

Some frequently asked questions about the case of the five and the Grand Jury are discussed on page 19 by Richard W. Gillett of the Church and Society Network, Los Angeles, contributing editor to THE WITNESS. ■

## Critical Questions in the Grand Jury Case

### 1. Why don't they talk if they don't know anything?

The five are deeply convinced that they are being summoned not as part of a good faith investigative process but because the government is using the Grand Jury against them for political purposes. In their view it wants to cause a "chilling effect" upon all protest movements which advocate independence for Puerto Rico. They believe that agreeing to talk before the Grand Jury would begin an open-ended questioning process leading to irreparable breaches of trust and the engendering of suspicion and disillusionment among proponents of independence for Puerto Rico. They share the experience and beliefs of many minorities and many women in this country who have little confidence in the ability of the state's police officers to pursue justice without regard to race, economic status, or political beliefs. They remember, among other examples, Huey Newton and Fred Hampton of the Black Panthers, peace activist Leslie Bacon, Martin Luther King's experience with the FBI, and the attitudes of Congress and many other public institutions during the McCarthy era.

### 2. Why is the Grand Jury a questionable instrument of justice?

The Governing Board of the National Council of Churches adopted a resolution on Grand Jury abuse in 1977. It stated in part:

"The Grand Jury is envisioned in American law as a protector of citizens from unwarranted prosecutions. It is for this reason that its proceedings are secret and it has compulsory process for summoning witnesses. However, in recent years there is evidence to indicate that its great powers have sometimes been misused to harass and intimidate political dissidents . . .

"Congress has never given the Federal Bureau of Investigation subpoena powers, yet agents today routinely threaten uncooperative persons with subpoenas from a Grand Jury, and often indeed serve such subpoenas upon them.

"It is the Governing Board's firm conviction that the use of the Grand Jury's powers as an instrument of investigation in support of law enforcement rather than as an evaluator of evidence already gathered is a distortion of its quasi-judicial function. The use of the Grand Jury's powers to harass and pursue political dissidents is a departure from its proper constitutional function, and is a great

threat to public order, lawful government and true domestic security."

### 3. Is Puerto Rico's independence really a feasible option?

That may be the wrong question in the near-term. The pertinent current questions to explore may be: What effects are the overwhelming Americanization of the economy and U.S. governmental presence having upon the social, economic and political life of the Puerto Rican people? And, what is the impact of the increasing military presence of U.S. nuclear and non-nuclear forces there? In the last few years American news media have warned of sharply rising unemployment (about 23% by *official* standards), growing dependency upon federal programs, and the paralyzed Puerto Rican government. They have not been as faithful in revealing that Puerto Rico is being greatly strengthened as a military "megafortress" against so-called subversive elements in the Caribbean and Central America. It is against such a backdrop that the larger questions of an historical, cultural and political colonialism — long acceptable as legitimate debate for African and Asian nations formerly attached to European powers — begin to present themselves in the case of the relationship of Puerto Rico to our own country. If one comes at the "Puerto Rican problem" with such questions, it is not inconceivable that political independence for Puerto Rico becomes a respectable position to advocate.

### 4. Why are some in the church supporting the stand of the five?

At the heart of the Christian gospel is the expressed concern of divine love for the powerless and marginalized of society. Jesus had stinging criticism for those in positions of power in both church and state who used that power for their own ends. Innumerable ecclesiastical pronouncements, ancient and modern, have upheld this tradition. But as were the disciples in Jesus' time, so too are we slow to believe that the institutions of society are capable of crushing dissent and maintaining the rights of the powerful. Without necessarily agreeing with every facet of their beliefs, we can steadfastly uphold the position of the Grand Jury resisters, and begin ourselves to understand the gross injustices existing in Puerto Rico which move them to such deep commitment.

R.W.G.

# COMMENCEMENT

Use handy insert card in this issue.

For that special college or seminary graduate—a gift subscription to THE WITNESS.

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company  
P.O. Box 359  
Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002  
Address Correction Requested

NONPROFIT ORG.  
U.S. POSTAGE  
PAID  
North Wales, Pa.  
Permit No. 121

# SPECIAL OFFER TO WITNESS READERS

Order **Must We Choose Sides**, or **Which Side Are We On**,  
two of the best-selling Study Action Guides on the

market — dealing with Christian Commitment for the  
1980s — for only \$5.00 and save up to \$1.95.

## Must We Choose Sides?

1979, 127pp. \$5.95

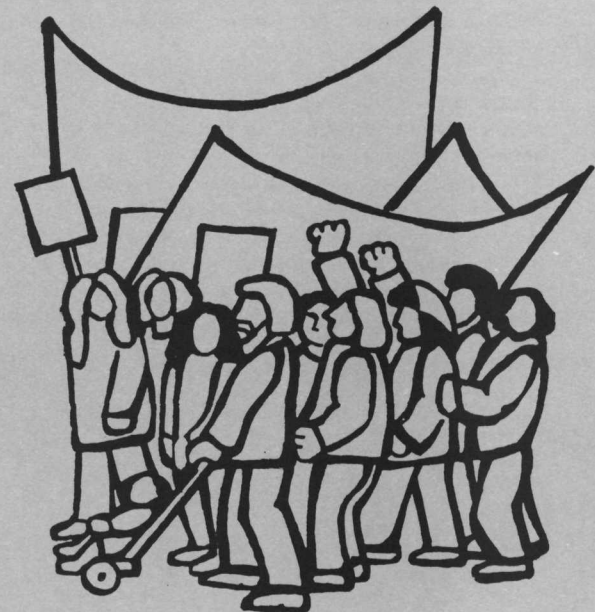
Explores the role of working people in our economic system. Investigates harsh realities of everyday life. Who owns America? Who pays the price? Six comprehensive sessions help readers examine class background and the myths of capitalism. Group exercises probe individual experience and insight, apply tools of social analysis while engaging in theological reflection.



## Which Side Are We On?

1980, 172 pp. \$6.95

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.



Yes, I want to take advantage of your special offer. Please send me the book(s) I have checked at \$5.00 each. Payment is enclosed.

- Must We Choose Sides**  
 **Which Side Are We On**

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

(Fill out and mail today to THE WITNESS, Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002.)



# **THE** VOL. 66 NO. 5 MAY, 1983 **WITNESS**

John Paul II's Caribbean Basin Initiative

## **After the Trip, What Social Message?**

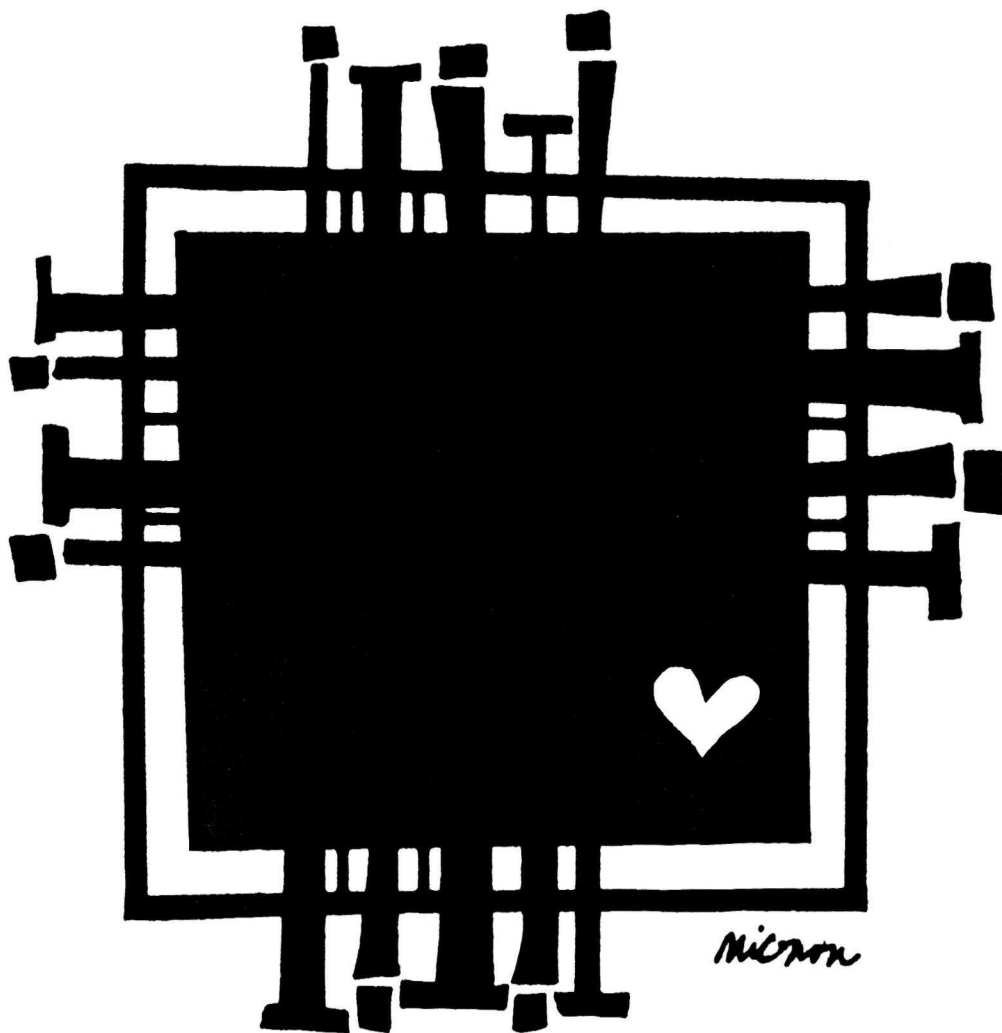
Thomas E. Quigley

## **The Biblical Ambiguities of Peace**

John E. Hines

## **Social Gospel's Insights for Today**

Susan Lindley



*Mickon*

# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

## EPF Rude, Arrogant

My attention has been drawn to an article by Nat Pierce, "When Does Prayer Become Political?" in your February issue in which I am quoted by the author in negative terms for my opposition to the behavior of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship at a service at the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine, New York, where I was then a canon.

Both Canon West and I were offended by the rude behavior of the EPF which offended most of the congregation because of its arrogance, not its cause. The letter I wrote to the *New York Times* following the service was widely appreciated, and Canon West's response by offering "prayer on demand" was, after all, about the only thing he could do as celebrant in order to end the disturbing interruption. I, too, commend him for that.

At another occasion at the Washington Cathedral, the EPF exhibited its rudeness at the consecration of a suffragan bishop for the armed forces, a mission of the Episcopal Church to those who accept certain obligations of citizenship at the risk of their lives. But even a bishop's consecration became a platform for the EPF to stage another tantrum under the gothic arch.

My reaction to both of those events was, and is, that they were as inappropriate and insensitive to both the holy occasions and the worshippers present as would be a demonstration on family planning or birth control at a wedding. That was my point then and now. It would be good to record some personal sacrifice by Mr. Pierce in the cause of peace beyond mere demonstrations.

**The Rev. Canon Peter Chase  
Greenfield, Mass.**

## Pierce Responds

It is good to hear from Canon Chase once again. Re the behavior that Canon Chase claims of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship at the service of St. John the Divine's as being arrogant and rude: I would simply like to note that the news report about our action which was carried in the *New York Times* makes absolutely no mention of this.

Canon Chase, of course, is entitled to his opinion of what I perceive to be the continuing scandal of the Episcopal Church's consecration of a suffragan bishop for the Armed Forces as the world faces nuclear holocaust.

**The Rev. Nathaniel W. Pierce  
Nampa, Idaho**

## Reagan Causing Strain

You have one of the best magazines published. I love your attitude on race and human rights. I have never seen as dangerous a time as the one we are living. American politicians want to blow up the world. The Reagan Administration has put many of us old people under a mental strain. I am 73 years old, very disabled, in constant pain. Death will come as a merciful liberator.

**Emory Ray Bays  
Charleston, W.V.**

## On Prayer List

I am perfectly amazed at how you can continue to publish such articles in the name of Christianity. I am going to add you and the majority of your writers to my prayer list. All of you might benefit from a quiet weekend in the country with nothing but yourselves, your Bibles and God.

**Donald MacLean Bell  
Louisville, Ky.**

## Native American Protest

I am writing in regard to your February article, "Our Ideal New Presiding Bishop." In your preface to this piece,

you point out that THE WITNESS asked for the reflections of "seven constituencies" whom you serve: Women, Blacks, Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Homosexuals, the Episcopal Peace Fellowship, and the Episcopal Urban Caucus. Their responses were both interesting and informative, but incomplete. Once again, as an American Indian member of this church, I looked for the viewpoint and voice of my own people and found it missing.

I suppose I could assume that the native people of this church and nation are not to be counted among your constituents, but I have too much respect for THE WITNESS to do so. Obviously the issues you raise are of major concern to the Indian people. When you speak of poverty, injustice, oppression, hunger, racism; you are speaking a language that every Indian or Native Alaskan person understands. When you raise a question like "What characteristics would you like to see in the new Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church," you are asking something that native people would like to answer for themselves.

Why were they not given that opportunity?

One response might be that their answer is *implicit* in the reflections of the seven groups you chose to include in your article. The logic here, of course, is the inverted racism that supposes "if you've heard from one minority group, you've heard from them all." I would be very much surprised if any other representative from your panel would be comfortable with that principle. Although there is a great deal that we share in common with the struggles and aspirations of other people, there is a great deal more that we have to say which is absolutely unique to our own culture and historic experience. No one else can speak for us. No one else can state our case as surrogates for the native community. For almost five hundred years other voices have been only too eager to do the talking for the Indian people.

*Continued on page 19*

## THE WITNESS

EDITOR  
**Mary Lou Suhor**

SENIOR CONTRIBUTING EDITOR  
**Robert L. DeWitt**

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS  
**Richard W. Gillett**  
**Hugh C. White**

STAFF  
**Ann Hunter**  
**Susan Small**  
**Bonnie Spady**  
**Lisa Whelan**

PUBLISHER  
**Episcopal Church Publishing Company**

### ECPC BOARD OF DIRECTORS

CHAIR  
**H. Coleman McGehee**

VICE-CHAIR  
**Barbara Harris**

SECRETARY  
**Helen Seager**

TREASURER  
**Robert Potter**

ASSISTANT TREASURER  
**Robert Eckersley**

**Otis Charles**  
**Robert L. DeWitt**  
**Steven Guerra**  
**Suzanne Hiatt**  
**Mattie Hopkins**  
**Joan Howarth**  
**James Lewis**  
**Joseph A. Pelham**

THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215) 643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. Copyright 1983 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.

# THE WITNESS

## Editorial

### Hubris or God's Will?

President Reagan recently regaled an audience of evangelical preachers, against the background of "Onward, Christian Soldiers," with words of assurance that "America is great because America is good." He went on to proclaim that this nation's spiritual superiority knows no limit, and "must terrify and ultimately triumph over those who would enslave their fellow man (sic)." These are dangerous utterances. When the President, or we, for that matter, associate the ultimate standards of divine judgment with our own performance, we are assuming a posture of self-righteous assurance which is dangerously self-deceptive.

God is God, and God is One. There is no other final arbiter of human affairs. In linking our public affairs and our national life with that divine judgment, we are exposing our nation to the test of ultimate truth, whatever the verdict, whatever the cost, whatever the penalty.

So be it. The God of history, finally, will deliver that verdict. But how do a people discern that divine will, so their consequent actions may be more in conformance, and thus more deserving of divine favor than of divine wrath?

There are those who, in answer, would urge us to parse the divine

sentence — to make a neat analysis of the responsibility for reading the signs of the times and discerning the will of God, as we separate subjects from predicates. They would, for example, leave matters of public policy entirely in the hands of officials — a sure prescription for disastrous tyranny, and reserve to others only the sphere of private morality. This would be a proven way to trivialize the will of God. They would indict the World Council of Churches and the National Council of Churches and the Roman Catholic bishops in the efforts of those groups to proclaim the Word of God to our national life.

Far differently do we learn from our spiritual heritage. God speaks to God's people — all of them. Our biblical heritage teaches us that there will always be those raised up to speak forth in response, to the glory of God and to the welfare of God's people. From such unlikely sources (so the world judged) as Amos, a dresser of sycamore trees, and a certain carpenter of Nazareth, have come proclamations of divine insights that have altered the course of the world and provided a plumb line for public policy. Both were adjudged then to have been "interfering," to have confused their syntax, to have reversed

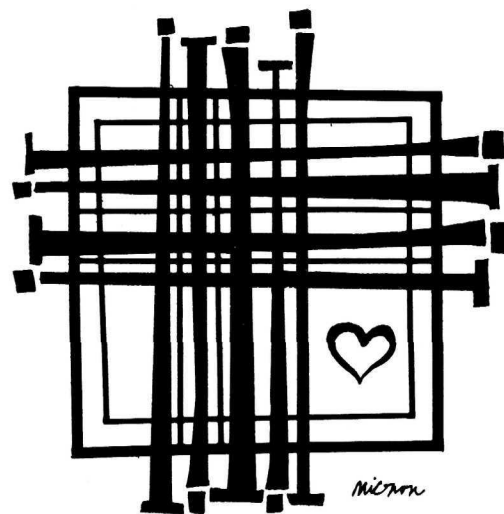
*Continued on page 19*



*"It is healthier, intellectually and spiritually,  
to belong to a 'Yes, but' community  
of believers than to a 'Yes, absolutely' community."*

# The Biblical Ambiguities of Peace

by John E. Hines



Perhaps the most quoted words about peace ascribed to Jesus are from The Beatitudes: *"Blessed are the peace-makers. They shall be called children of God."* In nearly 50 years of ministry, I attempted to preach on that thesis only once. That was 40 years ago. As I recall that homiletical gem, I attacked the theme heroically, decisively, and some say, having watched the clock, definitively! I was strongly influenced then by the wave of Christian pacifism spawned in the wake of World War I — the "war to end all wars." But with the German invasion of the Benelux countries and France by Adolf Hitler's Panzers, anyone could see that a more effective tactic would be required, not only of pacifists, but of all Christians, if ever justice was to be served and the

---

**John E. Hines** is former Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church. The above is excerpted from his recent address to the 109th annual convention of the Diocese of Newark.

world was to have peace worthy of the name.

I still recognize the kind of non-violence that can become "absolute," as an interpretation of the Gospel. But I live, thus far, under the persuasion that peace is a more complex matter than some pacifists recognize — even as justice is more complex, and mercy is more complex, and love is more complex, than most Christians are willing to admit.

In scripture, the words, "Peace I leave with you. My peace give I unto you," carry the valedictory assurance of Jesus. But also from the lips and heart of Jesus, as he weeps over the great, mad city of Jerusalem, come the words, "If thou had'st known, even in this thy day, the things that belong to thy peace!"

Obviously, we are not the New Jerusalem. That iridescent vision still shines ahead of the church, far out of our present reach. We are still the Old

Jerusalem that stones the prophets and destroys the messages and the messengers sent to us by an undiscourageable God. And we are the Old Jerusalem over whom Jesus must weep, time and time again, in frustration and unrequited love. If we really understand this, we still can pose the question: "What are the things that belong to our peace?"

It belongs to our peace, as a part of the mystical body of Christ on this earth, to tolerate (yea, cultivate) honest self-criticism, the studied pursuit of objectivity; and in our pursuit of the truth to be resolved to reject partisan exclusivity, lest our zeal for purity of doctrine and dominion over principalities and powers, seduce us into fighting against Jesus Christ and the truths he incarnated at so great a cost.

Calculated ambiguities seem to modify the exclusivity in the testimony of Jesus about himself, when we hear him say: "No man cometh unto the Father, but by me." An example of this

appears in a passing incident recorded in the Gospels, about the way Jesus deals with disciples (not of his calling) whose humane concerns, and impressive results, appeared to intersect his own ministry.

Following a scene in which Jesus' own disciples play the central role of healer and restorer, those same disciples come to Jesus in great indignation, telling him that they had seen others — who followed not Jesus — heal and cast out demons. "Forbid them!" they pleaded, "for they do not follow you." But Jesus said, "Leave them alone. He that is not against me is for me." What an early indication of the catholicity of Jesus' compassion, and the limitless character of his love!

As one might guess, there was evidence of an alleged "trendy-ness" in the community of believers. It was a "trendy-ness" that disturbed the disciples of the inner circle. They felt that they were the in-group, and justly could chastise any intruders who might spoil both their purity and their monopoly of God's grace. But Jesus supports the intruders in their zeal for good. He knew that there were wider dimensions of truth to be explored than even he and his disciples could, within the time allotted. He recognized the necessary open-endedness of God's self-revelation in a changing world. And he knew that it is healthier — intellectually and spiritually — to belong to a "Yes, but" community of believers than to a "Yes, absolutely" community. A deposit of wisdom that captured the skeptical Thomas, and has frequently saved the church from self-destruction!

The world is filling up today with zealots who seek to purify that Christian witness and rescue Christian commitment from what, to them, smacks of diversity, compromise, indecisiveness, and weakness. Much of this fervor springs from a return to a biblical literalism we thought discredited 60

years ago. Its self-created authority idol pushes its devotees into a simplistic dogmatism that can brook no criticism nor self-examination. Its granite-like hardness renders the Gospel static. And its overly spiritualized caricature of Jesus Christ undercuts the explicitly secular impact of the Gospel ("For God so loved the world") leaving those whom it seduces with a bloodless imitation — a disincarnate Gospel.

There is a certain quality of peace — spurious in my view — that can come to an individual, or to an institution, willing to freeze the status quo, and settle for the uncritical acceptance of dogmas handed down unchanged from one hierarchy to another. For a time, this spurious peace may promote a kind of conflict-free harmony within a thoroughly insulated community of believers. But from the perspective of the Cross of Calvary it is surely a fool's paradise, bereft of any meaningful undergirding by the New Testament witness — and powerless to rescue a suffering world.

In this mysterious world, fiercely torn between great beauty and devastating danger, I would opt for a meaningful peace somewhere within the complex searchings of a poignantly memorable figure in the Anglican tradition's quest for truth:

*"I have never found certitude easy" (said this man). "Beliefs grow slowly in my mind, changing shape as they gain a fresh insight, or shed what seems to be an error. It is not a process that leads naturally to a conclusion. This can be an advantage in the ordinary intercourse of life. One is better able to understand other people if one's ideas have not yet hardened, and can be stretched without loss of integrity to accommodate theirs.*

*"The difficulty is to know when the 'limits of understanding' are reached. There always seems to be*

*one more step that can be taken without danger in fellowship. Harmony is a great good, but there are others greater, for whose sake it must be, in the last resort, renounced. If only I could see them more clearly, I could, I hope, find the courage to die for them; but my mind still gropes in vain. It is an agonizing task to define the principles for which a man must condemn his living body to the flame."*

That was Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury — enroute to the stake.

It belongs to the church's true peace to reject the easy rationalizations, with which even her own people often tempt her into passionless disengagement, detached from the blood-bespattered face that history wears today. And it belongs to the church's true peace to sound the alarm against those who callously trade in oppression, exploiting the poor and the voiceless and the powerless of this world.

Currently, in a Federal District Court in Brooklyn, a painful episode in American justice is being worked out. Five self-styled advocates of Puerto Rican independence, all of them Hispanics, have been ordered to stand trial on criminal contempt charges.

One of the defendants is Maria Cueto, of Los Angeles, one-time Executive Director of the Episcopal Church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs. This is the second time around for Ms. Cueto. In 1977, with others, she refused to testify before a Grand Jury empaneled around the same theme of terrorist bombings attributed to the FALN. By her own testimony, she is not a member of the FALN. She served 10 months in prison for her conscience' sake. And because she held her lay ministry in the Episcopal Church a sacred relationship of confidentiality which, if breached, would have dam-

aged this church's credibility in the eyes of the Hispanic people. Eventually, she was released by a judge who could see that her imprisonment served no constructive purpose. But this is a different Grand Jury. The charade goes on.

This is not a 20th century "Dreyfus case" that will attract wide attention. I dare say there are not 500 Episcopalians who could identify Maria Cueto. But here is the kind of uncertain cause that makes fair-weather friends vanish quickly, and intimidates some cautious Episcopal Church officials into "chronic laryngitis" and embarrassed silence.

No doubt, there are those who see Maria Cueto's supporters as naive, at best, or fellow travelers with the violent, at worst. Too often, that is the lot of those who, for conscience' sake or for Christ's sake, support "the uncertain causes" of the marginal, the voiceless, the powerless, and the oppressed. It was the same with Jesus — inveterate rescuer of "uncertain causes." And if it is faithful, it can only be the same for a servant church. For such divine foolhardiness surely belongs to the church's true peace.

As much as I yearn for it, and as much as I am dependent upon the Christian doctrine of grace, I do not believe that peace is a gift — something conferred like an autumn sunset, or a star-studded sky on a clear winter's night. I believe that for it to be real, men and women must earn it, must work and sacrifice for it ceaselessly. When Jesus said, "Peace I leave with you. My peace give I unto you" (this is sheer presumption on my part), those words must be evaluated against a prior soul-searching caveat; his exhortation to those who would come after him to deny themselves, take up the cross, and follow him. And those words must also be evaluated against the ominous, looming, hard reality of Calvary's Cross, against which, in a cosmic act of faith and self-giving, Jesus demonstrated the shattering dimensions of that peace. ■

## The Other Woman

**There is another woman in my life.**

**She stands among the shadows of my conscience  
staring.**

**I see her face in magazines and papers,  
her children gathered close,  
stomachs distended,  
ribs too prominent,  
unchildlike in their silence,  
waiting.**

**I see her on the evening news  
sleeping under bridges with her bags and babies,  
or lining up for help at agencies.**

**She does not plead or raise her hands.**

**She stands impassive.**

**Hunger has sapped the animation from her face.**

**Only her eyes are alive,  
searing,**

**not with accusation but with numbness.**

**And I, across the town from her,  
or across the world,**

**feel her here, nearby. She makes me doubt my life.**

**Why have I so much?**

**Why has she so little?**

**I feel apologetic for my own strong children,  
advantaged,  
accomplished,**

**who through no fault or wisdom of my own**

**achieve their goals calmly**

**as though health**

**and happiness**

**were the only possibility.**

**As I choose my food from grocery shelves**

**(shall we have beef or veal today? I ask myself)**

**I see the face of that other woman**

**who has no choices.**

**As I wrap my bundle of used clothing,**

**as I write my pledge check,**

**as I drop a coin in the mission box,**

**she stands watching uncritically,**

**unable to express the vastness of her need.**

**But her eyes! Her eyes!**

**They are my reprimand.**

**They are her glory.**

**And she? She is my chance for heaven.**

— Ann R. Blakeslee



# Social Gospel's Message for Today

by Susan Lindley

Particular religious movements in the church's history go through cycles of interest and obscurity, conventional interpretation and revision. One such movement that ought to be coming in for renewed interest is the American Social Gospel, not only for scholars and pastors but also for all concerned contemporary Christians. Despite their limitations and weaknesses, the men and women who were part of the Social Gospel movement in America had some significant insights on the meaning of Christianity and the task of the church which can be helpful today.

First, a brief historical reminder. The Social Gospel movement in American religious history arose in the latter part of the 19th century and reached its peak just prior to World War I. Its leaders attempted to interpret the Christian Gospel to the needs of their age, focusing especially on the problems of the emerging labor movement and on structures of the American economic and political system.

The belief that the Gospel has a social dimension, that is, the conviction that Christians are to be concerned and active in the life of this world and the structures of their community, is at the heart of American religious tradition.

---

**Susan H. Lindley**, an Episcopalian mother of three, is Assistant Professor of Religion at St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minn.

Beginning with the Holy Commonwealth of the Massachusetts Puritans and the Holy Experiment of William Penn, American colonial Christians saw as a central part of their calling the demand to shape their community structures as well as their personal lives in accordance with their perception of God's will. The question of whether Christians should get involved in politics is not a debate that began with the Social Gospel — let alone the civil rights activists of the 1960s or the Moral Majority of the 1980s — rather, the relevance of Christian belief to social conditions is deeply rooted in American religious tradition.

The roots of the Social Gospel in America are found in 19th century theological liberalism with its emphasis on a benevolent God, the worth and dignity of each person, and the Kingdom of God as the center of Jesus' message. These roots are also found in evangelical Christianity of the last century with its revivalism, perfectionism, and insistence that conversion must result in the fruits of a Christian life — manifest in anti-slavery, temperance, concern for prisoners, the handicapped, women's rights, etc. Nor were the Social Gospel's roots confined to America. Especially significant was the English movement of Christian Socialism in the mid-19th century under the leadership of F. D. Maurice and Charles Kingsley. These English connections were particularly important for American Episcopalians

who were involved with the Social Gospel, as a good many were.

But particular conditions in the United States in the second half of the 19th century were decisive for the shape of the Social Gospel. Urbanization, industrialization, and immigration were rapidly changing the face of American life and society, and the Social Gospel was one attempt by American Christians to respond to new problems and new issues.

The Social Gospel made a significant positive contribution to American Christianity in its clear voice of social concern and especially in awareness of urban labor as a burning issue of the age. It attacked complacency in the churches, with their narrow conception of what Christian faith involved, and in so doing sounded a genuinely prophetic note. It contributed positively to Christian ecumenism in its insistence on inter-denominational cooperation, especially on social issues.

On the other hand, the Social Gospel was definitely a middle-class movement, despite its concern with labor. One finds in the Social Gospel the unconscious assumption of U.S. middle-class values and goals and an equation of these with Christianity; its leaders seldom if ever questioned the superiority of middle-class culture and standards. Thus, they tended to identify the Kingdom of God particularly with the democracy and evangelical Christianity of "God's

chosen nation” — the United States.

Second, the focus on urban labor which gave the Social Gospel the strength of immediacy and relevance was also a weakness, for the Social Gospel largely ignored other important social issues of its day, especially the racial situation. To be fair, there was at least occasional attention to the problems of race, and even the limited concern and sensitivity of Social Gospelers on race issues compared favorably with dominant American attitudes of the time.

Finally, and most typically, the Social Gospel has been criticized for its lack of theological depth and its optimism, even naivete. Many of the leaders lacked a profound sense of sin, its depth and pervasiveness in human nature and history. Their faith in the ease with which the Kingdom of God could be established on earth was touching, but, from a 20th century perspective, unjustified, as was their certainty that they could delineate with fair precision the shape and nature of that Kingdom. Yet the charge of naive optimism often levelled at the Social Gospel is somewhat simplistic. While there were Social Gospel leaders who seemed unaware of any serious difficulties in the progressive

realization of the Kingdom of God on earth, (even its most sophisticated and perceptive leaders showed more confidence in evolutionary progress than a late 20th century perspective can muster), it is also true that there was not uniformity of thought within the Social Gospel. Charles Sheldon's *In His Steps* is not the theology of Walter Rauschenbusch. Let a quotation from Rauschenbusch illustrate here:

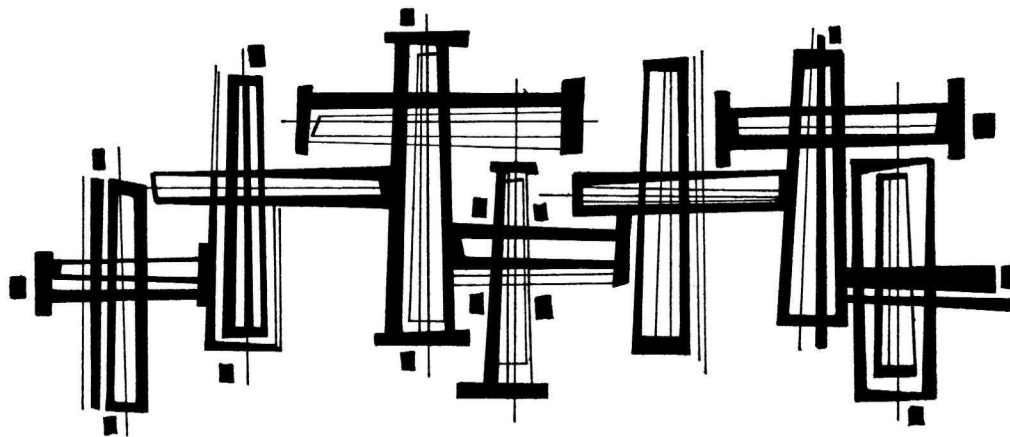
*“In asking for faith in the possibility of a new social order, we ask for no Utopian delusion. We know well that there is no perfection for man in this life: there is only growth toward perfection. In personal religion we look with seasoned suspicion at anyone who claims to be holy and perfect, yet we always tell men to become holy and seek perfection. We make it a duty to seek what is unattainable. We have the same paradox in the perfectibility of society. We shall never have a perfect social life, yet we must seek it with faith.”*

The similarity between these words of Rauschenbusch and the ideas expressed in Reinhold Niebuhr's *Moral Man and Immoral Society* is striking, especially

since the latter work is commonly regarded as a decisive refutation of the Social Gospel!

There is a further danger in dismissing the Social Gospel for its supposed theological inadequacy. European Neo-Orthodoxy and the American Christian Realism of the Niebuhrs launched a devastating critique on the Social Gospel, primarily at the theological level. They felt it had failed to grasp the depth of human sinfulness, or to comprehend the otherness and transcendence of God. They criticized the Social Gospel for making Christianity and the church means to an end, and failed to recognize their unique role. They scorned what they saw as the Social Gospel's naive hope of establishing the Kingdom of God on earth in a particular political or economic system, without maintaining the element of divine and transcendent judgment on all human (and thus necessarily imperfect) efforts. But they did *not* reject its passion for social justice.

John C. Bennett notes that Reinhold Niebuhr was critical of the Social Gospel's view of progress, but adds, “for many years his commitments in regard to social justice were more radical than the Social Gospel.” A move “right”



**I WILL PRAISE YOU, LORD,  
FOR YOU HAVE RESCUED ME.**

theologically did not mean, for these early critics, a move to the political right. *And yet*, it was precisely this point — the passion for social justice as a Christian imperative — that too many in later generations “forgot,” justifying their lack of concern by the “fact” that the Social Gospel had been discredited for the theologians sophisticated by Neo-Orthodoxy. To put the argument in the form of a metaphor: Where Christian Realism may have wanted to throw out the bath but preserve the baby, too many later American Christians misused that action as an excuse for throwing out both — especially since social justice is such a troublesome baby!

So, what might we learn from a revision of the Social Gospel? Before summarizing some of its enduring theological insights, one should note how important biblical authority and sources were for the movement’s leaders. Their core image was the Kingdom of God as they found and understood it in the teachings of Jesus, and they also found critical biblical resources and authority in the Hebrew prophets. It is no accident, therefore, nor should it be surprising, that these themes might sound familiar to students of liberation theology, which also sees biblical authority and resources as central.

The “Social” Gospel was well-named, for among its most enduring contributions are those which concern the social nature of religion. First, there was the concept of collective identity, a reaction against an individualistic view which seemed to see each person as isolated, divorced from a particular context, both in terms of destiny and responsibility. Rather, the Social Gospel emphasized the organic reality of the collective and the unavoidable impact of one’s environment on identity. One is not human in isolation.

Second, the Social Gospel and Walter Rauschenbusch in particular presented

a social concept of sin, rather than a view of sin as primarily personal and individual. Where orthodox theology had indeed seen sin as corporate insofar as it spoke of the condition of original sin in which all humanity was bound together, one could escape that corporate identity by individual election or conversion. Not so, said the Social Gospel. One cannot opt out of responsibility for collective, social sin. Nor is it enough for the individual to refrain from direct participation in social sins, for he or she still benefits from unjust social structures. As Rauschenbusch noted in *A Theology for the Social Gospel*, humanity was not simply one in Adam but also one in Christ; salvation is not merely individual but necessarily social — “. . . a salvation confined to the soul and its personal interests is an imperfect and only partly effective salvation.”

Third, and related, was the perception that structures and institutions, as well as individuals, may be sinful and thus come under religious judgment. It is insufficient to change individual hearts within a system which is basically unjust or corrupt. Not only do some individuals sin by their active or inactive participation in such systems, and the unjust benefit they derive therefrom, but also the victims of the structures are dehumanized and restricted, if not stunted, in the development of their moral and human potential. And the sin inherent in such structures and systems necessarily infects generation after generation living under them. In sum, a central theological insight of the Social Gospel was its recognition of the social nature of sin and salvation, and the reality of collective identity.

A further contribution of the Social Gospel was its method of grounding theology in experience, in the concrete and immediate context in which one finds oneself. Social Gospel leaders were often skeptical of “intellectualizing,” of

what they perceived as abstract dogma. It may well be that they were too skeptical sometimes, failing to see that much of the dogma they condemned arose precisely in response to given contexts and experiences, though different from the Social Gospel’s late 19th century America. Nevertheless, their practice of grounding theology was a sound one and is not dissimilar to what liberation theologians today call praxis.

Finally, Social Gospel Christians had a real sense of the God who works *in history*, not a God who only plucks individual brands from the burning. They thus took the core biblical doctrines of a good creation and of redemption very seriously, and not just in an individualistic sense. Though they never denied that individual souls could and must be saved, they equally refused to read God out of the workings and destiny of God’s creation. For them, the Kingdom of God was a present reality and demand as well as a future hope.

It is perhaps more difficult for Christians in a post-nuclear age to share the confidence of the Social Gospelers in the God who works in history and seemed to them to be making substantial progress. Here the warning of the movement’s critics to avoid identification of any specific, finite system with the ultimate will of God was well-taken, although it did not and does not mean that all systems are therefore equal, or that one cannot make specific criticisms in a given situation from a Christian perspective. Christians must believe and act in a particular time and place, with its concrete problems and possibilities, not in the context of an abstract ideal, for the theological assertion and biblical promise of God’s action in history stand intact. And to be able to affirm God’s continuing work in history, God’s will to redeem creation, and to share in that work in the face of empirical evidence and obstacles, require a formidable leap of faith. ■





John Paul II's Caribbean Basin Initiative:

## After the Trip, What Social Message?

by Tom Quigley

**T**he Pope and the President, uneasily coupled, combined in early March to refocus world attention on Central America.

Vying for top billing on almost every day's media coverage of the papal trip was the latest Administration war bulletin: the Salvadorean government was about to collapse, its army down to a month's supply of ammunition, an additional \$60 million might be needed, will be needed, will be sent even if it means end-running the Congress, then \$110 million—part of \$298 million for Central America this year—and the once-interred Haigean theology on East and West was dusted off, shined up and pushed to center stage.

This Manichean dualism, first loosed by the New Right and at least encouraged by the Administration, has surfaced lately in even sharper terms than before. Haig had been content to bumble on that the four U.S. missionary women killed in El Salvador were running a roadblock, and Kirkpatrick to mutter ominously that the nuns were not just

nuns but, horrors, political activists. But George Shultz' recent quote about those churchmen who want to see Soviet influence increased in El Salvador was a qualitative leap. Some analysts assume that the almost simultaneous musings of the Vice-President about Marxist priests were less pre-meditated than the Secretary's, but stemmed from the same source, possibly a briefing paper on the church and Latin America currently circulating at the highest levels.

The timing, of course, was largely coincidental. The New Right critics of what they consider "meddlesome clerics" had more than the Pope's Central American trip on their minds but it is no secret that they, and the Administration, were worried about what might come out of the trip.

Now that it's over, some can be heard crowing about the boost the Pope gave to the conservative hard-liners in the region, instancing almost exclusively the talks and events of one day, a Lenten Friday in Nicaragua. There is no question that the Pope's words there on educational freedom, on ideologies, and on ecclesial unity were particularly firm, though hardly surprising. What surprised all

---

**Thomas E. Quigley** is adviser on Latin American and Caribbean Affairs at the U.S. Catholic Conference, Washington, D.C.

was the most unfortunate turn of events at the papal Mass.

As the huge crowd in the plaza that sweltering afternoon began to chant their conflicting slogans, there was no authority able to pull it all back together. Frustration and disappointment more than anger and hostility, certainly more than intended disrespect, finally carried the day. However compelling the Monday morning explanations, the fact remains — images seared into much of the TV world's consciousness — that it was a symbolic and diplomatic disaster.

But it was not the whole trip. Here's a more accurate synopsis of what the Pope said and did in Central America.

In Costa Rica, he began his pilgrimage of peace with language reminiscent of the oft-quoted "Cry of the People" words of the Puebla document. At Puebla the Roman Catholic bishops said, "From the heart of Latin America, a cry rises to the heavens ever louder and more imperative. It is the cry of a people who suffer and who demand justice, freedom, and respect for the fundamental rights of man." In San Jose the Pope spoke of "the tortured cry which these lands raise and which invokes peace, the end of war and violent death. . .it implores reconciliation, which can banish hatred. It

years for a justice which has been long, and until today, vainly awaited."

He told the young that they had "to create a better world than that of your ancestors," otherwise "blood will continue to flow and tomorrow's tears will give witness to the sorrows of your children."

He urged that the problems of the region be confronted "in a sincere dialogue, without foreign interference," a first reference to the internationalist and interventionist component of the region's crisis.

If that was even-handed criticism of both the United States and, presumably, the Soviet Union, he also in Costa Rica made the first of several references to the dangers of both competing worldviews: "collectivist systems that can prove no less oppressive to the dignity of man than pure economic capitalism."

In El Salvador, he called for all to "overcome the obstacles to dialogue," said the church should promote reconciliation, and observed that people want to live "in a climate of democratic co-existence." He pointedly expressed the hope that "all may have the possibility of collaborating in the promotion of the common good in a climate of true democracy."

He departed from the announced schedule and went first to the tomb of slain Archbishop Oscar Romero, whom he described as the "zealous pastor whose love of God and his brothers and sisters led him to the very giving up of his life" and as one "who tried. . .to end the violence and to re-establish peace."

In apparent reference to Salvadorean governmental attempts to divide the opposition into reasonable but misguided democrats and their more radical allies, with whom no accommodation is anticipated, the Pope emphasized that "nobody should be excluded from the effort for peace."

In Guatemala, where the government had executed six men virtually on the eve of his visit despite repeated papal appeals for clemency, he condemned violence and discrimination against the Indian peasants and against the church. And in the face of what the Guatemalan bishops have called the rapid spread of a disincarnate spirituality, a religious phenomenon emphasizing "faith without works," he preached a pair of homilies that could well be included in a book of readings on liberation theology.

In Belize, poor but peaceful, where both the violent clash of classes and the bitter hostility between socially-con-



cerned Christians and their fundamentalist brethren is relatively attenuated, he stressed ecumenism. With representatives of the Methodist and Anglican communions at his side, he insisted that “unity is not to be dismissed as impossible or unnecessary” and that “division is not to be accepted as a necessary evil.”

But, addressing the fifth of the Belizean population that turned out to greet him at the airport, he had harsh words for the “aggressive proselytism” of those fundamentalist groups, largely U.S.-based and funded, “that disturbs and wounds, sometimes even with unworthy methods, the degree of unity which an ecclesial community already possesses.”

### **Haitian Plight Scored**

Finally, in Haiti, he delivered one of the strongest criticisms of existing social conditions of the entire trip. There is “division, injustice, excessive inequality, degradation of the quality of life, poverty, hunger, fear. . .peasants unable to make a living from their land, people crowded without work in the cities, families broken up and displaced. . .

“There is truly a profound need for justice,” he went on, “of a better distribution of goods, of more equitable organization of society, with more participation, a more disinterested concept of service to all on the part of those with responsibilities. . .”

These words, many more of which could be cited, formed the core of the Pope’s message to the people of Central America. (In a visit that was primarily pastoral, it should be obvious that the main focus of his talks dealt with the life of the church, expressed in specific discourses to men and women religious, priests and bishops, catechists and seminarians and, while outside the scope of this article, also consistently stressed the themes of justice, reconciliation and peace.)

In short, what we have in this papal trip is a dramatic visual re-presentation

of the modern church’s fundamental concerns and teachings. The Pope offered a running commentary on Roman Catholic social doctrine within the context of Central America.

None of it was new. Not only has it all been said before but *he* has said it before, often enough with that same Latin or Central American context in mind, as in his several letters to Central American episcopates in the last three years and his talks in Mexico and Brazil.

But one should not minimize the value of this kind of repetition. The very compression of the many statements in the brief span of just over a week, set against the colorful backdrop of a whirlwind trip, has its own special impact.

Millions, literally, who heard him on radio and television in Central America were exposed to that proclamation, that social message, in a way that the vast majority had never experienced before. Will it make any difference in their lives? Did it make any dent? It’s impossible to know as yet, just as it’s foolish to assert—because equally impossible to verify — that it didn’t.

But reflect for a moment on how rapidly the social awareness of many other Christians has developed in the past two decades, impelled in no small part by such proclamations as the statements of Vatican II, the recent synods and papal encyclicals. It’s reasonable to assume that many who heard the Pope in Central America had never heard that message, at least never so clearly. And for those more active Christians who had already made the gospel message of justice and peace a part of their lives, many of them must have been strengthened in their commitment.

### **Critique From London**

That, of course, is not what most interests observers in this country. Or elsewhere. The London *Economist*, for instance, in its pre-trip issue (March 5) quite accurately described the political

and ecclesial situations the Pope would encounter and, while noting that the trip was fraught with danger, seemed to applaud the Pope’s undertaking to do more or less what he in fact did do.

After the trip, however, the *Economist* felt constrained to ask, “Should the Pope have gone to Central America?” suggesting that the answer is probably “no.” “The trouble is that he had nothing constructive to offer in the way of suggestions to stop the killing.”

### **No Specific Plan**

The Pope, that is, did not bring a new or specific peace plan for the region. Nor did he confront governments as forcefully or directly as some might have liked—though Haiti’s Duvalier and Guatemala’s Rios Montt and the Sandinista directorate and possibly Magana of El Salvador might have a different reading on that.

*Commonweal* noted that, “Of course, he didn’t bring a ten-point peace plan in his suitcase—nor has he the divisions to enforce it. But there are other ways of building peace. Dominating John Paul’s journey was the effort to maintain some open space amidst the terrible violence—to keep the church from falling back into accommodation with the oligarchies or from being co-opted by Marxist-Leninists; to maintain the church’s rejection of both the injustice of ‘pure economic capitalism’ and the collectivism of one-party vanguards. It is important that the biggest crowds Central America has known came out not to celebrate any of the region’s reigning hatreds, but to declare that fidelity to the Gospel was ultimate and that the Gospel will not provide social cement for any of the lockjawed options Central America is embattled over.

“Is this abstracted idealism or, as the *Economist* wrote, ‘a helpless plea’? Or is it the consequence of hearing the voices of those caught in the middle and wanting, through liturgical gesture, through admonitions, through the very gathering



of crowds, to translate that 'sorrowful clamor' into a murmur of hope? We think the latter."

And so, basically, do I.

On the not unrelated question of Christianity and Marxism, the Pope took care to repeat (perhaps more insistently than some thought necessary) the church's well-developed and oft-expressed skepticism about the concrete historical expressions of Marxism. Skepticism is not the same as unrelenting hostility and is certainly not condemnation. The extreme expressions of state collectivization, as of unbridled free enterprise, are indeed condemned, as is also the ideology that has come to be called that of the national security state.

During the Central America trip, the Pope addressed those extremes without clearly saying that any had assumed full expression in any country of the region. His words to the church on these themes, both to the ministers of the church and to the faithful in general, were words of caution on the one hand to those who would push too fast and find themselves co-opted into systems inimical to their faith, and on the other hand, words of encouragement, even challenge, insisting that the Gospel message is the sufficiently revolutionary grounding on which to base the Christian's struggle for justice.

If anyone imagines that the Pope sought to pull the church back from active engagement in this continuous struggle, including engagement and dialogue with Marxists as well as non-Marxists, he or she hasn't read the words. Or noted how the *ensemble* of the Central American texts fits easily within the entire modern expression of the church's social-political viewpoint.

So, in terms of an overall, general impact, especially on the life of the church there, it was significant, positive and socially progressive. The texts will be cited for some time to come, not just as footnotes but as calls to action. ■

## Verdict First, Trial After

Picture yourself on trial for criminal contempt of court for refusing to divulge information about a political organization suspected by the Federal Government of committing acts of violence. It could be the Communist Party, the Catholic Church, or your neighborhood PTA. Your position is that the Government is engaging in a political witch-hunt and you want no part in it.

Before the trial begins, even before the first prospective juror is questioned, the prosecutor puts an unusual request to the judge: He wants the names of the jurors kept secret so they can reach their verdict uninfluenced by the organization's "proven record of violent criminal conduct."

Your attorney protests the attempt to link you with the concept of violent retaliation, the clear insinuation that jurors hearing your case might need special protection. But the judge upholds the request, and the anonymous jury — to no one's great surprise — goes on to find you guilty.

A nightmare? Of course — and exactly what happened a few weeks ago in the courtroom of Federal District Judge Charles P. Sifton in Brooklyn, New York.

Twelve men and women identified only by numbers, ostensibly as protection against reprisal, found five defendants guilty of criminal contempt for refusing to testify before a Grand Jury investigating bombings for which the FALN, a Puerto Rican independence group, had claimed responsibility.

"We asked the jury to send a message to the FALN, and we think it did," bragged the prosecutor, James D. Harmon Jr. Indeed, the jury did. And in the process the jury and the prosecutor and Judge Sifton also sent a message to the public — that this one court, at least was willing to be the handmaiden of the prosecution in intimidating American citizens.

Grand Juries have long been prone to prosecutorial abuse . . . But what distin-

guishes this case from others was the Government's willingness to go beyond the Grand Jury and ensnare the court itself in its web of intimidation. And what makes that even more appalling is Judge Sifton's ready acquiescence.

The five defendants are appealing this misbegotten conviction by anonymous jurors. Here's hoping a higher court will put an end to these innovative abuses before they become widespread.

— Reprinted with permission from *The Progressive*, Madison, WI 53703. Copyright© 1983, The Progressive, Inc.

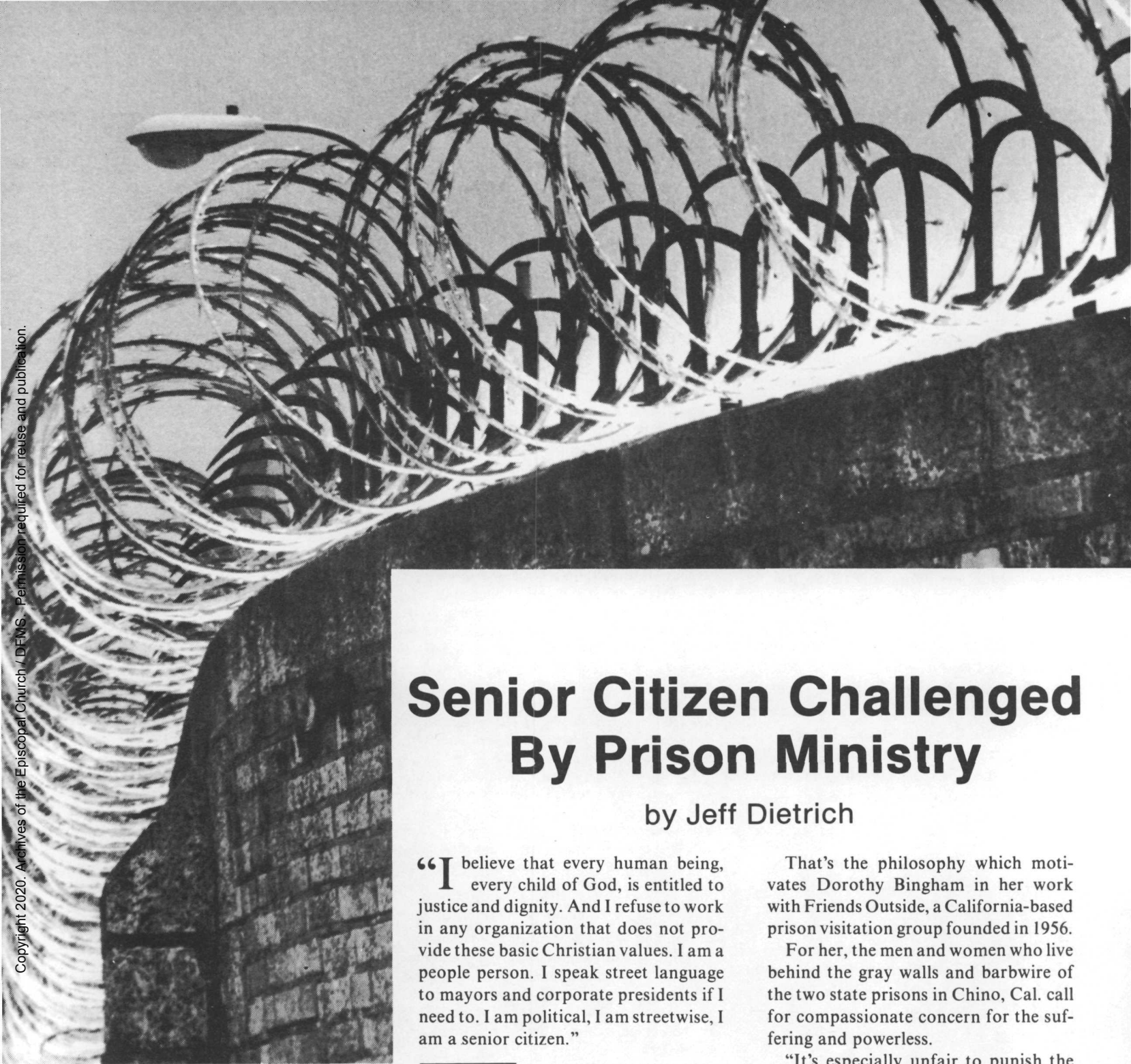
## Sentencing Deferred

Sentencing of the five Hispanics convicted of criminal contempt for refusing to testify before a federal Grand Jury now appears postponed until the end of May or possibly mid-June. (See stories in March and April issues of THE WITNESS.)

The five were summoned to appear April 8 in a federal court in Brooklyn but Judge Charles P. Sifton dealt only with a motion by the defense for a new trial, which he denied, and "procedural matters."

As THE WITNESS went to press, pre-sentence investigations were underway, during which reports were being prepared by probation officers, defense attorneys and the Government. Probation officers will investigate the backgrounds and history of the defendants and attorneys will present evidence arguing for the leniency or severity of the sentence.

The Hispanics awaiting sentence include Maria Cueto, former director of the National Commission for Hispanic Affairs of the Episcopal Church, and Steven Guerra of the Board of Directors of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.



## Senior Citizen Challenged By Prison Ministry

by Jeff Dietrich

**I** believe that every human being, every child of God, is entitled to justice and dignity. And I refuse to work in any organization that does not provide these basic Christian values. I am a people person. I speak street language to mayors and corporate presidents if I need to. I am political, I am streetwise, I am a senior citizen.”

**Jeff Dietrich**, a member of the Los Angeles Catholic Worker community, has served two sentences for peace demonstrations. His recent book, *Reluctant Resister*, chronicles the sentence he served for blocking the entrance of the Anaheim Convention Center during a military weapons exposition.

That’s the philosophy which motivates Dorothy Bingham in her work with Friends Outside, a California-based prison visitation group founded in 1956.

For her, the men and women who live behind the gray walls and barbwire of the two state prisons in Chino, Cal. call for compassionate concern for the suffering and powerless.

“It’s especially unfair to punish the inmate’s family,” says Bingham. “The Center does a little bit of everything from child care to welfare counseling. We try to be a loving family or friend for those who need help.”

But the primary motivation is to

*The Episcopal Urban Caucus at its Washington meeting recently called upon the national church to establish jail and prison ministries as a mission priority. Here is a story about one such.*



provide simple hospitality.

"Before we opened there were 10,000 visits a month, and there was no one except a single state employee at the gate to deal with all the traffic and answer questions. There was no place to get in out of the rain or heat or change a diaper or warm a bottle. So the need was there."

An example of the hospitality provided involves the case of a young pregnant woman coming to visit her husband. "She had a miscarriage at the bus station," says Bingham. "Friends Outside volunteers rushed her to the hospital and saw to it that she received immediate medical attention. That night they put her up in a motel. The next morning, through their contacts with prison officials, Friends Outside arranged the extraordinary privilege of an unscheduled visit."

Perhaps the work of Friends Outside can best be described as that of humanizing an otherwise cold and sterile institution. "We're just here to act as compassionately as we can," says Bingham. "Of course it is difficult to feel compassion for others unless we can feel their pain and suffering."

Many friends think that Bingham's interest in social justice and concern for those who suffer dates back to 1947 when she and her husband Clyde were forced to move from their family home in Arkansas. Their home was destroyed by a tornado leaving them penniless and dependent upon the charity of others. The couple learned the meaning of suffering, and for the last 40 years countless individuals have been the beneficiaries of that harsh lesson.

Bingham speaks with the conviction and firm resolve of one who has dedicated her life to the service of others, but she hardly looks the part of a "do-gooder." With her freshly coiffed silver hair, and dressed in a green pants suit, she looks more like the archetypical grandmother than a social agitator.



Dorothy Bingham

Perhaps that is why she is so effective. Her personal charm and unassuming demeanor are disarming to any political adversary.

At 67 Dorothy Bingham has been retired since 1975, having spent 37 years as a factory worker at the G.E. plant in Ontario, Cal. At a time when most senior citizens are contemplating a well-deserved rest, Dorothy "probably averages more than a 40-hour week" serving on the board of directors of the Inland Urban League, Church Women United, National Conference of Christians and Jews, the United Way, to name just a few.

"I've often wondered why I can't sit down and leave things alone. But I can't. I think Jesus set the example. You almost have to be in politics to do the things that he wants us to do.

"I got involved with prison ministry in 1960 through Chaplain Harry Howard. They were locking up so many young boys for marijuana back then, and the chaplain began to wonder if these youths might not be able to relate to older church women. He invited us to participate in the Yoke Fellow Movement. You know, by lifting the yoke off our fellow human beings."

Dorothy worked for eight years as a volunteer in the Youth Authority Camp. "I don't think I taught the young men very much, but I sure learned a lot about the criminal justice system, and

the institutions.

"When I first started visiting at the men's prison, I was very afraid, and had to have an escort. But now I have no fear because what I see is just a human being like I see out on the streets. I feel as safe on the inside of the prison walls as I do on the outside."

Bingham knows from firsthand experience that fear "keeps church people away" from prison ministry. "Our fear keeps us comfortable in the pew. But I can read Matthew 25 just like anyone else; and I know that it calls us to visit the imprisoned just as surely as it calls us to feed the hungry and visit the sick, which are comfortable things for Christians to do. But it is very hard for church people to put themselves into the scene where people are in prison.

"The church can make an impact by first getting rid of the fallacy that everyone in prison belongs there." With unemployment at a record high, Dorothy feels that the prison system has become a dumping ground for the nation's unemployed minorities. She quotes the head of the Texas prison system who told the state legislature, "All the prisons in Texas could be closed and there wouldn't be an increase in crime."

"People who get involved in crime the first time should not go to prison. We need to have a community setting which is nurturing and supportive, and, of course, it is the church community that comes to mind first." But before such a vision can be achieved it is necessary to awaken to certain harsh realities. One, Bingham claims, is that "People in prison do not get educated or rehabilitated. There should be job training. There should be some process to get people ready for the outside."

Another harsh reality is that "Tax-payers are willing to pay vast sums of money for prisons but nothing for prevention of the social factors that cause crime. Here at the California Institute for Men, we have only 3,400 inmates



## Macho Money

With the provocative title, "Real Men Don't Earn Less Than Their Wives," an article in *Psychology Today*, (11/82), reports on a recent economic change in American society. An increasing number of high-achieving women are earning more than their husbands, and some husbands find that hard to take. Research indicates that in that situation, sex lives may suffer, and mutual psychological and physical abuse is higher, which promotes a higher rate of divorce. In fact, for some husbands premature death from heart disease is eleven times more frequent than normal.

The article continues, "Though it has always been a dirty little secret, money often means power in marriage as well as in society at large. And as the provider, the husband has traditionally held the greater share of family power. Beyond the domestic control that accompanies their monetary contribution, many men measure their masculinity by the size of their paycheck. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that some husbands feel threatened when their wives earn more."

One concludes that something other than the spirit of Ephesians 5:25-30 is at work here.

— *Daughters of Sarah*, Jan./Feb. 1983

and yet there are 1,100 state employees. That's a three-to-one ratio. If we had that kind of student-teacher ratio in the first place, the prison population would be significantly reduced."

Until some of these visionary ideas are implemented, however, Bingham and Friends Outside are committed to struggling with a less than ideal situation. And perhaps that is the most difficult task for social activists like Dorothy Bingham: accepting that real life situations are never black or white, good or evil. "The Chino Friends Outside chapter is different from other Friends Outside chapters," says Bingham. "We knew we could not do what had to be done without the help of the prison officials because there are

just too many rules and regulations. But inside the institution there are officials who are good Christian people who have helped us immensely. This is a new concept in cooperation between Friends Outside and the institution. We do not have an 'us against them' relationship."

Bingham's refusal to stereotype even those who might with some justification be considered adversaries is a quality that has served her well in her many community activities, but it is not a trait that came naturally. It grew out of her Christian willingness to love her enemies as herself and a painful process of maturation. "I was a union steward at G.E., so I thought everyone who worked for a corporation had little horns. Then I began attending board meetings of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, and I had to start taking another look at these executives who worked a full day and then volunteered free evenings for community service. No one made them do it. They were there for the same reason as I, to make the world a better place. So I had to change my value system."

That change was underscored most dramatically in the winter of 1981 when then Governor Jerry Brown appointed Dorothy Bingham as his representative to the White House Commission on Aging. "I almost lost my religion and my positive outlook," says Bingham of the experience. The White House apparently had prearranged the conference to reflect a biased perspective of senior citizens. She credits people like Sen. John Heinz of Pennsylvania and William Kieschnick, president of Atlantic Richfield Corporation, with salvaging the conference.

Often the people who are chosen to participate in such policy-making events reflect only the outlook of the middle and upper classes. But Dorothy brings the unique perspective of a factory worker, a union activist, senior citizen, and a woman to top level con-

ferences and boardrooms. "The problem with these groups is that they reflect the attitudes of people who have had everything given to them. They just can't understand people who have had to fight for everything they have. People who work for hourly wages must be represented on policy-making groups. I think the only way we're going to make things better is to change the laws."

Recently the Inland Urban League presented Dorothy with its first award to acknowledge and recognize the special support she had given the Urban League and the community at large.

With all of her activities Dorothy admits that her husband has learned to accept an occasional peanut butter sandwich for dinner. "I am all for it," says Clyde, who works as a volunteer with Dorothy in the Urban League and Friends Outside. "If we don't start helping each other, this country is going to go down the drain."

---

## Resources

**The Rev. Canon Edward W. Rodman, One Joy Street, Boston, MA 02108 will offer strategies and suggestions on how to start a prison ministry. Canon Rodman is missionary to minority communities for the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts. Telephone toll-free 1-800-392-6079.**

**American Friends Service Committee has a Prison Visitation and Support Program dealing specifically with federal and military prisons. Eric Corson, AFSC, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19102.**

**Institute of Women Today, sponsored by Protestant, Catholic and Jewish organizations, brings service programs to women in prison as one of its projects. Institute of Women Today, 1307 S. Wabash, Chicago, Ill. 60605.**

***Instead of Prisons: A Handbook for Abolitionists*, by Fay Honey Knopp and Jon Regler. Furnishes a framework and ideology by which current prison work can be evaluated and future work planned; proposes concrete tasks. \$7.25. Safer Society Press, 3049 E. Genessee St., Syracuse, N.Y. 13224.**

---

## Happy Mother's Day

Mothers are important in America; on the second Sunday of May they are feted with flowers and candy as children old and young remember Mom.

Pastors prepare sermons on the values of motherhood for services to which we wear red or white carnations, and every state selects its Mother of the Year.

In the state of Washington lives a young mother of two who is dying of cancer; Struggling to exist on Social Security benefits of \$365 monthly for herself and her daughter with rent at \$250, she receives too much to be eligible for Medicaid, and cannot pay hospital bills of more than \$6,000 for emergency care.

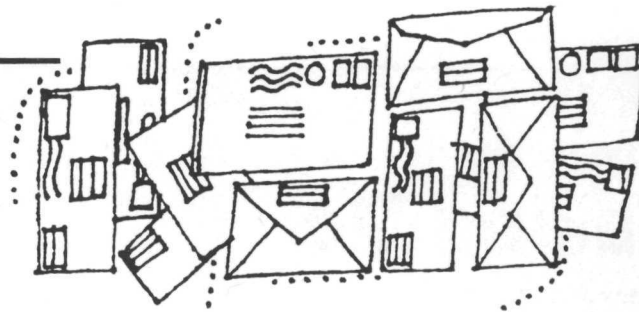
So she must give up her two little children who keep asking if Mommie is dead yet.

The President proposes to spend \$200 billion on armaments — the biggest peacetime military budget in history — but says we can't afford the funds needed to help a young mother who is dying on Mother's Day.

—Mary Jane Brewster

### CREDITS

Cover, Beth Seka, adapted from graphic by Margaret Longdon; graphics p. 4, 8, Margaret Longdon; graphic p. 11, Rini Templeton; graphic p. 14, Institute for Women Today; cartoon p. 18, Doug Brunner.



## To George, With Love

I am forwarding this Open Letter to George Herbert in response to Anne Fowler's poem, "To George Herbert at the 10 O'clock Service," in the February WITNESS:

Dear George,

I hope you don't mind the informality of first names. I have had a love affair with your poetry for lo these many years, and I think of you as a colleague — a fellow Priest and Poet, although I may have lost what little humility I have in making a comparison like that.

I am writing you because, seeing through a glass darkly, I don't know what magazines are read in heaven, and maybe (although I hope I am wrong) THE WITNESS doesn't have a distributor in the Celestial City.

In a recent issue of THE WITNESS there was a poem about you or to you (I wasn't sure which, and it probably doesn't matter). In the poem, the author said, "I am, like George (she refers to you by first name, too) one of God's frozen chosen."

While you, George, may like the tingly rhyme of "frozen chosen," you may be wondering what it means. Well, some years ago, a certain wag, who shall be nameless, said that Episcopalians (the remnant of the Church of England in the Colonies, following the War of Independence, a little more than a century following your untimely death) were God's frozen people. It is not completely clear what the wag meant, but I think it has something to do with Episcopalians mumbling the Amens at the end of collects or voting in vestry meetings against bulk subscriptions to THE WITNESS or refusing to contribute food

and clothing to those who went on Peace Marches in the 1960s.

But, dear George, please be assured the wag did not mean to infer you were frozen. I blush to say it, but the wag may not even have read your poetry. Not all Episcopalians (to their shame) have. And, I am sure the author of the poem never meant to imply that you were or are frozen. She probably agrees with me that you are one of the most free persons who ever lived. When, some years ago, I read your poem, "Redemption," I also became free. I hope to see you face-to-face one day.

Lew Towler  
E. Lansing, Mich.

## Ms. Fowler Responds

Thanks to Lew Towler for sharing that marvelous letter. My reply? Recently I wrote in a poem entitled, "Resume":

*Under Education:*

I am the only person I have ever known  
Who was utterly happy  
While writing a doctoral dissertation.  
I was in love with George Herbert.

*Under Research Interest:*

Who would have thought my shrivel'd  
heart

Could have recover'd greenness?

Without George Herbert I question whether I would be, today, a churchgoer, a theological student, a poet, a Christian. Someday, thanks to him, I may become a priest of the church.

Of course he was not frozen. But he has written eloquently of paralysis, and I have known that, too. If my debt to him is so great that I can only speak of it in irony and paradox, I must hope that he will understand.

Anne C. Fowler  
Belmont, Mass.

# Making Do

It became a game, making do.

A pair of sorry shoes you previously would have discarded you suddenly conclude really don't look that bad. They will last, you decide, maybe another year or two. You are making do.

You quickly reach the same opinion about a battered parka. After all, you murmur, it's thick and warm and not a single button is missing. You are making do.

You have a tooth that needs filling. You thank the Lord that it's located in the back where no one can see it and you eat on the other side of your mouth. You are making do.

You stop buying fruit, it's just so dear. You console your anxiety about the children's diet by telling yourself again and again that there's oodles of vitamin C in the rest of the food they eat. You are making do.

You pack your husband peanut butter sandwiches and he bravely makes light that lunchtime at work makes him feel he's a kid eating in the school cafeteria again. He insists he doesn't miss the taste of meat, that peanut butter is delicious. You are making do.

Cold water in the fridge replaces the costly soft drinks that formerly quenched the family's thirst. You tell your teenagers water is much better for their complexion and they smile and nod that water really is healthier. They are being courageously cooperative. You are making do.

You notice a stray canine with the cutest button nose. You would like to take him home. From the look in his brown eyes he wants you to. But you can't; what's there to feed the poor little guy? You turn away, fighting tears and leave the pup whimpering. Times are like that — they're forcing you to do unkind things. You are making do.

You add fringe to your children's too-short jeans. You stop buying hair conditioner, pretty stationery, plant food, your favorite magazine, knickknacks for

**Gail Habbyslaw** of Mercer, Pa., is a 1980 graduate of Westminister College who is presently unemployed.

by Gail Habbyslaw

your daughter to add to her collection. You don't go to the movies anymore. You stop inviting relatives to dinner. You hear yourself telling your offspring having no money doesn't render you poor, that poverty is a state of mind. Feel rich, you preach to the children, because you are rich with your health, supportive brothers and sisters, loving parents, a roof over your heads, food to eat, clothes to wear. Think, you solemnly add, how much worse it would be if we lived in, say, India, or Pakistan. And your teenagers — seeing how badly you are feeling — cheerfully smile, nodding in agreement at everything you mutter. You are making do.

All of these sacrifices, and more, are part of the rules, part of the high risk stakes, in the game of making do. The prize for winning is well worth the effort: it's called, simply, survival.

This is a game where there can't be any losers. You just have to make do. Or else.

— Reprinted with permission from the 12th issue of the *Mill Hunk Herald*, Pittsburgh's Democratically Run Press.



Inflation is placing many items out of reach for the average person.



**Letters . . . Continued from page 2**

They have claimed to know what we want, what we think, and how we feel. They have claimed to know what is best for the Indian.

Another possibility is that the Indian people were simply overlooked. Perhaps their absence can be chalked up to an honest mistake, an omission that was unintentional. If this is the case, then the hard question becomes: What does that honest mistake have to say about the seriousness and respect accorded to the Indian people of this church?

It has been the practice, and even the policy, of this society to try to forget about the Indian. The American conscience has a terrible hangover from the long night of its brutalization of the Indian people. It does not want to remember. It has a vested interest in forgetting. And so it wills us to vanish, to disappear, to remain quaint curiosities in a history long since past. Occasionally, if the script calls for it, if it's Thanksgiving, we may be brought out to decorate the set, but it is far more convenient to ignore the Indian people rather than to confront them. The argument that native people were neglected just as an oversight becomes a clear signal to our community that we are still America's bad dream. It never really happened. And even if it did, that was a long, long time ago.

There is a certain *deja vu* in writing

this type of letter. I have the distinct impression that I've been here before. Writing to magazines and newspapers, raising my hand at church meetings and conferences, tugging on the sleeve of the host, and always asking over and over: "But where are the native people?" I didn't see us in your article; I didn't hear us at your podium; I didn't receive your invitation.

And there is always a *deja vu* about the replies I receive: "Don't worry, we're talking about your issues too," or, "We're sorry, we just forgot to add you to the list."

I suppose this sense of frustration is part of the job description of being an Indian. More than likely I will have to go on writing letters, raising my hand, and interrupting the otherwise smooth flow of business as usual. I do regret having to do this with *THE WITNESS*, but I hope you will understand why I felt it was important.

**The Rev. Steve Charleston  
Mobridge, S.D.**

*(THE WITNESS stands chided and sobered by Steve Charleston's sensitively written letter. For the February PB feature, we approached groups with whom we have had an ongoing contact in the past, in a way we have not, unfortunately, had with Native Americans. We are taking steps to put us in closer touch with the Native American constituency. — Eds.)*

**Editorial . . . continued from page 3**  
predicate and subject. Both were interfering — but with divine authority behind them.

In the United States we have sought to preserve that principle of allowing all people the opportunity for discerning the signs of the times. We call it our democratic process. There are other ways, but we have found this serves us well. So may the Catholic bishops continue to urge upon us the perils of a policy of nuclear war. May the World Council of Churches persevere in its resistance to the apartheid policy of South Africa. May the National Council of Churches strengthen its efforts to identify and minister to the faces of oppression in this country.

May every last one of us, who feels called to do so, continue to speak out as loudly and as clearly and as truthfully as possible on the issues of right and wrong, of justice and tyranny, of peace and war. Our collective redemption requires nothing less. Only in so doing dare we invoke the name of God on our affairs. Even in so doing we must await in humility the divine judgment.

*(R.L.D. and the editors)*

# COMMENCEMENT

Use handy insert card in this issue.

For that special college or seminary graduate — a gift subscription to **THE WITNESS.**

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company  
P.O. Box 359  
Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002  
Address Correction Requested

NONPROFIT ORG.  
U.S. POSTAGE  
PAID  
North Wales, Pa.  
Permit No. 121

# SPECIAL OFFER TO WITNESS READERS

Order *Must We Choose Sides*, or *Which Side Are We On*, two of the best-selling Study Action Guides on the

market — dealing with Christian Commitment for the 1980s — for only \$5.00 and save up to \$1.95.

## Must We Choose Sides?

1979, 127pp. \$5.95

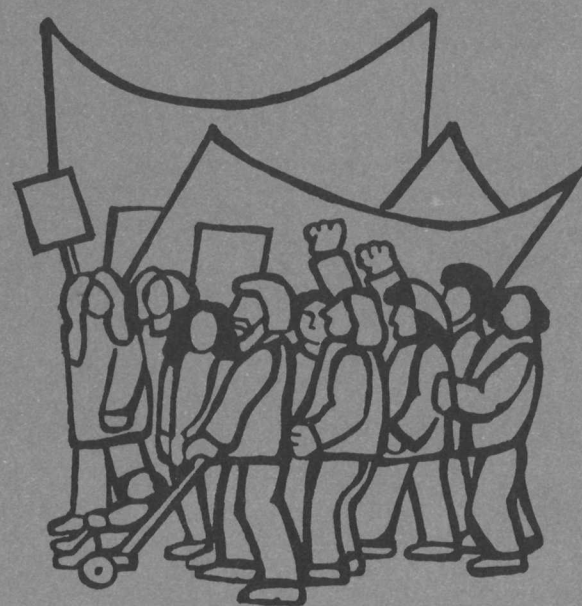
Explores the role of working people in our economic system. Investigates harsh realities of everyday life. Who owns America? Who pays the price? Six comprehensive sessions help readers examine class background and the myths of capitalism. Group exercises probe individual experience and insight, apply tools of social analysis while engaging in theological reflection.



## Which Side Are We On?

1980, 172 pp. \$6.95

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.



Yes, I want to take advantage of your special offer. Please send me the book(s) I have checked at \$5.00 each. Payment is enclosed.

- Must We Choose Sides**  
 **Which Side Are We On**

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

(Fill out and mail today to THE WITNESS, Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002.)

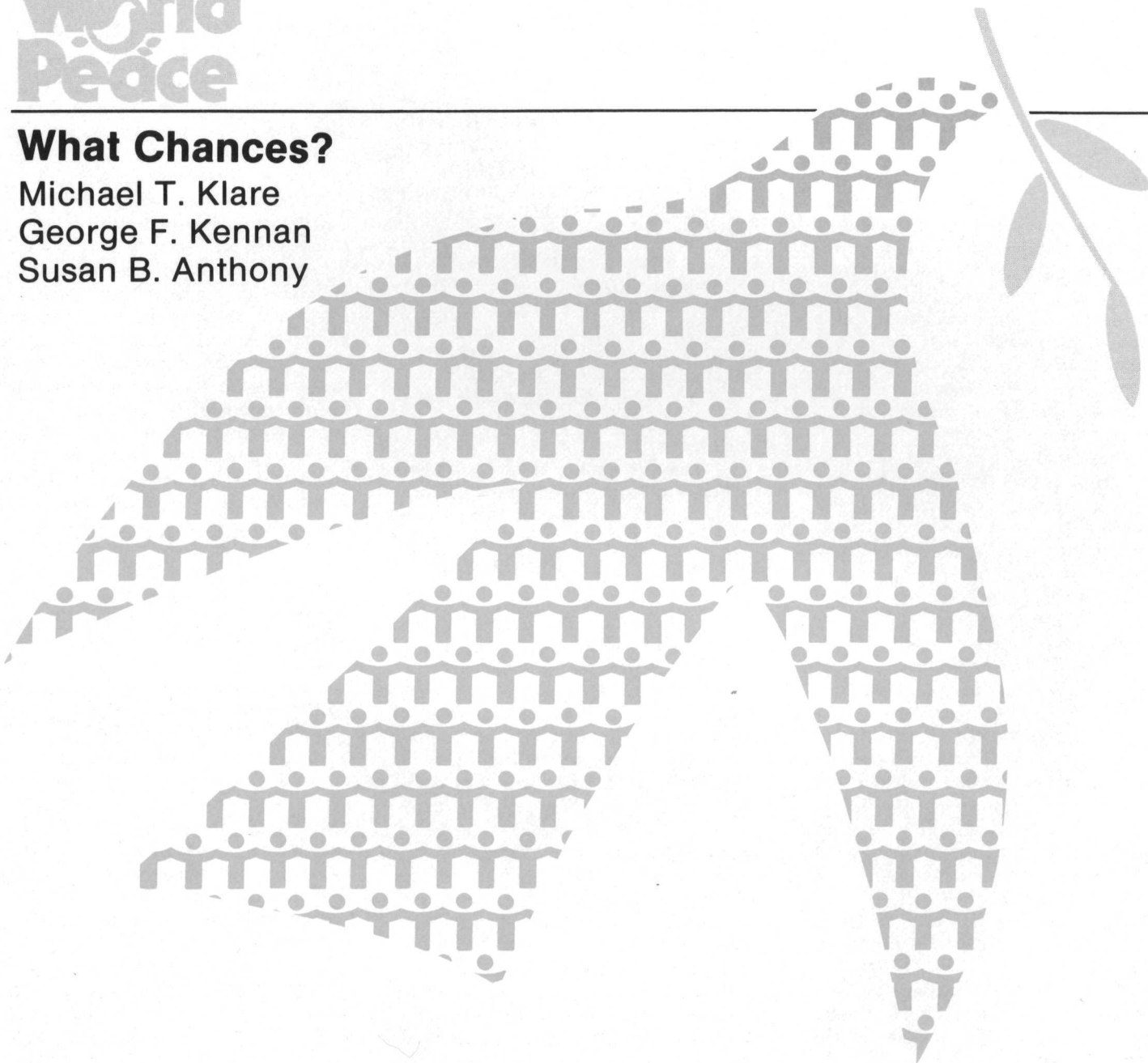
# THE VOL. 66 NO. 6 JUNE 1983 WITNESS

World  
Peace

---

## What Chances?

Michael T. Klare  
George F. Kennan  
Susan B. Anthony





# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

## Jubilee Ministry Wronged

As always, it was good to read retired Presiding Bishop John Hines' thoughts in the March issue of THE WITNESS. But about the Jubilee Ministry, the record needs setting straight. He says, "The forces that strove to help extend or recreate a socially active ministry of the national church did a heroic job, but they were too little and too late. Even though having been guided by some astute minds of people, they didn't get started soon enough. They didn't understand sufficiently the financial structuring the General Convention goes through, and therefore, they came up with their proposition too late to get it budgeted adequately."

This is simply wrong. The Standing Commission on the Church in Metropolitan Areas, which originated the Jubilee Ministry, understood the General Convention's budgeting structure very well, but was defeated by it. The budget proposal was entered into the process before the deadline of June 1, 1981, but the whole idea of a major new commitment to poor and oppressed people was actively opposed by Presiding Bishop John Allin and his "administrative group" who pretty well control what finally gets to the Program Budget and Finance Committee of General Convention. Thus the Jubilee Ministry was refused admittance to the developing budget. For perhaps the first time, the elected Executive Council rejected the P.B.'s proposed budget for the Triennium at its February, 1982 meeting because not a dime had been included for Jubilee. The resubmitted budget in June, 1982 included a pittance for Jubilee which was increased at General Convention, but woefully, only to \$250,000.

At New Orleans, the earliest day the Standing Commission and its related legislative committee in each House

could hold hearings was the first Monday. Then both Houses had to act on the proposal before Program Budget and Finance went to press with their budget on Thursday. That was not possible.

It is a matter of deep concern to many that the present national budget process puts the real power almost completely in the hands of the Presiding Bishop. If a Standing Commission is trying to put into the proposed budget something the 815 staff does not favor, it might as well save its energy. It will lose the battle before the General Convention ever convenes. Significant reform of the budget process would seem to be in order.

When one couples this learning with one of John Hines' WITNESS observations about the next P.B.: "I doubt if the church is well enough to pick the kind of person who will give it the kind of leadership the next decade is going to require," the outlook is not hopeful for major new program commitments to groups (like poor people) having no significant constituency in the Episcopal Church. But then, look out for the Spirit and wonderful surprises!

**The Rev. Jack Woodard, Member  
Standing Commission on the Church  
in Metropolitan Areas**

## Bishop Hines Responds

I owe Jack Woodard and those with whom he worked, an apology for downgrading their persistent efforts to get the Jubilee Ministry adequately funded. Had I realized that Jack was so intimately involved, I hope I would have restrained my impetuous (and unsupported) judgment of the matter, for I know well that Jack has been over every inch of the budgeting process many times during the years he served the National Church with distinction.

However, his well-reasoned letter snuffs out the small glimmer of hope, concerning the Episcopal Church and the poor, that had appeared. For if the budgeting process at "815" is so dominated by an administration group powerful enough to reduce to near ruins the well-articulated hopes of General

Convention's strong Standing Commission on the Church in Metropolitan Areas, it may just be powerful enough to cut the ground from under Jack Woodard's eloquent plea "Look out for the Spirit and wonderful surprises." And that would be darkness, indeed.

**The Rt. Rev. John E. Hines  
Black Mountain, N.C.**

## Parenti Article Biased

I found Nat Pierce's article in the February issue most thought-provoking. I have known Nat from several General Conventions and, in particular, as I served as Co-Chairman of the Joint Committee on Committees and Commissions before whom he appeared in support of the creation of the Joint Commission on Peace.

On the other hand, I suggest that for your publication to reflect freedom of expression of various points of view, you should have an article pointing out the oppression which seems inevitable in the Marxist dominated countries where even freedom of religion is not practiced, in response to the biased article by Michael Parenti. He seems to equate capitalism with oppression. ("Capitalism: System Without Spirit," February.)

In my two visits to the People's Republic of China in recent years, I had the very strong feeling through what we were told, as well as what we observed, that they practiced quite a different brand of communism from Russia and its satellites.

Their new constitution guarantees both the right to believe in and worship a supreme being and the right not to so believe, but the churches are open with increasing attendance. A most interesting observation, however, is that they seem to be practicing more and more capitalism in the encouragement of small businesses operated for profit and farms operated for profit.

After reading the Parenti article, I turned to the Special Offer on the back page where it appears two of the three offers are further attacks on capitalism.

I did not mean to ramble on at such

*Continued on page 18*

THE WITNESS

EDITOR  
**Mary Lou Suhor**

SENIOR CONTRIBUTING EDITOR  
**Robert L. DeWitt**

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS  
**Richard W. Gillett**  
**Hugh C. White**

STAFF  
**Ann Hunter**  
**Susan Small**  
**Bonnie Spady**  
**Lisa Whelan**

PUBLISHER  
**Episcopal Church Publishing Company**

ECPC BOARD OF DIRECTORS

CHAIR  
**H. Coleman McGehee**

VICE-CHAIR  
**Barbara Harris**

SECRETARY  
**Helen Seager**

TREASURER  
**Robert Potter**

ASSISTANT TREASURER  
**Robert Eckersley**

**Otis Charles**  
**Robert L. DeWitt**  
**Steven Guerra**  
**Suzanne Hiatt**  
**Mattie Hopkins**  
**Joan Howarth**  
**James Lewis**  
**Joseph A. Pelham**

THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215) 643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. Copyright 1983 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.

# THE WITNESS

## Editorial

### We Oppose the Death Penalty

The political climate in our nation has begun to turn sharply against Death Row prisoners with the election of a President who openly favors capital punishment.

In the fall of 1982, New Jersey and Massachusetts restored the death penalty for certain crimes, and in February of this year Sen. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina introduced a capital punishment bill in the Senate. Seven men have been executed since 1977, and bills are being introduced in state legislatures to limit legal defenses against that penalty.

We do not believe that the current drive in favor of the death penalty reflects the noblest ideals of the American people, nor that this drive reflects accurately the reality of declining numbers of death sentences carried out in our nation until 1977. Such a reality must, we would suggest, represent a deeper public aversion to executing a human being at the hands of the state.

For a span of nearly 40 years following World War II, the number of executions in the United States had steadily declined. Controversy about the death penalty increased greatly during the 1960s and the

courts became more strict in looking at it. Along with this, popular movements to abolish the death penalty grew in visibility and strength. From 1968 - 1977 not one death sentence was carried out in the 50 states of this nation, even though defendants continued to receive the penalty and were transferred to Death Row to wait.

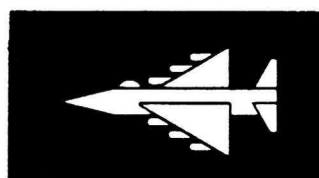
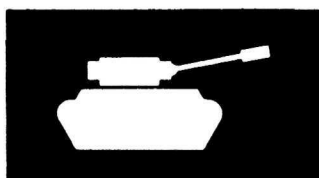
Today more than 1000 men and 13 women, the largest number in our history, are waiting on Death Row. Poor people and minority group members are disproportionately represented. The disparity in racial composition is especially notable in the Southern states. In 1982, Amnesty International called attention to a study which concluded that in Florida, Blacks who killed Whites were nearly 40 times more likely to be sentenced to death than Blacks who killed other Blacks — an unmistakable manifestation of racism in applying the death penalty.

Furthermore, statistics have never shown conclusively that the death penalty reduces crime. The notion of deterrence assumes that potential criminals exercise rational judgment in deciding whether or not to kill, whereas in

*Continued on page 19*



*"We dare not neglect the issue of conventional weapons and conventional wars."*



## An Open Letter to the U.S. Peace Movement

by Michael T. Klare

### Dear Friends,

For the past year or so, the American peace movement has devoted its energies to the struggle against nuclear weapons and nuclear war. This approach has aroused a great many Americans who fear a cataclysmic war between superpowers, giving the peace movement real political clout for the first time in years. Because we face a tremendous risk of extinction, and because only with large numbers of supporters can we hope to turn around the military policies of the Reagan administration, we dare not slacken the tempo of our educating and organizing efforts. While we dare not diminish our antinuclear activity, however, we must not neglect the issue of conventional weapons and conventional war.

Technically speaking, conventional weapons are "conventional" only because they kill through means other than nuclear fission: They may be as familiar as a standard handgun or as gruesome as cluster bombs and napalm. Conventional arms are not as useful as nuclear arms in killing very large numbers of people rapidly — but nothing else about them should lead us to think that they are otherwise more "humane" or acceptable than nuclear weapons, or that they are any less devastating in their effects on unprotected human bodies.

---

**Michael T. Klare** is a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies, Washington, D.C., and author of several books, the most recent being *Beyond the "Vietnam Syndrome": U.S. Intervention in the 1980s*.

At root, our opposition to conventional weapons must be moral: The loss of *any* human beings through warfare is an abomination, whether they be killed by conventional or nuclear weapons. Naturally, we tend to become especially disturbed by the slaughter of large numbers of defenseless people — hence our profound outrage over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But conventional weapons can also be used to level whole cities — witness Beirut in 1982 and Dresden in 1945 — and we must not forget that at least 25 million people have died in conventional wars since the end of World War II.

Morality aside, there are compelling strategic reasons why the peace movement — while retaining a primary focus on nuclear weapons — must address the issues of conventional weapons.

- **Nuclear wars are almost certain to begin as conventional wars.**

While some analysts postulate that a nuclear war can begin as an unanticipated, unprovoked "bolt out of the blue" (BOOB in the technical literature), most experts agree that a nuclear war will grow out of a conventional war that blows out of control. Although no one can predict the exact chain of events, it is likely that a nuclear war will begin when a local conventional war attracts the participation of the nuclear powers, one of which resorts to the use of nuclear weapons when its conventional forces face defeat on the battlefield.

The quantities of arms sold to the Third World in recent years are nothing short of staggering. Between 1974 and



1981, according to the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress, the United States, Soviet Union, and Western Europe provided Third World countries with 18,211 tanks and self-propelled cannons, 29,266 troop carriers, 4,852 supersonic combat aircraft, 29,795 surface-to-air missiles, and equally large quantities of other weapons.

And recent sales to the Third World have been marked as much by the *sophistication* of the weapons supplied as by their quantity. No longer are the major powers providing only their obsolete hand-me-downs. They are selling their most advanced and powerful weapons. These deliveries have transformed the combat environment in the Third World into a high-risk battlefield.

• **Conventional conflicts are becoming more frequent, and are more likely than ever to trigger a superpower confrontation.**

Sadly, it appears that more and more countries are prone to employ military means to solve disputes or expand their wealth and power. Already, in 1982, we have witnessed several major conflicts, including the Falklands war, the ongoing conflict between Iraq and Iran, and the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Despite their high death tolls, these conflicts seem to have prompted no noticeable decline in warlike behavior on the part of any of the world's governments. In fact, most nations are expanding their arsenals on a scale unlike anything we've seen since the years preceding World Wars I and II. Moreover, both superpowers are deploying more and more forces abroad, and appear more inclined than ever to intervene in local conflicts involving their allies and clients.

• **Conventional arms are becoming more deadly than ever before, thereby eroding the "firebreak" between conventional and nuclear arms.**

At one time, there was a clearly defined gap or "firebreak" between the most powerful conventional weapons and the smallest nuclear weapons, making it easier to halt the escalation before it reached the nuclear level. But technological advances are erasing this firebreak by making conventional arms more powerful and nuclear arms less indiscriminate in their effects. For example, large cluster bomb units (CBMs) of the type used by Israel in Lebanon can kill all unprotected humans in a very large area, while new "mini-nukes" of the type developed by the United States can confine their destructive effects to an area of just about the same size. It is becoming that much easier for military commanders to justify crossing the increasingly narrow gap between these "near-nuclear" conventional weapons and the smallest mini-nukes, thereby igniting a chain reaction leading to a full-scale nuclear war.

• **More and more nations are acquiring large arsenals of conventional weapons, thereby increasing the intensity of local wars.**

Not only are the major powers acquiring more and more conventional arms of their own, they are increasingly selling such arms to other nations — including many that are likely to figure in future regional conflicts. Between 1970 and 1979, for instance, the United States sold \$77 billion worth of arms to Third World countries, approximately 25 times the amount delivered in the preceding decade. More important than quantity, however, is the quality of the weapons. The United States and other major suppliers are now selling their most advanced arms to overseas customers, including many "near-nuclear" arms of the type described above.

Further, conventional arms transfers bind the fate of the recipient to that of the supplier, thereby increasing the risk of superpower involvement in local wars arising in the Third World. The big powers inevitably acquire a particular interest in the survival of regimes to which they have sold large quantities of their most advanced weapons. Should any of these countries face defeat in a local war, the credibility of their supplier is inevitably threatened, thus producing pressures to intervene. These pressures are bound to increase, moreover, if there is any risk that the supplier's military secrets will fall into the hands of an enemy. Indeed, many U.S. lawmakers voted against the AWACS sale to Saudi Arabia precisely out of this fear. In the Middle East, *both* superpowers have established close arms-supply relationships with potential belligerents. During the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, both the United States and the Soviet Union transported arms directly to their allies in the war zone, narrowly averting a head-on collision. Next time, we may not be so lucky.

Clearly, each of these factors by themselves makes a nuclear war more likely; together, they make one a near certainty. The final conclusion appears inescapable: *The only way we can really hope to prevent the outbreak of nuclear war is to prevent the superpowers from intervening in a localized war that has the potential for escalation.*

An effort to halt the development of "near-nuclear weapons" and prevent their proliferation to foreign governments is as essential to the antinuclear effort as the campaign against nuclear weapons themselves.

Many people have told me, with considerable justice, that an exclusive antinuclear focus is the best way of mobilizing large numbers of people against the Reagan war machine. I would argue, however, that we will not succeed in linking our own movement with those of poor people, workers and

minorities unless we address the economic issues that affect them so intimately. And we cannot discuss the economic effects of military spending unless we address the issue of conventional weapons — for conventional arms, and the forces of intervention, consume 85% of the Reagan war budget, while nuclear arms consume only 15%. Real cuts in the defense budget that would free up more federal funds for domestic programs and economic revitalization, call for

significant reductions in U.S. conventional forces. While we should in no way slacken any of our efforts to stop the nuclear arms race, we need to remember that an *exclusive* focus on nuclear weapons prevents us from seeing the inescapable links between conventional and nuclear war. Only by adopting a flexible approach that encompasses both nuclear and conventional issues can we hope to address those factors which most threaten world peace today.

# Keep the Bomb, Ban the Shelters

by Tony Heyes

*The author, a free-lance writer from New York, lost both parents in the Liverpool blitz in World War II and has had strong opinions about wars and who profits from them ever since.*

**S**ure, I would like it if the nuclear bomb had never been invented. I would also like it if the telephone, transistor radio, and the wheel had never been invented. Oh, that I could still be a private person and travel at my own speed. But they were invented, and like all technology, once here there is no way to ban it. Our only hope is for conditions that will prevent its use.

Consider what we have to have in order to ban the bomb:

1. Complete control of all the raw materials and technology: *Impossible*.
2. Complete trust among those who have control of the means: *Impossible*.
3. Elimination of competitive forces and divisive philosophies that cause people to fight: *Impossible*.

Consider what has to happen to prevent its use:

- Elimination of the incentive to fight, i.e. the ability to win: *Possible*.

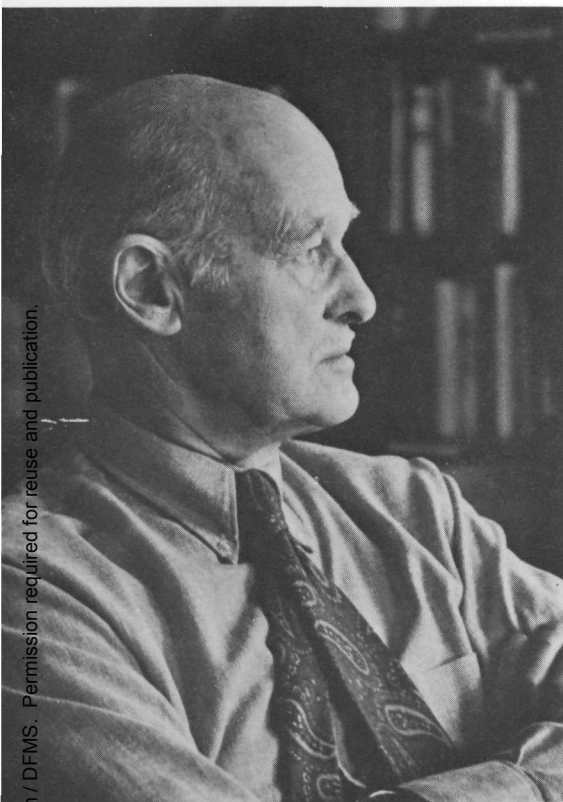
The only thing that will restrain a potential aggressor is the sure knowledge that he will lose. Why has this not worked in the past? Because there was no such condition. Those who started and hoped to profit by wars rarely got killed in them.

The virtue of the bomb is that for the first time in history, those that start the war are sure to lose and get killed in it. In the past when bombs were dropped, the people who got killed were the poor who lived around the targets, such as factories and docks. The vast majority of the army who died were of the working class and they were all young. This time the rich and the old who have the power will also go, so will their own families. There will be no property left for those who in previous wars profited from it. It is the best situation we ever had for the prevention of a major war. Does anyone think there would have been a war in the Falklands if Galtieri's Buenos Aires and Thatcher's London were threatened by nuclear extinction?

It is the first time any government — capitalist, socialist, or communist — has ever spent so much money on a program that will treat everyone equal, rich or poor, Black or White, young or old, male or female. The only threat is from people who think they can win and that they won't get killed.

To maintain our new found security we must insist that those who can start a war, or vote for a government that does, or stands in any way to benefit from it, is bound to die in it.

This means outlawing *shelters* and any other means of escape. At last man has collectively pooled his resources for a consequence that will treat all people equal. Don't permit any deviation — **BAN THE SHELTERS.**



**George F. Kennan, former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, is Professor Emeritus, Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton, and Co-chair, American Committee on East-West Accord. The accompanying is a chapter from his book, *The Nuclear Delusion*, reprinted by permission of Pantheon Books. Copyright© by George F. Kennan.**

# One Christian's View of the Arms Race

by George F. Kennan

**T**he public discussion of the problems presented by nuclear weaponry which is now taking place in this country is going to go down in history, I suspect (assuming, of course, that history is to continue at all and does not itself fall victim to the sort of weaponry we are discussing), as the most significant that any democratic society has ever engaged in.

I myself have participated from time to time in this discussion, whenever I thought I might usefully do so; but in doing so, I have normally been speaking only in my capacity as a citizen talking to other citizens; and since not all of those other citizens were Christians, did not feel that I could appeal directly to Christian values. Instead, I have tried only to invoke those values which, as it seemed to me, had attained the quality of accepted ideals of our society as a whole.

In this article, I would like to address myself to some of these same problems more strictly from the Christian standpoint. I do this with some hesitation, because while I hold myself to be a Christian, in the imperfect way that so many others do, I am certainly no better a one than millions of others; and I can claim no erudition whatsoever in the field of Christian theology. If, therefore, I undertake to look at the problems of

nuclear weaponry from a Christian standpoint, I am aware that the standpoint in this instance is a primitive one, theologically speaking, and that this places limitations on its value. This is, however, the way that a great many of us have to look at the subject; and if primitive paintings are conceded to have some aesthetic value, perhaps the same sort of indulgence can be granted to a layperson's view of the relationship of nuclear weaponry to his own faith.

I

There are, I believe, two ways in which one may view the nuclear weapon, so-called. One way is to view it just as one more weapon, like any other weapon, only more destructive. This is the way it is generally viewed, I am afraid, by our military authorities and by many others. I personally do not see it this way. A weapon is something that is supposed to serve some serious objective of governmental policy, one supposed to promote the interests of the society which employs it. The nuclear device seems to me not to respond to that description.

But for those who do see it this way I would like to point out that if it is to be considered a weapon like other weapons, then it must be subjected to the same restraints, to the same rules of warfare, which were supposed, by inter-



national law and treaty, to apply to other forms of weaponry. One of these was the prescription that weapons should be employed in a manner calculated to bring an absolute minimum of hardship to non-combatants and to the entire infrastructure of civilian life. This principle was of course offended against in the most serious way in World War II; and our nuclear strategists seem to assume that, this being the case, it has now been sanctioned and legitimized by precedent.

But the fact is that it remains on the books as a prescription both of the laws of war and of international treaties to which we are parties; and none of this is changed by the fact that we ourselves liberally violated it 30 or 40 years ago. And even if it were not thus prescribed by law and treaty, it should, as I see it, be prescribed by Christian conscience. For the resort to war is questionable enough from the Christian standpoint even in the best of circumstances; and those who, as believing Christians, take it upon their conscience to give the order for such slaughter (and I am not saying that there are never situations where this seems to be the lesser of the two evils) — those who do this owe it to their religious commitment to assure that the sufferings brought to innocent and helpless people by the military operations are held to the absolute minimum — and this, if necessary, even at the cost of military victory.

For victory itself, even at its apparent best, is a questionable concept. I can think of no judgments of statesmanship in modern times where we have made greater mistakes, where the relationship between calculations and results have been more ironic, than those which related to the supposed glories of victory and the supposed horrors of defeat. Victory, as the consequences of recent wars have taught us, is ephemeral; but the killing of even one innocent child is an irremediable fact, the reality of which

can never be eradicated.

Now the nuclear weapon offends against this principle as no other weapon has ever done. Other weapons can bring injury to noncombatants by accident or inadvertence or callous indifference; but they don't always have to do it. The nuclear weapon cannot help doing it, and doing it massively, even where the injury is unintended by those who unleash it.

Worse still, of course, and utterly unacceptable from the Christian standpoint as I see it, is the holding of innocent people hostage to the policies of their government, and the readiness, or the threat, to punish them as a means of punishing their government. Yet how many times — how many times just in these recent years — have we seen that possibility reflected in the deliberations of those who speculate and calculate about the possible uses of nuclear weapons? How many times have we had to listen to these terrible euphemisms about how many cities or industrial objects we would “take out” if a government did not do what we wanted it to do, as though what were involved here were only some sort of neat obliteration of an inanimate object, the removal of somebody else's pawn on the chessboard, and not, in all probability, the killing and mutilation of innocent people on a scale previously unknown in modern times (unless it be, if you will, in the Holocaust of recent accursed memory)?

## II

These things that I have been talking about are only those qualities of the nuclear weapon which violate the traditional limitations that were supposed to rest even upon the conduct of conventional warfare. But there is another dimension to this question that carries beyond anything even conceived of in the past; and that is, of course, the possible, if not probable effect of nuclear warfare on the entire future of

civilization — and, in a sense, on its past as well. It has recently been forcefully argued (and not least in Jonathan Schell's powerful book, *The Fate of the Earth*, 1982) that not only would any extensive employment of nuclear weapons put an end to the lives of many millions of people now alive, but it would in all probability inflict such terrible damage to the ecology of the Northern Hemisphere and possibly of the entire globe as simply to destroy the very capacity of our natural environment for sustaining civilized life, and thus to put an end to humanity's past as well as its future.

Only scientists are qualified, of course, to make final judgments on such matters. But we nonscientists are morally bound, surely, to take into account not only the certain and predictable effects of our actions but also the possible and probable ones. Looking at it from this standpoint, I find it impossible not to accept Schell's thesis that in even trifling with the nuclear weapon, as we are now doing, we are placing at risk the entire civilization of which we are a part.

Just think for a moment what this means. If we were to use these devices in warfare, or if they were to be detonated on any considerable scale by accident or misunderstanding, we might be not only putting an end to civilization as we now know it but also destroying the entire



product of humanity's past efforts in the development of civilized life, that of which we are the beneficiaries and without which our own lives would have no meaning: the cities, the art, the learning, the mastery of nature, the philosophy — what you will. And it would be not just the past of civilization that we were destroying; we would, by the same token, be denying to countless generations as yet unborn, denying to them in our unlimited pride and selfishness, the very privilege of leading a life on this earth, the privilege of which we ourselves have taken unquestioning and greedy advantage, as though it were something owed to us, something to be taken for granted, and something to be conceded or denied by us to those who might come after us —conceded or denied, as we, in our sovereign pleasure, might see it.

How can anyone who recognizes the authority of Christ's teaching and example accept, even as a humble citizen, the slightest share of responsibility for doing this —and not just for doing it, but for even incurring the risk of doing it? This civilization we are talking about is not the property of our generation alone. We are not the proprietors of it; we are only the custodians. It is something infinitely greater and more important than we are. It is the whole; we are only a part. It is not our achievement; it is the achievement of others. We did not create it. We inherited it. It was bestowed upon us; and it was bestowed upon us with the implicit obligation to cherish it, to preserve it, to develop it, to pass it on — let us hope improved, but in any case intact —to the others who were supposed to come after us.

And this obligation, as I see it, is something more than just a secular one. The great spiritual and intellectual achievements of Western civilization: the art (including the immense Christian art), the architecture, the cathe-

## Hope

Like children,  
Breathless.  
Hushed.  
We gather  
At dusk  
To glimpse  
The firefly —  
Night's apostle  
Of hope,  
Faith's fragile  
Lunacy.

— Madeline  
Ligammare

drals, the poetry, the prose literature —these things were largely unthinkable without the faith and the vision that inspired them and the spiritual and intellectual discipline that made possible their completion. Even where they were not the products of a consciously experienced faith, how can they be regarded otherwise than as the workings of the divine spirit — the spirit of beauty and elevation and charity and harmony — the spirit of everything that is the opposite of meanness, ugliness, cynicism, and cruelty?

Must we not assume that the entire human condition out of which all this has arisen — our own nature, the character of the natural world that surrounds us, the mystery of the generational continuity that has shaped us, the entire environmental framework, in other words, in which the human experiment has proceeded — must we not assume that this was the framework in which God meant it to proceed — that this was the house in which it was meant that we should live — that this was the stage on which the human drama, our struggle out of beastliness and savagery into something higher, was meant to be enacted? Who are we, then, the actors, to take upon ourselves the responsibility of destroying this framework, or even risking its destruction?

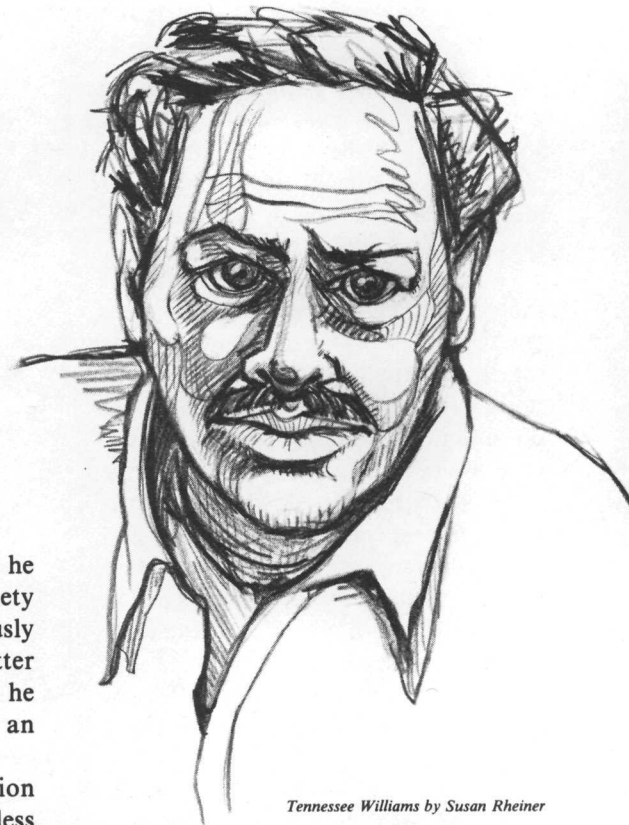
Included in this civilization we are so

ready to place at risk are the contributions of our own parents and grandparents — of people we remember. These were, in many instances, humble contributions, but ones wrung by those people from trouble and sacrifice, and all of them equal, the humble ones and the momentous ones, in the sight of God. These contributions were products not just of our parents' efforts but of their hopes and their faith. Where is the place for these efforts, these hopes, that faith, in the morbid science of mutual destruction that has so many devotees, official and private, in our country? What becomes, in that mad welter of calculations about who could take out whom, and how many millions might survive, and how we might hope to save our own poor skins by digging holes in the ground, and thus perhaps surviving into a world not worth surviving into —what becomes in all this of the hopes and the works of our own parents? Where is the place, here, for the biblical injunction to "honor thy father and mother" — that father and mother who stand for us not only as living memories but as symbols of all the past out of which they, too, arose, and without which their own lives, too, had no meaning?

I cannot help it. I hope I am not being unjust or uncharitable. But to me, in the light of these considerations, the readiness to use nuclear weapons against other human beings — against people whom we do not know, whom we have never seen, and whose guilt or innocence it is not for us to establish — and, in doing so, to place in jeopardy the natural structure upon which all civilization rests, as though the safety and the perceived interests of our own generation were more important than everything that has ever taken place or could take place in civilization: this is nothing less than a presumption, a blasphemy, an indignity — an indignity of monstrous dimensions — offered to God! ■

# The Gospel According to Tennessee Williams

by Malcolm Boyd



Tennessee Williams by Susan Rheiner

When Tennessee Williams was found dead recently in a New York City hotel room, immediately he occupied center stage once again on front pages and the TV News, and in our collective consciousness.

A controversial artist who led a turbulent life, America's premier playwright intimately knew his priest-grandfather's Episcopal rectory when he was a youth. Later, plays written by Williams were to be the source of innumerable sermons in Episcopal churches from coast to coast.

The plays of Williams have loomed large in my own consciousness. It was my privilege to see Laurette Taylor in *The Glass Menagerie* in the '40s in the Biltmore Theatre in Los Angeles. And to see Jessica Tandy and Marlon Brando in the original Broadway production of *A Streetcar Named Desire*, Geraldine Page and Paul Newman in the New York opening of *A Sweet Bird of Youth*, Bette Davis in a Detroit tryout of *The Night of the Iguana*, and the original New York production of *Camino Real* in 1953. What extraordinary theatrical — and theological — riches!

---

**Malcolm Boyd**, social critic, author of 20 books, and a book reviewer for the *Los Angeles Times*, is writer-priest-in-residence at St. Augustine-by-the-Sea Episcopal Church in Santa Monica, Calif.

Williams recognized clearly that he “existed outside of conventional society while contriving somewhat precariously to remain in contact with it.” No matter how brilliantly shone his celebrity, he understood himself to be eternally an Outsider.

He knew intimately the alienation and loneliness experienced by countless people in modern-urban-technological culture, whether they reside in Chicago or Tokyo, London or Houston. Williams noted in his autobiography that perhaps the major theme of his writings was “the affliction of loneliness that follows me like a shadow, a very ponderous shadow too heavy to drag after me all of my days and nights.”

But there is also “A Gospel According to Tennessee Williams.” In *Camino Real*, he allowed as how in such a place many were lonely, yet it would be inexcusably selfish to be lonely alone. He understood the need of community, belonging, acceptance — and yes, love.

Keep moving, keep growing, is a recurring theme. Byron in *Camino Real* exclaims: “Make voyages, attempt them, there's nothing else.” This sense

of movement takes on spiritual meaning in Tom's speech in *The Glass Menagerie*: “I traveled around a great deal. The cities swept about me like dead leaves, leaves that were brightly colored but torn away from the branches. I would have stopped, but I was pursued by something.”

Always, it seems to me, Tennessee Williams understood Francis Thompson's *The Hound of Heaven* better than almost anybody.

*I fled Him, down the nights and  
down the days;*

*I fled Him, down the arches of  
the years;*

*I fled Him, down the labyrinthine  
ways*

*Of my own mind; and in the  
midst of tears*

*I hid from Him, and under  
running laughter.*

One senses an openness of Williams to grace, as part of a deep religious



---

*“Blanche’s exit line in Williams’ A Streetcar Named Desire: ‘I have always depended upon the kindness of strangers,’ becomes a universal statement as well as a personal one in our present age of refugees of every kind who pour across borders and through city gates.”*

---

sensibility in his work. His message — if one wishes to call it even that; perhaps “theme” is better — is inherently implicit. His work tends to leave us caught up in what C.S. Lewis once described as “an unforgettable intensity of life — haunted forever with the sense of vast dignities and strange sorrows and teased with thoughts beyond the reaches of our souls.”

Brother George Every, in his excellent book *Christian Discrimination*, spoke eloquently about implicit religious communication: “A distinction ought to be made between religious art and art on religious subjects. The poetry of the 15th century French poet Villon has been called extremely religious, though he himself was a sad scamp; and we can speak of the deeply religious outlook implied in James Joyce’s *Ulysses*, which was for some time officially unprintable. In such a case we mean that the work implies an outlook on life which is

religious and not humanist; which recognizes, as the great religious traditions recognize, the weakness and sinfulness of man, and his need for redemption.”

Such *praeparatio evangelica* has long been understood in terms of cultural and intellectual statements of identifiable human and moral problems. Art of this genre has been hailed because it touches people — it states their problems, even if it does not solve them, and shows some touch of glory in the life they are living.

Tennessee Williams spoke tenderly and knowledgeably of grace when he referred to Rose, his sister, who was confined to mental institutions for much of her life: “After all, high station in life is earned by the gallantry with which appalling experiences are survived with grace.”

Grace was like a flickering flame on the outer fringes of his consciousness, but something to be yearned for rather than grasped. He wrote of “the sense of guilt that must always shadow my life.” And, “I live like a gypsy, I am a fugitive. No place seems tenable to me for long anymore, not even my own skin.”

Yet he said that he did find an answer in Blanche’s exit line which he wrote for *A Streetcar Named Desire*: “I have always depended upon the kindness of strangers.”

This becomes a universal statement, as well as a personal one, in our present age of refugees of every kind who pour across borders and through city gates.

Who is not a refugee? Jesus was born one, dependent upon charity, in flight from tyranny, homeless and hungry. Many of us are refugees of vastly

different kinds: from peace in crowded, violent, impersonal cities; from meaning in a secular age that just may be bent on self-destruction; from love in a time when fundamentalistic report cards on the human condition try to hold sway over thanksgiving for God’s creation. It appears that all of us are increasingly dependent upon the kindness of strangers; and strangers upon *our* kindness.

Williams knew vulnerability intimately. In *The Glass Menagerie*, a broken glass unicorn is presented as a loving gift. In *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof*, Maggie tells Brick: “Of course you always had that detached quality as if you were playing a game without much concern over whether you won or lost, and now that you’ve lost the game, not lost but just quit playing, you have that rare sort of charm that usually only happens in very old or hopelessly sick people, the charm of the defeated.”

Chance, in *Sweet Bird of Youth*, says: “I don’t ask for your pity, but just for your understanding — not even that — no. Just for your recognition of me in you, and the enemy, time, in us all.” One finds a line of incredible transcendence in *Camino Real*: “The violets in the mountains have broken the rocks.”

The Rev. T. Lawrence Shannon, a defrocked Episcopal priest, becomes a tour guide for a while in *The Night of the Iguana*. The following lines, which Williams gave Shannon, might serve as an epitaph for Williams himself:

*“I haven’t stuck to the schedules of the brochures and I’ve always allowed the ones that were willing to see, to see — the underworlds of all places, and if they have hearts to be touched, feelings to feel with, I gave them a priceless chance to feel and to be touched. And none will ever forget it, none of them, ever, never!”*

Goodbye, dear friend. Go in peace. ■



Would You Believe . . .

## Christians Flock to Liturgy In the Soviet Union?

by Susan B. Anthony

**We hear much in the United States about “atheistic communism” but little about the practice of religion in the Soviet Union. On a Citizens’ Exchange trip, Dr. Susan B. Anthony, grandniece of the noted suffragist, had an opportunity to observe and participate in services of the Russian Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches there, and to interview**

**Archbishop Makary, world ecumenical figure, in Kiev, as she sought signs of Russian spirituality.**

**As we go to press, the Rev. Richard W. Gillett of the Church and Society Network, contributing editor of THE WITNESS, is on a tour of the U.S.S.R. and will report on the socio-political aspects of his trip in future issues.**

Christianity does indeed transcend not only national cultural differences, but economic and political systems. That was my first and last impression during a journey to the Soviet Union in 1982. I saw this while attending services and heard it during interviews with people such as Archbishop Makary of the Ukraine, a leader of the Russian Orthodox Church as well as the world ecumenical and peace movements.

I worshiped God with brother and sister Christians, some of the more than 40 million Russian Orthodox members, whether in an obscure, small onion-domed church in Moscow, or at the grand St. Vladimir Cathedral in Kiev. I saw the glory of the Risen Christ in the

golden-spired Sts. Peter and Paul Fortress Cathedral in Leningrad. I grieved with the suffering Christ a few yards from the cathedral in the jail cells that had confined the great novelist Fyodor Dostoevsky in 1852, and the Russian literary giant, Maxim Gorky in 1905.

One of my bonds of unity with Soviet Christians was forged when a young woman on our Citizen Exchange Council tour rushed up to me in a hotel lobby during our first stop in Moscow. She said, “You’re the only member of our tour who would have a Catholic Bible with you. There’s a young Russian waiting down at the Metro station — praying that I will bring a Bible to him.”

I told her that my Bible was at the bottom of my suitcase, jammed in under luggage of 37 other tour members. I didn’t even know if I could get at it. But somehow I did, and dug through my clothes for my well-worn Bible. I inscribed it for the Moscow Roman Catholic and gave it to her to take it to him.

Just an hour before our departure from Moscow I walked down to the Russian Orthodox church near the Hotel Cosmos with George, the

Ukrainian-born Russian Orthodox member of our tour. We entered the lighted church, obviously in the midst of the Divine Liturgy. The face of Jesus was spotlighted in a full-length ikon behind the altar. Two scarlet-clad priests with long white hair were celebrating. At this midweek service the majority of the 25 worshipers were *babushkas* (elderly women), in simple working clothes, and one young man. All of us stood, except one woman who prostrated herself on the floor during the reading of the Gospel. George stood behind me, quietly weeping. “This is my religion,” he said. “I guess I get emotional about it.”

The numinous quality of that Russian Orthodox Mass, immediately after the gift of my Bible to a young Muscovite, seemed to convert my secular tour into a spiritual pilgrimage. The climax of the pilgrimage awaited me in Kiev where I met, interviewed and was blessed and anointed by Archbishop Makary of the Ukraine.

I questioned him in the grand drawing room of the Kiev chancery. Hospitably, he had served me tea in a filigreed silver glass holder, and cookies and candies. We sat under crystal chandeliers which



**Dr. Susan B. Anthony**, author, theologian and lecturer, is currently counseling in private practice in Boca Raton, Fla.

lit up the gilded carvings, the rich brocades and colors of the room. The Archbishop's merry blue eyes and frequent laughter contrasted with the somber black of his hat or *klobuk*, black veil and black robe.

The Russian Orthodox church, he said, is well established inside the Soviet Union. "According to our constitution we can profess any religion we like, and confess our Lord Jesus Christ."

Of the estimated 50 million Christians in the U.S.S.R. today, the Russian Orthodox lead with more than 40 million adherents. Of the other 10 million Christians, 6 million are Protestants and 3.5 million are Roman Catholics. There are also 45 million Moslems in the country.

"Many thousand 'open' or active churches function in the Soviet Union," the Archbishop said. The figures range from 7,500 to 10,000, according to our tour booklet. In Czarist days there were 77,676 Russian Orthodox churches. Russian Orthodoxy was then a state religion, with 95% of the population adhering to it.

Active churches are distinguished from those that function as museums, such as the Dom in Riga, the huge Kazan Cathedral in Leningrad, the ikon-rich Cathedral of the Assumption in Moscow or others that are simply closed.

An important indicator of religious renewal in the Soviet Union, Archbishop Makary said, is the doubling of the number of theology students from 1,000 to 2,000 in the last five years. This includes 1,000 correspondence course students who cannot get to either of the three Russian Orthodox seminaries, or the two graduate theology academies. "Applications for admission have been running three or four times the number of available spaces in these institutions," our tour booklet said.

Some of those applicants are now women, according to the Archbishop.



Archbishop Makary

"For the first time in history, the Russian Orthodox Church is admitting women to the theology academies. They are being trained theologically for their work as choir directors. Some 40 women have been admitted to Leningrad's theology academy. Soon Moscow will open its doors."

The Russian Orthodox, like the Roman Catholics, declared women saints long before they permitted them to study God in academies.

"We do not have many women saints. But we do have some — one of the very first saints in the history of our church is Princess Olga, who was called 'equal to the apostles' by the church. That is the highest title that could be given anyone. She was given this title because she played an exceptional role in bringing Christianity to Russia. She was the grandmother of the great Prince Vladimir. She had a vast influence upon the choice that was made later by the Prince in bringing Christianity to Russia in Kiev in 988." The millennium of the introduction of Christianity will be celebrated in 1988.

The Russian Orthodox have not modernized their liturgy, Archbishop Makary observed.

"We are interested in preserving the liturgy as it was in the course of many centuries," he said. "Slavonic is the language we use — a classic language in Russia — a beautiful language for singing and reading. Some Soviet

academicians are saying that it is the purest language in the history of Russia. I think that we will continue to prefer this language for our liturgy for the time being."

The interior quality of religious life in the Soviet Union interested me more than the numbers of believers. I asked the Archbishop whether the great Russian soul, manifested by the saints and portrayed by Dostoevsky and other writers, survived the revolution.

Archbishop Makary said that unlike the West, all Russian monasteries and convents are contemplative, rather than active or apostolic. He didn't say, but I would guess this is not a matter of virtue only, but of necessity. The church in Russia is not permitted to proselytize; hence there is no real place for evangelizing or even teaching religion, outside of the seminaries and academies. The 20 monasteries and convents that do exist are not divided into various orders or congregations.

There is a stable interest in the monastic life among believers, he said. Some 50 to 60% of the monks and nuns are from 20 to 40 years old. Like contemplatives everywhere they dedicate most of their time to prayer, the core of their life.

One of the functions of the monks and nuns is to provide spiritual direction for lay persons. Called *staretz* or elders, they are very popular and venerated among the believers. The *staretz* is, he said, like Father Zossima in *The Brothers Karamozov*, whose "love-in-action" teaching inspired Dorothy Day's work for the poor and peace.

The monasteries are supported by free donations of the believers. There are no wealthy, land-owning monasteries as there were before the Revolution. The famous Cave (Pechersky) monastery in Kiev for example, in Czarist days, owned thousands of producing acres. Today religious live frugally with neither state support nor



that of royalty and nobility to provide them with land and money. Yet nothing is done to hamper the existence of the monasteries, insisted the Archbishop. "They have all the opportunity they need to lead a normal monastic life."

I asked the Archbishop if he had anything he would like to say to us Americans.

"I think it is especially important," he said, "that the Americans and the Russians come together more often. I think it is beautiful that now I have this opportunity to sit together with you, to speak with you, to share our common interests, and to express toward each other our sympathy, our love; and I

think that if this kind of possibility would come more often, if we could meet more often, I think we could become more dear to each other. If that's the case, we would try to do everything possible not to inflict any kind of harm on another person whom we know, and whom we love, and whom we respect."

He concluded, "If men and women will gain peace inside themselves, they would save many thousands of people who are living around them. I think that the spirituality of peace within oneself is exceptionally helpful for the cause of peace. It could be the strongest weaponry which could really fight the

arms race."

The Archbishop fit my interview into a day which included a three hour liturgy at 6 p.m., and a four hour Divine Liturgy the next day at St. Vladimir to celebrate the Ukrainian feast, the Blessing of the Flowers.

Five of us from our tour walked down the hill from our hotel to St. Vladimir to attend the last half of the evening liturgy of the vigil feast. The crowd was so dense in the cathedral that we arranged to meet outside afterward. I squeezed through the men and women worshipers trying to locate the altar and the Archbishop.

*Continued on page 19*

## Russian, U.S. Stereotypes Harmful

The Russian stereotype assailing the minds of many Americans, is a demeaning caricature of the Russian people. It alleges that Russians are ill-mannered and swaggering; bellicose and militaristic; dishonest, unreliable, deceitful, duplicitous, cunning, and atheistic; that they trample on all that is humane, on respect for the individual, on tolerance for dissent, on compassion for the suffering, on spiritual refinement; and that, like a bear, they are dull-witted but powerful and only respond to displays of vastly superior force, and even then with belligerent reluctance.

That there have been or are Russians who fit this mold is undeniable, as do some Germans, Italians, Japanese, and Americans. But I ask you whether a people embodying only these features could have produced their rich folklore; writers like Pushkin, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Chekhov, Pasternak, and Solzhenitsyn; the composers Glinka, Balakirev, Moussorgsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Tchaikovsky, Prokofiev, Rachmaninoff, Stravinsky, and Shostokovich; painters such as Ivanov, Perov, Repin, Surikov, Levitan, Serov, Vrubel, Kandinsky, and Chagall; and the ballet immortals Nijinsky, Plisetskaia, Nureyev, Barishnikov, Makarova, and Godunov, to name only a few?

The answer must be that during the last two centuries Russian society, carefully considered, yields about the same ratio of talent and degeneracy or creative flight and obtuseness as any other. It may even be that the Russians have produced more than their share of great masters. And

culture typically does not flourish in a vacuum. It requires the warmth of a great tradition, the air of a cultivated audience, and the light of sensitive criticism.

Let me share with you the Soviet stereotype of Americans. It is also inaccurate, demeaning, and self-serving. But with their wand of class-consciousness, the Soviets tend to divide Americans into a large group of poor workers oppressed by a smaller clique of the evil wealthy, especially those financiers, manufacturers, and suppliers of armaments.

The *capitalist* American is opportunistic, exploitative, and ruthless; permissive, apathetic, and narcissistic; he is intellectually shallow, irreverent toward his heritage, and obsessed with an amoral technology; and he is easily satisfied with the trivial and tawdry in the arts and uncritically swayed by charisma and rhetoric in politics. Most importantly, he is naive, inconstant, and thus dangerous in his behavior. That is, he is capable of unpredictable and illogical responses which, on the international plane, may well risk war and even the future of mankind to protect his position and ego.

This image fits Americans little better than our Russian stereotype does their people, but both nonetheless underlie much thinking and decision making.

— Gary L. Browning  
Associate Professor of Russian  
Brigham Young University

# Can Law and Religion Find a Better Relationship?

by Henry H. Rightor

Law and religion have had an on-and-off relationship in the Western world since the time of Moses.

In the United States, religion has done far more than supply law with its values; that is, what is “right” and what is “wrong.” Love of God and love of neighbor have provided powerful religious incentives for obedience to law. Secular religion has supplied similar incentives through love of country and through the religious ideals and values it adopted. Law, in turn, has done far more than protect religious freedom. It has often provided religion with guidelines for its social and political concerns, through such humane legislation as Civil Rights.

When there has been this kind of interaction between law and religion, it has not only permitted the two disciplines to help each other accomplish their separate purposes; their interaction has also permitted them to share a common purpose and function, the ordering of society. Whenever they have accepted social responsibilities together, a close relationship has developed between the legal and religious communities.

The founders of our nation, certainly

---

**The Rev. Henry H. Rightor, J.D., D.D.,** practiced as an attorney and served as a representative in the Arkansas State Legislature prior to ordination. He is Professor Emeritus of Pastoral Care and Canon Law at Virginia Theological Seminary, Alexandria. The above is a chapter from an unpublished manuscript looking for a publisher.

those responsible for the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, were well aware that an orderly society needs the particular contributions that religion can make.

It is the First Amendment of the “Bill of Rights,” often called “the soul of the Constitution,” that guarantees “the free exercise” of religion.

Article I of the amendments does more, however, than guarantee “the free exercise” of religion. It reads, in its entirety, as follows:

*Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.*

The genius of the First Amendment lies in the balance it achieved in the relationship between law and religion. It underwrites a society in which particular religious principles do not become law; at the same time, it makes sure that religion will be free to contribute to law the religious values and motivations that are needed by an orderly society.

This century has seen the growth of a pronounced tendency on the part of both the legal and religious communities to restrict their interests to their separate goals. The result has been a loss of the support they had previously given to the social order. This has not only been costly to society; the two disci-

plines themselves have both been impoverished as they pursued their separate goals without the interaction that had been part of the process of their joint ventures.

Law without the morals and ideals of religion is left to rely on the punitive aspects of adversary civil and criminal procedures for its effectiveness. While this may be euphemistically described as “positive” law, the growing reliance on adversary procedures alone has brought law and the practice of law to the extraordinarily low point they have now reached in public esteem.

Religion, apart from the socializing effects of law, tends to become either an individual pursuit designed to make one “feel good,” or the activity of a limited group concerned with little beyond its own welfare. The accompanying withdrawal of concern that others experience justice and mercy has brought a loss of respect for religion generally in the public mind.

Our social order had long depended on the combined effect of law and religion for its order and grace. Together they had served as the taproots which produced the blossoming of our society. Alexander Solzhenitsyn, an astute observer from another culture, includes our country along with the West generally in his recent prophecy: “There is a disaster, however, which has already been under way for quite some time. I am referring to the calamity of a despiritualized and irreligious humanistic consciousness.”

One may object to this dire prophecy and yet yearn for the grace of a generation that inscribed the words of Emma Lazarus on the Statue of Liberty:

*Give me your tired, your poor,  
Your huddled masses yearning to  
be free . . .*

Boldness and confidence were component parts of the grace that inspired this invitation. Such boldness and confidence are almost startling today. They were nourished then by the faith expressed in the motto, *In God we trust* — the motto which still appears, perhaps anachronistically, on some of the coins of our country.

It is neither possible nor desirable for our society to go back to the time of Moses, or the imperial Popes, or the Protestant established churches, or even to the time of our own Founding Fathers in order that a relationship between the two disciplines may be re-established. Each of those eras may have something to teach us. A new basis for the relationship is needed now and in the future, however, if law and religion are to meet their separate needs and, together, help to order a society that is becoming more and more disorderly.

The partnership between law and religion that brought about Civil Rights legislation was a glimpse of what can be in this country. While the partnership did not last long, it illustrated that a renewal of the relationship is possible.

Prerequisites to the development of a new relationship between the two in our pluralistic society are far broader definitions of both law and religion than those to which people generally have been accustomed. Encouraging signs are appearing that suggest the acceptance of such definitions, together with a much more comprehensive view of those who may be said to constitute the legal and religious communities.

I find helpful the definition of law and

religion supplied by Harold J. Berman of the Harvard Law School. He defines law as “the structure and processes of allocation of rights and duties.” Religion, he suggests, is “society’s intuition of and commitment to the ultimate meaning and purpose of life.” In keeping with these broad concepts it would be appropriate to include in the legal community law students, lawyers, judges, legislators and all others who are concerned for the process of allocating rights and duties. Similarly, in the religious community there would be included with lay people and ordained ministers of all denominations, those who profess no formal religion but who are committed to a high standard of ethics and moral action.

The foregoing definitions would not have satisfied either the legal or religious communities in the past. In fact, many who would be included in such a comprehensive religious community today have warred against each other in the past and are at least suspicious of each other in the present. There is a profound change in contemporary society that is, nevertheless, beginning to change the outlook of all legal and religious groups toward each other; that change is the appearance of an enemy common to all law and all religion. The common enemy marches under a banner proclaiming that “life is absurd” — or, to be more precise, that life which aims at more than an individual’s self-realization is absurd.

Significant members of various legal and religious communities have become aware of the dangers this attitude presents to the practice of law and of religion and to society; they are locking arms to resist it; and, more positively, they are sensing a fresh kind of legal universalism and religious ecumenism.

The presence of a common enemy is neither a very elevating nor a continuing principle for a joint venture. The same may be said when the motivating force

for such a venture is shared desperation — and “desperation” is not too strong a word to use to describe many who agree with Solzhenitsyn’s closing remarks in his 1978 Harvard Commencement address:

*If the world has not come to its end, it has approached a major turn in history, equal in importance to the turn from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. It will exact from us a spiritual upsurge: We shall have to rise to a new height of vision, to a new level of life, where our physical nature will not be cursed as in the Middle Ages, but, even more important, our spiritual being will not be trampled upon as in the modern era.*

*This ascension will be similar to climbing up to the next anthropologic stage. No one on earth has any other way left but — upward.*

The temporary alliance between law and religion during the Civil Rights Movement brought hope for a renewal of their old partnership. However, more recent activity by widespread religious groups in this country poses a new threat to the relationship. The groups, usually led by television and radio evangelists, achieved national prominence in 1980 during the summer and fall political campaigns.

Their threat to the relationship lies in the fact that the groups do not seek a partnership in which religion supplies law with certain values, or offers religious incentives for obedience to law. Their purpose, in too many instances, is to take over the partnership and substitute their particular moral principles for the law as it stands in certain places in the Constitution, in legislative enactments, and in Supreme Court decisions.

Witnessing the efforts of such contemporary religious activists as “the Moral Majority” and “the Christian Voice” is



like watching a replay of the action by the religious groups that first brought about the enactment of "Dry Laws" in many of the states, and then secured ratification of the 18th Amendment, proclaimed in 1920. This amendment prohibited the manufacture, sale, transportation, importation or exportation of intoxicating liquors.

There is a difference in the earlier and the contemporary religious activists: Today's groups do not have a single cause. Some are promoting a constitutional amendment that would permit the states to require prayer in public schools. Some are trying to prohibit all abortions by an amendment to the Constitution; others would void the Supreme Court decisions that permit abortion in certain circumstances by having the Congress define human life as beginning at the moment of conception. Some groups are seeking require-

ments by individual states that a biblically fundamentalist doctrine of creation be taught in their schools. Still other groups are backing combinations of such issues on the local, state or national level by appearing before legislative bodies and by giving their support, including substantial financial support, to particular candidates for public office.

The greatest difference between today's movements and the movement that brought about the Prohibition Amendment is the experience our country has had with that kind of legislation. The 18th Amendment was touted as the "Noble Experiment"; and indeed it was. Never before had any religious groups translated a particular moral scruple of their own, namely, abstinence from alcohol, into a law that imposed their scruple on the nation as a whole.

Surely the intent of those who brought about Prohibition was "noble"; but, just as surely, the effect of Prohibition was disastrous. First, it failed in its purpose to bring about abstinence from alcohol. More significant was the fact that it produced a disrespect for law and the authority of government that survived the amendment's repeal in 1933 and continues to infect our society today.

At the same time one deplores the "Noble Experiment," it should be admitted that its sponsors used the political process in accordance with our constitutional system. Those who are again sponsoring the translation into law of their moral scruples, such as the prohibition of abortion, are also within their constitutional rights.

Opposition to their efforts can point, not to their illegality, but to the fact that we have already experimented with the legislation of moral principles. There is good reason to identify the proposed legislation of new moral principles as new threats to a balanced relationship between law and religion. Our history indicates that another takeover of law by such principles would lead to further disrespect for law and the authority of government.

The strongest opposition to those who would have their moral principles enacted into law comes from others in the religious community who want to see law and religion working as partners to support the social order as during the brief Civil Rights Movement.

The two camps within the religious community have long been fearful of each other. Among those who would legislate their moral principles are many fundamentalists who see those opposing them as humanists who would destroy the authority of Scripture by interpreting it. On the other side are those who look on the fundamentalists and their allies as opposed to the intelligent



use of the Bible to cooperate with, rather than to dominate, the law.

The fundamentalists constitute a formidable bloc within the religious community at present. They would be reduced to a much smaller and less effective proportion, however, if the religious community were broadened and substantially enlarged.

Professor Berger, quoted earlier, makes the case for religious and legal communities that welcome and make room for far more than their current members. He is convincing when he suggests that religion is “intuition of and commitment to the ultimate meaning of life.” A great many persons possess this “intuition and commitment” who have never thought of themselves as “religious.” Certainly a number of them would ally themselves with the non-fundamentalists in the religious community who are seeking a renewed relationship with the legal community.

Again there is a lesson to be learned from the Prohibition Amendment: this time a positive lesson from its *repeal*. Many in the religious and legal communities were reunited by their common opposition to the legislation of moral scruples. They were joined by others who did not consider themselves members of either community to bring about repeal of the amendment in 1933. A similar alliance could now be mustered to halt similar legislation on both state and national levels.

There remains an ultimate factor that cries out for a new relationship between the legal and religious communities — on a world-wide as well as a national level. This, of course, is the present threat of nuclear destruction of life on our planet. It is not too much to hope, at least, that the broadest possible legal and religious communities will soon be able consciously to acknowledge the existence of this threat and this opportunity. ■

### Letters . . . Continued from page 2

length but have been a reader off and on of THE WITNESS for the past 17 or 18 years, as I have tried to keep up with all points of view in the Episcopal Church through the various publications.

**Charles M. Crump**  
Memphis, Tenn.

### Marxists Not Free

On the same day that I read the article on capitalism by Michael Parenti, I also read in the paper about a Vietnamese refugee who struggled 1,560 miles in his escape from Marxist Vietnam.

Although contrasted by some 80 years and thousands of miles, Tevye of fiction, whom Mr. Parenti cites, and Ly Van Tong, a real person, have something in common: flight from oppression.

As Mr. Parenti states, hard work in itself seldom makes anyone rich. It is also necessary to develop and use intelligence. Although *Fiddler on the Roof* is fiction, it would be interesting to know what Tevye and his family did after arriving in America. Although lacking any formal education there would be opportunity unimagined compared to where they came from — even to this day.

Socialism has made a lot of promises but do we see workers flocking to those countries where it is practiced, willing to learn a new language and culture, leaving behind family and country and doing so with perhaps only a 50% chance of success? On the contrary, they flee by the hundreds of thousands from those lands, so much so that walls must be erected to stop the flow.

Marxism sees history in a rigid form of class struggle. Thus society must be restructured. In practice, this means that people are reduced to little more than subsistence level — except for the elitism and exclusiveness of the party members.

People like Tevye wouldn't be spending any time complaining to God in a Marxist society because there would not even be any people like Tevye. They either conform or perish — or they

escape. Marxism attacks a very basic human spirit: the spirit to be free and think as an individual without fear of it being considered a crime.

**Dibrell L. DuVal**  
Tulsa, Okla.

### Parenti Responds

Mr. Crump says that oppression is inevitable in Marxist countries, then points to a Marxist country (China) that seems to have a good measure of freedom, especially in regard to religion. My own observations, and those of the Rev. Billy Graham and other religious persons who have traveled to socialist countries including the USSR, are that people are free to worship as they choose. While religious practices are certainly not encouraged, they are not repressed, and in most instances relations between church and civic authorities are good. (See *Susan B. Anthony article on religion in the Soviet Union this issue.* — Eds.)

Mr. DuVal correctly notes that people have left socialist countries, but he should add that it is especially ones like Vietnam and East Germany that had been so thoroughly devastated by war, or underdeveloped countries like Cuba that suffer the deprivations of a U.S. blockade. No doubt, many people are attracted to the cornucopia they think they will find in the United States. Few come in search of so vague a thing as “freedom.” Smaller but substantial numbers migrate the other way: about 2,000 Germans a year move from West Germany to East Germany, and about 60,000 elderly Polish-Americans now live in Poland (yes, Poland) because of the free services and because their Social Security money goes further there.

I would like to add that much of what we call “freedom” is a class-bound experience. Formal legal freedoms are of little use if you and your children are hungry. In socialist countries there is a guaranteed right to a job and old-age pension; people receive free medical care, free education to whatever level

their abilities can take them, and heavily subsidized housing, transportation and food staples. This kind of security — which brings an important freedom from want and misery — still escapes millions of people in this affluent land of ours.

In addition, there is a good deal of discussion and criticism in socialist countries about particular policies. But it is also true that opinions are sometimes censored. And no one is free to advocate a return to the feudal, fascist and capitalist systems that had previously existed. No one is free to amass or inherit private wealth or get rich off the labor of others.

Existing socialist societies have many features we might like or not like, but we should start looking at the system we live under and at what it is doing to us.

**Michael Parenti**  
Washington, D.C.

---

### USSR Christians . . .

*Continued from page 14*

A Ukrainian woman in a grey worker's dress gestured to me to step ahead of her in line. Smelling of the sprig of mint she was holding, she kept pushing me along until I saw that the worshipers were kneeling to kiss a Crucifix that lay on a bank of flowers held by a deacon.

When the deacon led me around to the altar, I looked up to see Archbishop Makary, under a radiant jeweled miter. He anointed my forehead with oil that seemed to be a seal for my "pilgrimage" — a seal of peace.

I caught my final glimpse of St. Vladimir from our tour bus enroute to the airport. Though it was five hours after the liturgy, crowds of men and women were still walking in or out of the cathedral entrance.

Far to the north of Kiev the next day, Assumption Sunday, I dressed and walked quickly in the chill air of Riga, Soviet Latvia, toward the tallest spire, looking for Mass. But that spire topped an inactive church, the most famous cathedral in Riga, the Dom. Its doors

---

### CREDITS

Cover, Beth Seka; p. 4, *Fellowship, Jobs With Peace*; p. 7, photo courtesy American Committee on East-West Accord; cartoon p. 8, Bas, Greece, *News & Views*; Williams sketch p. 10, Susan Rheiner; cartoon p. 17, Mike Peters, *Dayton Ohio Daily News*.

---

were closed because it was now a concert hall-museum. Frustrated and cold I walked through ancient gates on the narrow, winding cobblestoned streets, and found myself behind a small, bent over *babushka* scurrying along, I somehow knew, toward Sunday service. I followed her right into a church, seeing at a glance that it was Roman Catholic. Not only was there a wall painting of St. Therese, "The Little Flower," but a man was reciting the rosary. There were also pews, confessionals, and white-clad priests. This Sunday Feast of Our Lady was filled with men as well as women and children, mostly well dressed.

As I knelt, my neighbor, who was reading from a tattered prayer book, offered it to me. The Mass started promptly at 9 a.m. It was a traditional, pre-Vatican II liturgy. The priest, with his back to us, celebrated in a blend of Latin and Latvian with the choir making responses. The communion line was not packed like St. Vladimir's line for the anointing.

I knelt on hard marble and copied the others, placing my hands under a cloth the length of the altar rail. No communion in the hand here! But I was happy to receive the host with my sisters and brothers in the Soviet Roman Catholic Church. I felt such a bond with these people, as at St. Vladimir, that it became impossible to conceive of bombing them.

The words of St. Paul to the Ephesians came to me, "Make every effort to preserve the unity which has the Spirit as its origin and peace as its binding force." ■

**Editorial . . . Continued from page 3**  
fact most murderers act out of momentary passion from deep-seated aberrations. Moreover, an execution is irrevocable, leaving no revocation for the number of those killed by the state who have been later found to be innocent of the crime for which they were deprived of life.

We are not ready to believe that restoring the traffic in state executions, when that practice had entirely stopped for nine years, would in any sense be progress for the humanitarian goals of the American people. We firmly oppose the death penalty as inhumane, ineffective as a deterrent to crime and inconsistent with the ideal of a modern democratic nation.

What can we do? We should become informed. We should contribute to awakening public opinion by speaking to our fellow workers and neighbors and writing to newspapers. We should witness to legislators, especially when such capital crimes legislation is being considered. We should assure our church leadership, locally, and on a statewide and denominationwide level, of our support in opposing the death penalty. In our land and in our day one of the best ways to testify to the Gospel is to advocate to the state the inviolability of human life.

On the Mount of Olives when the Scribes and Pharisees tested Jesus in regard to the stoning of an adulterous woman, Jesus declared the death penalty wrong by demanding that first the judges and executioners must be sinless. It is our responsibility to see Christ in the convicted as well as in the victims.

*(H.C.W. and the editors)*



The Episcopal Church Publishing Company

P.O. Box 359

Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002

Address Correction Requested

NONPROFIT ORG.  
U.S. POSTAGE  
PAID  
North Wales, Pa.  
Permit No. 121

**THE WITNESS** supports and commends the Roman Catholic Bishops for their pastoral letter denouncing nuclear war and calling upon Christians to help rid the world of nuclear weapons.

Excerpts from the pastoral letter, *The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response*.

"The nuclear age is an era of moral as well as physical danger. We are the first generation since Genesis with the power to virtually destroy God's creation. We cannot remain silent in the face of such danger . . .

"We feel that our world and nation are headed in the wrong direction. The whole world must summon the moral courage and technical means to say 'No' to the moral danger of a nuclear age which places before human kind indefensible choices of constant terror or surrender . . .

"A nuclear response to either conventional or nuclear attack can cause destruction which goes far beyond 'legitimate defense.' Such use of nuclear weapons would not be justified . . .

"The 'new moment' which exists in the public debate about nuclear weapons provides a creative opportunity and a moral imperative to examine the relationship between public opinion and public policy . . .

"It would be perverted political policy or moral casuistry which tried to justify using a weapon which 'indirectly' or 'unintentionally' killed a million innocent people because they happened to live near a 'militarily significant' target . . .

"We therefore express our view that the first imperative is to prevent any use of nuclear weapons and our hope that leaders will resist the notion that nuclear conflict can be limited, contained or won in any traditional sense . . ."

# THE WITNESS

**Death Train Route:  
Litany of Love or Holocaust?**

Jim Douglass

**New Hope  
For Peace  
Movement**

Sam Day

MS. Permission required for reuse and publication.



BANGOR  
PORTLAND  
BAKER · BOISE  
NAMPA  
POCATELLO  
SALT LAKE CITY  
CHEYENNE  
TOPEKA · AMARILLO

# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

## Cults Destructive

If the Rev. Joseph H. Fichter really wants to know where the danger to freedom of religion lies, he should look to the conversion and control practices of the destructive cults and try to understand the "snapping" process, which he dismisses. (See "Hammering the Heretics: Religion vs. Cults," January WITNESS.) My son's experience was typical. In less than a week, in the environment of the Moonie indoctrination camp and in a highly charged emotional state, he gave up his religious beliefs and turned his mind over to the Unification Church. They were the ones who were destroying his freedom of religion. Thomas Jefferson put it very well when he said, "There can be no freedom of religion without freedom of the mind." Brainwashing removes that freedom of the mind.

Most important is the point that the central issue is *not* religious beliefs. Nobody really cares what the Moonies believe, nor do we really care if Moon wants to claim to be the new Messiah. If he does so openly without deception or without the use of mind manipulation to get followers, no one could care less about his claim that he talked to Jesus. (Moon said in court that he recognized Jesus from his picture.) All we want them to do is stop deceiving people and separating the members from their families. We know of at least four families whose children have never returned home since joining the Unification Church even though they have been members for three or four years, or longer. They will not even come home for weddings or funerals. Do you know of any other religion which generates

such a degree of estrangement? This type of manipulation is intolerable.

**Robert W. Lenz**  
University of Massachusetts  
Amherst, Mass.

## Fichter Responds

Professor Lenz's inability to comprehend the meaning of religious conversion and commitment is expressed in his spiritually insensitive declaration that "nobody cares what the Moonies believe." It is indeed Moonie belief that leads to Moonie behavior. In our day of enlightened ecumenism one has to be either a secularist or a bigot to sneer at a person's sacred religious faith that demands complete dedication.

From earliest Christian times there have been believers who left "brothers or sisters or father or mother or children" (Matt. 9:29) "for the Gospel" (Mark 10:29), "for the sake of the Kingdom of God" (Luke 18:29). From earliest Christian times there have also been parents who opposed their child entering God's service, going to the convent, the seminary, the monastery, or foreign missions far away from home and family.

To interfere with this religious calling, especially by forcible kidnapping and ruthless brainwashing, is clearly a criminal act, and probably an act of sacrilege.

**Joseph H. Fichter, S.J.**  
Loyola University  
New Orleans, La.

## 'Cults' to Family Journal

The American Family Foundation, a tax-exempt, educational and research organization, would appreciate your permission to reprint in our journal, *The Advisor*, "Why Our Children Join the Cults" by Owen C. Thomas (January issue).

*The Advisor*, which reports on the legal, medical and social issues raised by destructive cultism, is read by members of congress, state legislators and attorneys-general, officials of government agencies, helping professionals, church and community groups, and

many other concerned individuals in North America and Western Europe.

We think the story in question is an important one for our readers.

**R.E. Schecter**  
Weston, Mass.

## Reagan vs. Hitler, Stalin

When I see Ronald Reagan or his administration criticized in *THE WITNESS*, I'm motivated to share this reflection:

President Reagan seems honest and sincere in his foreign and defense policies. He is also consistent.

A true conservative such as President Reagan, after all, is not one who is against everything. A true conservative is the one who brings up the rear of the line. He shows up at a party after everyone else has gone home.

A glaring fault of Reagan's foreign and defense policies is that he is 30 to 40 years too late. His policies might have been correct for World War II or Korea. But World War II has now been over for 38 years. Korea ended 30 years ago. Stalin died March 3, 1953. Yet Reagan is pushing and amplifying policies necessary to stop Hitler and Stalin.

Our European allies seem increasingly disenchanted with Reagan's policies. They are probably more upset over them than are the Russians.

One can understand their feelings and objections, especially to Pershing missiles. Look at how residents of Montana and Wyoming protested Denspack. Equally, since World War II has been over for 38 years, our allies must be as tired of us as the Poles are of their overlords.

To continue our present policies 38 years after the end of World War II seems like "Unreconstructed Rebels" shouting "The South Will Rise Again!" 118 years after the end of the Civil War. It is most like the "Procrastinators' Society" in the 1960s which picketed the White House with signs reading "Dolly-Bird, Stop The War Of 1812" and "Bring Our Boys Home — From New Orleans."

**William Wingfield**  
Pasadena, Calif.



THE WITNESS

EDITOR  
**Mary Lou Suhor**

SENIOR CONTRIBUTING EDITOR  
**Robert L. DeWitt**

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS  
**Richard W. Gillett**  
**Hugh C. White**

STAFF  
**Ann Hunter**  
**Susan Small**  
**Bonnie Spady**  
**Lisa Whelan**

PUBLISHER  
**Episcopal Church Publishing Company**

ECPC BOARD OF DIRECTORS

CHAIR  
**H. Coleman McGehee**

VICE-CHAIR  
**Barbara Harris**

SECRETARY  
**Helen Seager**

TREASURER  
**Robert Potter**

ASSISTANT TREASURER  
**Robert Eckersley**

**Otis Charles**  
**Robert L. DeWitt**  
**Steven Guerra**  
**Suzanne Hiatt**  
**Mattie Hopkins**  
**Joan Howarth**  
**James Lewis**  
**Joseph A. Pelham**

THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215) 643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. Copyright 1983 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.

# THE WITNESS

## Editorial

### Colliding With Power

by William Howard

**I**n view of the sentencing of Maria Cueto to three years in prison (see back cover) THE WITNESS deems it especially appropriate that a guest editorial this month was written by the Rev. William Howard, former president of the National Council of Churches, who is well acquainted with Ms. Cueto's encounters with the FBI and Grand Juries.

**T**he American Civil Liberties Union has called the new guidelines allowing the FBI more freedom in domestic surveillance "a benchmark test of our society for people who are concerned about First Amendment Rights."

In reflecting on the possibility of escalated government surveillance of the churches, I refer to *Matthew 16:24* — where Jesus told his disciples that those who would come after him should deny themselves, take up the cross, and follow him.

To be sure, I don't know the latest about what the government or government agents may be doing to keep track of church activities, and I don't know whether we're doing much to warrant surveillance. But I do know that if we stand with those for whom Jesus' ministry had particular focus and meaning, that is, the poor, the powerless, the alone, then we will collide with the principalities and powers. Somehow we will be at odds with the status quo. Not because we seek conflict, but because the needs of the marginalized and the victimized will not be met without destabilizing the status

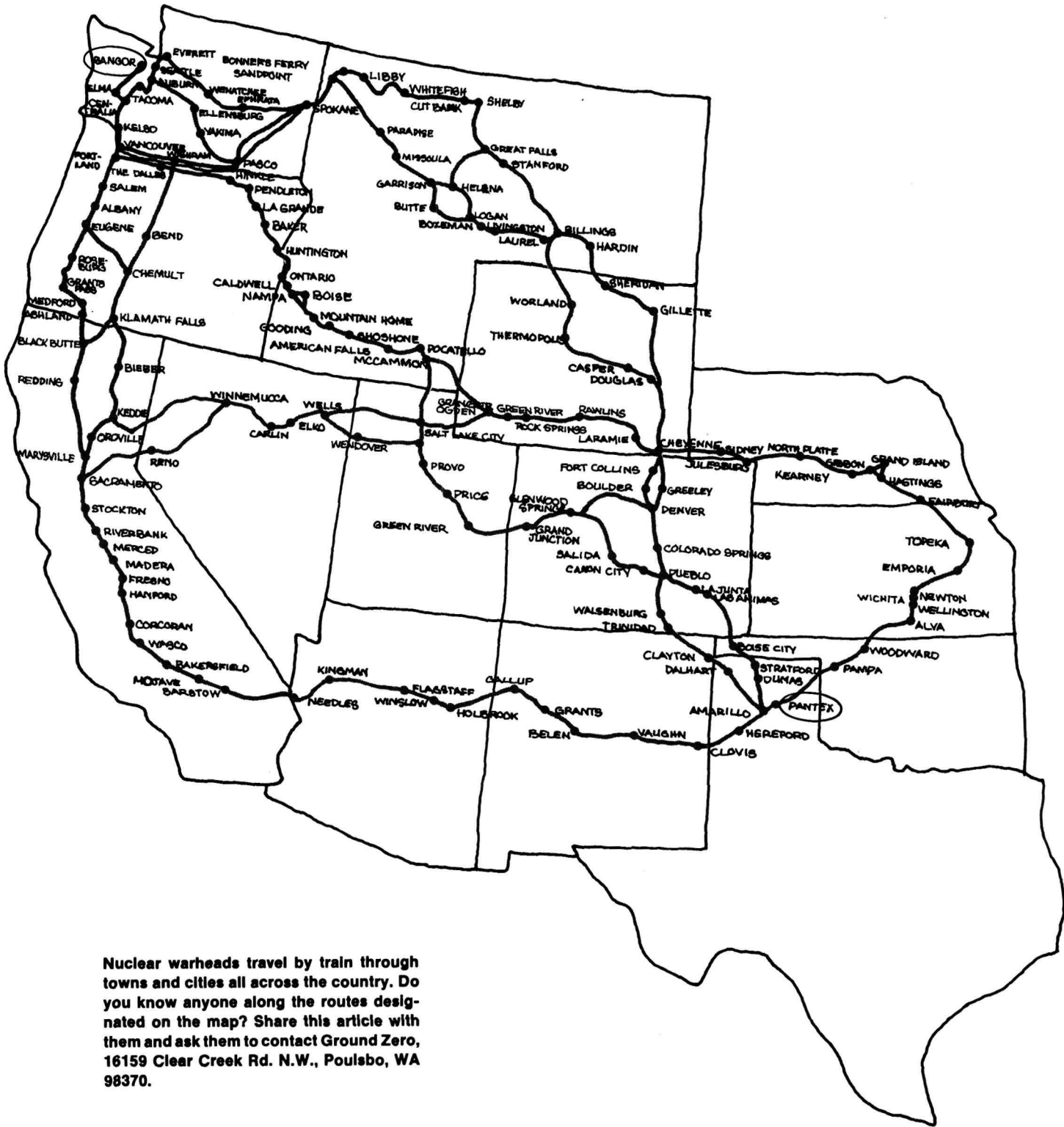
quo and the "powers-that-be" will concede nothing meaningful and fundamental, voluntarily.

This is not true because you or I want it to be true, but it is important for us not to delude ourselves and deny the way things are. I hope that whatever our mission requires of us along these lines, we will take up the task with full intelligence and maturity about the nature of the business we're in.

If the church does find itself at odds with those who have the power and facility to spy on us, let me say we will be in territory that is still relatively virgin. I say this while having some appreciation for what the National Council of Churches has experienced, especially during the McCarthy era. The fact is, though, that the church as an institution — and I speak here of the churches that are members of the NCC — traditionally has not found itself on the opposite side from the government on those issues that could result in open conflict, say in a court of law.

We found this out a few years ago when Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin were found in contempt

*Continued on page 19*



**Nuclear warheads travel by train through towns and cities all across the country. Do you know anyone along the routes designated on the map? Share this article with them and ask them to contact Ground Zero, 16159 Clear Creek Rd. N.W., Poulsbo, WA 98370.**

*Each of the towns named on the railway map at left, located on train routes traveled by Trident missile and warhead shipments, has the same capacity for good or evil as towns in Europe in the '40s through which boxcars of Jews passed unnoticed. In that case people were brought to an extermination system. In this case an extermination system is being brought to the people.*

*Hercules Incorporated near Salt Lake City, working with the Thiccol Corporation, produces the three-stage, solid-fuel propulsion system of the Trident missile, which is shipped about three times a month to the Trident submarine base at Bangor, Wash.*

*The Pantex plant near Amarillo, Tex., assembles all U.S. nuclear warheads; including those which are carried to Bangor two or three times a year in heavily guarded, armored trains.*

*Once these two systems have been transported to the center of the Naval Submarine Base in Bangor, they are combined in what Trident's former missile-designer, Robert Aldridge, calls "the ultimate first strike weapon." The 336 (or more) warheads on one Trident submarine will be accurate to within a few feet of targets 4,200 nautical miles away, destroying each with a blast 7.5 times that of the Hiroshima bomb.*

*In this context, the towns named on the railway routes running from Hercules and Pantex to Bangor are a litany of love or of holocaust. Will Pocatello . . . Nampa . . . Portland . . . become part of a litany celebrating nonviolent resistance? Or will they signify to the few survivors of nuclear war the most terrible silence in history?*

# Death Train Challenge: Litany of Love or Holocaust?

by Jim Douglass

It was a meditation like the above that gave birth to the Agape Community in July, 1981. We had been holding a workshop on "Christian Roots of Non-violence" at Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action, next to the Trident base. On a pilgrimage around the fence of the base, we stopped at the railroad tracks entering Bangor and reflected on

---

**Jim Douglass** is a co-founder (with his wife, Shelley) of Ground Zero, and a writer on the theology of nonviolence. He is the author of *The Nonviolent Cross*, and his new book, *Lightning East to West: Jesus, Gandhi and the Nuclear Age*, will be published in August (Crossroad Publishers, New York).

their parallel meaning to the tracks entering Auschwitz and Buchenwald. As part of the meditation, we named some of the towns and cities along the tracks — and realized that most of the workshop participants lived along these same tracks.

We all recognized that this workshop's members could bond by becoming an extended nonviolent community in various locations along the Trident tracks. We decided to become the Agape Community, and adopted a statement which said in part: "*We believe the spiritual force capable of both changing us and stopping the arms race is that of*

*agape: the love of God operating in the human heart.*"

The Agape Community began to meet monthly, each time in a different town. The first year of our growth saw two walks from one end of the missile motor tracks to the other (Salt Lake City to Bangor), spreading the word of nonviolence and information about Trident missile shipments, and linking our various communities by the tracks. On Peace Sabbath, May 30, 1983, simultaneous vigils were held in 16 cities and towns along the Salt Lake City to Bangor tracks, including 200 vigilers in Portland and 150 at Bangor.



From March 18 to 22, 1983, while a Department of Energy (DOE) train brought nuclear warheads from the Pantex assembly plant to the Bangor base, the Agape Community alerted people along the route. Vigils were held in 35 towns throughout Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, and Washington. While hundreds participated, two people were jailed for obstructing the Nuclear Train in Denver, eight more while kneeling on the tracks in Fort Collins, Col., and six were arrested for sitting in front of the train outside the Bangor gate.

As a result of this continuous five-day presence and contacting people on alternate routes, the Agape Community's network has now grown to over 90 towns and cities along the missile motor and Nuclear Train tracks.

Much of the work of the Agape Community is what any "railroad buff" does. We monitor trains. In our case the trains carry cargo critical to an extermination system. The more we understand each step of the movement toward destruction, the more capable we are of turning it around. Thus our initial focus was to bring that process to visibility, then try to overcome it through non-violent action.

On my one trip to Hercules, a half hour's drive from Salt Lake City, I was struck by its similarity to the Strategic Weapons Facility Pacific (SWFPAC), the storage area for nuclear weapons at the center of the Trident base. Hercules is a series of bunkers laid out in a desolate landscape behind barbed wire fences hung with warning signs. Inside, the solid fuel propellant for the Trident missile is prepared. The spread-out bunkers testify to the danger involved. At a Hercules plant in West Virginia, on Aug. 10, 1981, an accidental explosion from a missile propellant left no trace of two workers.

From Hercules, the Trident missile motors with their volatile fuel pro-

pellant are trucked to a Salt Lake City rail yard. There they are loaded on railway flatcars and shipped north. Along the route Agape members watch for them, and send word up the line.

At the end of the line, at top-secret SWFPAC deep inside the Trident base, the missile motors and fuel propellant are unloaded from their rail cars and stored in huge concrete bunkers not far from those lodging the nuclear warheads. Missile propellant and warheads eventually undergo a deadly marriage in SWFPAC. Then the assembled missiles, heavily guarded by Marines, are driven at a snail's pace down to Bangor's Explosives Handling Wharf, where a giant crane lowers each missile gingerly into a waiting Trident submarine. From that point on, as Navy slang puts it, "the birds are ready to fly."

The critical link in this process, and the hope of the Agape Community, are the towns of Utah, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington through which the Hercules-Trident shipments must pass. These shipments travel in silver container cars and trailers mounted on railway flatcars. They pass unseen except to the extent that the container and trailer cars are recognized from three characteristics:

- 1) *Explosives A*, or less often *Explosives B*, placards posted on the cars (a Class A Explosive is one that requires a one-mile evacuation from an explosion);

- 2) Built-in refrigeration units necessary to maintain a 65°-95° temperature for their volatile contents;

- 3) *Rio Grande* lettering across the sides of the container cars that carry the first and second-stage missile motors. (The third-stage motors are in piggy-back trailers with smaller *RGTZ* lettering at one end.)

Agape members watch for these cars. They have spotted them in their towns, followed them from town to town driving on highways parallel to the tracks,

and have warned Agape folks up the line that a missile motor shipment is on its way. The monitoring of these shipments has raised both public consciousness and new opportunities for nonviolent action.

We became aware more recently of the DOE train delivering warheads from the Pantex plant in Amarillo, and began monitoring those shipments also.

The Nuclear Train consists of 10 to 14 all white, heavily armored cars, pulled by two locomotives and followed by a caboose. Two of the armored cars are security cars and have turrets, like a tank. According to the Department of Energy, they are occupied by "courier guards" armed with rifles, shotguns, machine guns, and hand grenades. The 8 to 12 armored cars between the security cars are lower in height and have *ATMI* lettering on their sides. The Nuclear Train is accompanied by additional security guards in an escort vehicle driven along highways.

Washington Utilities and Transportation Commission documents state that nuclear warheads will be shipped by rail from Texas to the Trident base on "ATMI cars grossing 263,000 lb." two to three times per year. The WUTC documents say that the speed of such trains will be restricted to 35 miles per hour, a safety rule confirmed in shipments to Bangor.

Trident submarines are being deployed at the Bangor base at a rate slightly faster than one per year. Assuming that two Nuclear Trains in one year carry enough warheads for one Trident submarine (192 Trident-1 warheads), one such train would hold 96 hydrogen bombs, each bomb having a destructive capacity of 100 kilotons, five times that of the Hiroshima bomb. This is its present capacity. (The introduction lists its future capabilities when it will carry Trident-2 warheads.) The entire train would have the explosive equivalent of 480 Hiroshima bombs.

The Agape Community opposes Trident missile shipments, first of all, because of Trident's being "the ultimate first strike weapon," as the missile-designer calls it. As a key step in making possible a first strike weapons system, the Hercules and Nuclear Train shipments to Bangor violate the norms of international behavior.

A second reason for opposing these shipments is the safety hazard which they raise in the communities through which they pass. The government claims there is no danger of explosion but classifies Trident missile motors among the most hazardous materials carried by rail — *Explosives A*, requiring a one-mile evacuation from an accidental blast.

Rich Huggins, the emergency services director in Union County, Ore. through which the shipments pass, has said that if a derailment or the like occurs, the missile motors "are very likely to explode" and form a "gigantic crater." He said the fuel propellant is so flammable that no fire suppression is recommended, as "there's no known way to put it out. But it will burn out in less than 20 minutes."

Another indicator of the explosive capacity of Trident missile motors is a statement by former Bangor public affairs officer, Lt. John Woodhouse Jr., in a March 15, 1981 interview. Woodhouse said then that the Navy owns 800 acres of land on the shore of the Hood Canal opposite the Bangor base as an "explosive buffer zone," in case there were to be a missile-propellant explosion. The site of such a possible accident, the Explosives Handling Wharf where Trident missiles are lowered by a giant crane into their submarines, stands 1¼ miles across the water from the heavily wooded 800-acre buffer zone — only beyond which could people be considered safe from a missile-propellant explosion.

## Union Station

The story of our lives  
is written here,  
on the shining tracks converging  
in the unexplored distance;  
it is recorded in the whistles  
of so many trains  
arriving and departing —

to Berkeley, where  
in the midst of the Great Depression,  
I went at age 3  
to spend a memorable Christmas  
with a favorite aunt and uncle;

to Seaside, at age 5,  
as from my vantage point  
in the rear-end observation car,  
I watched the fir-coated hills  
slide by to the rhythmic click  
of the wheels;

to Phoenix at age 10,  
as the ominous rumblings  
which were soon to explode  
into World War II  
began in Europe,  
I went to visit my much loved,  
only living grandfather;

to Chicago at age 20,  
during the short-lived reign  
of the Un-American Activities Committee  
and McCarthy's witchhunters,  
I traveled on my first venture  
alone into the world  
beyond family and home;

to Phoenix again after 40 years,  
with my 10-year-old daughter  
to visit for one last time  
the remaining members  
of my once-large family.

And now, I come once more  
to Union Station,  
to join those who would seek peace  
by protesting the use  
of our historic tracks  
to transport the components  
of horrible death  
for millions of our fellow humans —

our sisters and brothers who,  
whatever their governments and lifestyles,  
are like us children  
of the living God  
and fellow citizens  
of Planet Earth.

May our blind race to oblivion cease,  
so that our children  
may live to enjoy the landmarks  
of their lives —  
their memorable journeys  
on the trains  
from Union Station.

— Mary Jane Brewster

The dangers involved in transporting missile motors by rail are suggested by their bill of lading instructions: "Due to nature of load, susceptibility to impact damage, and high value, must not be switched with, bumped, or allowed to run free. Must be given best possible handling over the road and in terminals."

Other bill of lading stipulations are that missile motor cars "should not be entrained nearer than six cars from engine or occupied caboose and must not be placed next to other placarded

cars." The speed of these trains is "not to exceed 50 miles per hour."

Agape Community members, while driving alongside missile motor trains between Portland and Centralia, have clocked them at over 60 miles per hour for long stretches. Handling of these volatile shipments has been observed which was not the "best possible."

So far as the nuclear warhead shipments go, Dave Jackson, public affairs director of the DOE's Albuquerque, N.M. regional office says they are made in a "special transportation configur-

ation” with the devices not capable of accidental firing.

For obvious reasons the government has exempted itself from calculating any “buffer zones” for nuclear warhead accidents. Were such zones required for the warheads, there would be few if any places on earth where they could be stored.

The lengths to which language has to be pushed to obscure the danger of a nuclear accident is demonstrated by one of the few paragraphs on this topic in the Navy’s Environmental Impact Statement on Bangor: “The design of missile components, incorporation of safety features in the design to cover assembly, test, transportation, handling and deployment of the missiles, and the removal at the Trident Support Site of certain explosive devices required in the ignition chain is based upon a pre-

sumption that the consequences of an accident resulting in nuclear warhead material dispersal in the population in close proximity to Bangor would be unacceptable.”

Knowledge is important to the Agape Community’s nonviolent resistance to the Trident shipments. Equally important is an attitude of respect toward railway employees. We distinguish sharply between the train workers, who are people and friends, and the nuclear evil traveling the tracks, for which we are just as responsible as they. The inner reality which can deepen both resistance to the evil on the tracks and a relationship of respect with the train workers is *agape*, the love of God operating in the human heart. The basis for nonviolent resistance is love.

Nonviolent action must affirm the lives of all people, especially the immedi-

ate lives of rail workers who are caught economically in transporting materials which many of them question. Respect for railway employees is one reason why any form of sabotage to trains would be totally contrary to the Agape Community. Such violent opposition would in fact justify and strengthen the evil of missile shipments.

The way these holocaust shipments can be stopped is through education, reflection, and nonviolent direct action: vigils, walks, sit-ins, until there are more people on the tracks prepared to go to jail for peace than there are people to remove them or jails to contain them. What we seek through *agape* is the conversion of ourselves, that we might realize that vision of active peacemaking. At that point the naming of towns along the tracks will truly become a litany of love, not holocaust. ■

---

## Religious Witness Pumps Hope Into Peace Movement

by Sam Day

**T**he view that Jim and Shelley Douglass command from their home beside the Navy’s nuclear submarine base on Puget Sound goes beyond the railroad tracks that bring the boxcars from the distant missile motor and H-bomb assembly plants. The view also encompasses a new world.

The world view of Ground Zero

---

**Samuel H. Day, Jr.**, is a free-lance author, lecturer, and political activist based in Madison, Wisc. He is a consultant to THE WITNESS, a contributing editor to *The Progressive*, and an associate of Nukewatch, a public interest group dealing with nuclear issues.

Center for Nonviolent Action, which they helped found, is illuminated by an extraordinary force currently transforming the U.S. peace movement.

The force took more than three decades to kindle but now is beginning to shape American public opinion. It is the simple idea that nuclear weapons are evil.

Not just wrong-headed, not just self-defeating, not just economically ruinous, not just environmentally hazardous, not just suicidal, as atomic scientists and political liberals have warned since the dawn of the nuclear era. But *evil*.

Until quite recently that awesome

judgment was more than most peace activists could bring themselves to utter, no matter how deep their commitment to ending the nuclear arms race. But now it springs readily from the lips of a growing number.

The peace movement has begun to take root in religious faith.

For most of its life, the battle against the Bomb has been a secular struggle. It drew its inspiration from the warnings of distinguished scientists — Albert Einstein, Bertrand Russell — and the organizations and publications dedicated to carrying their Olympian messages to the world. Its sinew came from the ranks of various political organizations formed to cope with one



new weapon after another — the H-bomb, ABM, B-1 bomber, neutron bomb, MX missile. For scientists and liberals the struggle has been a losing one. Their forces were no match for the vested interests — weapons laboratories, military services, corporations — that benefit from the endless creations of the military industrial complex.

It is still a losing struggle — the recent Congressional vote to develop and flight test the \$20 billion MX missile is another reminder of that. But the infusion of religiously based opposition to nuclear weapons has begun to stiffen the resistance, bolster the numbers and give it renewed hope.

The Ground Zero Center outside the Puget Sound submarine base and the Agape Community along the railroad tracks into Utah and Texas are just the tip of the religious revival. Growing numbers of "peace communities," sharing the goals of Ground Zero and Agape, are challenging the nuclear weapons program all across the country.

For these peace communities, nonviolent resistance to nuclear weapons policies has become a way of life. Some of the most active groups are Jonah House in Baltimore; Brandywine in Media, Pa.; Covenant in New Haven; Mustard Seed in Worcester, Mass; Strategies & Actions for Conversion, Omaha; Species Life House, Missoula, Mont.; Sojourners in Washington, D.C.; and Catholic Worker Houses in such places as New York City, Des Moines, Denver, Los Angeles and Sacramento. Scarcely a week passes without some member of these groups going to jail for breaking the law at a nuclear weapons facility.

Organizing prayer vigils, blockades, invasions and other forms of direct action, Christian groups have confronted the Navy's Trident submarine not just at its base in Bangor, Wash., but at its construction site in Connecticut, its communications headquarters in upper Michigan,



MIGNON

and at a host of support facilities across the nation. "Trident Nein" is the name of a nine-member group that poured blood on a new Trident sub under construction in Groton, Conn.

Shelley Douglass has been arrested five times at the Bangor submarine base and her husband Jim has served two six-month jail terms. These are typical of the penalties hundreds of others are paying for bearing witness against the Bomb. They have chained themselves to the doors of the Air Force Academy chapel at Colorado Springs, conducted Easter vigils inside the security fences of intercontinental ballistic missile silos in Missouri and Montana, "beaten swords into plowshares" by hammering dents into missile nosecones under construction at a General Electric assembly plant in King of Prussia, Pa.

Such actions, often accompanied by religious symbolism (the shedding of blood, the carrying of a cross) and timed to coincide with Christian holidays (Good Friday, Easter, Christmas) are carried out more for purposes of religious witness than political persuasion. But they are having a powerful effect on the body politic.

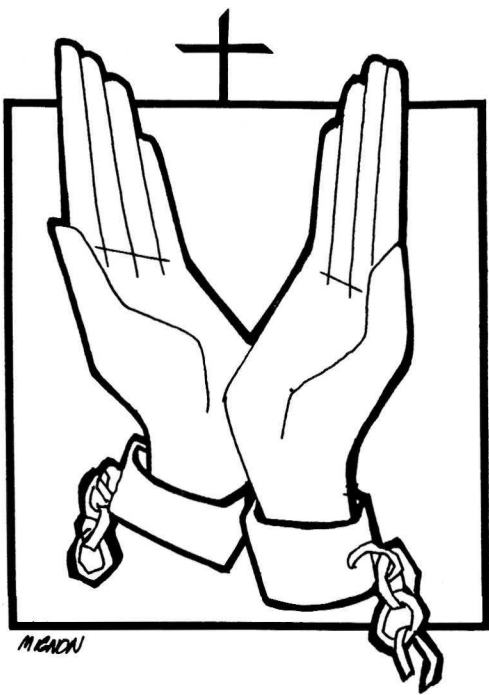
Jim Douglass is a case in point. His resistance, as a Christian, to the Trident submarine program persuaded Seattle Roman Catholic Archbishop

Raymond Hunthausen to withhold a portion of his federal taxes that help pay for it. Similarly, the anti-nuclear conversion of another celebrated Catholic bishop, Leroy T. Matthiesen of Amarillo, Tex., is said to have begun with his jailhouse visit to a young priest who climbed the fence at the nearby Pantex nuclear weapons assembly plant.

The historic pastoral letter approved recently by the Roman Catholic Bishops has moved anti-nuclear weapons activism from the farthest fringe to the mainstream of Catholic dogma in the United States. A similar current is evident in mainstream Protestantism, too, including the Episcopal Church, where clerical and lay leaders are increasingly outspoken on the issue. For this, the Christian activists who have led the way can take much credit.

The rising influence of religiously based resistance to the nuclear arms race has also brought increased resort to nonviolent civil disobedience, following the examples of Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr. Nonviolent civil disobedience at nuclear installations, introduced on a small scale by religious groups a few years ago, has served to re-energize secular anti-nuclear organizations and to harmonize them with the means

*Continued on page 19*



*“The idea of a police state, where people are terrorized, tortured, and ‘disappear’ with sickening regularity, should be so morally repugnant to us that we would never collaborate.”*

## Poverty, Surveillance Haiti’s Daily Lot

by Walter D. Dennis

Just a few weeks ago, several representative bishops of the Second Province and I made a five-day fact-finding tour of our church’s work in Haiti, a member diocese of our province. Upon their return, the bishops issued a joint statement reflecting their collective impressions of their stay in this deeply troubled and tiny country. They described the trip as “both enlightening and exhausting” and noted a strong impression of the “lack of total freedom” that is apparent everywhere; but with a sense of real joy and thankfulness they noted too that the work being done by our church in Haiti is “no less than thrilling.”

I concur wholeheartedly with all of these statements — particularly the last. However, I wish to record some of my own personal impressions since the overwhelming majority of Haitian immigrants (or, if you will, refugees) live in the Diocese of New York.

Immediately upon our arrival in Port-au-Prince we were confronted with a telling example of what is every Haitian’s daily lot: scrutiny and surveillance. Our bags were literally torn

apart by the customs people. Clearly, even though we were foreign “dignitaries” with legitimate business in this country (we were not coming to investigate the government but only to visit the church there), our presence and intentions were suspect, and we were not welcome. Indeed, throughout our journey our van was regularly stopped by the police and our identity and purpose questioned. The sense that we were being carefully watched hung like a cloud over us. Coupled with the constant picture of unimaginable, grinding poverty and privation, this feeling would have made our trip unrelievedly depressing, were it not for the beauty and sweetness of the people and the inspiring witness of the Haitian Church which is, as we bishops noted, “so vigorous, so intentional, and so dedicated.”

Wherever we went we saw signs that the church was ministering to the total person. The work of the United Thank Offering was particularly impressive, with churches, schools and clinics built with the help of the women of the church in the United States. The Episcopal Church runs vocational programs, educates village people as midwives and medical aids, and contributes greatly to

the uplifting of the nation’s life.

I was delighted to see in action a program involving Episcopal Church-run medical and dental clinics. Doctors from our country volunteer to come and work intensively for two-week periods, while the assigning and scheduling of patients is performed by the local doctors.

My impressions of the country itself are vivid. The sight of endemic, pervasive poverty is truly oppressive, a poverty so profound that few of us can really comprehend it or imagine how the people survive, let alone keep up their spirits. To be sure, mere survival is the most that the overwhelming majority of Haitians can hope for. I recall talking with Antoine Petion, 22, the sole support of his widowed mother, a brother and a sister. He worked for the grand sum of 32 cents a day moving concrete in a wheelbarrow from the mixer to a construction site, a new extension of the hotel where we were staying. We are accustomed to seeing such projects replete with powerful machines, but in Haiti, where labor is literally dirt-cheap, human muscle is the chief power source. When I asked Antoine (through an interpreter) what his fondest wish was, he said, “What-

---

**The Rt. Rev. Walter D. Dennis** is Suffragan Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of New York.

ever God wants for me.”

Simple faith, worthy of our emulation? At first thought it might seem so, but a moment's further thought, taken with such poverty and desperation in plain view, reveals that a deep fatalism is what underlies such a statement. It was really an expression of psychic numbing, with responsibility referred to God, but with no realization that God's will for Antoine is wholeness, dignity, freedom, and sufficiency. In a way, no other single experience made such an impression on me. *This* was Haiti.

To travel across Haiti, from Port-au-Prince to Cap Haitien, is to see a country that in some areas resembles the rice paddies of Southeast Asia, and in others, a parched wasteland. This latter phenomenon, by the way, is the result of progressive deforestation and erosion brought on by a relentlessly expanding population in search of space and cooking fuel. Not surprisingly, Haiti is an ecologic disaster as well as an economic and political one.

Yet, there is real tropical loveliness too, although the more exquisite the setting the more certainly the place is reserved for the numerically miniscule ruling stratum or for vacationing North Americans and Europeans. This is particularly true along the coastline where the finest beaches are reserved for the elite. Two of the most beautiful ones I saw belonged respectively to the President of Haiti and to Club Med.

Second only to the notoriety of the awful human conditions in Haiti is the repressive political situation under the Duvalier dynasty — which successive U.S. administrations have considered to be a “stabilizing, counter-balancing” force in the region, and therefore worthy of our material and moral support. Unless one were staying at some luxury resort and never stirred beyond the bounds of the enclave, it would be hard to escape noticing that one is in a police state. I was privileged to talk with many



Bishop Dennis

people in all walks of life. At first, almost everyone was chary of talking freely, but when pressed almost all would admit to unhappiness, desperation, and fear.

Where does the church stand in this situation? At firsthand I experienced a newer feature of the institutional church in Latin America: the sizable number of Roman Catholic clergy who show little hesitation in supporting non-Marxist — and even Marxist — political programs that offer a chance for meaningful change in their societies.

The Episcopal Church in Haiti is ably led by Bishop Luc Garnier, whose relationship with the regime can best be described as one of distance rather than of truce. It is certainly not a confrontational one, but it is important to remember that the bishop's *modus vivendi* makes possible the wide spectrum of desperately needed work which the church does, unhindered by the state but also without any sponsorship or (co-opting) support. One could well liken this important aspect of the bishop's work to walking on eggs, and I was often reminded of our Lord's admonition to be wise as serpents and as

harmless as doves. “Msgr. Luc” is a tough and courageous man, and one of the greatest signs of his strength is his delicate and disciplined restraint.

I left Haiti even more aware of and troubled by the “American” connection. Not for the first time I asked myself what our policy and role should be vis-a-vis Haiti — and indeed toward the Caribbean nations and Central and South America as well. We desperately need a credible, non-hypocritical policy of real consistency, so that there would be no room for doubt that we support genuinely democratic governments, reflective of their peoples' will and supportive of their human needs, material and spiritual. In short, we should lend our support only consistent with our own noblest traditions and only to the degree that other governments' and ours coincide. We need — and should — not demand identity of their and our political and economic systems. Let them be capitalist or socialist.

The idea of a police state — of the left or right — where people are terrorized, tortured, and “disappear” with sickening regularity, should be so morally repugnant to us that we would *never* collaborate. I do not speak of coercion; the days of gunboat diplomacy are over. But we would do well to look again at what Jimmy Carter was about with his much-maligned human rights thrust in diplomacy. Maybe it is not really Quixotic to try to act consistently with the ideals we proclaim. If, as Christians (if we are honest), we must behave this way or face judgment for moral failure and hypocrisy, then should we not demand the same of our government in *its* sphere of action?

As for Haiti, I thank God for the opportunity to see for myself what her people are up against, and I rejoice to see the church there unashamedly being about the Lord's work. I earnestly invite your prayers for this brave and patient people. ■



# Have We Forgotten The Lessons of Vietnam?

An Interview  
with Noam Chomsky  
by Paul Shannon

When the Indochina war ended in 1975 you wrote that our nation's opinion makers would engage in distortion of the lessons to be drawn from the war so that the same basic foreign policy goals could be pursued after the war. You felt then that in order to keep the real meaning of the war from penetrating the general public they faced two major tasks: First, they would have to disguise the fact that the war "was basically an American attack on South Vietnam — a war of annihilation that spilled over to the rest of Indochina." And secondly, they would have to obscure the fact that the military effort in Vietnam "was restrained by a mass movement of protest and resistance here at home which engaged in effective direct action outside the bounds of propriety long before established spokesmen proclaimed themselves to be its leaders." Where do we stand now on these two issues?

**Chomsky:** As far as the opinion makers are concerned, they have been doing exactly what it was obvious they would do. Every book that comes out, every article that comes out, talks about how the United States was defending South Vietnam from North Vietnamese aggression. That's standard to say.

---

**Dr. Noam Chomsky** is the author of a number of books on Vietnam war policy and a professor of Linguistics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The purpose is obvious: to obscure the fact that the United States did attack South Vietnam and the major war was fought against South Vietnam. The real invasion of South Vietnam which was directed largely against the rural society began *directly* in 1962 after many years of working through mercenaries and client groups. And that fact simply does not exist in official American history. There is no such event in American history as the attack on South Vietnam. That's gone. Of course, it is a part of *real* history. But it's not a part of official history.

And most of us who were opposed to the war, especially in the early '60s — were opposed to the war on South Vietnam which destroyed South Vietnam's rural society. The South was devastated. But now anyone who was against this atrocity is regarded as having defended North Vietnam. And that's part of the effort to present the war as if it were a war between South Vietnam and North Vietnam with the United States helping the South. Of course, it's fabrication. But it's official "truth" by now.

**This question of *who* the United States was fighting in Vietnam is pretty basic in terms of coming to any understanding of the war. But why would the U.S. attack South Vietnam?**

**Chomsky:** First of all, let's make absolutely certain that *was* the fact: that the U.S. directed the war against South Vietnam.

There was a political settlement in 1954. But in the late

# Vietnam War

## Human Cost

**2,221,000** Indochinese killed (Includes both military and civilians of North and South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos)

**3,200,000** wounded

**14,305,000** refugees

\* \* \*

**56,231** Americans killed

**303,616** wounded

**13,167** 100% disabled

**55,000** have died since returning home (suicides, addictions, accidents, etc.)

**500,000** have attempted suicide since returning home

\* \* \*

**5,000** U.S. Allies killed

\* \* \*

## Firepower

The total firepower expended by the U.S. and its allies in Indochina probably exceeds the total firepower expended by humanity in all wars, before and after the Indochina War, combined.

**15,500,000** tons of firepower used by U.S. forces (This firepower is the equivalent in destructive force of about 600 Hiroshima type atomic bombs.)

Of this total, **12,000,000** tons were used by the U.S. in South Vietnam alone.

In comparison, the U.S. used **6,000,000** tons of air and ground munitions in all of World War II.

'50s the United States organized an internal repression in South Vietnam, not using its troops, but using the local apparatus it was constructing. This was a very significant and very effective campaign of violence and terrorism against the Vietminh — which was the communist-led nationalist force that fought the French. And the Vietminh at that time was adhering to the Geneva Accords, hoping that the political settlement would work out in South Vietnam. [The Geneva Accords of 1954 temporarily divided Northern and Southern Vietnam with the ultimate aim of reunification through elections. — Ed.]

So, not only were they not conducting any terrorism, but in fact, they were not even responding to the violence against them. It reached the point where by 1959 the Vietminh leadership — the communist party leadership — was being decimated. Cadres were being murdered extensively. Finally in May of 1959 there was an authorization to use violence in self-defense, after years of murder, with thousands of people killed in this campaign organized by the United States. As soon as they began to use violence in self-defense, the whole Saigon government apparatus fell apart at once because it was an apparatus based on nothing but a monopoly of violence. And once it lost that monopoly of violence it was finished. That's what led the United States to move in. There were no North Vietnamese around.

Then the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam was formed. Its founding program called for the neutralization of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. And it's very striking that the National Liberation Front was the only group that ever called for the independence of South Vietnam. The so-called South Vietnamese government (GVN) did not, but rather, claimed to be the government of all Vietnam. The National Liberation Front was the only South Vietnamese group that ever talked about South Vietnamese independence. They called for the neutralization of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia as a kind of neutral block, working toward some type of integration of the South with North Vietnam ultimately.

Now that proposal in 1962 caused panic in American ruling circles. From 1962 to 1964 the U.S. was dedicated to try to prevent the independence of South Vietnam. The reason was of course that Kennedy and Johnson knew that if any political solution was permitted in the South, the National Liberation Front would effectively come to power, so strong was its political support in comparison with the political support of the so-called South Vietnamese government.

And in fact Kennedy and later Johnson tried to block every attempt at neutralization, every attempt at political

settlement. This is all documented. It's wiped out of history, but the documentation is just unquestionable — in the internal government sources and everywhere else.

So there's just no question that the United States was trying desperately to prevent the independence of South Vietnam and to prevent a political settlement *inside* South Vietnam. And in fact it went to war precisely to prevent that. It finally bombed the North in 1965 with the purpose of trying to get the North to use its influence to call off the insurgency in the South. There were no North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam then as far as anybody knew. And they anticipated of course when they began bombing the North from South Vietnamese bases that it would bring North Vietnamese troops into the South. Then it became possible to pretend it was aggression from the North. It was ludicrous, but that's what they claimed.

**Why did the U.S. do this?**

**Chomsky:** Why was the United States so afraid of an independent South Vietnam? I think the reason again is pretty clear from the internal government documents. Precisely what they were afraid of was that the "takeover" of South Vietnam by nationalist forces would not be brutal. They feared it would be conciliatory and that there would be successful social and economic development — and that the whole region might work!

This was clearly a nationalist movement — and in fact a radical nationalist movement which would separate Vietnam from the American orbit. It would not allow Vietnam to become another Philippines. It would trade with the United States but it would not be an American semi-colony.

But suppose it worked. Suppose the country could separate itself from the American dominated global system and carry out a successful social and economic development. That would be dangerous because it could be a model to other movements and groups in neighboring countries. Gradually there could be an erosion from the region. This was no small thing. It was assumed that the key to the problem was preventing any successful national movement from carrying out serious social and economic development inside Indochina. So the United States had to destroy it through a process which would become the war against South Vietnam. And, it should be pointed out that on a lower level we were doing the same things in Laos and Cambodia.

**So the very reason given in the United States for fighting the war — the independence of South Vietnam — is exactly what had to be destroyed?**

**Chomsky:** Exactly.

**Do you think this distortion of the war is successful?**

**Chomsky:** It's hard to say. Younger people who are being indoctrinated into the contemporary system really have to do some research to find out what is the truth. In the general population, people forget or don't care that much. And gradually what you hear drilled into your head everyday comes to be believed. People don't understand what you're talking about if you discuss the American war on South Vietnam.

**And the role of the anti-war movement?**

**Chomsky:** The main effort has been to show that the opposition to the war was of two types: One was the serious responsible type that involved Eugene McCarthy and some senators — who turned the tide because we realized it wasn't worthwhile, or was too expensive or something. And then there were these sort of violent and irrational groups, teenagers and so on, whose behavior had little to do with the war really, and whose activity was a form of lunacy. Now, anyone who lived through the period would have to laugh.

But my impression is that the effort to portray the peace movement this way is not working very well. For example at the beginning of his administration, Reagan tried to set the basis for American military intervention in El Salvador — which is about what Kennedy did when he came into office in regard to Vietnam. Well, when Kennedy tried it in Vietnam, it worked like a dream. Virtually nobody opposed American bombing of South Vietnam in 1962. It was not an issue. But when Reagan began to talk of involving American forces in El Salvador there was a huge popular uproar. And he had to choose a much more indirect way of support. He had to back off.

And what that must indicate is a tremendous shift in public opinion over the past 20 years as a result of the participation in the real opposition to the war in Indochina — which has lasted and was resurrected when a similar circumstance began to arise.

**So you see the inability of the government to maneuver as it would like in El Salvador as directly related to the anti-war movement?**

**Chomsky:** Oh yes. They even have a name for it: "Vietnam Syndrome." See, they make it sound like some kind of disease, a malady that has to be overcome. And the "malady" in this case is that the population is still unwilling to tolerate aggression and violence. And that's a change that took place as a result of the popular struggle against the war in Vietnam.

**So you feel it was the group officially defined as the "riff-raff, lunatic fringe" who really was the peace movement?**

**Chomsky:** Oh, there's no question. You can see what happened. There were very extensive grass roots efforts beginning in the mid '60s, developing quite gradually against



tremendous opposition. In Boston it was impossible to have outdoor public meetings against the war until about the fall of 1966. Until then they would be broken up. And the media more or less applauded the violence and disruption that prevented people from speaking. But gradually that changed. In fact, it reached such a point that by 1967 it was impossible for the President to declare a national mobilization for war. He was restricted and forced to pretend he was conducting a small war. There were constraints. Because of public opinion which by then was considerably aroused by demonstrations and teach-ins and other types of resistance, Johnson had to fight the war with deficit spending, he had to fight a "guns and butter" war to show it was no big war.

And this policy collapsed. It collapsed totally with the Tet Offensive in 1968 [the National Liberation Front's surprise temporary takeover of virtually all of South Vietnam's cities overnight. — *Ed.*] which led major sectors of American power — corporate power and other centers of power — to realize we could not carry it off at this level. Either we go to war like in the Second World War, or we pull out. And that was a direct effect of the activities of the peace movement. After this decision was made, then politicians like Eugene McCarthy came to announce themselves as the leaders of the peace movement.

But by then the basic decision to put a limit to direct American troop involvement had been made. You had to fight for a long time to get the U.S. out, but the basic decision had been made at the Tet Offensive. That's when the programs related to Vietnamization were put in place, and we began to fight a more capital intensive war with less direct participation of American ground troops.

Incidentally, another reason for this was that the American army began to deteriorate internally because, after all, the United States was fighting a very unusual type of war. It's very rare for a country to try to fight a colonial war with a conscript army. Usually wars like the Vietnam war are fought with mercenaries — like the French Foreign Legion. The U.S. tried to fight what amounts to a colonial war with a conscript army. And a colonial war is a very dirty kind of war. You're not fighting armed forces. You're fighting mostly unarmed people. And to fight that kind of war requires professional killers, which means mercenaries. The 50,000 Korean mercenaries we had in Vietnam were professional killers and just massacred people outright. The American army did plenty of that too, but it couldn't take it after awhile. It's not the kind of job you can give to conscripts who are not trained to be murderers.

**And they had also heard of the anti-war movement's ideas against the war back home.**

**Chomsky:** Exactly. It was a citizen's army, not separated

from what's happening in American society in general. And the effect was that, very much to its credit, the American army began to deteriorate. It became harder and harder to keep an army in the field.

**Are you aware of any other time in history when soldiers came home from the war organized against their government as many Vietnam veterans did through the Vietnam Veterans Against the War?**

**Chomsky:** It's rare. For example, it's happening now to a certain extent in Israel with reservists who are also fighting a war against a civilian population in Lebanon. And it's the same kind of phenomenon. If they just kept professional military men involved they could probably carry it off. But reservists are connected with the civilian population. That's why countries like France and England used mercenary forces to carry out these kinds of wars.

Let me make one final point about the peace movement which is often forgotten. When you look back at the internal documents that we have now you can see that when the big decision was made around the Tet Offensive in 1968 — about whether or not to send a couple hundred thousand more troops — one of the factors was that the Joint Chiefs of Staff were concerned that they would not have enough troops for internal control of the domestic American population. They feared tremendous protest and disruption at home if they sent more troops to Vietnam. This means that they understood the level of internal resistance to be virtually at the level of civil war. And I think they were probably right about that. That's a good indication from inside as to how seriously they took the peace movement.

There are indications that the huge demonstrations of October and November of 1969 severely limited Nixon's ability to carry out some of the plans he had for escalating the war. The domestic population was not under control. A country has to have a passive population if it is going to carry out an aggressive foreign policy. It was clear by October and November of 1969, by the scale of opposition, that the population was not passive.

Those are important events to remember. Again, they're written out of history. But the record is there, the documentation is there, and that's what happened. ■

---

### Resource

*Indochina Newsletter* — The above article and statistics are excerpted from a special double issue (#18) of the *Indochina Newsletter*, available from P.O. Box 129, Dorchester, MA 02122 for \$1. Subscription, \$10 per year.

---

~~~~~  
**“If the price of eradicating terrorism  
is curtailment of the constitutional liberties  
which are at the heart of this nation’s existence,  
then the price is too high.”**  
~~~~~

## Church Leaders Seek Clemency for Hispanics

*(Robert C. Potter, prominent Wall Street lawyer and Episcopalian lay leader, sent the following letter to Judge Charles P. Sifton to argue for clemency in the sentencing of Maria Cueto, Steven Guerra and three others convicted of criminal contempt for refusing to testify before a Grand Jury in Brooklyn. The defendants received three year prison terms on June 7. (See back cover.) Potter’s letter summarizes the raison d’etre for the advocacy role taken on behalf of the five by the church leaders he represented in the judicial proceedings. — Eds.)*

I am sure Your Honor is aware of the church’s continuing concern about and interest in the seemingly endless series of judicial proceedings which has culminated in the convictions of these defendants. As you will recall, the Episcopal Church first became involved in these proceedings in January 1977 when Maria Cueto, then Executive Director of the Episcopal Church’s National Commission on Hispanic Affairs was subpoenaed to testify before a Federal Grand Jury sitting in the Southern District of New York.

Although the Grand Jury was investigating terrorist violence in Manhattan, it sought to question Maria Cueto about her relationships with persons within the church and to elicit information which, if she possessed it at all, she had acquired in the course of her ministry within the church. Her refusal to testify,

grounded in her rights under the First Amendment, was supported and applauded by my clients. For this act of heroism committed for the sake of religious freedom, Maria Cueto served 11 months in prison.

Just prior to the service of the subpoena upon Maria, the FBI conducted a sweeping search of the Hispanic Commission’s offices and files. That shocking invasion of the church’s religious domain was followed by what now has become years of unsubstantiated public accusations in the press that the church has been harboring terrorists. This campaign by the Government has caused repeated and irreparable harm to the reputation of the church and, more important, has threatened the existence of several church ministries devoted to serving minority groups. Indeed, it can be said without any qualification that the Government’s public defamation campaign destroyed the church’s Hispanic programs altogether.

My clients continue to support the indisputably sincere efforts of these five defendants to preserve their religious values and defend their conscientiously held beliefs. We believe that such acts of religious courage, in the face of the Government’s repeated efforts to force them to abandon their convictions, should be honored, not condemned.

If condemnation is appropriate in this case, it is of the United States Government. I was in attendance

throughout the criminal trial, as were several representatives of the Episcopal Church, some of whom testified for the defense. We were very distressed by the Government’s repeated accusations, both in and out of the presence of the jury, that the church was involved in alleged terrorist activities. Even more distressing, however, was what we are forced to conclude was the Government’s calculated effort to associate the defendants with the FALN.

By implying that the defendants were members of a terrorist organization, the Government apparently pursued — it clearly attained — two improper objectives. First, the jurors were poisoned. The jury hardly could return a verdict of not guilty after inferring, as they must have from the Government’s innuendo, that the reason the defendants had refused to testify was to protect themselves and their terrorist colleagues from prosecution. Second, and more disturbing, it appears quite clear that, although the Government tried the defendants on a charge of contempt, that charge was simply a surrogate for a substantive charge that the defendants had committed seditious conspiracy or other crimes of terrorism which the Government is unable to prove.

Unable to prove that the defendants had committed or conspired to commit any acts of terrorist violence, the Government invoked the Grand Jury process to create a criminal act for which the defendants could be con-

victed. The Government knew in advance that the defendants would decline to testify; the only conceivable purpose to be served by calling them before a new Grand Jury was to set them up for a criminal contempt indictment. This tactic goes far beyond entrapment, a device which itself has attracted significant condemnation; it is the creation out of whole cloth of a criminal act which otherwise would not have occurred.

In our view, this calculated decision by the Government was an abuse of the Grand Jury process which cheapens the administration of justice in this country. Our system is based on the noble proposition that all accused persons are innocent until the Government proves them guilty. To permit the Government to create a criminal act in order to obtain a conviction of a person whom the Government thinks, but cannot prove, committed a different crime makes a mockery of an honored and just system.

The church parties condemn all acts of terrorist violence, regardless of any political, social, or religious objectives which such acts are designed to further. In addition, the church supports the Government's commitment to combating terrorism and apprehending those responsible for the terrible bombings that have ravaged New York since 1974. But any efforts to accomplish these goals must carefully safeguard the rights of citizens under the First, Fourth, and Fifth Amendments. If the price of eradicating terrorism is curtailment of the constitutional liberties which are at the heart of this nation's existence, then the price is too high.

In this case, or series of cases, the price has been much too high. The lives of five committed, religious, sincere human beings have been thrown into chaos. Their ability to speak to and lead their people has been curbed severely by the repeated disruptions of court appear-

ances, FBI surveillance, and cross-country plane rides. Yet, what has the Government purchased at the cost of five productive lives? Sadly, the answer is very little.

Perhaps the only thing the Government has accomplished is the creation of a public perception that it is making progress in the war on terrorism. That is the only conceivable reason that the FBI issued its now famous press release of Sept. 27, 1983. Ironically, I myself was greatly relieved when I heard a news report on the radio that the FBI had captured the remaining unincarcerated leadership of the FALN . . . until, of course, I heard the names of the alleged terrorists.

*"Unable to prove that the defendants had committed any acts of terrorist violence, the Government invoked the Grand Jury process to create a criminal act for which the defendants could be convicted."*

If the Government had evidence to convict the five defendants before Your Honor of anything but criminal contempt, it would have undertaken to do so by presenting that evidence to a Grand Jury and obtaining an indictment charging seditious conspiracy. It has not done so. Instead, it has disingenuously sought to avoid the procedural safeguards and heavy burden of proof of a criminal trial by offering to prove only in a sentencing hearing that the defendants were members of the FALN. Indeed, at the April 8, 1983 hearing on defendants' motion for a new trial, Mr. James Harmon, to my astonishment, again asserted that the Government was prepared to prove that the defendants belonged to the FALN. Your Honor wisely and correctly declined to permit this. If using the Grand Jury to charge them with a surrogate

crime were not sufficient evidence in itself to establish that the Government has abused the Grand Jury process, the subsequent attempt to try them for terrorism in a mere sentencing hearing is conclusive.

A long, unpleasant journey that began on Jan. 4, 1977, is about to come to an end. As you consider your sentencing decision, I urge Your Honor to keep in mind several of the characteristics of this case which rarely are present in criminal cases. First, for all practical purposes, the criminal convictions in this case followed an extended proceeding, which for most of the defendants, lasted as long as six years. Second, the defendants committed no affirmative criminal act; the Government conjured up their "crime" by requiring them to test the strength of their beliefs in the crucible of a criminal trial. Third, four of the five defendants already have served sentences for civil contempt.

Fourth, the defendants find themselves awaiting sentencing after a criminal conviction for one reason only: their consciences and beliefs required them to refuse to testify before the Grand Jury. They never displayed nor intended any disrespect for Your Honor or any other court. They have attended every hearing and have conducted themselves honorably. In short, they have never shown contempt, in its usual sense, for the judicial system.

And finally, whatever the legality of the Government's procedures throughout this series of proceedings, its performance has not been one to inspire faith, at least in me or more clients, in the justness of our constitutional system. To the contrary, the spectre of the abuse of power and the infringement of First Amendment political and religious liberties has arisen repeatedly in these proceedings. This performance is not one of which Americans can be proud. We submit that a repetition of this sorry affair ought not to be encouraged by



long prison sentences for these defendants.

In light of the foregoing, we implore the Court to be merciful in imposing sentence. No purpose whatever would be served by incarcerating the defendants. Their attendance and decorum before Your Honor established beyond doubt the authority and dignity of the Court. Further vindication is unnecessary. Please consider their prior incarceration, their religious beliefs, their faithfulness to their consciences, and the passive nature of their offense. We urge Your Honor to credit the defendants for time already served, both in jail and while awaiting the convictions which

finally came. Suspend their sentences and let them return to their families, their jobs, and their communities. These five defendants will do society more good out of prison than in prison.

The fact that the attached letters relate only to defendants Maria Cueto and Steven Guerra should not be construed as a sign that the church parties do not support the other defendants. To the contrary, this letter is submitted by the church parties on behalf of all five defendants equally. Unfortunately, my clients simply are not as intimately acquainted with Julio Rosado, Andres Rosado, and Ricardo Romero as they are with Maria Cueto and Steven

Guerra. We know these three to be men of good character, however, and equally deserving of this Court's mercy.

**Robert S. Potter**  
**Counsel for the National Council**  
**of the Churches of Christ**  
**in the United States of America,**  
**Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Jr.,**  
**Episcopal Bishop of New York,**  
**Rt. Rev. Robert L. DeWitt,**  
**retired Episcopal Bishop of**  
**Pennsylvania, Rt. Rev. Coleman**  
**McGehee, Jr., Episcopal Bishop**  
**of Michigan, Rt. Rev. Francisco**  
**Reus-Froylan, Episcopal Bishop**  
**of Puerto Rico, and the**  
**Episcopal Church Publishing**  
**Company, Inc.**

## Questions That Might Be Asked When Joining a Church

by Michael Dwinell

- Does this community acknowledge and embrace as its divine vocation the radical transformation of each member within the community, the deep and ongoing change of itself, and the working toward peace with justice in the world?
- Is the desert there, dry enough? Is the wilderness there, wild enough? Is the darkness there, dark enough?
- Is it a community where the integrity of soul is more important than the illusion of safety of the ego?
- Is it a community that knows when it would be appropriate for it to die? Is it a community that will assist me in the dyings I need to do?
- Will it hold me accountable enough? Will it love me enough to tell me the truth?
- Is it a place where I can hold others accountable?

---

**The Rev. Michael Dwinell** is a pastoral counselor and freelance writer who resides in Cape Elizabeth, Me.

Is it a place where I can tell others the truth as I see it? Is it a place where I can give my gifts? Is it a place where I can really love other people?

- Is it a place that is willing to explore options of dance, symbol, image, music, sound, movement, and silence in corporate liturgy?
- Is it a community that dares to tell the truth about itself in relationship to the rest of the world? Is it a community that dares to act in the world? Is it a community which will make no peace with oppression?
- Is it a place to:
  - be in utter silence for a long time
  - bleed and be helpless and fail
  - be on fire with passion
  - be overflowing with joy
  - scream in pain
  - bounce and play
  - be ordinary and magnificent?
- Is it a place that knows all human energies are divine delight, a place that celebrates knowing God as an erotic experience?

**Peace . . . Continued from page 9**  
and ends of feminism, which is assuming a growing role in the peace movement.

Women from various religious orders have joined demonstrations and have been arrested in increasing numbers. Also, Church Women United has lobbied against the MX missile, is among sponsors of the women's peace encampment at Seneca Falls, N.Y. (July 4 through Labor Day); and members serve alongside and frequently join their sisters in Peace Links, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Women Strike for Peace in organizing efforts.

Individual acts of civil disobedience are snowballing into mass actions. Last year more than 4,000 people — religious and secular — were arrested for demonstrating against nuclear weapons. Already this year there are close to that number.

Some 1,600 anti-nuclear resisters

were arrested for civil disobedience at the United Nations in one day last June. Another 1,400 were jailed a week later for blockading the Livermore nuclear weapons laboratory in California. As THE WITNESS goes to press, it is likely that several times that number will be arrested on a single day, June 20, which has been designated a day of international protest against the nuclear arms race.

The emergence of the Gospel as a central tenet of the peace movement is creating "born-again" peace activists in America. The goal, writes Jim Douglass, "is not to stop the Trident submarine and missile system. Its

---

---

#### CREDITS

Cover, Beth Seka adapted from a graphic by Ground Zero; map p. 4, Tom Rawson and Beth Seka; graphics pp. 9-10, Margaret Longdon.

---

---

purpose is to change ourselves — all of us — so that there will no longer be anyone left to run the submarine or fire the missile."

Will the crusade succeed? Will enough of us be born again — in time? The fate of the Earth may well depend upon it. ■

#### Resource

*Gods of Metal* — A 27-minute documentary about the nuclear arms race and what individuals and groups are doing to halt the arms buildup. The arms race is analyzed from a Christian perspective, showing the economic and social effects on people in the United States and the Third World. The film offers practical suggestions on what people can do to help create a world of peace and understanding. Rental: \$25, order five weeks in advance. Includes discussion guide. Phone orders (914) 941-7590 Ext. 354; mail orders Maryknoll, Maryknoll, N.Y. 10545.

**Editorial . . . Continued from page 3**  
for their refusal to cooperate with a Federal Grand Jury by surrendering church records and testifying. They took their stand because such cooperation would have, in their view, jeopardized the ministry they had been called to perform by the Episcopal Church.

As you may know, the court ruled that what they were doing was not ministry, but mere social work. To my knowledge there was no precedent at that time on which to challenge the court's ruling. What was quite revealing was to see how the church had understood its ministry, particularly in the social justice area. It had not fallen outside the law before 1974 or 1975, at least. There is much to be learned from this case.

As we dare to move toward what

the authorities consider the limits of the law, but what is more likely the edge of what the prevailing political climate can stand, let us not be too shocked when the wrath of the state comes down on us with the same weight as that visited upon those whom we would aid. We must assert our legal rights, to be sure, but in so doing, let us not miss the lessons about the nature of the society that will come from this experience.

And I plead with you not to use your position and status as church workers as if they were a shield of protection. Given the influence of the far right in the halls of government and the shifting rightward of some of our own churches' constituencies, things may get worse before they get better. It is my simple hope that should conditions

deteriorate toward more spying, even more persecution, more paranoia, we will understand this in terms of *Matthew 16:24*.

This is the cross we must bear for standing with those who are without conventional power. And the intimidation we may feel in our bureaucracies on occasion is but a slight example of what the poor and unpopular feel as a matter of course.

Seen in this way, and understood in this way, we can confront whatever the future may hold with the resilience and determination that the journey requires; we can walk and not get weary, we can run and not get tired.

---

**The Rev. William Howard** is currently Executive Director of the Black Council, Reformed Churches in America.

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company  
P.O. Box 359  
Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002  
Address Correction Requested

NONPROFIT ORG.  
U.S. POSTAGE  
PAID  
North Wales, Pa.  
Permit No. 121

# Three Year Prison Sentence For Maria Cueto, Steve Guerra

by Mary Lou Suhor

**M**aria Cueto, former executive secretary of the National Commission for Hispanic Affairs, Steven Guerra of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, and three other Hispanics received three year prison terms on June 7 for refusing to testify before a Federal Grand Jury investigating the FALN.

The five are free on personal recognition pending appeal. Filing of papers for the appellate court is expected to take at least six months.

Judge Charles P. Sifton pronounced sentence after eight court appearances by the five in almost as many months. Many Episcopal Church leaders supported the Hispanics, charged with criminal contempt, until the very end. Five church representatives, including four bishops, testified as character

witnesses and 13, including the Rt. Rev. John Hines, former Presiding Bishop, submitted letters to Judge Sifton on behalf of Ms. Cueto and Mr. Guerra, recommending clemency in sentencing. (See article p. 16.)

The government had requested a 15-year sentence, charging in many court interventions that the five were members of the FALN, which has claimed responsibility for a number of bombings in Manhattan. U.S. attorneys were rebuked by Judge Sifton on numerous occasions when they put such allegations into the record, since the government had not indicted the defendants on these charges.

Robert C. Potter, attorney for the religious organizations and churchpersons supporting the five, claimed that the government, unable to prove the

five had committed terrorist acts, had invoked the Grand Jury process to create a crime for which the defendants could be convicted. Since four of the five had been incarcerated previously for refusing to testify in a previous incarnation of the Grand Jury, the new charge amounted to entrapment, he said.

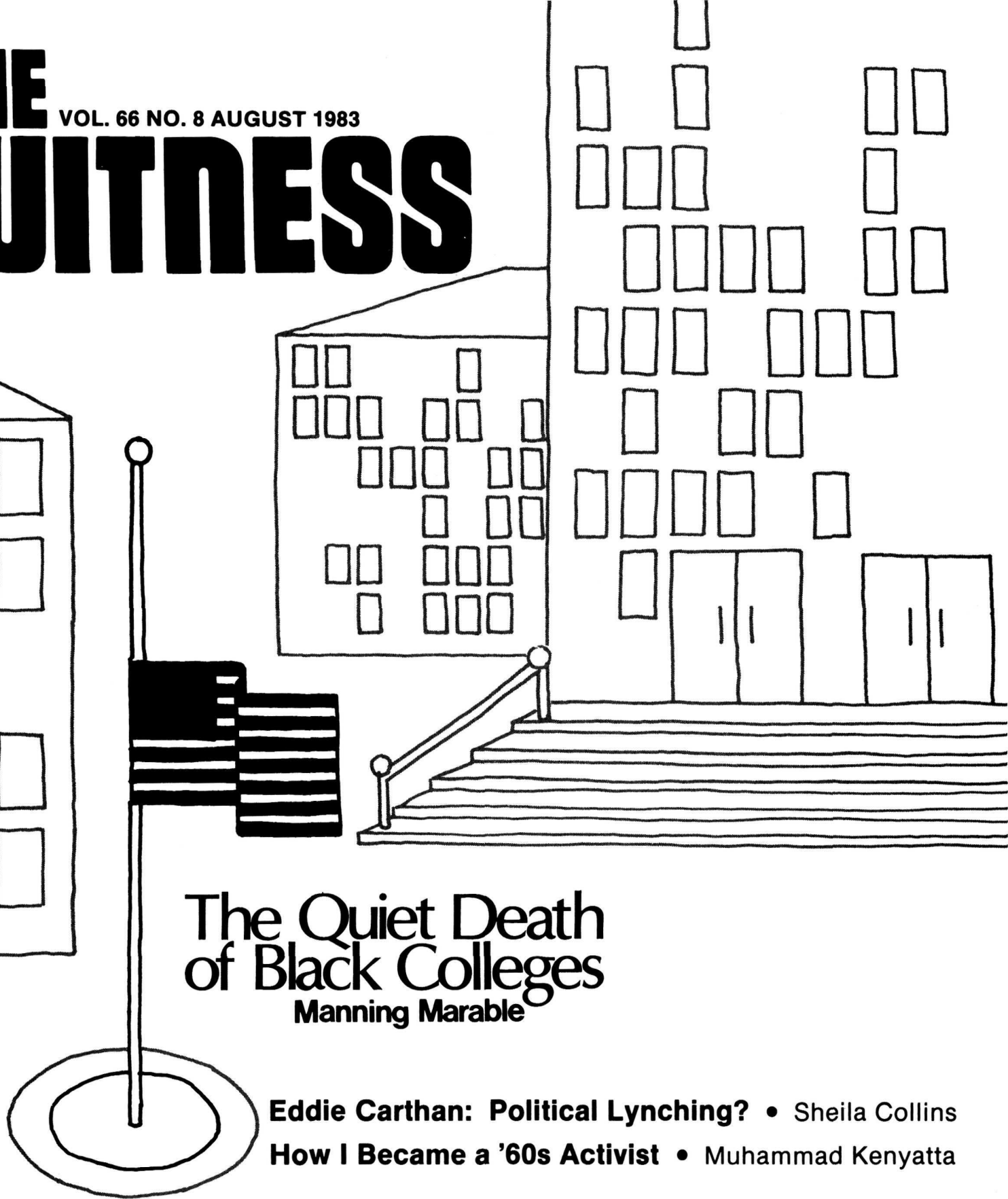
In the courtroom for the sentencing were the Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Bishop of New York; the Rev. William Persell, rector of St. Ann's, Brooklyn; Carman St. J. Hunter, prominent Episcopal laywoman and Ms. Cueto's former supervisor at the Episcopal Church Center; the Rev. William Melish of Brooklyn, and Hugh White of the Church and Society Network.

THE WITNESS will present a summary article of the case in the August issue. ■



# THE VOL. 66 NO. 8 AUGUST 1983 WITNESS

Copyright 2020. Archives of the Episcopal Church / DFMS. Permission required for reuse and publication.



## The Quiet Death of Black Colleges

Manning Marable

**Eddie Carthan: Political Lynching? • Sheila Collins  
How I Became a '60s Activist • Muhammad Kenyatta**

# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

## Death Row Ministry

I was most impressed by Hugh White's editorial, "We Oppose the Death Penalty" in the June WITNESS.

I have long been against the death penalty both on moral and religious grounds and I see it in no way as being a deterrent.

Also, I don't believe that one human, or a group of humans, have the right to impose a sentence of death on another human. And even murderers are children of God.

I have a small prison ministry which I carry on through correspondence. Our correspondence covers a large area — sports, religion, art, philosophy, books, you name it. At the moment there are four "cell-mates"; two of whom are on death row — one over 13 years, and the other six years. Based on my own investigation, I am certain that neither of these young men are guilty, and that both were framed, and poorly represented by their court-appointed attorneys. My other two cell-mates are in for lesser offenses. All of these men — in their mid 30s — when treated with dignity and friendship, respond very well.

The ministry has provided some positive results. One of my death row friends was recently baptized. Another, a black Episcopalian, has become a confrater in affiliation with the monks of St. Gregory's Abbey, an Anglican Benedictine order in Three Rivers, Mich.

I am a retired Regular Army Officer and a retired attorney, the latter due to a complete laryngectomy in 1972. I find that this small prison ministry is one of the most satisfying activities I have ever experienced.

Again my thanks to you for an excellent and most timely article. The gates to

execution are steadily being unbarred, much to the disgrace of this United States and its citizens.

**Charles D. Corwin**  
Colonial Beach, Va.

## Casting Stones

I felt bad when I saw the cartoon of the Moral Majority casting the first stone (June issue). I think that when we show others like this we are casting stones.

**Jack Sawyer**  
Berkeley, Cal.

## Hines Recalls Hymn

Bishop Hines' insightful and timely article on peace (May WITNESS), with its references to our Lord's admonition to His followers of "Peace I leave with you: my peace I give unto you," recalls so vividly the message of Hymn 437 from the 1940 *Hymnal*:

*"The peace of God, it is no peace,  
But strife closed in the sod.*

*Yet, brothers (sisters), pray for but  
one thing —*

*The marvelous peace of God."*

**The Rev. Richard Buzby**  
Mathews, Va.

## Unhappy Juxtaposition

I deeply appreciated Gail Habbyshaw's article, "Making Do" (May WITNESS). She described very clearly what it is like to be poor. However, I did not appreciate the unfortunate juxtaposition of a cartoon about inflation. Inflation is not "making do" in the terms Ms. Habbyshaw was describing.

Inflation won't kill people — unemployment often will. To invite any comparison of these two very different conditions is to risk falling into the trap of viewing them as somehow similar. This is what the current administration does — seeing unemployment as a necessary evil that we must bear to get rid of the demon inflation.

But inflation, even at 10% or 12%, is spread around across-the-board. Everyone, or almost everyone cuts back from steak to potroast, or potroast to meatloaf, or from meatloaf to occasional

meatless meals. Unemployment (especially when it's more than 10%) is suffered by tens of thousands of individuals, who will be cutting back from something to nearly nothing. It's not a steak to meatloaf jump; rather, it's from reasonable security to desperate poverty.

I'm sure you didn't mean to imply that inflation and the poverty of unemployment had any similarity, but I think the placement of the article and cartoon invite that inference.

**Virginia Klipstein**  
Philadelphia, Pa.

## Priorities Jogged

The May issue of THE WITNESS included a poem by Ann R. Blakeslee called, "The Other Woman." To me it speaks of the conflict in those with conscience who are not poor. Ann R. Blakeslee tells it like it is. She jogs one's list of priorities with her open honesty. I wish I could meet her.

With your permission, I would like to reproduce it as it appears for the newsletter of St. Joan's International Alliance, Houston Chapter.

**Elizabeth Minahan Judge**  
Houston, Tex.

## Resource for Seminar

THE WITNESS is an inspiration and a valuable resource for me.

The Ontario Section of the Primate's World Relief and Development Fund is meeting in Ottawa for a seminar on refugees. I would like the delegates to read articles in the December issue of THE WITNESS about refugees and the whole of the March issue.

Could you let me have some back copies if they are available?

**Jane Fyles, Coordinator**  
Ottawa, Ontario  
Canada

## Nominations Sought

The Joint Standing Committee on Nominations for the 1985 General Convention of the Episcopal Church is now seeking nominations for elective positions on

*Continued on page 19*

## THE WITNESS

EDITOR  
**Mary Lou Suhor**

SENIOR CONTRIBUTING EDITOR  
**Robert L. DeWitt**

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS  
**Richard W. Gillett**  
**Hugh C. White**

STAFF  
**Ann Hunter**  
**Susan Small**  
**Bonnie Spady**  
**Lisa Whelan**

PUBLISHER  
**Episcopal Church Publishing Company**

### ECPC BOARD OF DIRECTORS

CHAIR  
**H. Coleman McGehee**

VICE-CHAIR  
**Barbara Harris**

SECRETARY  
**Helen Seager**

TREASURER  
**Robert Potter**

ASSISTANT TREASURER  
**Robert Eckersley**

**Otis Charles**  
**Robert L. DeWitt**  
**Steven Guerra**  
**Suzanne Hiatt**  
**Mattie Hopkins**  
**Joan Howarth**  
**James Lewis**  
**Joseph A. Pelham**

THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215) 643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. Copyright 1983 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.

# THE WITNESS

## Editorial



## Redeeming the Dream

**A**nother milestone in U.S. history could be in the making with the recent formation of the New Coalition of Conscience, whose goal is to broaden and build upon the accomplishments of the Civil Rights Movement. The Reagan Administration is watching with some trepidation the possibility of a million people converging on Washington, D.C. in the Coalition's first public demonstration Aug. 27.

Under the rallying call of "Jobs, Peace, and Freedom," the New Coalition will bring together representatives from the women's movement, labor and peace movements, the churches, and minority concerns — not as a mere collection of single issue groups, but on the model of Martin Luther King's "beloved community," coalescing around a common dream.

The call to the nation issued by the New Coalition in this 20th anniversary year of that first memorable Civil Rights March on Washington states: "*We believe that a powerful unity of spirit — to seek the solution of our national problems through nonviolent and democratic procedures — will provide a catalyst for powerful and much needed social changes in this nation.*"

Organizers are also mindful of the political and logistical lessons learned from other recent mass rallies (Labor's Solidarity Day in

1981, and the mammoth peace rally which drew a million people to New York in June, 1982).

In its call to the nation, the New Coalition outlines, specifically, what social changes it deems necessary for a more just society.

With respect to *jobs*, the Coalition calls:

— upon the American people to seek with all deliberate speed the full employment objectives of the Humphrey-Hawkins Act, which is now the law of the land.

— for a new social contract between labor, industry and government to assure all Americans socially useful and dignified employment with a just wage; to foster real economic growth and to provide adequate education and training for all Americans.

With regard to *peace*, the Coalition calls:

— upon both superpowers and their allies to radically reduce and ultimately eliminate their nuclear arsenals as well as conventional weapons; to act jointly to prevent the spread of such weapons to other nations and to reduce the record levels of military expenditures.

— upon the American people to follow the leadership of the growing number of religious leaders and other leaders of

*Continued on page 19*



# The Quiet Death of Black Colleges

by Manning Marable

Most civil rights activists and progressives are aware of the growing national retreat from school desegregation programs. In the past six months alone, serious efforts to scrap desegregation have been mounted across the country, particularly in a number of Southern cities: Jacksonville, Fla.; Little Rock; Memphis; Nashville; Augusta, Ga.; and Norfolk, Va. In these cities, white moderates and conservatives have called for sizeable reductions in the number of schools which are scheduled for desegregation, and major increases in all-black public schools. And despite substantial social science research which proves that desegregation qualitatively improves black academic achievement scores, many black leaders — including local heads of NAACP chapters — have acquiesced to the retreat from busing and desegregation policies.

What has attracted little attention outside the South is another educational crisis which, if left unchecked, will have an even greater impact: the critical status of both black private and black state-supported colleges.

Ironically, desegregation plans effected by the courts to improve black higher education have often resulted in a deterioration of formerly all-black

institutions. On Nov. 3, 1982, for example, civil rights attorneys filed a motion in federal court in Nashville charging that “desegregation of Tennessee higher education has failed.” Tennessee State University (TSU), an all-black institution was merged with the overwhelmingly-white University of Tennessee-Nashville under court order in 1979. For three years, the new suit declared, TSU “has regressed previous black-white ratios.” No progress has been made in improving the quality of TSU academic programs. In an interview, attorney Michael Passino stated that TSU students’ performance on graduate and professional exams is “way below the national average.”

As far as the state is concerned, “TSU ends up getting the short end of the stick,” in part, “because it was established as a black university by statute,” according to Passino. Basically, the state government has adhered to the letter of the law, but in practice nothing has changed to improve the quality of black education.

Tennessee State’s problems are



---

**Dr. Manning Marable** is Director of the Race Relations Institute, Fisk University, Nashville. Dr. Marable is the author of many books and articles on the black experience, most recently, *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America*. His syndicated political column appears in over 140 newspapers in the United States and in the United Kingdom.

mirrored at more than 60 black public institutions. In the 1960s and early '70s, a number of historically black colleges were forced by Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to merge with neighboring all-white schools. All-black Maryland State College became the University of Maryland-Eastern Shore; the University of Arkansas incorporated all-black Arkansas A and M. As a result, many black educators and alumni of these institutions claimed, with some justification, that desegregation had destroyed their ethnic identity and had actually reduced the educational opportunities available to many blacks. By the early 1980s, Lincoln University at Missouri, West Virginia State and the University of Maryland-Eastern Shore all had majority white student bodies. Delaware State and Maryland's Bowie State had over one-third white students, and Kentucky State's student population was 49% white.

The problems at the 40 or so black privately-supported colleges are even more severe. Founded largely by white liberal philanthropists and churches in the decades after the Civil War, institutions like Spelman and Morehouse Colleges of Atlanta and Tougaloo College, Mississippi, were for three generations the foundations of black learning. Despite the institutional barriers of quality education created by Jim Crow, these small colleges did a remarkable job in preparing black youth for productive careers in the humanities, the natural and social sciences.

A brief review of one such, Fisk University, provides an illustration. Fisk was the home for a major number of black intellectuals during the era of segregation: educator W. E. B. DuBois, historian John Hope Franklin; sociologist E. Franklin Frazier; artists/novelists James Weldon Johnson, Arna Bontemps, Sterling Brown, Nikki Giovanni, John Oliver Killens, and

Frank Yerby. A number of Fisk alumni joined the ranks of the black elite in the 20th century as decisive leaders in public policy, representing a variety of political tendencies: U.S. Rep. William L. Dawson; Mayor Marion Barry, Washington, D.C.; Wade H. McCree, U.S. Solicitor General during the Carter Administration; U.S. District Judge Constance Baker Motley; civil rights activist John Lewis; Texas State Rep. Wilhelmina Delco; Federal Judge James Kimbrough. Other Fisk gradu-

---

*"The dilemma for black progressives regarding the future of black colleges is the historic failure of these institutions to articulate a clear pedagogy and practice of liberation . . . The vast majority of black administrators are clones of the corporate world, and have little if any sympathy with Black Studies and the radical pedagogical departures which gave birth to a new generation of black scholarship in the 1960s and early '70s."*

---

ates moved into the private sector to establish an economic program for black development along capitalist lines, such as A. Maceo Walker, president of Universal Life Insurance Company.

One out of every six black physicians, lawyers and dentists in the United States today are Fisk graduates. A similar profile could be obtained from Atlanta University, Morehouse, Spelman, Tougaloo, Tuskegee Institute of Alabama, Howard University of Washington, D.C., and other black institutions of higher learning.

After desegregation, the best black students were suddenly recruited away from black institutions. Black faculty were lured away with promises of higher salaries, smaller teaching loads, and better working conditions. Black middle class alumni of Fisk and Atlanta University began to send their own children to Yale, Oberlin and Stanford. As operating costs increased in the 1970s, Fisk was forced, as were other black private schools, to dip repeatedly into endowment funds to cover day-to-day operating expenses. In less than a decade, Fisk's endowment dropped from \$14 million to only \$3.5 million, and its student enrollment declined from a high of 1700 in 1973-74 to less than 750 this academic year.

With the advent of the Reagan Administration, the political forces of reaction which once defended black colleges as being necessary "to preserve Jim Crow" have now determined for financial reasons that these black institutions must be closed. On July 28, 1982, Secretary of Education T. H. Bell ordered the end of all further student loans to institutions where defaults in repaying National Direct Student Loans totaled 25% or more. The cutoff affected 528 institutions, most of which were community colleges, technical schools and business schools. Predictably, the largest institutions affected tend to have students with working class backgrounds, or who are from minority communities. And, predictably, at the top of the list were most of the major traditionally black colleges.

The campus-based National Direct Student Loan program was created in 1958, and since then has given \$7.5 billion in loans to 6.5 million students. Most of the black recipients were first-generation students, and could not have attended college without federal support. From the vantage point of black campuses Bell's decision seemed un-

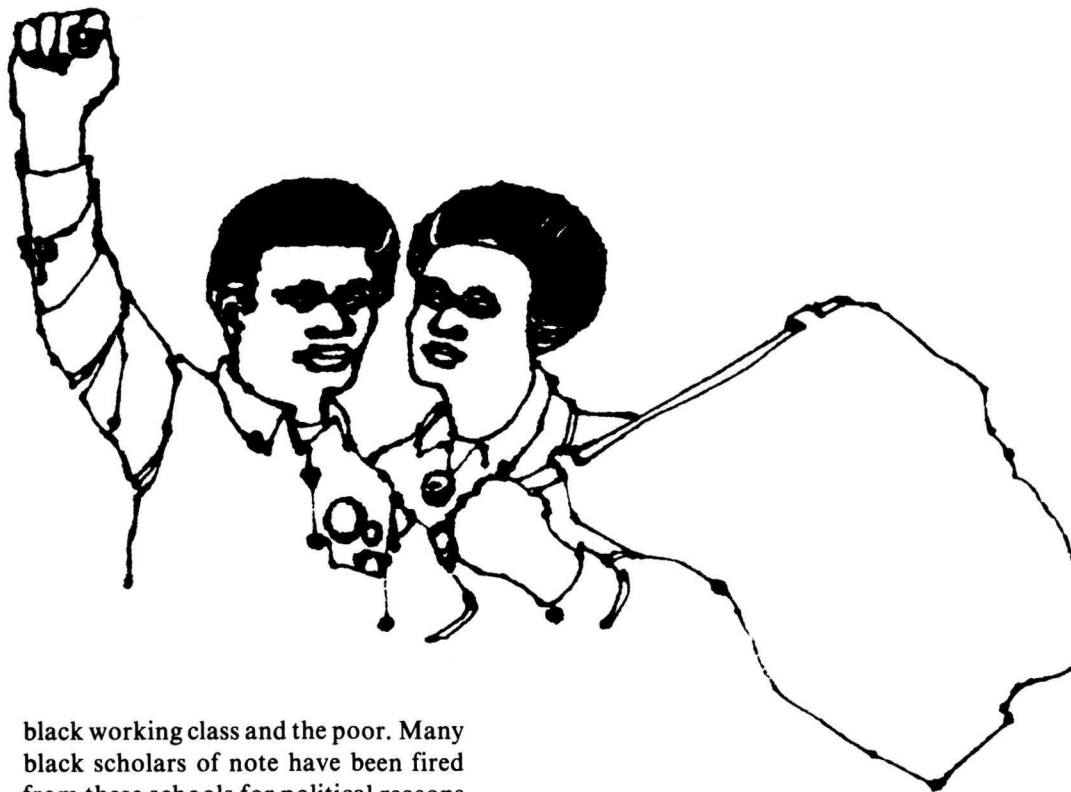
usually cruel. It penalized current and prospective black undergraduates by closing off an important loan source, during a time when black unemployment is at postwar highs. It penalized students who had not yet attended college, for the sake of punishing those who had already graduated.

Fisk administrators anticipated the Reagan Administration's moves, and attempted to offset federal cutbacks by extensive fundraising efforts. In February, 1982, the board of trustees announced that it would seek \$2 million by the end of June. By the beginning of last fall, the board had only raised \$200,000. Facing an immediate fiscal crisis, President Walter Leonard candidly informed the Fisk faculty in October of the severity of the problem. "I have tried very often to shield faculty and staff from serious financial problems because I have always felt up to now that I've been able to pull a rabbit out of the hat. I'm not sure how long I will be able to do that."

Leonard stated when he came to Fisk in 1977 that we "would not miss a payroll." But now "given the way our economy is, the way people resent strong black institutions, I can no longer make that promise." When the Nashville press later published his remarks, Leonard added for the record that the "only way we can relieve ourselves of the problem is to solidify our efforts to raise money" and make even greater sacrifices. "I don't think we are suddenly going to sink without a trace."

## Part 2

The dilemma for black progressives regarding the increasingly problematic future of black colleges is the historic failure of these institutions to articulate a clear pedagogy and practice of liberation. Few colleges have ever been linked organically to the ongoing economic and political struggles of the



black working class and the poor. Many black scholars of note have been fired from these schools for political reasons — and this tradition of authoritarianism is at least three generations old. In 1927, Howard University dismissed the nation's most prominent literary critic, Alain Locke, and three other professors on questionable grounds. W.E.B. DuBois, the NAACP leader, attacked Locke's firing as tantamount to the surrender of "the privilege of free speech and independent thinking" at Howard. In 1944, DuBois himself was fired from the sociology faculty at Atlanta University, prompting a national campaign against the school's president, Rufus Clement.

In 1949 and 1955, Fisk University's board of trustees fired professors who refused to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee. Two years ago Howard University administrators denied tenure to James Garrett, a Marxist political activist, which prompted massive campus demonstrations. As a rule, black colleges are overtly hostile toward unionization among staff members, and use every

means at their disposal to displace radical and Pan-Africanist faculty.

Part of the reason that black colleges as a rule maintain their legacy of authoritarian governance is found in their respective boards of trustees. Trade and technical-oriented universities tend to be controlled by powerful white corporate executives and conservative politicians. The more liberal and humanities-oriented black private colleges tend to have a greater number of black scholars and liberal whites, but are still dominated by corporate capital.

There is something of a "neocolonial dynamic" in the selection of the college presidents of many black colleges. In theory, the senior faculty, top administrators and alumni play a role in selecting presidents; in practice, black college presidents tend to be chosen by conservative black and corporate white-dominated boards of trustees with little outside input. As in post-independent Africa, black private colleges gradually received the "right" to be run by black



administrators — for example, Howard University in 1926 with the appointment of Mordecai Johnson, and Fisk in 1947 with Charles S. Johnson's appointment.

With rare exceptions, however, most black presidents were not distinguished by their scholarship; most were personally and politically conservative, and they perpetuated the climate of academic authoritarianism and a hostility toward the left which their benefactors on their boards required. A few "Black Power-era" scholars have won presidential posts at black institutions, such as sociologist Andrew Billingsley at Morgan State University in Baltimore and black liberation theologian Cecil Cone at Jacksonville's Edward Waters College. However, the vast majority of black administrators are clones of the corporate world, and have little if any sympathy with Black Studies and the radical pedagogical departures which gave birth to a new generation of black scholarship in the 1960s and early '70s.

Unlike many traditional white liberal arts colleges, where decisions tend to be made by tenured senior faculty, department chairs and administrators, virtually all power is ensconced in the hands of the president at a black university. At some schools, black faculty are required to submit their course syllabi for administrative scrutiny prior to the ordering of textbooks. Faculty have been disciplined for using "subversive texts," such as Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*. Some black private colleges still require 11 p.m. curfews for "girls," and aggressively discourage student unions from inviting progressive speakers on campus. One college president officially "banned" the local president of the NAACP from speaking on campus last year on the grounds that he was too radical.

Black faculty are very reticent to speak on the record about the authoritarianism and lack of democracy which is found at most black colleges. One

faculty member at a small black college in Mississippi described his environment as "nothing short of a concentration camp." Another professor declares:

*The president encourages boot-licking and bad faith. It sabotages everything he does. There is an attitude of mistrust and fear. The president sets the tone and he's responsible for accelerating the brain drain from this school. The suspicion, paternalism here is like going through hell. The students are taught two things: "sit down and shut up" and "cover your ass." Whenever things go wrong, the president either blames the board trustees or the faculty. We can't build a community when people are made to feel small.*

Faculty workloads of four to five courses per semester (compared to two courses at many white private schools) serve as a check on faculty scholarship and productive research. "The average faculty member is not motivated to work," one faculty member stated. "That any scholarship at all comes out of here means that people are hyper-dedicated."

The number of horror stories which were told to me are too numerous to mention. At one black college, the president expelled the entire student government leadership for raising issues related to democratic rights on campus. One college president verbally abused a group of students in a public forum, and then threatened to take one especially provocative pupil behind the chapel to administer corporal punishment. At Morgan State, students publicly demonstrated against Billingsley for three years, unsuccessfully demanding his resignation.

Despite these conditions, every black faculty member interviewed expressed the view that black colleges had to be defended and ultimately improved. "My

commitment is stronger than money," one professor stated. "Teaching at a black college is a personal commitment to the black community. Without a strong black community, true racial desegregation is not possible. That's why we're needed here." One student protest leader described her education at her college as "the best years of my life." There is a desire to challenge the gross failures of these institutions, but not at the risk of their continued survival. Few students at black colleges are willing or eager to transfer into majority-white institutions.

The challenge of saving black higher education is a two-fold process. Politically, the right to preserve all-black educational institutions means that pressure must be exerted on the federal government to increase its support. White progressives especially must comprehend that the battle to maintain a Fisk University or an Atlanta University as all-black centers for scholarship in no way contradicts the demand for a desegregated, pluralistic society. For the foreseeable future, white universities will employ every means, legal and otherwise, to reduce the number of black faculty, staff and students at their institutions. Thus the effort to maintain black colleges is in essence the attempt to guarantee black access to higher education.

Second, the pursuit of genuine democracy and a black pedagogy for liberation must be fought for *within* these universities, and efforts waged by black students in this regard must also be supported. As Dr. DuBois observed at the 71st anniversary commencement exercises of Knoxville College on June 16, 1946: "Are (black) institutions worth saving? I am convinced that there is a place and a continuing function for the small Negro college. (They) have an unusual opportunity to fill a great need and to do a work which no other agency could do so well." ■

# Eddie Carthan: Case Study Of a Political Lynching

by Sheila D. Collins

Just 20 years after the famous “March on Washington,” which called the nation’s attention to its forgotten and oppressed racial minorities, a drama is unfolding in a corner of Mississippi which is symbolic of the deep and unyielding power of racism in American political and economic life.

It involves the case of Eddie James Carthan, the young black mayor of Tchula — a small town in Mississippi’s cotton-growing region — whose tragic plight has begun to catch national and international attention. According to such organizations as the National Council of Churches, the National Conference of Black Mayors, the World Student Christian Federation and the Center for Constitutional Rights, Eddie Carthan may be the object of a political lynching, which has sent him to prison for at least three years and almost cost him his life.

Eddie Carthan’s story begins in the 1960s when, as the son of a poor black farmer, Eddie attended civil-rights meetings with his grandfather. It was a time when blacks were organizing for the right to vote throughout the South, and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was running “Freedom Schools” to teach black youth that they had a right to dignity, freedom and self-determination. Eddie

Carthan was arrested and jailed at the age of 14 for participating in a civil rights demonstration.

Internalizing the lessons taught in the Freedom Schools, Eddie Carthan was determined to pursue an education so he could serve his people. After receiving a Masters Degree in Educational Administration and Supervision from Jackson State University, he attended one year of law school and worked for the U.S. Commerce Department, before starting his own business. His object was to seek political office, but he knew that in order to do so, he would first have to establish an independent financial base, for in his part of the South, blacks could be kept politically impotent through white control of the economy. By his mid-20s, Eddie Carthan had become a successful businessman (by small-town standards), the second largest employer in Tchula, and president of the Holmes County School Board. At the age of 27, in 1977, he was elected mayor of Tchula. Passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which struck down many of the discriminatory voting regulations of the Southern states, made possible Carthan’s election as the first black mayor in 100 years of a biracial town in the Mississippi Delta.

The Delta region of Mississippi is a flat, alluvial plain in the northwestern part of the state spanning several counties. There, cotton and soybeans are grown on large plantations by descendants of the old slave-owning class. Though it is an agriculturally rich region, the several black-majority towns and counties are among the poorest in the nation. Tchula (popula-

tion 3,000) demonstrates the corrosive effects of the plantation-slave economy and continuing racism on such areas:

- 30% of the town’s 80% black population are unemployed. The chief form of employment for the region’s blacks is tractor-driving on the white-owned plantations, or yard work and domestic service in white people’s homes.

- 66% of the population is on welfare.

- 81% of the housing units are classified as deteriorating, and 47% of all family dwellings lack some or all plumbing facilities.

In contrast to the unpaved streets and dilapidated housing in the black sections of town, white-owned houses sit neatly on manicured lawns, surrounded by tall trees. In Holmes County, in which Tchula is located, virtually all of the white children go to privately financed academies, leaving the public schools all black.

For over a century, Tchula, like most other black-majority towns throughout the South, had been run by the white planters and businessmen. By controlling the labor market, the credit system, and the police and judiciary, they had been able to keep the black majority quiescent and dependent. Like its schools and businesses, the churches of Holmes County have been totally segregated. The mores of racial separation are blessed by most clergy who, themselves, are dependent on the white planters and businessmen for their livelihood.

The only time that white rule was seriously threatened in states such as

---

**Sheila Collins**, noted feminist author and theologian, is a former staff member of the United Methodist Voluntary Service who was forced out of her post in a Right-wing offensive within her denomination, UMVS had supported the Carthan case as a national network-wide priority before it was “re-designed” recently.

Mississippi, was during the first “Reconstruction” period after the Civil War. Although this period has been much maligned by Southern historians, there were attempts to establish political democracy, which resulted in some of the first public schools, attention to public health, and more humane treatment of prisoners and the mentally ill.

With the collusion of the federal government, the first Reconstruction was violently overthrown, just 10 years after it had begun, in 1877. For almost 100 years after that, an apartheid political and social system, backed up by Klan terror, had governed the South.

Many see the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s as the “Second Reconstruction,” which attempted, once again, to assert the principles of political democracy, justice and equal rights under law. It was on the tailend of this second Reconstruction, that Eddie James Carthan was elected mayor of Tchula.

Mayor Carthan was elected as an “independent,” on a platform to serve *all* the people. “I thought I could represent those who had come through slavery, knowing nothing about voting, about going to a motel, sitting in the front of the bus, or eating in a restaurant,” he recalled recently. In the late 1970s, with a president (Jimmy Carter) in the White House who still owed a political debt to blacks, an enterprising local black politician could use the federal grants system to bypass the local white power structure in bringing money and programs to the area. Carthan aggressively pursued such funds in order to turn the town’s grim statistics around. His accomplishments included a home weatherization and rehabilitation program, a day care center for children, a nutritional feeding program for the elderly, paved streets and street signs, 100 units of new housing, and 80 new jobs. Altogether 34 development programs were begun



**Former Mayor Eddie Carthan and his wife Shirley leave the court building following his acquittal on murder in October, 1982. Carthan was immediately taken by federal authorities to serve a 3-year sentence for fraud. His supporters believe collusion exists between federal and state authorities to keep Carthan behind bars.**

under the Carthan administration. But sadly, many of them were never to get off the ground.

As President Carter’s popularity began to wane, so did support for black political independence. After Carthan turned down a bribe from the white business community to “do things the way they have always been done,” a campaign of political harassment was initiated by the white planters and their political allies aimed at driving the aggressive young mayor from office and discrediting him forever in the eyes of his constituency.

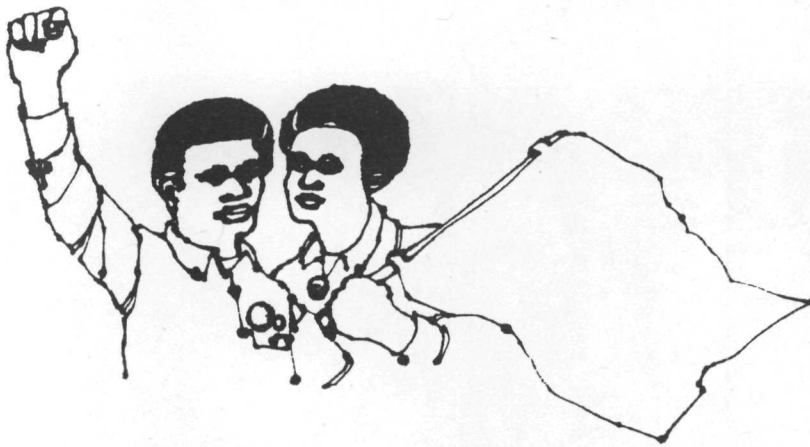
County and state officials, in collusion with three Tchula aldermen (two blacks dependent on the white power structure and one white), employed rumor, negative press, court suits challenging the mayor’s legal prerogatives, physical threats, and economic sanctions to prevent Carthan from

carrying out his duties. When these tactics failed to deter the mayor, they resorted to a series of political frame-ups reminiscent of those used against black elected officials after the first Reconstruction 100 years earlier.

Three major trials and two convictions have sent Eddie James Carthan to prison for the next several years of his life. On April 12, 1981 — three months before he was to run for a second term — Mayor Carthan, an alderman and six auxiliary policemen were convicted of “simple assault of a police officer.” The case has come to be known as the “Tchula 7.” (One had died in the interim.) The charge stemmed from an incident in which the seven men non-violently disarmed Jim Andrews, a white man who had been illegally “appointed” police chief by the op-

*Continued on page 14*





## How I Became a '60s Activist

I remember clearly my conversion experience during a down-home Baptist revival in a backwoods black community a score of miles outside Lynchburg, Va., in my seven-year-old summer of 1951. It was three years before the 1954 Supreme Court decision against school desegregation, in *Brown v. Topeka, Kansas*, which sparked the birth of the Civil Rights Movement.

The same year that the movement learned to walk in the Montgomery, Ala. bus boycott led by Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King, Jr., I heard the call to go preach the Gospel. To a 12-year-old child living, playing, going to school, and going to church in the “West End” ghetto of segregated Chester, Pa. in 1956, the spectacle of Alabama Negroes massively resisting white oppression was certainly more miraculous than having conversations with God.

I had often seen Martin Luther King, Jr., for he had belonged to our own Calvary Baptist Church while he was a student at Crozer Theological Seminary, that used to be where the Chester public hospital is now. But Dr. King seemed, by 1956, more distant and extraordinary than my close companion Jesus.

After two years of struggling against the call to the ministry, I succumbed in 1958. Under the tutelage and spiritual guidance of Calvary’s gruff, scholarly pastor, Dr. J. Pius Barbour, I delivered my “trial sermon” and was licensed to preach on March 22, shortly after my 14th birthday. Neither my immediate, extended family nor our close friends—including my godmother Mrs. Addie Cheeks who taught civics at Frederick Douglas Junior High School

—were very surprised that I became a preacher at an early age. My stately grandmother, Mrs. Carrie Lee Jackson, had been a pillar in Calvary since she and her farmer-turned-steelworker husband, Bonzie, had moved up from Virginia in the early '40s, drawn by Chester’s wartime industrial boom. And, like my mother Ernestine before me, I was celebrated in our circles as a child prodigy, precocious for my oratorical flair, my interest in religion, and my vocal advocacy of racial equality.

Thanks to my mother, who taught her children to read before we started school and who finagled me into the first grade a year younger than the law allowed, and thanks to Mrs. Cheeks, who engineered a double promotion for me at Douglas Junior High, my early formal education was not always a disaster. So, too, my family and my godmother encouraged my early social awareness, nurtured my nascent commitment to the freedom movement, and gave me the space to explore radical ideas.

Along with Dr. King and Joe Louis the Brown Bomber, Albert Einstein was a hero of my childhood and early teens. Although ardent creationists, my mother and grandmother gave free rein to my fascination with scientific theories of evolution and with Einstein’s theory of relativity. When our ninth grade civics class chose up sides for mock presidential election debates and I blithely selected the Socialist Labor candidate, Mrs. Cheeks not only gave me equal time, but also encouraged my political independence.

In addition to family, the black church, and the ironic blessings of Jim Crow elementary education, my preparation for social activism included vicariously, the experiences of my grandfather, Bonzie, and my father, Joseph Bagley, in the hellhot pit and around the blast furnaces of the Quaker-owned Worth Steel Mill (later Phoenix Steel), seven miles south of Chester in Claymont, Del. Although

---

**Muhammad Isalah Kenyatta** is faculty adjunct at Williams College, Williamstown, Mass. and a doctoral candidate at Harvard Law School.

## by Muhammad Kenyatta

neither of them were formally educated beyond grade school, Daddy and Granddaddy were highly conscious, rank-and-file union men who read religiously their United Steel Workers newspapers and pored over their complex union contracts as devoutly as Dr. Barbour studied ancient Greek and contemporary theology.

Like “Doc” Barbour, my father and grandfather shared with me anecdotes, legends, and narratives of mortal struggles against hellfire and against the demons that tried to claim their souls. I could see the marks of their beasts in the scorched, tattered workclothes and on the scorched, black flesh that the men in our family wore home from the mill. And, though Bonzie Jackson was retired 16 years ago by reaching the age of 65 and though Joe Bagley was retired in his early 50s by losing part of his left foot in a commonplace industrial accident, I see them still trying to exorcise grim spirits of white bossmen and sell-out labor leaders — trying to drown those spirits in the commonplace alcoholism that does for them what religion often does for others.

My own ambivalence about organized religion was obscured by early successes in that arena. The camaraderie of my peers in a teenage gospel singing group (the Harmonizing Echoes organized by my oldest brother Freddie) and my busy schedule as a “Boy Wonder” evangelist were antidotes to the alienation I felt in high school, for high school was my introduction to the strange “white land.” At Chester High and later at Edison High in North Philadelphia’s black and Puerto Rican ghetto, lily-white faculties and administrations generally treated black students like intrusions from another world. I guess we were.

Of course, there were selective white teachers who took under wing exceptional black students, teachers who clucked, “You’re not like the rest of them.” And, thank God,

there were even teachers whose caring knew no boundaries of selective racism, for whom all students were their children. A disproportionately large number of that last group were Jewish teachers who affirmed and identified with the new Negro freedom struggle. They, too, shaped my comprehension of white America as I learned paradoxically to believe in black-and-white solidarity even while being confirmed in a deep hatred for the white American social disorder.

As the decade of the ’60s formally began, I turned 16, was ordained the assistant pastor at my uncle Reverend Rob Jackson’s storefront Solid Rock Baptist Church in North Philadelphia, and — come September — went off to Lincoln University, an historically black, Pennsylvania college. There the nonviolent protest movement claimed the attention of an activist minority within the 311 member student body. Moreover, Lincoln’s student body included a large contingent of Africans, most of them older students who had scraped long and hard to meet matriculation fees at Kwame Nkrumah’s *alma mater*. From these students, some almost twice my age, I caught a lifelong infection of Pan-Africanism. From them, too, I learned to value education in direct proportion to its enhancement of self-determination and social justice.

Also at Lincoln was Dr. Lawrence Foster, the first black American Ph.D. in Sociology. An implacable nemesis of mediocrity, Lawrence Foster linked urban sociology to international political economy, and demanded that I inform activist passions with scientific social analysis. His best legacy (that I often misplace) was the cauterant admonition, “Boy, you have got to stop letting people use your head as a garbage can.”

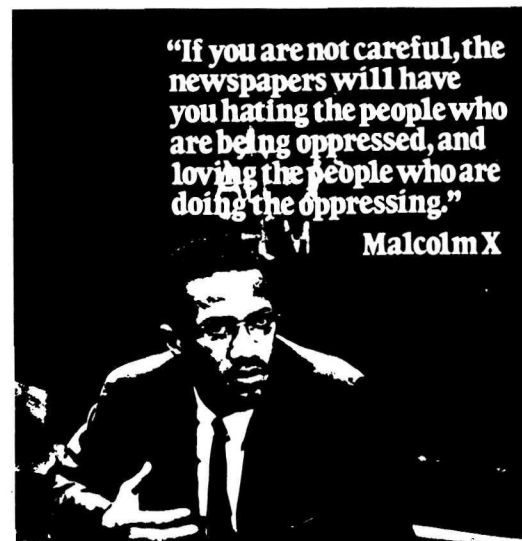
I never returned as a student to Lincoln after that freshman year. Lacking money to continue college, I enlisted in the Air Force when I was 17. I was in uniform when James Meredith became the first black to enroll at “Ole Miss” in the midst of white rioting, surrounded by a detachment of the National Guard. The racial conflict spilled over into the military and, with my bosom buddy from the housing projects of St. Louis — a fellow 17-year-old named Reynard Bufkin, I organized protests against racial discrimination and Jim Crow in the Strategic Air Command’s Altus, Okla., base. By then, I had moved away from the religious pacifism of Martin Luther King, Jr. which I had championed at Lincoln.

Violent conflicts erupted between black enlisted men and white enlistees who were supported by white officers.

Twice I was threatened with court martial for treason: once for speaking out in support of Meredith, and once for urging blacks in the Air Base motor pool to resist

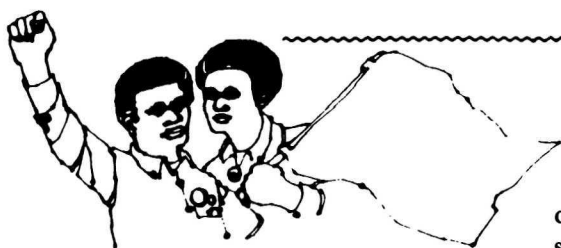
cooperation with a S.A.C. alert. The alert had been called to prepare for an attack on Cuba, where Fidel Castro was consolidating the leftist, but still non-Communist Cuban revolution. As motor pool drivers, our job was to ferry pilots and other personnel across the airfield to their gigantic B-51 bombers. Castro was then popular with many politicized blacks in the north, especially those who had been influenced by the radical internationalism of the Black Muslim Minister Malcolm X. Castro, I argued, was waging the same battle as the sitters-in and civil rights demonstrators. Fortunately for me and for the people of both countries, the S.A.C. alert was rescinded. The attack on Cuba was postponed until the Bay of Pigs fiasco.

But I was arrested, in 1962, by local authorities in the cotton-belt town of Altus, when Ray Bufkin and I attempted a sit-in at a dingy little restaurant on the white side of the tracks. After a night in the local jail, which had three separate cells for white and colored and migrant Chicano cotton pickers, Bufkin and I were remanded to Air Force authorities. Back on base, we were confined to quarters and put on 16-hour daily workshifts for 14 days straight; the charge was "failure to obey local customs." My parents alerted George Raymond, the longtime leader of the Chester NAACP, who solicited the intervention of Philadelphia Congressman Robert N. C. Nix, one of the handful of blacks in the U.S. House of Representatives. Nix intervened, using my extensive documentation of events at Altus to initiate an



investigation of racial discrimination in the Strategic Air Command. That investigation yielded three results: President John F. Kennedy issued an executive order against military discrimination; Bufkin was shipped out to Puerto Rico; and I was severed from the Air Force with an honorable discharge. On Nov. 20, 1962, I became officially an 18-year-old veteran.

One small episode, however, tempered my celebration of our victory over the Air Force. When released from "house arrest" on base, I hurried to the colored side of town (that was literally divided by railroad tracks). There my civilian



**I**n 1966, concern about the condition of black people in the South, and the moral imperatives of being a Baptist minister, took me to Mississippi with my wife and child. Things happened there that I only understood much later, after getting my files from the FBI, CIA and IRS.

I was working for the Youth Corps and attending Tougaloo College. Some-

one told parents of black kids draining swamps for the Youth Corps that I was a drug peddler. My wife and I would wake up in the morning to see an unmarked car with two men and a microphone parked across the street; the car would follow my wife to market, and me to Tougaloo.

The day after Martin Luther King's assassination I was arrested — supposedly because of my license tag — held over the weekend, and fined \$100 plus costs of \$27 — \$27 being all the money on me when I was arrested. Then one day I was sitting in a car when a shot smashed the

front windows on the driver's side and passenger's side.

My wife and I had thought about buying a house and plot of land and putting down roots in Mississippi. But one day in 1969 a letter came signed by the Tougaloo College Defense Committee: "Since you have not taken our warnings, we will have to take stronger measures." It happened that my wife and child were in Philadelphia. I'd like to be able to say I bravely stood my ground; but in fact, I got in our VW and drove to the airport, abandoning all our belongings in the house, and the VW in

## **Kenyatta Postscript Recalls FBI 'Dirty**



girlfriend, Kassie Mae Morgan, lived in ramshackle squalor with her sharecropper family. Indignant and triumphant, I recounted my battles to Kassie Mae whom I expected to greet me as a conquering hero. After my recitation, Kassie looked at me blankly and simply asked why we had sat in at the restaurant to begin with. "You know that you don't belong," Kassie said in deadeyed earnest, "where white people say you can't go."

The bus ride from Altus to Chester takes two days and three packs of cigarettes. You put your Air Force duffel bag in the luggage compartment and your overnight case on the rack above your seat. You arrange and rearrange your thoughts, not sure where to put Martin Luther King and Malcolm X. At each stop you pick up a newspaper, scanning for reports about the sit-ins and marches. You wonder how you'll pick up your schooling and if you'll be lucky enough to pick up a job, once you're back in Pennsylvania. Remembering how you broke your hand in a barracks fistfight months ago, you wonder if it will hurt to pick up a Bible again. You remember Bufkin and wonder if he had somebody to talk to, to laugh with, to cry with, in Puerto Rico.

All you know is that you are going home to enlist in the Freedom Movement. That you're going to join the war against the Thing that murdered Kassie's eyes. And you know the living Jesus is at your side, going along for more than just this ride. ■

Copyright © 2021, Archives of the Episcopal Church / DFMS. Permission required for reuse and publication.

## Tricks' of 1969; Suit Pending

the airport parking lot. I wrote some friends later to get the VW from the lot they wanted it.

It all began to make sense when the Media, Pa., FBI files were "liberated" in 1972. There were 367 entries on me for 365 days, from people in my own organization. The ACLU and attorney Dave Kairys got court orders for more FBI files, which gave clues about CIA and IRS, and showed collusion with Philadelphia's Civil Disobedience Squad. It turned out that it was the FBI which had alleged that I was peddling drugs to kids in the South, tailed us, and set up my

arrest after Dr. King's assassination; I was on their "agitator index."

An FBI informant was present when three guns were passed out to people on the Tougaloo College Defense Committee. When shooting up my car didn't send me running, the FBI forged the letter, ostensibly from the Defense Committee, had it OK'd by J. Edgar Hoover, and mailed it.

Let's not fool ourselves that because such things are wrong they won't work. Bad guys *do* win, and they'll win more if people don't fight back. The focus

## Wrassle Me Up a Future

*"I'm going to wrassle me up a future, or die trying."*

— Zora Neale Hurston

Well, she died alone, among the damp green shadows of a Florida State Nursing Home, this woman who dared love herself laughing, and then again looking mean and nasty. Once a widely published black woman writer, she died alone unfeted and utterly without funds, still spinning and flinging the lines that tickled Harlem with the tongue of that warm and proud black town from which she sailed in her own, mind you, houseboat to the sharp white spires of New York City. She died alone, looking wild and warm and mean and full of the power of voodoo spirits and the lush jungle magic, singing Honduras and Haiti and even her own bitter bite, America, this woman of tough tender going down deep in earth guts, who not even then, at the undignified, premature and unnecessary end, gave up her life's work, still shooting off splinters of her unsolicited genius. She died alone, still trying to "wrassle me up a future." Sisters of courage and chaos sayers of unwanted truths, lovers of life's muddy earth, we're it.

— Linda Backiel

changes, mechanisms change; but the police still repress American political expression.

*(Muhammad Kenyatta filed suit in 1977 against the FBI and its agents in Mississippi for violation of civil rights and monetary damages. The ACLU is handling the case, which is still pending. — Eds.)*

**Carthan . . . Continued from page 9**

posing aldermen and who was taking over city hall at gunpoint from the black chief of police.

Though Carthan filed charges against Andrews, only the assault charges against Carthan and his men were bound over to the grand jury by the judge, who happened to be Andrews' sister-in-law. It was actually the testimony of James Harris, a black off-duty officer whom Andrews had ordered to come down to city hall, that was used to convict the Tchula 7. Carthan's defense claimed that Harris was hiding out in a back room during the scuffle and that when he was discovered, Carthan's men ordered him to go home. Black-on-black crime and political rivalry has been the recurring charge by whites throughout this series of events. In a black-majority area, where real power remains in white hands, it has become a convenient way of hiding the institutional levers of racism.

After several other racially biased court and political maneuvers, which included Judge Webb Franklin's refusal to instruct the jury that Carthan was acting lawfully as mayor when he attempted to disarm and arrest Andrews, Carthan and the six town officials were convicted, and the mayor was sentenced to three years in the state penitentiary. In the Tchula town election which followed Carthan's ouster from office, the town's administration became white once more.

In what supporters believe was a second frame-up, Eddie Carthan was convicted in October 1981 of "giving false information to a federally insured bank." The testimony convicting him came from two admitted swindlers, who claimed that Eddie had given them permission to sign his name in a fake delivery receipt which they used as collateral to obtain a loan from a bank. In spite of conflicting and continually

changing testimony by the two men, Carthan was sentenced to an additional three years in a federal prison. In exchange for their testimony, the forgers were given lighter sentences than the mayor.

In April 1982, Eddie James Carthan, by then driven from office, labeled by the courts and press as a "habitual criminal," his business in ruins, was charged with "capital murder, armed robbery and conspiracy to rob a Tchula bank." The charges stemmed from the robbery-murder of Roosevelt Granderson in June 1981, one of the black aldermen who had sided with the white power structure in opposing Carthan's administration. In October 1982, after one of the longest, most costly, and certainly most dramatic trials in Mississippi's history, Carthan was acquitted by an all-black jury. Because of the excellent work done by the legal defense team and local supporters in preparing for the jury selection process, the defense was able to get the second all-black jury in the history of that area. In the process, they discovered that the jury rolls had been rigged by white officials for years, in order to insure that every jury that tries a black person has influential whites on it who can determine the jury's verdict.

The state's key witnesses, two self-confessed murderers, one of whom admitted in court that he had sold the murder victim \$30,000 worth of pure cocaine, were given greatly reduced sentences in exchange for their testimony that Carthan had hired them to kill his "political rival." But the state of Mississippi had no case. The testimony of the two admitted killers was so preposterous that, according to Carthan's legal team, they wouldn't have been able to get an indictment in any other state in the nation.

The state of Mississippi was apparently willing to go to extraordinary lengths — including suborning perjury — to

transform what was obviously a killing over drugs into a case of alleged political revenge. Since the acquittal, nothing has been done by the state to investigate the real motive for the murder, in spite of repeated requests to Governor William Winter to look into the drug connection. On the contrary, the murderers were let off with extremely lenient sentences in exchange for their testimony.

The state of Mississippi subsequently denied bail to Carthan and sent him, in shackles and chains, to serve his three year sentence on the simple assault charge at Parchman State Prison, notoriously known as "Hell." In spite of the fact that two black jurors who served on the assault case wrote to the governor to say that they had been "tricked and misled" by the white judge and jury foreman into a guilty verdict, the governor has refused to review the charges.

Recently, Governor Winter has been heralded in the national press as a great "liberal," for pushing through a public education bill 50 years after every other state in the nation had passed such laws. There is talk of his running as a vice presidential candidate for the Democrats in the next national election. Anxious to wash his hands of the politically sensitive Carthan affair, the governor finally suspended Carthan's three-year sentence for assault seven months after he had begun serving it. The suspension was the result of tremendous political pressure from around the country.

Immediately after he was suspended on the state charge, Carthan was taken by federal authorities to begin serving his next three-year sentence for fraud. Carthan's supporters believe there is collusion between federal and state authorities to keep Carthan behind bars as long as possible. Former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark is handling

the appeal of his cases to the U.S. Supreme Court.

To the whites of Mississippi, who control the political, economic, judicial and police systems, Eddie James Carthan is a young man who tried to go too far too fast and got caught in his own corruption and ineptitude. But to his supporters around the country — who include poor black Mississippians, veteran civil rights organizers, black and white activists in church-related social justice networks, left political parties and organizations, some prominent black entertainers, politicians and intellectuals, Eddie Carthan is a prophet, crying in the wilderness. In the view of a group of New York area clergy who visited him in prison in February, Eddie Carthan “was made a political prisoner through the structures of injustice at the local, state, and federal levels of govern-

ment.” Amnesty International sent an observer to his murder trial in October and is considering his case as a possible “prisoner of conscience.”

“Carthan is not an isolated case,” said Mississippi state senator Henry Kirksey, the “dean” of Mississippi’s black legislative caucus. “For every Eddie Carthan, I can count 100 others.” Indeed, those who have studied this case have begun to find a widespread pattern of harassment and intimidation of black elected officials around the country through the political use of the courts and judicial system.

In his closing arguments to the jury in the murder trial, Carthan’s lawyer told the story of Jesus’ arrest and crucifixion between two thieves. “Jesus was destroyed,” he said, “not because he was riding around on a donkey, but because

he was talking about new things, and people were following him, and he was scaring the Roman authorities who were jealous and wanted to get him out of the way . . . If it happened to the greatest man that we know, cannot it happen to mortals like us, and did not it happen to Eddie Carthan?” To a jury of poor black people, steeped through the preaching of the black church in the Gospel narratives, such an analogy was not lost. It was reported that there was not a dry eye in the courtroom packed with 200 of the mayor’s followers on the closing day.

No longer needed as a source of cheap, unskilled labor in an increasingly automated economy, America’s black underclass is becoming restive. It is people like Eddie Carthan, who offer hope to the black and poor, that give the folks in power nightmares. ■



The Rev. Nina Alazraqui, left, presents the stole to Nilda Anaya during the ordination rite in Puerto Rico.

## Puerto Rican Woman Ordained on Pentecost

Pentecost, 1983 marked the day of ordination, in Puerto Rico, of the Rev. Nilda Anaya, the first Hispanic woman priest outside the continental United States.

About 500 people, including members of the international press corps and Puerto Rican TV, assembled in the stadium at Ponce, converted into a church for the occasion. The Rt. Rev. Francisco Reus-Froylan, Bishop of Puerto Rico, presided. Preacher for the event was the Rev. Nina Olmedo Alazraqui, Director of Centro Hispanico, Brentwood, Cal., the first Hispanic woman to be ordained.

The Rev. Anaya is presently enrolled at General Seminary in New York, pursuing graduate studies in spiritual direction, and eventually plans to open a Retreat House in her native Puerto Rico.



# View from a Gay Person's

I knew that Dad might not live for me to see him again as I got off the bus after the 26-hour journey and caught the cab in 105-degree heat to drive to the nursing home. Mother had died five months earlier after their first 12 days in this place. The three of us had always been very close.

Even through his immense pain, Dad rallied again and again to enjoy our reunion. When I went for the last time, I held his hand to say, "Dad, I know that I have not been the son you wanted, but I love you very, very much." (Who would ever really choose a son whose very identity as a gay person would put the parent through the scornful hoops our church and society routinely require? — so I reasoned, in my heart of hearts.)

Dad took about three minutes as he insisted on pulling himself up to the rail of his bed.

"Louie, you are very wrong. You are the son I wanted! I love you very much."

In scores of ways, the church still insists that my God loves less completely than my biological parent, who died three weeks later.

Wayne Olson, UCC chaplain to campuses in Indianapolis, recently analyzed every major denomination's statements on homosexuality. All, he reported, managed to say "no" by pretending to say "yes." Liberal groups such as UCC, the Unitarians, and the Episcopal Church differ from the more conservative and evangelical mainly in the liberals' relative lack of candor.

---

**Louie Crew**, an essayist and poet, has authored more than 400 published works. He is founder of Integrity, a national organization of gay Episcopalians.

## Homosexuals and the Churches

The forthcoming vote by the National Council of Churches on whether to accept the Metropolitan Community Churches into its membership makes the accompanying article by Louie Crew especially timely. The MCC was founded in 1968 "to meet the need for ministry to a largely forgotten, ignored and despised minority, homosexuals." Its members claim that MCC faithfully meets the requirements for membership set forth in the NCC constitution and by-laws.

As the title of Crew's article indicates, many mainline churches have settled into a "pew-sitters only" posture as regards gay men and lesbian women. And the *Chicago Sun-Times* reported recently that "the Orthodox and black denominations are likely to be joined by the Lutheran Church in America and the Episcopal Church, among others, in opposing the membership" of the MCC when the vote is taken by the NCC in November.

THE WITNESS, then, presents the following article at a time when openness and understanding are paramount as gay men and lesbian women struggle for their rights — not only in U.S. society, but in the very churches committed to justice issues.

Rejection is constant, even where masked.

Lesbians and gay men are but one of many of the sexual challenges to the church. With few exceptions, church leaders have retreated from most important sexual issues of our time: overpopulation, family and nurture in America, divorce, nontraditional households, and those who live alone.

It is surely no accident that the soaps, those clear measures of the national 8th-grade mentality, frequently stereotype the person with the funny collar as a sexual dummy out of touch with people in our natural settings. It is no accident that the clergy continue to erode their moral authority when they speak gobbledegook if they speak at all about sexual matters.

In the Episcopal Church, religious word-wizardry is an art form. In early 1976 several of us who are gay advised a commission of General Convention to affirm that lesbians and gays are "Children of God" and are "entitled to the full pastoral love and concern of the church." General Convention passed that wording. I felt a bit silly, as if we had asked the church to ratify Calvary — surely not the right way round. I was naive. I did not recognize how perversely the church interprets *ministry*.

Now, afterwards, many who approved this wording still react to lesbians and gays as though we are the scum of our parishes. An atheist colleague helpfully explains, "Oh,

# Pew

by Louie Crew

Louie, that's the way the religious always do it. India recently outlawed naming anyone 'untouchable.' The religious have no problem. They simply call the same people 'Children of God.' That way they can treat them in the same old way."

Call me "scum" if that is the way that you treat me, please.

*Ministry* is bleaker magic still. About four years ago I started rigorously replacing the word *organization* with the word *ministry* whenever I referred to our movement. Ministry properly stresses the religious character of our work in ways that the secular term *organization* ignores — so I reasoned. "[Ministry] is a buzz word, of course," explains a gay priest friend of mine, "but one which the church understands, so we use it for politic reasons."

Such reasons are not good enough. We thereby play into some of the less affirming ways that *ministry* plays better in most rectories and dioceses. The patriarchy prepares people to minister without sacrificing in any way their sense of superiority. Furthermore, ministry lacks the sting, the confrontation implicit in *organization*. The Rev. Anne Garrison stresses most forcefully, "The pastoral approach to the disturbed homosexual is a cop-out in the face of structural and systemic injustice to gays."

Lesbians and gays soon learn how easy it is for a rector or a bishop to allow us to meet in some ecclesiastical basement. We then become beholden to the donor, who can ask us to let up on the more substantial demands of the Gospel.

One bishop is now contemplating giving a sizeable sum to a group of gay

Christians so that they can design and administer a program he wants for the street hustlers in his city. This same bishop adamantly refuses even to discuss the problems of the gay clergy and seminarians in his diocese. Certainly the hustlers need ministry, as do heterosexual prostitutes, but heterosexual Christians would rightly protest that ministry to their prostitutes alone does not fulfill the church's minimal obligations to heterosexual Christians.

We lesbians and gays operate under tremendous pressure to play according to the rules, and the no. 1 rule in most places is that lesbians and gays are clients. Christ, however, would have us prophets — shakers and movers, tellers of the whole truth.

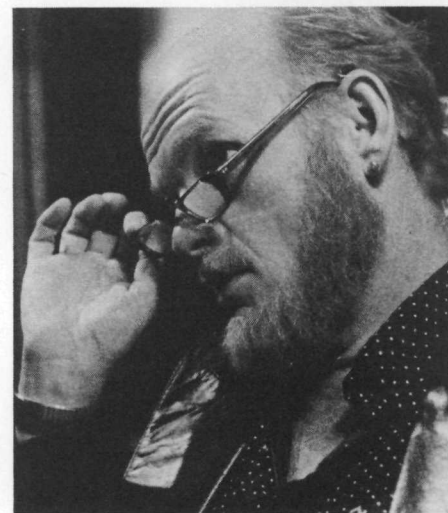
Possibly from my own bad lead, *Integrity's* current stationery now makes no reference to "gay" or "lesbian," but says simply, "an Episcopal ministry," as if we can get some kind of respectability by grabbing onto the church's coattails. *Respectability* and *integrity* in this case are antonyms. Any respectability the Episcopal Church has to offer its sexual outcasts is won at too great a price if we must forfeit Calvary, scene of God's indiscriminate love for everybody. We surely cannot afford in 1983 to become the theology that dares not name its name, however comfortable our silence might make some people.

We need to get on with the agenda that no one really wants to talk about.

The church needs to acknowledge and affirm the lesbians and gays who are clergy and seminarians. Gays require fresh air, the space to affirm God's full love of them. Now the church acts as though God somehow made a mistake in designing gays' body chemistry. The church requires lesbians and gays to lie about who they are if they expect official space to exercise the ministry to which they are called.

I am tired of heterosexual bishops who tell me about unnamed other bishops whom they admit to having seen in late-night gay assignments. When they tell me, they do so as if their gossip is tantamount to affirmation. Gay bishops too need the space in which to be whole, in which to be honest.

Just as important, we must find ways to affirm all lesbians and gays in their struggle to relate to one another. Perhaps with heterosexuals and gays alike, the church should go out of the marriage business altogether, in view of the church's failure to have much positive impact on the marriages which it solemnizes with such great pomp. Maybe we ought to follow Jesus' lead and wish all couples well, even spike their punch as at Cana, but leave the



Louie Crew

real task of marrying where it properly belongs, to the people themselves.

Certainly the church is hypocritical in the extreme with regard to gay relationships. On the one hand, the church condemns us for allegedly not forming stable relationships. On the other, the church strictly forbids us to form such relationships. The ostrich interests us less for its head than for what it so flagrantly leaves to full view.

The truth is that many lesbians and gays, in every town in America, in spite of all kinds of abuse, have affirmed one another in a variety of relationships. Many, many more lesbians and gays have no access to such evidence, since most good relationships are by nature fragile. Many lovers refuse to subject themselves to the hostility which the public readily heaps upon gay couples who declare themselves as such.

Meanwhile, most clergy remain dismally ignorant about our issues, and most Episcopal seminaries have barely budged, if at all, to address that ignorance. The church routinely ordains ministers and counselors who have not done basic homework regarding at least 5 to 10% of the communities whom they will serve. Heterosexuals would not for a moment license priests before they had at least survey courses in family problems, yet 80 to 90% of seminary graduates would be hard put even to identify D. Sherwin Bailey, John McNeill, or John Boswell, much less to summarize their pioneering scholarship regarding homosexuals and the Christian traditions.

We have had three important decades of gay Christian scholarship, but to what avail if those in charge don't read it? Similar pioneering in almost any other theological area would have sent divinity scholars scurrying to the darkest corners of libraries for evidence to corroborate or refute new claims.

Few of our seminaries bother even to take publications by lesbian and gay

Christians, and some seminarians would be hard put to name more than one of the dozen or more special gay and lesbian ministries within Christendom. Very few have bothered to visit such groups. One seminarian admitted to me recently, "You just can't hope to get ahead in the church if you risk messing around with those known to be *queer*."

It is a severe indictment of the church that good old boys like Mike Douglas, Dick Cavatt, David Susskind, and Phil Donohue do more in any one month to confront Christians with the sexual issues of the 20th century than church leaders have done in eight decades.

The church is thus a dangerous place for lesbians and gays unless we want to violate our integrity by denying our sexuality. Too many of us join and become a part of the problem, assuming that the Gospel really is about respectability. We gays have given tons of stained glass and enough organ pipe to circle the globe at least twice; yet we can't say, "Tell the truth!" I believe that we are fooling ourselves if we think people will change without our telling who we are and what we need.

Gays and lesbians who go near the established church must be fully grounded in God's prior affirmation of us. We must go to minister, not to be ministered to. Those of us who need to lick our wounds, need to do so in safer hospices which we must create for ourselves.

On a very rare occasion, an Anglican prelate, Bishop Barry Valentine, came one Sunday night in 1981 to a cocktail party the local Gay Academic Union gave when I visited the University of Manitoba. Bishop Valentine was one of only two "certified" straight people at the large gathering. After the munch circuit, he took me aside: "Louie," he said, "I understand that you have agreed to speak to a conference of my clergy tomorrow morning. I have let all know

that I will be there too, because I want them to see that I believe this issue is important. Let me suggest to you some things, based on who will be there. Mainly there will be three groups: first, those who already agree with you but want to know what to do; second, those who will never agree with you, but still need to minister to the gays within their midst; and finally, those who haven't made up their minds, but still need to stop delaying their ministry."

That is an overseer, a real bishop speaking. I can count on my fingers the number of such bishops I know, almost with a hand left over.

Lesbians and gays can teach much about risking for the sake of the good news that God loves everybody. Because we have so little to gain from further deception once we declare who we are, lesbians and gays should be able to help enormously as heterosexuals examine their exclusive problems with child-abuse and wife-abuse. I believe that it is no accident that lesbians and gays have all along gravitated in large numbers into the service professions, as teachers, social workers, psychologists, priests, and other ministers.

Gays and lesbians have much to give to revitalize corporate worship and liturgy. Our services have the intensity of the catacombs. We live the paradox that one is happy when persecuted. Gospel glee has always been the special province of the scandalous, from Mary Magdalen who washed Jesus' feet, to the dying thief on the next cross, right down to the next older gay to genuflect — an unending line of outcasts reclaimed.

Most important, gay males and lesbians can give to the church new models of courage, not those of the Church Militant with Christian soldiers marching as to war, but the model of the town sissy or the town dyke with more strength than anyone else, the strength to risk being oneself. ■



**Letters . . . Continued from page 2**

the Executive Council, the Church Pension Fund, the General Board of Examining Chaplains, the Trustees of the General Theological Seminary, and the Church Deployment Board. Any member of the church is eligible and nomination forms may be obtained through the chairperson, the Rt. Rev. Donald James Parsons, Diocese of Quincy, 3601 N. North St., Peoria, Ill. 61604, or any member of the Nominating Committee.

Deadline for nominations is Nov. 1, 1984.

Members of the committee in addition to Bishop Parsons are the Rt. Rev. John Forsythe Ashby, Bishop of Western Kansas; the Rt. Rev. Emerson Paul Haynes, Bishop of Southwestern Florida; the Rev. Christian Hovde, Chicago; the Very Rev. Donald McPhail, Denver; the Rev. Jesse F. Anderson, Washington, D.C., and the following laypersons: Charity Weymouth, Diocese of Maine; Ralph Spence, Texas; Harry Griffiths, Central Florida; George Lockwood, El Camino Real; George Browne, New York, and Marie Evans, Virgin Islands.

Your courtesy in publishing this information is appreciated.

**The Very Rev. Donald S. McPhail**  
Denver, Colo.

**Editorial . . . Continued from page 3**

conscience, who are seeking ways to resolve world conflicts through nonviolent means, and ways to invest our wealth and energy in peace.

— upon the American public to turn the arms race into a "peace race," utilizing the existent and evolving movements in the United States as its foundation.

And regarding *freedom*, the Coalition calls:

— upon the American people to renew their commitment to the cause of human rights and to resist the rising tide of extremism reflected in the rebirth of bombings and increased brutalities by the Ku Klux Klan, neo-Nazi groups, and in some places by the enforcement agencies.

— for vigorous work to defeat anti-civil rights legislation and to reverse recent government trends

**CREDITS**

Cover, Beth Seka; graphics pp. 4, 6, Johanna Vogelsgang; photo p. 9, *Southern Advocate*; photo p. 15 courtesy Nina Olmedo Alazraqui; photo p. 17, Dave Engel.

**Seek Nominations for M. L. King Award**

Nominations are being sought for the sixth annual Martin Luther King, Jr. Award which will be presented in January, 1984, to a person or group who is making a significant contribution to the nonviolent struggle for a peaceful and just society.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation originated the Award in 1979 to recognize unheralded persons who are working in the tradition of Martin Luther King, Jr. and to address the concern that although King is revered as a national hero, the radical nature of his understanding and practice of nonviolence is often overlooked. The Award is presented at a

celebration near the home of the honoree.

Nominations should be submitted in the form of a typed letter, at least one but not more than four pages in length, describing the work for which the person or group is being nominated. Supporting material (i.e. newspaper clips, writings by the nominee) may also be included, but should not exceed three pages.

Please limit nominations to persons/groups in the U.S. only. Send nominations to Marci Ameluxen, FOR, P.O. Box 271, Nyack, N.Y. 10960, by Oct. 1.

which have sought to roll back and weaken the enforcement of civil rights laws and policies.

— upon the nation to work for full and equal rights for women and to secure legal and economic equity for women in the workforce.

— for implementation of domestic and foreign policies that reflect the best values of the American people by promoting respect for and protection of human rights.

— for the end of repression of every sort, whether it be the economic, social and cultural rights that are denied, or civil and political rights that are abridged.

Finally, the Coalition supports the struggle of workers to organize in free trade unions and "opposes corporate America's partnership with the racist apartheid regime in South Africa." It also "opposes the militarization of internal conflicts, often abetted and even encouraged by massive U.S. arms exports in areas of the world such as the Middle East and Central America, while their basic human problems are neglected." Further, the Coalition "urges the U.S. government to eliminate its ideological and racial biases in our nation's refugee and asylum policies and practices."

This comprehensive list of rallying points summarizes most themes around which THE WITNESS has published since its rebirth in 1974. As our 10th anniversary year approaches, we are privileged to endorse the goals of the New Coalition and urge our readers to join the march, if they possibly can. We pray that Martin Luther King's dream may yet come true — with our collective efforts united toward its fulfillment.

(M.L.S. and the editors)

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company  
P.O. Box 359  
Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002  
Address Correction Requested

NONPROFIT ORG.  
U.S. POSTAGE  
PAID  
North Wales, Pa.  
Permit No. 121

# COLLECTIVE EDIFICATION

-at bargain rates!



Yes, edify, stimulate, inform the leaven groups in your parish . . . Provoke discussion . . . Give focus to conscience and concern . . .

Christians have a need to reflect and talk together about what the Gospel demands of them in a changing church, a troubled society and world . . . just as much as they have a need to pray and worship together. Living faith **and** reasoned inquiry lead to response and action. We invite you and others in your parish to use THE WITNESS as a **group resource** for the examination of burning social issues, as a marker on the path to response and action.

Put THE WITNESS into the hands of vestry members, widening their scope of concern to include a

suffering world as well as an ailing heating plant. Make THE WITNESS a monthly stimulus for discussion or prayer groups and help their caring to be more specific and informed.

And we'll make it easy. THE WITNESS is a bargain at the individual subscription rate — but **in quantify subscriptions** it's even more so.

Bulk subscriptions are easy to arrange. Just call us — collect if you wish — at (215) 643-7067, or check the bulk inquiry box on the reply card enclosed in the magazine, or write THE WITNESS, P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002.

# THE VOL. 66 NO. 9 SEPTEMBER 1983 WITNESS

MEXICO

BELIZE

GUATEMALA

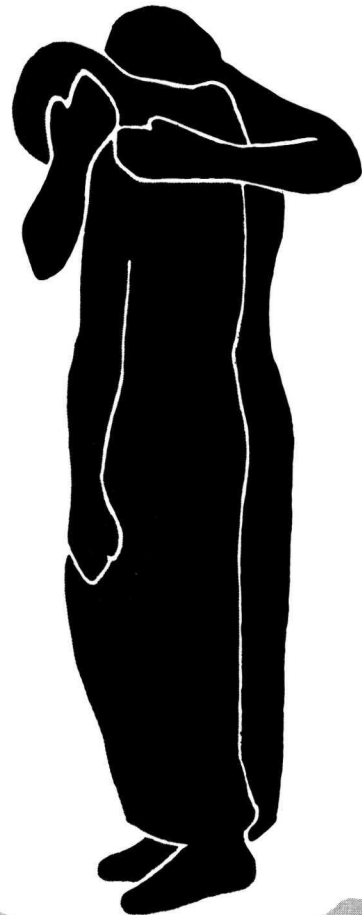
HONDURAS

EL SALVADOR

NICARAGUA

COSTA RICA

PANAMA



## **Ronald Reagan: Missionary to Central America?**

- David Ross
- Gary MacEoin
- Richard Gillett

## **Alice in Blunderland** Judith Myrick



# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

## Ground Zero Misguided

The "Death Train" article in the July WITNESS is well-written, and misguided.

Its facts are unquestionable. Military shipments in bulk extend back at least as far as World War II in the U.S. What happens when war materials explode is also certain. In one Michigan incident in 1943, when a time bomb was suspected inside a boxcar full of unfused bombs, eight city blocks were cleared and cordoned off while this false alarm was checked.

The sad thing about such shipments is that when the decision is made to build weapons, and when the money is found to make them, these shipments will go on despite trouble in one medium or another. For example, the majority of the uranium which made the first U.S. atomic bombs was mined far inside Canada, taken by rail on "The A-Bomb Express" to an obscure Pacific port, flown to the state of Washington, and there conjoined with raw materials rail-borne and airlifted from such places as Oak Ridge and the heavy water plant at Pt. Hope, Ontario. Ultimately, Los Alamos received its material by rail and truck. Had there been any block in the transport network, the Roosevelt administrators would unhesitatingly switch routes and/or the medium.

I do not wish to demean the intent of Ground Zero, but when push comes to shove the surest and most lasting way to end the "Death Train," Trident, and all it represents is to choke it down through grass-roots action. That is, state-by-state political opposition, and Congressional pressures, be these by manipulation of your present legislators or by

election of those who will justly represent you. While I know such action will not be easily attained, there is still hope.

David Jones  
Okemos, Mich.

## Douglass Responds

Some of the people who do the legislative organizing against nuclear weapons which David Jones cites as his hope engage also in nonviolent direct action along the tracks on which the weapons are shipped. As long as legislators continue to vote for nuclear weapons appropriations, we have a personal responsibility to noncooperate with the evil of mass murder as it is carried out through the complicity of our local communities.

While David Jones' approach and the Agape Community's tracks campaign can be seen as complementary rather than mutually exclusive, I believe the evil in our spiritual crisis goes deeper than electoral politics — and may be encouraged by any "manipulation" of our present legislators. What President Eisenhower identified as the military-industrial complex has the same tena-

cious characteristic in each of us and in our society as St. Paul's principalities and powers.

Standing in witness along the railroad tracks on which the embodiment of our evil is transported or kneeling on those tracks as an acceptance of the cross is a beginning expression of faith in the liberating power of Agape.

Since the July issue of WITNESS was published, we have learned that the Nuclear Train travels also to the Charleston Naval Weapons Station (taking Trident I nuclear warheads to be backfitted on Poseidon submarines) on tracks leading through Springfield, Mo.; Jonesboro, Ark.; Amory, Miss., Memphis, Birmingham, and Atlanta. We invite WITNESS readers in these communities and in those identified in the July issue's map to join in the work of the Agape Community by contacting us at Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action, 16159 Clear Creek Rd. N.W., Paulsbo, WA 98370.

Jim Douglass  
Silverdale, Wash.

*(More letters p. 19)*

## ECPC Seeks Applicants For New Executive Post

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company is initiating a search for the newly created post of Executive Director, according to the Rt. Rev. H. Coleman McGehee, Jr., Episcopal Bishop of Michigan and ECPC Chair.

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company publishes THE WITNESS magazine, a monthly journal addressing the social justice issues of racism, sexism, classism and imperialism. Church and Society, a project of ECPC, undertakes to engage the church ecumenically in theological reflection and action around these issues.

THE WITNESS, in existence since 1917, has functioned in a role that some call "the social conscience" of

the Episcopal Church. In 1974, the Church and Society program was added. Over the past decade, ECPC has also published three study/action guides on contemporary Christian social issues, totalling press runs of 25,000.

Names of possible candidates for the new executive post are being sought through Episcopal and ecumenical organizations and publications, Ms. Mattie Hopkins, chair of the search committee, reported.

Details concerning application procedures and job description are available from Ms. Hopkins at 700 Scranton National Bank Building, Scranton, PA 18503.

## THE WITNESS

---

EDITOR  
**Mary Lou Suhor**

---

SENIOR CONTRIBUTING EDITOR  
**Robert L. DeWitt**

---

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS  
**Richard W. Gillett**  
**Hugh C. White**

---

STAFF  
**Ann Hunter**  
**Bonnie Pierce-Spady**  
**Susan Small**  
**Lisa Whelan**

---

PUBLISHER  
**Episcopal Church Publishing Company**

---

### ECPC BOARD OF DIRECTORS

CHAIR  
**H. Coleman McGehee**

VICE-CHAIR  
**Barbara Harris**

SECRETARY  
**Helen Seager**

TREASURER  
**Robert Potter**

ASSISTANT TREASURER  
**Robert Eckersley**

**Otis Charles**  
**Robert L. DeWitt**  
**Steven Guerra**  
**Mattie Hopkins**  
**Joan Howarth**  
**James Lewis**  
**Joseph A. Pelham**

---

THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215) 643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. Copyright 1983 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.

# THE WITNESS

---

## Editorial

# U.S. Policy Bankrupt In Central America

With each passing month, the bankruptcy of U.S. policy in Central America is becoming progressively more visible to the American public. President Reagan's appointment of former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to head a bipartisan national commission to recommend policy options is an indirect admission of that failure. As well, it is a re-elect strategy to make the President look as if he is serious about peace in Central America.

Church people should not be fooled by the latest Reagan move. Dr. Kissinger is hardly an advocate of the rights of Third World peoples in general, much less those of Latin Americans. As Joseph Eldridge of the Washington Office on Latin America put it, Kissinger "humbled himself only twice to visit Latin America for any reason," while Secretary of State. His major initiative toward Latin America was the destabilization of Chile in 1973 by the use of the CIA.

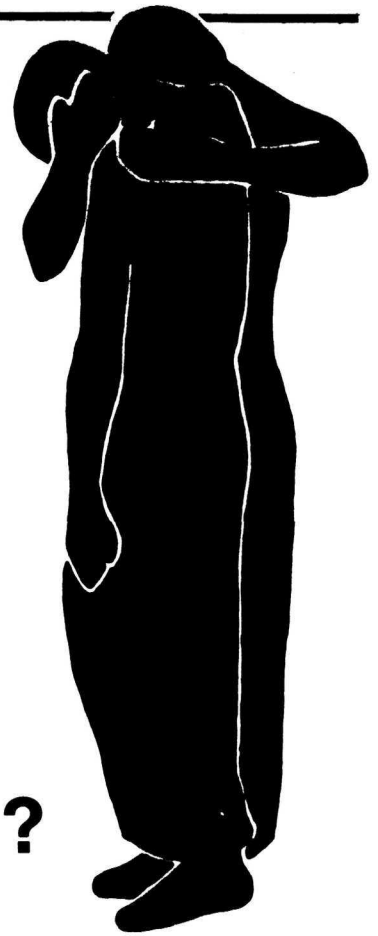
This appointment was topped a week later by the deployment of

4000 troops and a 20-ship naval task force off Central America for war exercises, thus drawing an even more excruciating parallel with the Vietnam experience of escalation.

As in the disarmament issue, the presence, power and voice of Christian leadership has been evident in Central America, supporting life, dignity, and the masses of people for a future free from violence and death. In Central America this Christian witness had much of its roots in the "comunidades de base" (base communities) which began to form in the late 1960s and early '70s. Out of this germination of the Spirit came the persuasive voice which ultimately convinced the martyred Archbishop Oscar Romero to become an advocate for the poor of his country.

Christians of conscience should not forget this history nor cease to give thanks for the extraordinary witness provided by the church in Central America. It has begun to persuade a segment of public

*Continued on page 7*



---

# Ronald Reagan: Missionary to the Caribbean?

by David F. Ross

Ever since U.S. missionaries began to undertake the evangelization of “the heathen” in foreign lands early in the 19th century, most have demonstrated an inability to distinguish between the Gospel of Jesus and the American way of life. Baptism in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost was commonly reserved for those who were willing to abandon not only their traditional

beliefs but also their traditional dress, diet, names, form of marriage, and means of subsistence. Even in the earliest colonial times, when native Americans constituted the only “foreign” mission field for Christian outreach, converted Indians were required to live in villages as settled agriculturists rather than being allowed to find in the lifestyle of their new-found savior, a confirmation of their own nomadic way of life.

The image of America as the new Israel, populated by God’s chosen people — rescued from the repression of the old world — was too tempting not to be incorporated into the mythology of the new nation; it served well the needs of those who coveted lands still held by

the Canaanite Indians or the Philistine Mexicans. By the mid-19th century, the myth had become Manifest Destiny: America was God’s country, anointed to proselytize the world. Since God was on our side, it followed (*Isaiah 55:8* to the contrary notwithstanding) that our ways were God’s ways. If the Bible did not specifically condemn eating with the fingers, going about with breasts exposed, or recognizing communal property rights, such matters were adequately provided for in the natural revelation that had been made to the elect.

Increasing numbers of Christian missionaries in the modern age reject this identification of American values with divine truth. Powerful concepts tend to take on lives of their own,

---

**The Rev. David Ross** is associate professor of economics at the University of Kentucky. An Episcopalian priest, he is author of the newly published book, *Gandhian Economics: Sources, Substances and Legacy* (Prasad Publications, Bangalore).



however, and to outlive their rationales. But even in the McKinley era, few were as explicit as Ronald Reagan in identifying things American and non-American as respectively good and evil; few since that era have been as zealous to spread the Gospel of Americanism to Central America and the Caribbean Islands.

Reagan's Caribbean Basin initiative (C.B.I.), has been referred to with gross inaccuracy as a "mini-Marshall Plan." The Marshall Plan was the first of a long series of efforts by the United States to limit the spread of communism by alleviating the economic distress which American policymakers have perceived as providing a favorable culture for the propagation of Marxist doctrine. It was also by far the most successful of this large family of foreign economic aid programs, and radically different from the rest in its approach.

What George Marshall offered to the devastated nations of Europe in 1948 has never been offered to the nations of Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, or any other region of the world, and is not now being offered to the nations of the Caribbean Basin. Marshall told Europe, first, to get together — to forget the animosities, grudges, language barriers, religious conflicts, boundary disputes, and dynastic squabbles that had kept them at each other's throats for centuries. We will not, he said in effect, enter into separate agreements with the Danes, the Dutch, the French, the Germans, the Belgians, and so on, but we will deal generously with a united Europe. He then advised this united Europe to devise a plan for its recovery: what needs to be done, what it will cost to do it, and what European resources are available to meet that cost.

He did not tell the Europeans what the plan should contain, what sort of economic system they should seek to build upon the rubble of the old, or what economic means they should

employ in the pursuit of that end. The plan was to be a European plan — the U.S. contribution would be only to fill the gap between its projected cost and the locally available resources.

Far-sighted Central Americans and Caribbean islanders have long dreamed of combining their resources and markets to achieve greater economic potential. Central American federations, West Indian federations, common markets, and other devices to bring together groups of these miniature nations into economic units of viable size have been

---

*"Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative has been referred to with gross inaccuracy as a 'mini-Marshall Plan.' What George Marshall offered to the devastated nations of Europe in 1948 has never been offered to the nations of Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, or any other region of the world, and is not now being offered to the nations of the Caribbean basin."*

---

proposed with monotonous regularity and even occasionally attempted. These movements have never received any material encouragement from the United States.

We sought the formation of a European community in 1948 because it was feared that a divided Europe would be subject to the domination of the Soviet Union; we have opposed unification movements in the Americas for the same reason — because divided nations are more readily dominated by the nearest major power, in this case, ourselves.

This time-honored principle of *divide*

*et impera* has never been more openly expressed than in Reagan's C.B.I. proposal. Direct economic assistance in the form of grants and loans are to be negotiated and administered bilaterally, as has been true of all U.S. economic aid since the Marshall Plan except for what we have grudgingly provided through the World Bank and regional development banks. The tariff concessions and tax incentives for investment would also be awarded on a country-by-country basis. Even more than at present, Jamaica would be compelled to compete against Trinidad, Haiti against the Dominican Republic, and Honduras against Guatemala, for the privilege of drawing from the copious but jealously guarded yanqui coffers.

That people in less-developed countries might have sensible ideas of their own about how their economies should be developed, much less the competence to implement them, may never have occurred to the architects of post-Marshall Plan assistance programs. Europe was another case altogether. Europe was the fount of Western wisdom — our teacher in these matters, now fallen on hard times, perhaps, but still worthy of respect. It would have been presumptuous of Marshall to tell Europe what was good for her.

To be eligible for Reagan's C.B.I. assistance, nations must, on the other hand, have the intent to pursue goals in particular ways. This is a program strictly for those willing to commit themselves to what Reagan considers an American development pattern, and ingenuously believes to be a part of the common heritage of the Western Hemisphere. It is a pattern predicated on "the magic of the marketplace," "vigorous participation in the international economy," "private entrepreneurship," and "the active participation of the [U.S.] business community."

Private capital — local if possible,

but particularly from the United States — would develop industries to produce goods for export to the United States. In this way, Reagan says, we “can develop what is undeveloped, can eliminate want and poverty, can show the world that our many nations can live in peace, each with its own customs and language and culture but sharing a love for freedom and a determination to resist outside ideologies that would take us back to colonialism.”

The development of export industries depends upon comparative advantage — some element of production cost must be lower, compared to other costs, in the exporting than in the importing country. Apart from those natural products which have long been exploited by foreign capital for export without bringing prosperity to the Caribbean nations, the area’s only comparative advantage vis-a-vis the United States is in labor-intensive industries. Some of these have already been developed in portions of the region — Haiti is a grim case — but this kind of development has been restricted by U.S. trade barriers and by the competition of other low-wage areas, especially in the Orient. The most novel feature of the C.B.I. proposal is that it would remove those barriers, not generally, but only for those specific Caribbean countries which passed the Reagan test of purity. Thus Belize and St. Lucia, for example, would be able to compete more effectively in stitching baseballs, winding electrical coils, and killing and stuffing baby chicks for the Easter trade.

But can a nation achieve “economic health” and “self-sustaining growth” on the basis of cheap-labor industries? England sparked its economic growth by exporting textiles to lower-wage India. In the United States, the North achieved phenomenal growth with the highest wage rates in the world by producing for the domestic market,

while the South, with its slave economy, accounted for most of the nation’s exports and failed to develop. History apart, pure logic tells us that low wages cannot produce high incomes except for the few who employ the labor — and under the Reagan plan, those few would be mainly foreigners.

No doubt, labor-intensive export industries can transform an economy. They transform it, however, not into a healthy, self-sustaining, growing economy, but into a dependency. Once the urban labor force to develop the new industries has come into existence, the nation cannot survive economically without the continuation of those industries. It cannot afford to allow the labor force to develop power to bargain effectively for higher earnings or more favorable, hence more costly, working conditions. If the industries depend upon special arrangements in the importing country, such as tax and tariff concessions, which can be withdrawn as easily as they were granted, the developing country cannot afford to adopt policies which would antagonize the importing country. This is precisely the way to perpetuate want and poverty, to make it impossible to resist outside ideologies, and to take us on to the new colonialism, which confers upon the imperialist all of the power and privilege and none of the responsibility of the old.

The Caribbean Basin Initiative is in essence a proposal to make available to the rest of the Caribbean area all the special arrangements that have previously applied only to Puerto Rico, with the exceptions of unlimited legal migration to the United States and a share of the domestic expenditures of the federal government. This has raised the question in Puerto Rico of whether the island’s economy can survive if it is obliged to share its special access to U.S. product and capital markets with the rest (or much of the rest) of the

Caribbean region.

Reagan has anticipated this question by taking pains to include in the C.B.I. proposal “special measures to insure that [Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands] also will benefit and prosper from the program.” There is a still more basic question, however, which must be asked by the rest of the Caribbean peoples: Do they want for themselves what has happened to Puerto Rico under this kind of arrangement?

Puerto Rico has the highest per capita GNP in the Caribbean, the highest literacy rate, the greatest life expectancy, the lowest infant mortality rate. It has, on a per capita basis and perhaps in the aggregate as well, the most automobiles, TV sets, telephones, flush toilets, electric refrigerators, and miles of paved highway. There is no doubt that by the measures usually employed in a materialistic, capitalistic society, Puerto Rico has obtained certain advantages through her special relationship to the United States. Nevertheless, the unemployment rate continues to range from a reported 20% to a more realistic figure of 40%.

What the unemployment rate might be if Puerto Ricans were not free to move to the U.S. mainland in search of greater economic opportunity defies calculation — the island’s population would be 50% larger if all Puerto Ricans lived there. This safety valve of emigration is not part of the package that Reagan is offering to the rest of the Caribbean area. Indeed, both he and Secretary of State George Shultz have made it clear that one of the purposes of the program is to reduce the present trickle of illegal immigration. Participation in domestic social programs of the federal government has also been a crucial element in Puerto Rico’s survival — a majority of the island’s population, for example, are dependent upon food stamps. Puerto Rican

workers have also received some protection against the most extreme forms of exploitation through their coming at least partially under the provisions of such federal legislation as the Fair Labor Standards Act and the National Labor Relations Act. None of this would be included in the Caribbean Basin Initiative.

Yet despite these advantages, almost 40 years of unprecedented success in attracting U.S. investment through C.B.I.-type incentives has emphatically not given Puerto Rico a self-sufficient economy, much less one displaying the characteristic of self-sustaining growth. On the contrary, it is difficult today to find anything that can be identified as a Puerto Rican economy at all. Virtually every enterprise on the island, apart from those producing services, is linked, not to other elements in the Puerto Rican economy, but to some productive chain beginning and ending on the U.S. mainland.

Puerto Rico is like a total organ donor, all of whose parts are still functioning somewhere, but whose life as a distinct individual no longer exists.

There are those in Puerto Rico who want nothing more than to be absorbed into the mainland economy, although a militant minority of nationalists is unalterably opposed. What Barbados, Panama, and the other objects of this missionary effort must ask themselves, however, is not whether they wish to become parts of the U.S. economy like Puerto Rico, but whether they wish to become parts of the U.S. economy without the more-or-less equal protection of the law that is constitutionally guaranteed to Puerto Ricans as U.S. citizens — second class U.S. citizens at present. There are precedents for this condition which they might ponder.

The economic history of the United States can be viewed as the history of an

effort to find a source of cheap labor in a sparsely populated land. Various groups have passed across the stage, filling this role for a time: indentured servants, African slaves, New England farm girls, Chinese railroad workers, refugees from the Irish famine, and many others. Each in turn has eventually won enough rights to be disqualified, and has been replaced by someone else. Undocumented immigrants, mainly from Mexico, are now going through this process, gaining entitlement to public school enrollment and collective bargaining contracts. It is time to look for their successor, preferably one that will not so soon outgrow the part.

An offer has now been issued to Central America and the Caribbean islands, which appear ideal for the role. They are, as Reagan is fond of pointing out, on our doorstep; yet they are not over the threshold. They are small enough and numerous enough to be easily manipulated. If one or another is so foolish as to assert its independence, it can be left out in the cold — there are plenty of others. The bilateral incentives of the C.B.I. should ensure against their perceiving a common interest.

Another of the less attractive features of the American missionary effort has often been that the converts tend to become the servants rather than the brothers and sisters of the missionaries. Reagan's missionary enterprise in the Caribbean Basin is entirely faithful to this tradition. Whatever the ultimate scenario may be, Reagan's solution ought not to be confused with economic progress — or, from a Christian perspective, with social justice. ■

#### CREDITS

Cover, Beth Seka; p. 10 photo Ardon Alger, courtesy *The Catholic Agitator*; photos pp. 16, 17 "Alice in Blunderland" courtesy LEGACY, Inc.

**Editorial . . . Continued from page 3**

opinion that the struggles there are not "great power" struggles between East and West but struggles of people to gain control over their own lives: to produce their own crops, educate their children and direct their own affairs.

The best witness American Christians can make to this struggle at the moment is three-fold. First: an increase in the "sanctuary" movement, to declare churches as sanctuaries for Salvadoran refugees. This historic Christian hospitality dramatizes the danger of death that such refugees subject themselves to if deported. It also highlights the living lie that the Reagan Administration engages in by deporting such refugees back to El Salvador, in the assertion that such danger to their lives has not been proven.

Second, there is still no substitute for letters and telegrams to congresspersons and senators. The House and Senate Foreign Affairs committees are currently debating fiscal year 1984-85 foreign and military aid bills for Central America. Members of congress need to be told you wish a total military aid ban to all Central American nations and are in favor of a negotiated settlement.

Third, educational efforts, both in study groups, and in carefully organized public demonstrations, need to be redoubled. We recommend particularly as a new study tool "What's Wrong in Central America" by Philip Berryman, produced by the American Friends Service Committee (1501 Cherry Street, Phila., PA 19102), for \$3.

(R.W.G. and the editors)





## Central America in Agony

*The following statement, sharply calling the United States to task for its aggressive role in Central America, was adopted by the World Council of Churches at its sixth assembly in Vancouver in August. Future WITNESS issues will cover other aspects of the WCC assembly, which drew 900 delegates representing 400 million people from all over the world.*

Central America is caught up in an agonizing struggle to recast the foundations of its peoples' life. The struggle of life confronting death is a daily one. The depth of this struggle — political, economic, ideological, social, cultural, spiritual — is of historic proportions. Grounded in a common history of harsh colonialism, of exploitation of the poor and of the concentration of power and wealth, countries in the region are in different ways, under siege.

The current United States administration, acting on its perception of the nation's security, has adopted a policy of military, economic, financial and political initiatives designed to destabilize the Nicaraguan government, redeem the international image of Guatemala's violent dictatorship, resist the forces of historic change in El Salvador, and militarize Honduras in order to insure a base from which to contain the aspirations of the Central American peoples. This policy is publicly articulated as a framework within which objectives of peace, reform, economic development and democracy can be achieved and communism and "export of revolution" prevented.

Indeed the opposite prevails: fear and tensions are heightened; scarce resources needed to meet basic human needs are diverted; the chances of war, potentially devastating to Central America and the Caribbean, escalate; and, in the long term, the legitimate interests and security of the nations and peoples of the American hemisphere are threatened. There can be no security in the region without fidelity to the persistent, yearning struggle of the Central American peoples for peace with justice.

International price declines in the region's key export crops have severely strained the region's economies, further exacerbating political, economic and social tensions. Adding to these economic problems, the United States administration has successfully harnessed international financial institutions to its Central American strategy.

In this context, the churches, endeavoring to respond to the needs of the region's suffering population, are also having to face the divisive effects of an aggressive new wave of mainly U.S.-based and financed religious groups. They are a source of great concern to the churches, which report that these groups appear to be used for political

purposes in legitimizing policies of repression.

Guatemala in the past year has witnessed massacres against civilian non-combatant populations, a large number of extra-judicial executions and the extermination of thousands of people among the Indian population in ways which defy belief. Despite the magnitude of economic, political and military resources provided to the regime by the United States, the El Salvadoran government has demonstrated an inability to curb human rights violations and implement needed reform. The Legal Aid Christian Service, of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of San Salvador, reports that over 2,000 civilians and noncombatants have been executed outside the law during the period running from January to April of this year, by members of the armed forces, by paramilitary organizations and by death squads for political reasons. The policies of the Honduran government threaten the territorial sovereignty of Nicaragua and cause considerable harassment to refugees from El Salvador. Churches report severe human rights violations committed by intelligence and security

forces. Other countries — such as Belize, Costa Rica and Panama — have been the object of pressures brought to bear upon them so as to affect events within Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua.

Refugees, displaced persons and divided families are a powerful testimony to the bloodshed and terror perpetrated on the poorest of the region's people. Approximately 500,000 human beings have been forced to flee their country and one million more have been displaced from their homes in Guatemala alone. El Salvadoran refugees in Honduras and Guatemalan refugees in southern Mexico continue to be vulnerable to incursions by military forces into camps.

In the context of the theme of the Sixth World Council of Churches Assembly, "Jesus Christ, the Life of the world," and given the escalation of aggressive acts against Nicaragua, we lift up our concern for the people of the entire region by drawing attention to the life-affirming achievements of the Nicaraguan peoples and its leadership since 1979. Noteworthy was the decision of the government to abolish the death penalty and to release several thousand members of Somoza's National Guard. In addition, an internationally-acclaimed literacy program, the eradication of poliomyelitis and reduction of malaria, an effective land reform scheme and significant progress in constitutional development preparatory to holding elections in 1985 have helped to give concrete expression to the region's aspirations. The government has demonstrated its openness in acknowledging the inappropriateness of some policies related to the Miskito Indian and other ethnic groups of the Atlantic Coast, and is moving towards reconciliation. It is also important to note that the Nicaraguan process has involved the full participation of Christians, both Roman

Catholic and Protestant, at every level of reconstruction and nation-building.

This life-affirming process is having to confront death on a daily basis. The United States-financed former National Guard, now based in Honduras, have thus far claimed 700 lives, mainly Nicaraguan young people who are members of the volunteer militia. Tensions with Honduras have escalated dangerously. Nicaragua's call for bilateral talks with Honduras have failed. In the interests of peace, Nicaragua has now indicated its willingness to enter multi-lateral talks. However, United States support for the former National Guardsmen continues and the Reagan administration, pleading peace and dialogue, takes steps to assemble weaponry and support troops in Honduras and to deploy naval vessels off both Nicaraguan coasts.

Nicaragua's destabilization is an affront to life and is fully capable of plunging not only the countries of Central America but also those of the Caribbean into deeper suffering and widespread loss of life. It undercuts the legitimate call and struggle of the poor throughout the region for an end to exploitation and for an opportunity to determine their own path on the difficult pilgrimage of those who seek to enjoy life in all its fullness.

The Sixth WCC Assembly affirms the right of Central American peoples to seek and to nourish life in all its dimensions. It therefore:

- Expresses to the Central American churches the profound concern and solidarity of the worldwide ecumenical community, as Christian sisters and brothers experience and respond to the critical threats to life, reiterating its strong commitment to the churches' witness, ministries and presence. It commends the Nicaraguan Christian community for its active participation in the building up of national institutions and reconciliatory processes lead-

ing to peace with justice.

- Vigorously opposes any type of military intervention by the United States, covert or overt, or by any other government, in the Central American region. The Assembly commends the churches in the United States for their prophetic expressions of the condemnation of such intervention, and calls upon them to intensify their efforts to press for a radical change of U.S. policy in the region. It urges member churches in other countries to make strong representations to their governments so as to press the United States administration to reverse its military policies, as a positive step towards the building of peace in the region.

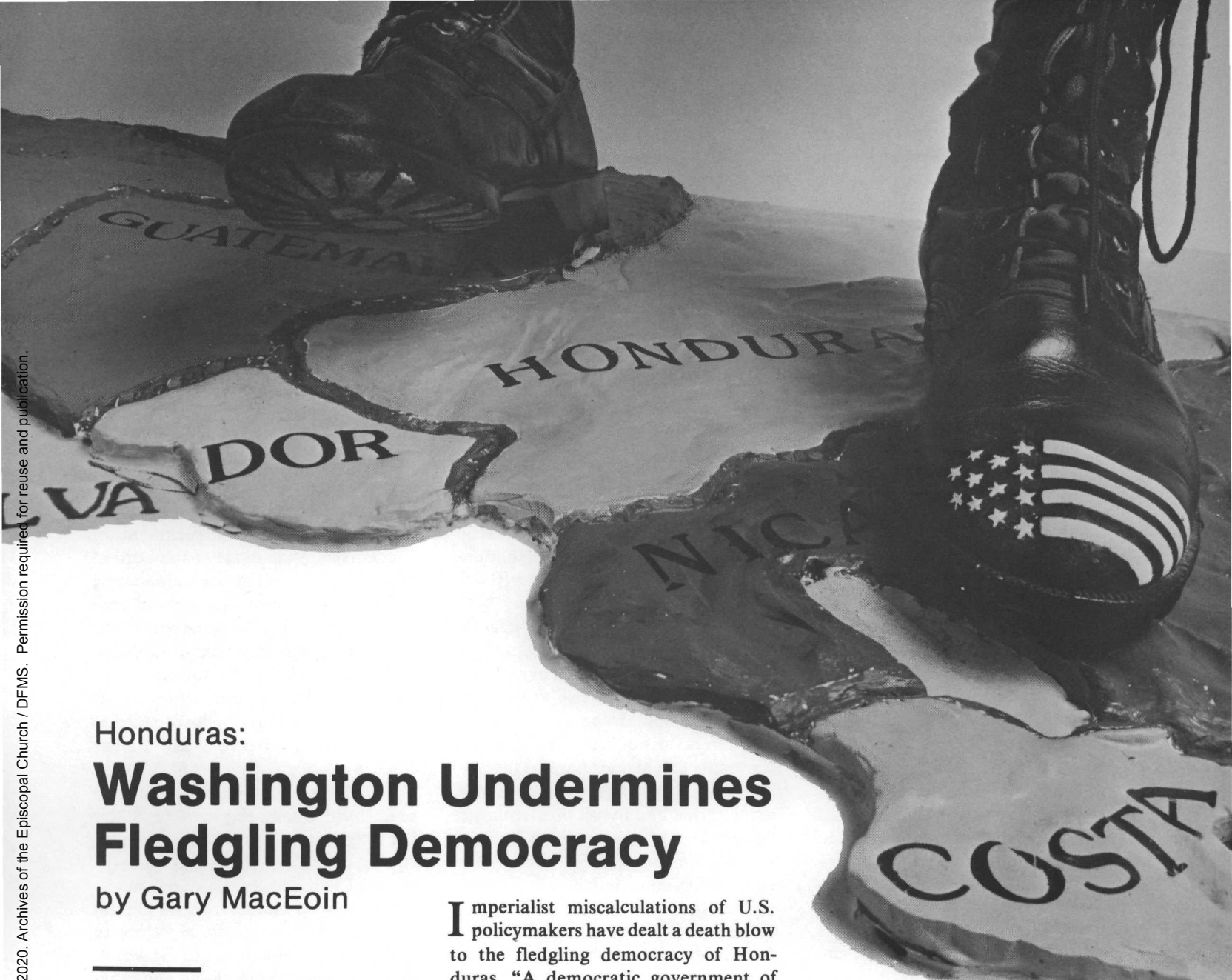
- Calls upon the government of Guatemala, in the name of the Lord of Life, to cease its policy of exterminating the lives of the men, women and children among its indigenous population.

- Urges the government of El Salvador to enter into a fruitful process of dialogue with representatives of its political and military opposition, so as to bring long lasting peace to the country.

- Calls upon the churches and the ecumenical community to throw their full weight into supporting peace initiatives, such as that of the "Contadora" group of Latin American states.

- Encourages the churches in Central America to redouble their efforts to gather and communicate, to the worldwide ecumenical community and other international constituencies, information on the developing critical situation affecting the region, as long as it be necessary.

- Affirms and encourages the process of reconciliation among Nicaraguan minorities and the Spanish speaking majority and urges the Nicaraguan government to maintain its openness and commitment to increasing the sensitivity of its policy and practice in this area. ■



Honduras:

## Washington Undermines Fledgling Democracy

by Gary MacEoin

---

**Gary MacEoin**, a lawyer with advanced study in ancient and modern languages, political science and theology, has published several books on issues of world development and neocolonialism. As a foreign correspondent, he has reported from every country in the Americas, and from Asia, Africa and Europe. A consultant to the Washington Office on Latin America, he has visited Central America seven times since 1980.

Imperialist miscalculations of U.S. policymakers have dealt a death blow to the fledgling democracy of Honduras. "A democratic government of work and honesty" was promised Hondurans by Roberto Suazo Cordova when he replaced a 20-year military regime as elected civilian president last year. He also pledged to deal with unemployment and with military and government corruption. All these promises have gone unfulfilled. Now selection by Washington of Gen. Gustavo Alvarez Martinez to assume the mantle of proconsul, long worn by the Somoza dynasty in Central America, guarantees

an escalation of oppression, misery and bloodshed for the region's poorest country.

Honduras is the banana republic par excellence. From the beginning of the century, its decisions have been made in the boardrooms of United Fruit (now United Brands) and Standard Fruit (now a wholly owned subsidiary of Castle and Cooke). These companies have monopolized its most fertile land.



Second only to Haiti in per capita poverty, it has seen 150 governments in 160 years and spent the 1960s and '70s under military rule.

The career of Gen. Alvarez has sinister parallels with that of Anastasio Somoza who — as the U.S. marines withdrew in 1932 — intrigued his way to control of Nicaragua's armed forces, the power base he used to seize the presidency in 1937.

Alvarez received his military training in Peru, the United States and Argentina. His dominant influence was that of the Argentine generals who, having perfected the art of "disappearing" tens of thousands of political opponents, now seek amnesty for their crimes before turning the ravished country back to civilians. Part of the deal he made in Honduras in 1981 was that any civilian government emerging from the proposed elections would not probe into the misdeeds of the armed forces during the preceding 20 years, and that the military would have veto power over cabinet appointments.

Named chief of the armed forces and promoted to rank of general by President Cordova, Alvarez quickly consolidated his authority. His two major competitors for the top military post, Colonels Humberto Bodden and Leonidas Torres Arias, were assigned to diplomatic exile in Taiwan and Argentina. A constitutional amendment, approved by Congress with a single dissenting vote, substituted him for the president as Commander-in-Chief. Ultimate power was thus transferred, following the Salvadoran precedent, from the president to the armed forces chief.

Ever since the Rockefeller Report of 1969, Washington has been steadfast in its support of military dictators committed to restraining the enthusiasms of what they describe as "an excess of democracy" in Latin America. John D. Negroponte, President Reagan's ap-

pointee as ambassador to Honduras, understood this. He lost no time in identifying with Alvarez whom he recognized as a professional soldier, outspokenly anticommunist, ruthless in repressing advocates of social change, and a vocal opponent of the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua.

Already in the 1970s, the United States was giving considerable aid to the Honduran military. During the decade, for example, it trained 2,259 Honduran military personnel. With Negroponte, military aid was tripled in 1982 to \$31 million, plus a \$13 million runway extension fund as part of an agreement for access by U.S. military aircraft and upgrading of three Honduran airfields.

Although generally regarded as the most professional and least corrupt of Honduran army commanders, Alvarez had ample reason for insuring that there would be no civilian committees of inquiry into his career. Just when Alvarez was engineering the constitutional amendment to place himself above the president, ex-Col. Lesnidas Torres — in exile — released a tape recording of Alvarez giving orders for the "disappearance" of a troublesome student. Torres had packed the files accumulated during his 6-year tenure as G-2 Chief of Intelligence. Alvarez, he charged, suffered from an "extremist psychosis," and was committed to militarizing Honduras and provoking a war with Nicaragua.

Alvarez was no exception to the rule that cultivation of the U.S. banana companies is the key to succeeding in Honduras. During the 1960s the banana companies lowered their profile significantly, but their connections with power was demonstrated dramatically after United Brands chairman Eli Black jumped 44 floors to his death from his New York office in 1975. Subsequent investigations established that United Brands the previous year had reduced its tax liability in Honduras by \$7.5

million in return for a bribe to the Economy Minister of \$1.25 million.

At that time, Alvarez commanded the Fourth Army Battalion stationed in the center of the banana empire. He was also on the payroll of Castle and Cooke, which for 15 years gave him a slice of an \$80,000 annual slush fund maintained by the company. As Donald J. Kirchoff of Castle and Cooke explained to the *Wall Street Journal*, they paid army personnel "much as you would hire an off-duty policeman."

There was, however, a difference. They expected and got services while the military were on duty. Alvarez, for example, earned his honorarium at Las Isletas. This was a collective operating on lands abandoned by Standard Fruit after Hurricane Fifi had destroyed the plantations in 1974. Standard had wanted the government to pay the cost of rehabilitation. The workers did the job without subsidy, producing 43,000 boxes of bananas in 1975, nearly a million in 1976, and four million in 1977.

The success of the collective did not disturb Standard, which actually preferred to leave production risks to others and make its profit as international marketer. It was a different matter, however, when the board of management of the collective not only refused to accept bribes when negotiating the selling price but began to explore export through the marketing structures of the Union of Banana Exporting Countries. Open competition was not Standard's capitalist understanding of the magic of the marketplace.

In February 1977, Alvarez sent in his troops to arrest 200 of the collective's members and to protect a rump group subservient to Standard. A new agreement that quickly followed gave the collective about half as much per box as the other organization would have paid. In addition, the funds of the collective

were milked to grant loans to families of military officers, build homes for them, and pay high salaries to their relatives. The group of peasants who for a moment entertained the illusion that they could break out of the circle of misery were thus taught by Standard and Alvarez the most persistent lesson of Latin American reality: Power yields only to superior power.

If, as is generally agreed, Alvarez is one of the least corrupt of the top echelon of the Honduran armed forces, it takes little imagination to see that the United States is building on sand when it selects this organization as protector of its interests in Central America. It is noteworthy that training by U.S. "advisers" has done nothing to reduce the endemic corruption.

The decision to upgrade the Honduran role has been a gradual one, taken in response to events elsewhere and with total unconcern for its impact on the country. After the overthrow of Somoza in neighboring Nicaragua, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Viron Vaky began to stress the geopolitical centrality of Honduras, running from the Caribbean to the Pacific and separating Nicaragua and Costa Rica to the south from El Salvador and Guatemala to the north.

William Bowdler, Vaky's successor, while proclaiming Honduras to be the keystone to the bridge-building process he envisaged, also introduced the specter of Cuba. Insisting that "Cuba is clearly not the cause of Central America's problems," he warned that it could become the beneficiary. The recognition by Bowdler just three years ago that Central America's conflicts have been triggered by domestic causes should not be forgotten when Reagan and Kirkpatrick scream hysterically about a Soviet-Cuban plot.

Although the level of violence in Honduras is still significantly lower than in El Salvador and Guatemala, the

underlying causes are similar and the progress toward all-out conflict has been observable for more than a decade. The U.S. policy of concentrating power in a technically trained and heavily armed military establishment, while intended to block this development, only accelerates its inevitable arrival and makes it more costly when it comes.

Objectively, living conditions for the overwhelming majority of Hondurans are not only lower than those for any of their neighbors, but they continue to decline as resources are diverted to the armed forces or intercepted by corrupt bureaucrats, politicians and military officers. The economic crisis, a secondary result of the world economic crisis because of the total dependence of Honduras on external trade, is comparable to that of the 1930s. Sixty-six percent of the economically active are without work, and land reform, which might ease somewhat the resulting social pressures, has practically ceased.

External debt is \$1.56 billion and growing each year. This debt is equivalent to \$420 per person in a country where the average per capita income is \$540. Harsh conditions for future borrowing imposed by the International Monetary Fund are making the social situation progressively worse.

Illiteracy is widespread. Infant malnutrition is common. Refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala probably number more than 100,000. International programs keep some of these refugees alive, but most survive because hungry Hondurans share with them, as the poor always share.

Especially in 1983, the repression that has characterized El Salvador and Guatemala is becoming more visible in Honduras: disappearances, torture, political murders, and the discovery of clandestine mass graves. Dr. Ramon Custodio, head of the Human Rights Committee, has recently protested the formation of an ultra-right anticom-

munist business group called APROH (Association for the Progress of Honduras), headed by none other than Commander-in-Chief Alvarez. APROH began two years ago as a secret group headed by Miguel Facusse, one of Honduras' richest businessmen, and Alvarez. It played a key role both in setting the conditions for transfer of the government from open military rule to elected civilians and in formulating the reactionary economic policies that characterize the regime. With an annual campaign fund of \$650,000 from Honduran businessmen, it recently ran a successful campaign to install a reactionary as rector of the National University. It openly supports the Somocistas in their campaign to overthrow the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. For Dr. Custodio it is a major threat to human rights. "It is an exact parallel to a group in Guatemala," he says, "a group that evolved into the *Mano Blanca* ('white hand') death squads."

Another Alvarez-led group operates under a religious umbrella. When Bo Hi Pak, president of CAUSA International, opened its first branch in Honduras in February 1983, Alvarez was chosen as president. CAUSA (Confederation of Associations for Unification of the Americas) is one of many fronts dedicated to the spread of the Unification Church, the Moonies. Its membership is drawn principally from big business and the top echelons of the military. Not surprisingly, its arrival coincides with growing tension between the Roman Catholic Church and the government. Several prominent priests have been exiled, and church workers with the Salvadoran refugees are continually threatened.

Further evidence of growing oppression in Honduras is the disappearance of two student organizations started in 1981 in sympathy with the Salvadoran revolutionary cause and with Salvadoran refugees. A committee of solidar-

Throughout Latin America, a new form of adult education is emerging that promotes active discussion and reflection whereby participants analyze their situation of oppression so that they themselves can change it. One such exercise is the "social tree." By visualizing society as a tree with roots, trunk and branches, participants discover that society is a structure composed of three interrelated levels that work together to maintain the status quo.

#### METHODOLOGY



First a tree is drawn and its functions delineated; roots provide food; the trunk, support; and the branches, respiration. The

participants then relate these functions to society:

**ROOTS:** (economic infrastructure)

How is property distributed (land, factories, banks)?

Who owns what? What are our natural resources? How are they exploited?

What do we import and export? Who benefits? What are our economic relations with other countries?

**TRUNK:** (political structures that sustain economic structures)

Who has political power? How did they get it?

Who makes our laws?

What sort of laws are made? How are they carried out?

What role do other organizations play in society (political parties, trade unions, the church)?

**BRANCHES:** (ideology legitimating political and economic structures)

What values, prejudices, beliefs does our society foster?

What do schools teach? Who benefits from our educational system?

Who controls the mass media? What does it tell us about ourselves and the world?

What are the relationships between men and women, parents and children? How did they come about? What forms of culture and art are available to us?

— *Latinamerica Press* 4/14/83

ity with the people of Nicaragua has similarly gone underground. A peaceful union demonstration in Tegucigalpa in support of social legislation before Congress was broken up by the military in October 1982, with 200 arrests. A statement by the Catholic bishops that same month, which insisted that "the causes of responses by the public security agencies promote a sense of uncertainty that "could end our democracy." And in March 1983 Dr. Custodio of the Human Rights Committee charged that the army was behind "disappearances," the number of which was increasing dramatically.

Following the example of the Argentine mothers of the missing who parade in the Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires, the families of the disappeared began in 1983 to demonstrate outside the National Palace in Tegucigalpa on the first Friday of every month. Those killed or "disappeared" are nearly all students, refugee workers, peasants, and union leaders. An Honduran military officer told the *London Daily Telegraph* that the groups of abductors are trained by Argentines at bases just outside Tegucigalpa and are controlled directly by Alvarez.

The announcement by Washington of its intention to set up a camp in Honduras in which 100 U.S. "advisers" will train 16,000 Salvadorans has caused consternation among the Hondurans who voted overwhelmingly two years ago to restore civilian rule. Leading lawyers say this constitutes a flagrant violation of the Constitution which prohibits the stationing, or even the transit, of foreign troops without congressional approval. Similar concern, also on constitutional grounds, is being expressed about the sophisticated radar installation in Honduras, 20 miles from the Nicaraguan border. With a range of 230 miles, it can monitor all air traffic over El Salvador, Honduras, and nearly all of Nicaragua. The U.S. Embassy

announcement said 40 to 50 U.S. air-force personnel will operate it for at least two years. This only raises further questions since the installation as described is relatively unsophisticated and required no such specialized team.

The Society of Honduran Economists has publicly protested that the radar and training base compromise Honduran neutrality. It interprets these moves and the rapidly expanding role of the military as moving Honduras toward the "dictator development model" of the Southern Cone (Argentina, Brazil, Chile). Six revolutionary organizations that hitherto had never succeeded in coordinating their activities have finally come together in a statement denouncing U.S. intervention.

Guerrilla activities in Honduras have so far been on a local level and arising out of local conflicts, seizures of land by peasants, and resistance by peasants to military actions instigated by the banana companies. It took years in El Salvador to move from such isolated incidents to the present sophisticated nationwide struggle. In Honduras, however, that process could be telescoped into very little time. Thanks to the banana economy, Honduran peasants have a higher level of technical skills and experience in the coordination of many operations than workers on a Detroit production line. These skills are quickly transferable to political and military organization. All they need is a catalyst, and the Reagan-Alvarez blueprint for Honduras may well be that catalyst.

If Alvarez continues as the country's real ruler, with President Suazo Cordova as his puppet; if the United States continues to escalate military aid; and if Washington refuses to take the Latin American approaches to solution of the region's problems seriously, the fledgling democracy of Honduras is destined for early death. ■



# Mid-Land

by Pablo Neruda

The Americas shape their waist  
where the two oceans marry,  
from the Atlantic they gather foam,  
from the Pacific torrents of stars,  
vessels from the white poles come  
filled with petroleum and orange blossoms:  
the seagoing warehouses sucked in  
our secret mineral blood  
that builds the skyscrapers on the planet  
in cruel and thorny cities.  
And so the empire of the dollar  
became rooted there with its attending demons:  
the bloodied Caribbean cannibals  
disguised as heroic generals:  
a leadership of pitiless mice,  
an inheritance of armed spit,  
a stinking cavern of imperious orders,  
a gutter of tropical mud,  
a black chain of torments,  
a rosary of unsurpassed misery  
while the dollar steers immorality  
with a white fleet over the seas,  
extracting the aroma of the plantain,  
the hard grain of the coffee fields,

perpetuating in our pure land  
the bloodstained Trujillos.  
Poor America up to her waist  
in blood in her many slums,  
crucified on a cross with thorns,  
handcuffed and gnawed by dogs,  
torn into pieces by the invaders,  
wounded by aggression and calamity,  
razed by false winds,  
sacrilegious wholesale and gigantic plundering.  
O lean chain of sorrows,  
O gathering place for the tears of two oceans.

*"Mid-Land" from Song of Protest by Pablo Neruda, translated by Miguel Algarin. English translation Copyright © 1976 by Miguel Algarin. By permission of William Morrow & Company.*

# Hispanics 'Took Stand for All'

by H. Coleman McGehee, Jr.

In the United States District Court for the Eastern District of New York, four men and a woman with Hispanic surnames, all avowed supporters of Puerto Rican independence are appealing three-year prison sentences (one year with good behavior) handed down June 7 by Judge Charles P. Sifton.

Their sole offense was their refusal to testify before a Federal Grand Jury, for which they were convicted of "criminal contempt." The case raises serious questions about the responsibilities of Grand Juries and prosecutors to private citizens in our society. The case should also prompt any fair-minded person to ask who, in this instance, was in contempt of what.

This curious and disturbing case goes back to January, 1977, when one of the defendants, Maria Cueto, then executive director of the Episcopal Church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs, was subpoenaed to testify before a Grand Jury investigating bombings and other acts of violence believed committed by Puerto Rican nationalists. She refused to do so, and spent 11 months in jail for "civil contempt."

Since then, the Grand Jury's investigation broadened to encompass other Hispanics, all of whom, like Ms. Cueto, had worked for a number of years with community groups. Among the five sentenced recently were Julio Rosado and Ricardo Romero, both former members of the National Commission

on Hispanic Affairs and Steven Guerra, a member of the board of directors of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. All but Guerra previously had been incarcerated and released for refusing to testify before the Grand Jury concerning the same matter. Subpoenaed in November, 1981, the five refused once more (as the government knew they would) to give Grand Jury testimony. However, they were never tried. Last September they were arrested and charged with criminal contempt, a more serious offense than civil contempt. In February a jury found them guilty of failure to comply with a court order to testify.

If one is innocent and has no knowledge of criminal activities of others, why should one fear to answer questions? That question may seem reasonable enough to those who have never been the object of an FBI investigation, but members of minority, dissident, and alienated groups know from grim experience that authorities are not above bullying, intimidation and harassment.

Grand Juries can lend themselves to abuse by prosecutors. Witnesses do not have the same protection afforded in an open trial. For example, they can be compelled to testify on any matter. The U.S. Supreme Court stated the problem in a 1957 First Amendment case (*Watkins vs. United States*):

"The mere summoning of witnesses and compelling them to testify against their will, about their beliefs, expressions and associations is a measure of governmental interference. And when those forced revelations concern matters that are unorthodox, unpopular, or even hateful to the general public, the

reaction in the life of the witness may be disastrous."

The five all refused to collaborate in what they regarded as an attempt to pry into their political beliefs and associations for the purpose of intimidating and crushing the Puerto Rican independence movement. In the case of those with church affiliations, there was an additional sound reason for refusing to testify: to do so would jeopardize the confidence established by them, as church lay ministers or representatives, with grass roots Hispanic groups across the country.

The point was well made in a brief filed with Judge Sifton by the National Council of Churches and other "friends of the court":

"It has been the experience of those assigned to this type of church work that trust — so hard to obtain and so easy to lose — is the necessary ingredient in permitting such work to go forward . . . Once the church workers are used by the government as an easy source of community information, those to whom such mission is directed — people in large part already disaffected from society — will inevitably come to distrust and shun them as they do others whom they believe to be part of the establishment."

Indeed, the government's six-year campaign linking church officials and church ministries with terrorism can be said to have damaged seriously the Episcopal Church's Hispanic programs and threatened several other church programs devoted to serving minority groups. It is not the defendants alone

---

The Rt. Rev. H. Coleman McGehee, Jr., is Episcopal Bishop of Michigan and President of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

*Continued on page 19*

*Alice in Blunderland:*

## Peace Activists Stage Modern Morality Play

by Judy Myrick

Leslie Hudak of Stow, Ohio, ordinarily doesn't like demonstrations or confrontations — whatever the cause. So when she decided to attend the antinuclear rally in Washington, D.C., on Mother's Day of 1981, it was a big step for her.

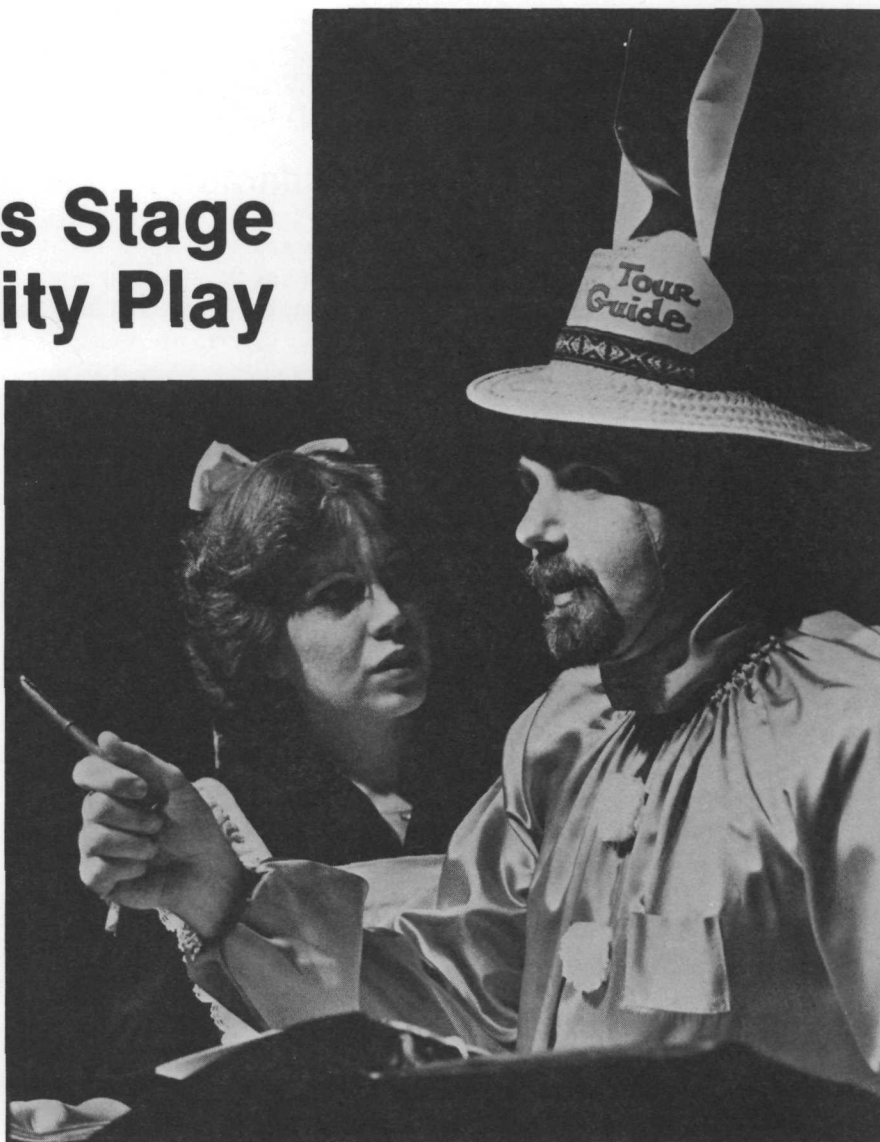
She left the baby at home and took her other two girls with her. "All of my family were understanding and supportive. The 12 of us who went from the Akron area learned a lot. We lobbied at our congresspersons' offices. I came home and felt real proud at having taken such a personal step," she recalls.

"But no one wanted to hear what I had learned. It was about the time the neutron bomb was being talked about. I suddenly realized that all the babies in the world were going to die if we didn't do something. And I decided I couldn't just gripe anymore."

On March 6 and 7, 1983, Leslie Hudak returned to Capital Hill, this time with her family and friends, to perform a musical they had created. Several thousand sympathizers were in the audiences for three different performances — the largest for registered

---

**Judith C. Myrick** is assistant professor of journalism at Kent State University in Ohio.



Kathy Vair plays Alice, and Tim De Frange, the Rabbit, in *Legacy's* modern morality play about the absurdity of nuclear war. Tim and his brother, Tom, wrote the words and music.

delegates to the National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign convocation. Another smaller audience watched in the Cannon Caucus Room, with several Ohio congressmen lending a sympathetic ear. It was the first major trip the group had made outside of its home state, where in the past year an estimated 20,000 people have offered stand-

ing ovations at the play's conclusion. The settings vary — from school auditoriums, ecumenical church gatherings, and civic meetings to nuclear freeze rallies. And the cast grows. It now boasts some 23 adults and 12 children, the ages ranging from a 2-year-old toddler to one of its stars, 12-year-old Lauren Hudak.





The Gnomes protest the damage to their DNA by "fairy dust."

Left to right, Bret and Kya Herring, Mary Flynn, Megan Hudak, Megan Cowperthwaite.



Mad Hatter (Mike Hudak) and Biggle Rat (Earl McFarland).

"Fairy dust? It's necessary, not to mention it means more profit!"

not take the form of a political statement or lobbying effort. Rather they would chose the vehicle of words and music, to be performed before any audience that would welcome them. Those audiences have been both secular and religious, ranging in size from several hundred to several thousand.

Since LEGACY's first performance of *Alice in Blunderland* in February 1982, "a lot of pieces have fallen into place," according to Hudak, instigator of the project and former high school teacher. "To our surprise, we got standing ovations right from the start and we could see that many of the men and women in the audience had tears in their eyes," recalls Hudak.

Writers of the songs and lyrics are brothers Tom and Tim DeFrance; both of them prolific amateur song writers who had worked together with the same group of friends on earlier musical projects.

According to Tom, he wanted a vehicle by which "the subject of the play could travel from one place to another and learn something in the process. I first thought of *The Wizard of Oz* in which Dorothy goes through a series of changes and arrives at a destination. Then I realized *Alice in Wonderland* does the same and the characters lend themselves better to our needs."

Tom had already written the strongly worded "Last Protest Song" and Tim had created a script full of everyday people and their problems when the group approved the idea of a parody on Lewis Carroll's whimsical *Alice*. Incongruous though it seemed to combine such a serious topic with the light-heartedness of the characters, costumes, and set from *Alice*, the approach won over even skeptical members of its audiences from the first. Both the young and not-so-young seem to find it appealing to the eye and ear and, gratifyingly, to the mind and heart as well.

One of their fans has been the group's

They come from all walks of life: factory worker, store manager, waitress, electrician, pharmaceutical salesperson, hospital administrator, students, teachers, and even a Vietnam veteran and an Army reservist.

They came together, according to the 37-year-old Ms. Hudak, because of a commitment: a goal to leave the planet

safe from the fear, and especially the reality, of nuclear disaster. A world for their children to inherit, hence their chosen name, LEGACY, Inc.

By late 1981 the group of friends, all of them from the Stow-Kent area near Akron, had decided that the influence they would try to exert upon local communities and organizations would

own congressional representative, Democrat John Seiberling, who helped sponsor their Hill appearance along with Republican Jim Leach. After seeing them the first time at a Guns-and-Butter conference in Akron, Seiberling read some of their lyrics (from "Last Protest Song") into the *Congressional Record* during a lengthy bipartisan debate on nuclear armaments:

*"For nuclear supremacy we stack  
our weapons high.*

*In the name of our security we've  
sentenced us to die.*

*And if not for those who follow,  
then for generations past,*

*We leave but one consolation;  
This war will be the last."*

Prior to another performance in Hudson, Ohio, Seiberling told the audience that the use of the allegory's title is "particularly appropriate to describe the foolishness of stockpiling nuclear arms. This planet is the only one that can sustain life and the only one our children can inherit. The matter is too important to leave to the experts or the technicians."

The lyrics would also suggest the matter is too crucial to leave to the politicians:

*"And we trust those men in govern-  
ment to have greater minds than  
ours.*

*And if we all play loud enough,  
we won't hear the storm clouds  
call."*

Seiberling has also said privately the play "does something all of the political statements cannot do. Its message is subtle but powerful. For the sake of the children, how do we avoid destroying the world?"

James Malone, Roman Catholic Bishop of Youngstown Diocese would agree. When he first saw them perform, "he told us he was praying someone like us would come along," Hudak recalls. He and others have given them contributions that have enabled them to buy

sound equipment and more recently produce albums and tapes that can be purchased at a performance. The Episcopal Diocese of Ohio also granted LEGACY \$5,000 to help defray growing travel costs. Since most of their performances are free, LEGACY depends on donations and freewill offerings where appropriate.

The cast is a close-knit group, making all decisions about scheduling by consensus. The children of the parents are also in the play, appearing both in major roles (12-year-old Lauren Hudak is sometimes Alice) and minor ones (the youngest are toddlers). The finale is sung by one and all with great fervor and impact:

*"Give them (the children) the  
tradewinds,*

*Give them the skies.*

*Let them breathe air all clean.*

*Let them have babies*

*Beautifully formed.*

*Let them see what we have seen."*

How do a Vietnam veteran and an Army reservist fit into the picture? Ask Alice's Prime Minister, Tom Cowperthwaite, who first met Hudak some 14 years ago when she was his history teacher. Cowperthwaite served in Cambodia with a helicopter crew from 1970 to 1973.

Now he describes himself as a pacifist, "although I sometimes get very angry with frustration at the nations' governments for not getting along with each other better. Think of all the good uses the money in our military budgets could have been put to since the 1940s." As a kind of "personal protest" against the unheeding leaders of the world, Cowperthwaite plays the role of the stuffy and pretentious Prime Minister, singing:

*"And I've always respected tradi-  
tion.*

*And I'm greatly respected for my  
tact.*

*For the sign of a good politician  
Depends on his ability to act."*

The Army reservist is 26-year-old Tim Steiner of Ravenna, who is also a fulltime nightshift factory machinist in Solon, Ohio. He describes himself as "a firm believer in a good defense system — that is, in using a conventional army and weapons."

Steiner believes, however, that nuclear war is "different — it is wrong that one or two persons have the power to destroy all the people and all nations." He claims that most of his Reserve buddies agree with him on this point, as does his unit which cooperates in re-arranging some scheduled duties when they conflict with performances.

Although each member of LEGACY has had to make major adjustments in their lives to fit in the 25 hours of rehearsals, traveling, and performances each week, all of them agree they will persist "as long as there seems to be a need to raise awareness about this life-and-death issue," says Hudak. "None of us are in this because we're dying to act. We feel the issue is important. If the play doesn't work at some stage, we'll probably do something else."

LEGACY's most recent venture is to produce a mail-order kit which will enable any local group to hear and then present the play. It includes a sound tape or album, a complete script and staging directions.

"We want to 'give' our play away so every community can use it," says Leslie Hudak. Eventually they hope it will be translated into foreign languages, including Russian — "or perhaps we will get to Russia some day ourselves," she adds. And knowing how far the group has already come, it's almost a sure thing. ■

## Resource

For information about the LEGACY mail order production kit, contact Leslie Hudak, 1275 Goldfinch Trail, Stow, Ohio 44224, (216) 688-1253.

Continued from page 15

who have paid a heavy penalty for Grand Jury abuse.

Unable to prove its unsubstantiated public assertions linking the defendants (and the Episcopal Church) with violence and terrorism, the government has resorted to grossly unfair tactics even beyond the setting of crude Grand Jury traps.

One tactic was trial by press headline. Upon arresting the defendants last September, the FBI characterized the five as "the remaining unincarcerated leadership of the F.A.L.N." — a Puerto Rican organization which is said to have claimed responsibility for many bombings. The five have denied F.A.L.N. membership and challenged the government to prove its accusation in court. The government has declined to do so, but the unproved allegation has had its effect.

Major newspapers, including the prestigious *New York Times*, tagged their articles as the "FALN Case." Even more damaging was a column in the *Chicago Sun Times* just before the five were to be sentenced, entitled, "How Church Funds Helped to Launch FALN," charging that "hundreds of thousands of dollars in funds from the Episcopal Church fell into the hands of FALN terrorists during the formative years of that organization." This article was concocted from a Federal affidavit slipped into court by the prosecution at the last minute, so that there was no way for the defendants to respond to charges therein.

Another tactic, was the government's insistence that jurors in the contempt trial last winter be identified by number rather than by name. This device (an anonymous jury) was wholly unwarranted by the circumstances and prejudiced the rights of the defendants by carrying implications that the jurors had ground for fearing retaliation.

Letters . . . Continued from page 2

## In Praise of Malcolm

WITNESS author Malcolm Boyd turned 60 recently. I was at his birthday party. Malcolm is 60 going on "eternity." He is all that you describe in the vita that goes along with each piece you publish. (See June issue, "The Gospel According to Tennessee Williams.")

I know him as a deeply involved, caring, loving and completely self-giving human being, except for those times when in total exhaustion he, and those around him, remember he really is 60.

Malcolm Boyd writes very well. He sees clearly, through eyes that are often teared with the combination of his intense pain and joy of simply living. He is the most power-filled extemporaneous preacher I have heard in the 48 years of my life. (My father was a Christian Church, Disciples of Christ Evangelist.)

But we all know of Malcolm's writing and ministry. We know the pain his church caused him and he allegedly caused his church. We know of the powerful reconciliation of Our Lord in getting them back together.

Yet I want to share another perspective. I see Malcolm nearly every day. I see a priest who has transformed authority into service — a broken-healing human being who can judge and forgive. Malcolm Boyd is 60, but each day I see him he is brand new. That's why those of his community love him.

**T. G. Macquarrie**  
Santa Monica, Cal.

---

Rather than being condemned, these five brave and deeply committed people deserve to be honored for their courage in the face of the government's repeated efforts to force them to abandon their convictions. In standing up for themselves, they have stood for us all.

If any party here has shown contempt for the court and for justice itself, it is not they but the government of the United States. ■

## Article for Curriculum

The Christian Movement for Peace is preparing a social justice curriculum to be published in book form by William C. Brown Company Publishers. May we have your permission to use "Signs of Colonialism Jar Public Hearings in Puerto Rico" by James Lewis in the December '82 WITNESS in our curriculum and in future revisions and editions thereof, including nonexclusive world rights in all languages?

**Alyson Huntly, Jim Morin, Marsha Sfeir**  
Christian Movement for Peace  
Toronto, Canada

## Dialogue Not Possible

The Gospel of Christ proclaims first the Kingdom of God as a kingdom of believers in Jesus. THE WITNESS seems to me to be bent badly towards humanism which is *not* Christianity. Jesus enters not into dialogue with Satan but rather *commands* him to be gone. Dialogue is not possible between Christ and Marxism unless it is to bring that "ism" to the feet of Almighty God. I feel Christ is betrayed by THE WITNESS.

**The Rev. Stanley E. Manwaring**  
Andalusia, Pa.

## Octogenarian Returns

I really welcome this opportunity to take THE WITNESS again. I'm in my 80s now and used to be a regular subscriber. Financially we couldn't continue our magazine subscriptions during one of the four depression periods in my lifetime.

I've been a pacifist since the end of World War I — worked for it, spoken publicly in churches and groups and been ostracized for it in organizations — and I now wear a *large* anti-nuclear button on my coat lapel.

Now that I am housebound and no longer active in church work, I shall have the opportunity of keeping in touch with the current social as well as Christian thinking. Thank you for finding my name on some list and bless you!

**Helen Stone**  
Petersburg, Mich.



The Episcopal Church Publishing Company  
P.O. Box 359  
Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002  
Address Correction Requested

NONPROFIT ORG.  
U.S. POSTAGE  
PAID  
North Wales, Pa.  
Permit No. 121

# COLLECTIVE EDIFICATION

-at bargain rates!



Yes, edify, stimulate, inform the leaven groups in your parish . . . Provoke discussion . . . Give focus to conscience and concern . . .

Christians have a need to reflect and talk together about what the Gospel demands of them in a changing church, a troubled society and world . . . just as much as they have a need to pray and worship together. Living faith **and** reasoned inquiry lead to response and action. We invite you and others in your parish to use THE WITNESS as a **group resource** for the examination of burning social issues, as a marker on the path to response and action.

Put THE WITNESS into the hands of vestry members, widening their scope of concern to include a

suffering world as well as an ailing heating plant. Make THE WITNESS a monthly stimulus for discussion or prayer groups and help their caring to be more specific and informed.

And we'll make it easy. THE WITNESS is a bargain at the individual subscription rate — but **in quantity subscriptions** it's even more so.

Bulk subscriptions are easy to arrange. Just call us — collect if you wish — at (215) 643-7067, or check the bulk inquiry box on the reply card enclosed in the magazine, or write THE WITNESS, P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002.

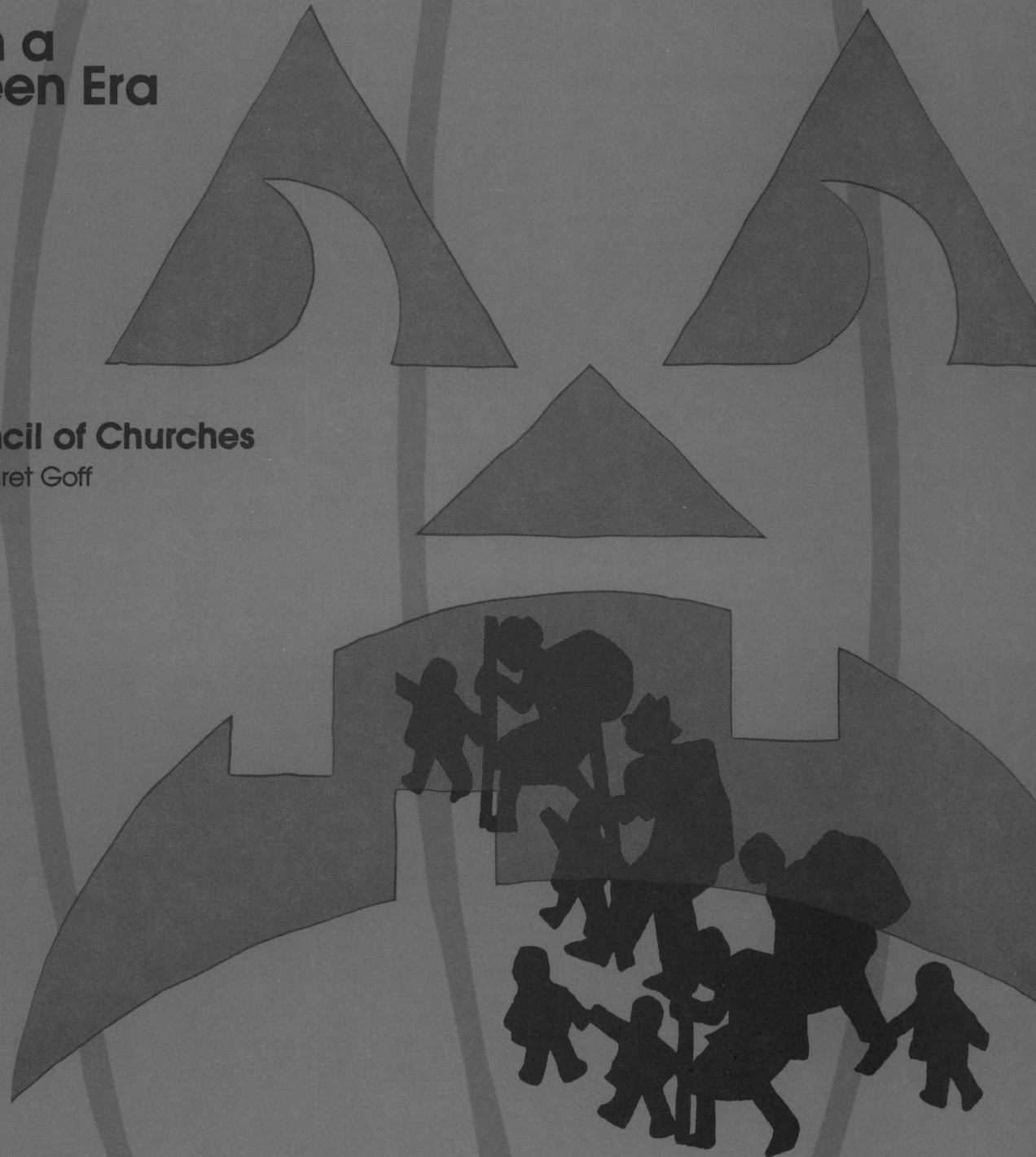
# THE VOL. 66 NO. 10 OCTOBER 1983 WITNESS

## Living in a Halloween Era

Robert L. DeWitt

## World Council of Churches

James & Margaret Goff  
Mary Lou Suhor  
Dorothee Solle



LETTERS  
LETTERS  
LETTERS  
LETTERS  
LETTERS  
LETTERS

## Lauds August Issue

In moving from the National Church Staff to the Staff of the Diocese of Pennsylvania, I was pleased to receive a familiar publication — THE WITNESS. I especially enjoyed and found quite informative, the August Issue.

"The Quiet Death of Black Colleges" by Manning Marable was extremely helpful to me in analyzing what is happening to Black colleges, but at the same time it is alarming and frightening. Mo Kenyatta's "How I Became a 60's Activist" was excellent reading in conjunction with Jim Wallis' "Growing Up White in Detroit" (*Sojourners*).

More importantly, it is good to have at least one Episcopal publication which stays with issues many would just as soon forget.

**The Rev. Franklin D. Turner, D.D.**  
**Assistant to the Bishop**  
**for Congregations**  
**Philadelphia, Pa.**

## Crew Pulls No Punches

Hooray for Louie Crew! His article in the August WITNESS pulls no punches. It's about time. I am so desperately ashamed, angry, despairing of the church's attitude towards gay and lesbian people. It seems to me totally un-Jesus-like. There must be countless Episcopal churches in America served by gay or lesbian priests, often with big buildings and dwindling congregations,

who could offer a *real* ministry to this suffering minority, if only they were allowed out of the closet.

You have to go through the closet if you want to reach Narnia and the bishops must lead their children in this journey. They have the key, and the moment is now. In the light of the AIDS epidemic, serious Christians can no longer "pass by on the other side." Gay people need not only oil and wine poured on their wounds, but most of all, compassion.

I am currently performing a beautiful one woman play on the life of Julian of Norwich, to be published by Seabury Press in the winter. It is written by Jim Janda, a gay priest and poet, who has had his share of suffering at the hands of an uncompassionate church. Julian's vision of a Jesus who is mother, lover, maid to all his children, seems to have particular appeal to suffering and oppressed people. She lived through an apocalyptic age very much like our own. Yet, through all this, Julian saw only God's love.

This life, this world, this church must hold in its embrace all our brothers and sisters, regardless of sexual orientation — in embrace, not in mere affirmation.

**Roberta Nobleman**  
**Dumont, N.J.**

## Gay Analysis Trenchant

I was thrilled to read Louie Crew's article in the August WITNESS, "View from a Gay Person's Pew." Particularly pleasing was his trenchant analysis of the Episcopal Church's "religious wizardry" when most bishops and others speak of "ministering" to "Children of God" (gays/lesbians and other outcasts).

I am a seminarian at Episcopal Divinity School and can't spend much, but I would like to have a few copies to give to gay brothers and sisters who can be refreshed and made more bold by Crew's *integrity*, and non-gay brothers and sisters who can benefit from his honesty.

Thank you and your colleagues (including Coleman McGehee, my bishop;

and Sue Hiatt and Barbara Harris) for your excellent publication and the support you give continually to those who are gay, and brothers and sisters who are set apart (or aside) by other labels.

As Children of God (or cogs) we are often asked to keep the mechanism (church) working even as we are denied our personhood. I, for one, am opting for helping to operate the gears rather than letting them operate on me. I believe that's what God, whose child I am, expects faithful people to do.

**Robert H. Gorsline**  
**Cambridge, Mass.**

## Invites Dialogue on Haiti

Thank you for Bishop Walter Dennis' article, "Poverty, Surveillance - Haiti's Daily Lot," in the July WITNESS.

I am administratively responsible for the work of my Communion in Haiti and have visited on several occasions. I concur with his observations as stated in the article. I, too, am grateful for the opportunity to see for myself what the people of Haiti are up against and I'm delighted to be involved with those who are "unashamedly being about the Lord's work."

I shall not only unite with Bishop Dennis in prayer for the brave and patient people of Haiti, but I would invite the opportunity for dialogue on possible united efforts to contribute toward the "wholeness, dignity, freedom, and sufficiency" which I believe to be God's will for all people.

**Donald E. Williams**  
**Missionary Board**  
**Church of God**  
**Anderson, In.**

## Nicaragua Welcomes

Christians from throughout the world visit Nicaragua in Central America. Many of them are members of the Episcopal Church. A few contact the local Episcopal (Anglican) Church of Nicaragua. Unfortunately many others, being unaware of a local church of the Anglican Communion, miss out on that



opportunity.

Visitors are invited to contact the Episcopal Church of Nicaragua (a diocese of The Episcopal Church, U.S.A.). Through the Anglican institute they can be given a brief orientation of the role being played by the local branch of the Anglican Church in Nicaragua's process of reconstruction. The telephone number in Managua is 2-5174. Correspondence should be addressed to Apartado 1207, Managua, Nicaragua. The Episcopal Church of Nicaragua welcomes you.

**The Rev. Robert W. Renouf, Director  
Instituto Anglicano de Nicaragua**

## Request From Prison

I am writing to you from the Central New Mexico Correctional Facility where I am now incarcerated.

Recently I was given a copy of THE WITNESS magazine which I enjoyed reading. THE WITNESS is a contemporary commentary of the Gospel applied to modern times.

My purpose for contacting you is to respectfully request that my name be placed on your subscription mailing list. Unfortunately I have no family or funds to pay for the subscription. It is my hope that you could extend to me the charity of a free subscription.

**Name Withheld  
Los Lunas, N.M.**

*(It is THE WITNESS' policy to send a free 1-year subscription to anyone in prison, upon request. — Eds.)*

## Limousine Liberalism?

Every issue of your magazine infuriates me. There is no balance in your editorial policy. THE WITNESS is a very good example of "Limousine Liberalism." There is much negative information promulgated in THE WITNESS.

Also, I do not believe in abortion. I do not support civil disobedience in any way. I believe in Jesus. He said, "I have come to give you life." THE WITNESS needs to get closer to God's plan.

**Richard G. Antle  
FPO San Francisco, Cal.**

## Faith Strong in Russia

I would like to express my appreciation for THE WITNESS. Indeed I am delighted to see it as an expression of Episcopal faith in the peace movement.

In particular, I was most pleased to read the article in June by Dr. Susan B. Anthony on her visit to the Russian Orthodox Church, especially because I had made the same tour of the seminaries of that church this Spring with the Trinity Church Tour. We always ended by talking "peace." Perhaps the faith of the church will prevail over the forces of power. In Russia that faith is very strong and I am happy to support what is positive and just in the Soviet Union.

**Helen Bailey  
World Peacemakers  
New Vernon, N.J.**

## Background for Travelers

We would like permission to give copies of Dr. Susan B. Anthony's article about the Soviet Union to interested participants in travel programs arranged by Citizen Exchange Council. It will give them some background on the state of religious worship in contemporary Soviet society.

**Andrea Sengstacken  
Program Coordinator  
New York, N.Y.**

## Fashionable Church?

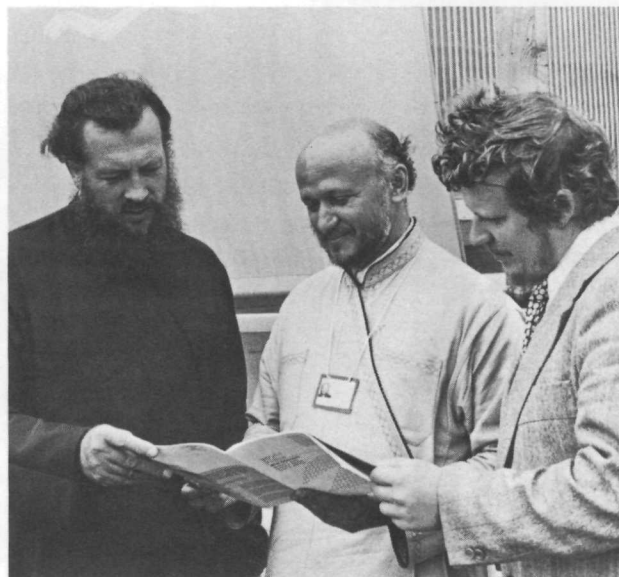
Henry H. Rightor's article, "Can Law and Religion Find a Better Relationship?" (June WITNESS) is a typical example of the belief that "it is all right for liberals to try to influence government, but it is wrong for conservatives." I certainly don't agree with the Moral Majority, but I think they have as much right as liberals.

There was a good editorial, "Why We Oppose the Death Penalty," in the same issue. If it is all right to oppose the death penalty, why is it wrong to oppose abortion? Aren't both attempts to legislate morality? I oppose the death penalty and abortion. I disagree with the Moral Majority because I am especially opposed to the mega-abortion of nuclear proliferation and pesticides. Most Moral Majority types see nothing wrong with these things. Yet I still think they have a right to disagree with me. I belong to Prolifers for Survival which opposes both surgical abortion and nuclear abortion.

I oppose the "squeal law" which makes clinics tell parents when their teenagers receive contraceptives. My friends could tell you how I crusaded against North Carolina's law like that years ago. But if I crusade against it, why shouldn't the Moral Majority have a right

*Continued on page 23*

**Archbishop Makary of Kiev found Dr. Susan B. Anthony's WITNESS interview with him in his mail at the World Council of Churches meeting in Vancouver. He shared it with his colleagues, Archpriest Lev Makhno, representative of the patriarch of Moscow in New York, left; and Priest Sergel Kieselev, Russian Orthodox delegate, right. He told THE WITNESS, "Such articles build mutual understanding."**



## Living in a Halloween Era

by Robert L. DeWitt

**H**alloween (All Hallows Even) comes to us with the sanctity of Christian interpretation, especially in association with the following day, All Saints Day — a commemoration of centuries' standing in the church. But its roots go deeper. The ancient Celts, shivering in fear as they faced a mysterious and threatening world, ages ago on October 31 observed a ritual marked by bonfires, exotic garb, dances and rituals to placate and to protect them from the evil spirits which lurked frighteningly on the fringes of life.

The jack-o-lanterns, witch costumes and unearthly masks to be seen on Halloween today are a direct derivative of that ancient fear, howsoever playful it may have become. Ask any 4 or 5-year-old. Or perhaps *you* remember. Ghosts and ghouls are scary. But Halloween comes only once a year.

Or does it?

There is a tone abroad today, an anxiety clutching at millions, at which those Celtic forerunners would nod knowingly. Those Celtic precursors felt the same sinister significance in their time as we in

ours, for we live in a Halloween era.

For example, there is the persistent American phobia about communism. And it is sufficiently widespread not only to have made possible the Reagan administration, but also to allow that administration to mortgage the nation's financial future by an obsession with stockpiling military strategies and armaments beyond any reason. Adequate defense preparation against communist or other intruders? This is clearly an arguable position. But to engage in overt and covert strategems to prevent a given nation from "going communist"? If any form of government can function effectively to promote the general welfare of its people, one would expect that, in all humility, we would watch carefully, hoping some leaves from their notebook might fit ours. We could use a few. Many nations have been glad in the past to profit from our experiments in government. Have we as a nation lost our capacity to learn from others?

But there is not just the phobia about communism. So it is also

with our fears of alternate life-styles, sexual preference, atheism, and a host of other apprehensions.

A people who feel threatened by hobgoblins, witches and ghosts are not well situated to make rational, constructive decisions. They are too busy reacting with fear to act with reason. It is as though someone sighting a floating log off-shore at a summer beach were to shout, "Shark!". And droves of people (thanks to *Jaws*) would dash for their cars with their children and drive recklessly home through holiday traffic, forgetting to fasten their seat belts. They would be driven by a figment of their fear into a real and present danger of their own making.

How do we hallow — the word means "offer to God" — an "evening" such as the era in which we live? October 31, as well as the Halloween of fright which is our era, are sacred. And therefore perhaps our most important responsibility — and response — is to learn what to fear, to recognize the real dangers and not be stampeded by fantasies. There are enough genuine threats to

challenge us. We cannot afford the time and energy to trifle with imaginary ones.

The things that hurt *people*, these are the real threats to a hallowed creation. Unemployment and its child, poverty, hurt people. Radiation and other environmental pollutants not only hurt people but threaten them with extinction. Inferior education, being de-barred from participating in decision-making on issues that affect these hurts, are threats to people's very personhood. Discrimination based on race, sex or sexual orientation, creed or class not only hurts people, but is an affront to God's creation.

Anxiety sees a threat as diffused, out of focus, and so it reacts neurotically, irrationally, ineffectively. Fear has the threat in focus, and reacts to the best of its ability, with effective judgment. One of the basic ways to hallow our time is to learn what really to fear. For fear of the Lord, says scripture (*Psalms 111*), is the beginning of wisdom. And who could fear God without fearing those real things which threaten the people of God? ■

---

## THE WITNESS

---

EDITOR  
**Mary Lou Suhor**

---

SENIOR CONTRIBUTING EDITOR  
**Robert L. DeWitt**

---

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS  
**Richard W. Gillett**  
**Hugh C. White**

---

STAFF  
**Ann Hunter**  
**Bonnie Pierce-Spady**  
**Susan Small**  
**Lisa Whelan**

---

PUBLISHER  
**Episcopal Church Publishing Company**

---

### ECPC BOARD OF DIRECTORS

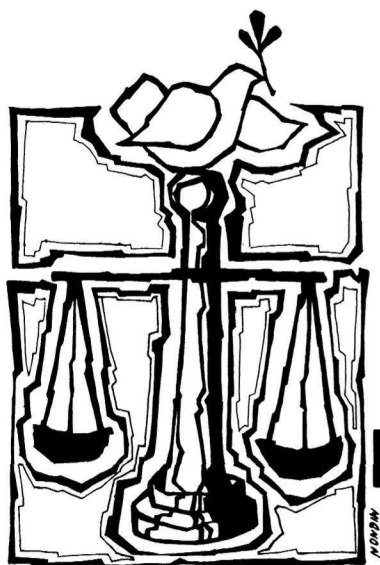
CHAIR  
**H. Coleman McGehee**  
VICE-CHAIR  
**Barbara Harris**  
SECRETARY  
**Helen Seager**  
TREASURER  
**Robert Potter**  
ASSISTANT TREASURER  
**Robert Eckersley**

**Otis Charles**  
**Robert L. DeWitt**  
**Steven Guerra**  
**Mattie Hopkins**  
**Joan Howarth**  
**James Lewis**  
**Joseph A. Pelham**

---

THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215) 643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. Copyright 1983 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.





World Council of Churches

# 'No Peace Without Justice' Recurring Theme at Vancouver

by Mary Lou Suhor

Heavy sighs and audible protests surged from the weary press corps who had covered the 18-day meeting of the World Council of Churches in Vancouver. WCC delegates had just voted for an extra evening session Aug. 10 to debate several controversial documents. "I'm beginning to think I live here," said one veteran reporter, racing off for yet another sandwich-dinner.

That was hardly the last challenge. After the final gavel and the folding of the huge tent housing liturgies, reporters on interpretive assignments carried home notebooks full of convention actions, highlights, reports, plus daily press releases issued by a superb team of WCC information officers. How put it all together?

The meeting of more than 800 delegates from 301 churches representing 400 million people had suggested the label, "Church United Nations," and the less complimentary, "Church World's Fair." One thing was certain at the end: The World Council had pursued its own agenda, unruffled by critics such as Carl McIntire and Ian Paisley

who showed up on the premises to sound the old *Reader's-Digest-was-right* theme and red-bait.

If there was a recurring theme, it was grounded in the belief of the delegates that there can be no peace without justice, nor can evangelism and action for peace and justice be separated.

## Undergirding Theology

No doubt, the daily worship informing the deliberations bound the delegates in spirit and purpose. "This cannot be engineered," said General Secretary Philip Potter. "It happened. This is a praying assembly and worship is central. We had a deep sense of the church from different cultures, able to celebrate faith in Christ at a time when everything in the world points to the contrary."

Moreover, creatively undertaken, the services revealed that prayer can be an aesthetic, and nurturing experience. Said Pauline Webb, British religious broadcaster, "I wonder what worship is going to seem like back home after the splendor of each day's beginning here."

Early on, theology proved both focal

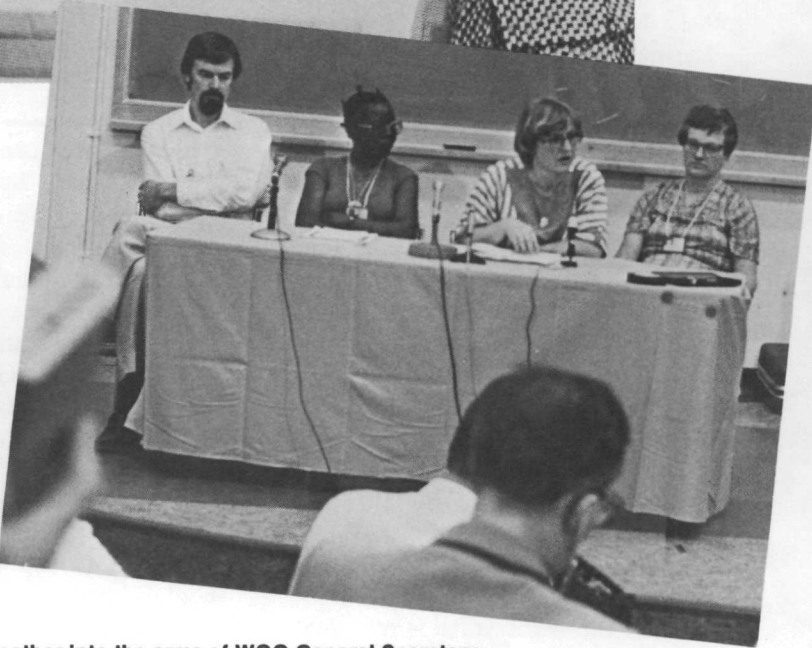
point and catalyst as WCC broke new ground toward its goal of becoming an overarching ecumenical body accepted by all Christendom — a phenomenon which has not existed since 787 A.D.

This advance was accomplished largely through the promulgation of the Baptism, Eucharist, Ministry Document (BEM) sent to the churches after a 1982 meeting of the WCC Faith and Order Commission in Lima, Peru. The "promising scaffolding" has been worked on by more than 100 theologians representing all branches of the Christian faith, including Roman Catholics, whose bishops are being asked for the first time to accept a doctrinal document that did not originate with Rome.

Timetable for the response to the BEM document suggests that by the end of 1984, churches give brief progress reports on their discussion of the text, which spells out areas of convergence on three traditionally divisive doctrinal areas. Official responses will be solicited around 1987-88, when a World Conference on Faith and Order is projected



Photo by Peter Williams



**Top photo: An African child was placed by its mother into the arms of WCC General Secretary Phillip A. Potter when he called for symbols of life during worship services opening the WCC's sixth assembly. Bottom, left: Relaxing after a panel on "Women and Racism" at The Well, Women's Center, are from left, Gloria George, Musqueam law student, who headed up native participation for the WCC Assembly; Annette Hutchins-Felder, director, Women and African Development Program, African American Institute; and Lindiwe Myeza, director of an Institute for Women's Studies and Research in South Africa. Right, Baerbel von Wartenburg, director of the WCC sub-unit, Community of Women and Men in the Church, responds to a question at a press backgrounder. Other panellists were from left, Michael Kinnamon of the Faith and Order Commission, Sitembiso Nyoni, of Zimbabwe, and Jean Skuse, vice-moderator of the WCC Central Committee.**

which would include not only WCC members but non-members as well. It would be "the broadest ecumenical forum in Christendom," and exhibit the churches' concern for the unity of the whole human family.

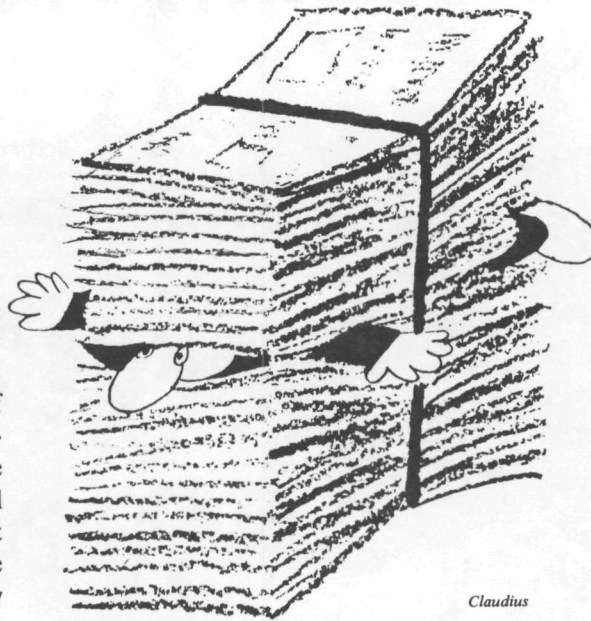
Dr. Paul Crow, U.S. Disciples ecumenical officer and major drafter of the "Steps Toward Unity" statement, said that in the years ahead, the meaning of "a common understanding of the apostolic faith" needs to be clarified. "We don't need one definition or sentence all can agree on. But we will have to look at how diverse historic formulations have proclaimed the same faith to see how these can be brought together."

Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie said the BEM Document will be helpful in "picking up the pieces" of English Church Union efforts, and "can get us around the table again."

The new Lima liturgy celebrated in Vancouver reflected the relationship of doctrine and liturgy, and was embraced by many as "the official Eucharist of ecumenical gatherings." (But Roman Catholics and Orthodox did not receive Communion.)

Thorny points of departure remain among WCC denominations themselves, and between WCC and the Roman Catholics: Episcopal and non-Episcopal ministry, the Eucharist, tensions between those concerned with unity and those with justice issues, and of course, women's ordination. Illustrative of the latter was a bit of WCC graffiti surfaced by a Canadian journalist: "If the Archbishop of Canterbury had made the same statement about Blacks that he made about women, (e.g., women could be ordained, but not now) he would never have been allowed to celebrate the Lima liturgy here."

In contrast to this cumbersome BEM process, liberation theology, which does not wait for documents to be handed down by theologians, was "lived" by those practicing action/reflection



Claudius

### WCC Paper Weights

**More than 14 tons of paper were used to report the WCC meeting in Vancouver. Five tons provide just over a million sheets; thus, three million sheets passed through participants' hands. The typing pool used more than 10,000 sheets of paper, all originals from which the 4,500 copies in five languages were made.**

throughout the conference. One manifestation was a liturgy which sprang spontaneously from U.S. and Central American delegates. Following a biblical reflection, some 300 people signed a covenant of peace amidst a shower of rose petals and Latin music.

Assisting in planning were Julia Esquivel, of Guatemala; Andrew Shogreen, Nicaragua; and Marta Benavides, El Salvador; and Marilyn Moore, Dwain Epps, and Alfonso Roman of the United States.

The WCC also went on record for theological education for the "whole people of God," not just clergy, in its "Learning in Community" document. If implemented, said Mercy Oduyoye of Nigeria, "it would have something close to a revolutionary effect."

"Theology is a reflection on faith in God and its implications, including lifestyle, decision-making, equipping for action in society, and relationship with God and persons," according to the

report. It says that theological education must link action and reflection, experience and tradition, the personal and the corporate, the local and the global. The report's focus on family education proved controversial, asking the church to enlarge its concept of family to include one-parent families and separated families. One Orthodox delegate said, "I can't find that in the Gospel."

Responding, Ms. Oduyoye said, "The Christian concept of the family is not, in reality, that of the family in which a lot of people live. There are other types beside father, mother and four and a half children, and the church must not close its eyes to that fact."

### Sexism: Still a Challenge

In this writer's view, and judging from the experiences of many women attending the assembly, the WCC could use a Program to Combat Sexism in addition to its Program to Combat Racism. But thus far, the WCC venture advocating equal status for women is called Community of Women and Men in the Church, its wording encompassing "the ultimate goal." But barring a name change and new thrust, every woman will have to program her head to combat sexism on the road to that "beloved community."

Consider this kaleidoscope of testimony from women during the meeting:

- "I am not supposed to be interested in feminism. The men say, 'African women are not oppressed,' and the men speak for us in these international forums. But we have a saying that the person who sleeps by the fire knows how hot the flame is." Mercy Oduyoye, Ghanaian living in Nigeria.

- "Women are frustrated by the style of the plenary sessions. Men claim the microphone, make long speeches no one is interested in, and women get little

*Continued on page 21*





# 'Third World' Beneficiary Of WCC Option for Poor

by Jim and Margaret Goff

There is no question about Third World participation in the sixth assembly of the World Council of Churches in Vancouver July 24-Aug. 10. Forty-two percent of the delegates were from the so-called developing countries. In the new Central Committee, which oversees the work of the WCC until the next assembly seven years hence, 44% represent Third World churches, as do four of the seven new presidents—Walter Makhulu (from Botswana), Dame Nita Barrow (Barbados), Paulos Gregorios (India) and Patriarch Ignatios (Syria).

For Christians and churches in many parts of the Third World, the unity they experience in the World Council is a desperately needed source of strength.

---

**James and Margaret Goff** are "fraternal workers" with the Presbyterian Church (USA) stationed in Managua, Nicaragua at the Antonio Valdivieso Ecumenical Center. Formerly editors of *Latinamerica Press* in Lima, they have long served in the mission field as journalists.

Deputy General Secretary Konrad Reiser, commenting on the importance of the ecumenical fellowship, said, "Many churches are in weak positions, confronted by the powers arrayed against them; they need a network of solidarity." The World Council provides that solidarity.

Unlike international organizations such as the World Bank, the Inter-American Bank, or the International Monetary Fund where the big contributors control decisions to favor their interests, the World Council's policies are openly biased in favor of the poor. The WCC's Program to Combat Racism, the program of its Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development, and its constant preoccupation with human rights are some of the better known examples of this option.

"To be poor," says Peruvian theologian Gustavo Gutierrez, "means to die of hunger, to be illiterate, to be exploited by other people, not to know one is exploited, not to know one is a person." The churches of the World Council

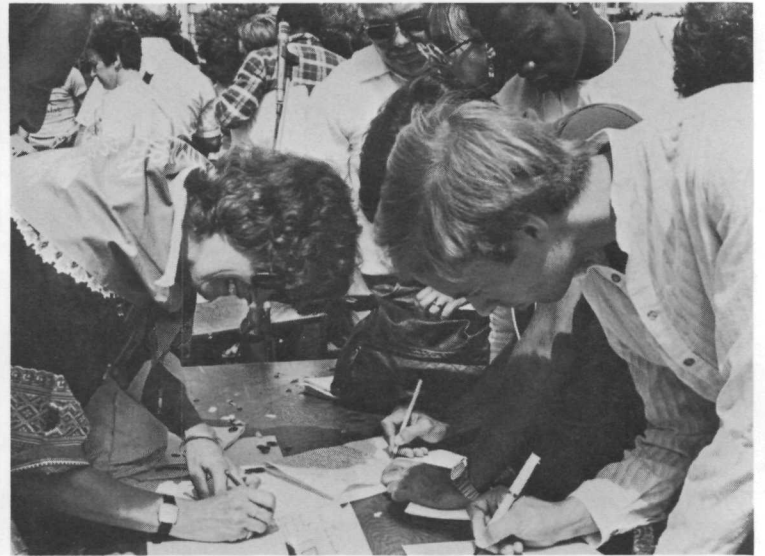
demonstrate their concern over hunger, illiteracy and exploitation in a number of ways, as illustrated in the world body's interest in Nicaragua.

In the new experiment in that Central American country, the WCC provided \$2,200,000 for its Literacy Crusade, which reduced illiteracy from 58% to 12%. Further, the WCC has given \$2,500,000 for health projects, including aid to health brigades (to vaccinate against polio and other diseases); and funds for the country's psychiatric hospital. For child care centers the WCC has given \$300,000 and for the relocation of the Miskito Indians in Tasba Pri, \$500,000. These and other donations bring the total of World Council contributions to Nicaragua to almost \$6 million.

Just as important as financial aid are public demonstrations of support for the poor in situations of injustice. The sixth assembly made a number of statements concerned with injustice being practiced against the weak. To look at Nicaragua again, an example of this form of solidarity was a message sent to UN Secretary



More than 300 Central American and U.S. participants put their names to a "Covenant for Life" at the WCC meeting. Above, the Rt. Rev. Cornelius Wilson, Anglican Bishop of Costa Rica, signs while waiting behind, from left, are Marilyn Moore, Bishop James Armstrong (partially obscured) and Jane Carey Peck, U.S. delegates. Photo top right, Nicaraguans Andy Shogreen, left, Melita Wall and Tomas Tellez, discuss the Covenant document. Bottom right, among Europeans adding signatures in support were the Rev. Ann Coldan of Geneva, left.



General Javier Perez de Cuellar during the assembly by Philip Potter and Archbishop Ted Scott, General Secretary and Moderator, respectively, of the WCC. In it the church leaders said that assembly participants were expressing "deep concern about the recent escalation of threats to use massive armed force against Nicaragua." They called on the UN official to redouble his efforts to resolve peacefully the Central American conflict.

The WCC issued firmer and more comprehensive statements, to be sure,

especially when it addressed the status of human rights in specific regions and countries—the Middle East, Afghanistan, South Africa, Cyprus and Central America, for example. Each illustrated the Council's concern for peace and justice and each was critical of policies of the superpowers and their allies.

● In its Middle East statement, the WCC said that churches should help create a wider awareness of the justice of the Palestinian cause and of the suffering of Muslims and Christians living in East Jerusalem and other occupied territories

as part of an overall effort to help bring peace to that area. "Prospects for peace have been pushed back further by recent events," the delegates said, and reaffirmed the WCC position that a peaceful settlement requires "the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all territories occupied in 1967" and "the right of all states, including Israel and Arab states, to live in peace with secure and recognized boundaries." The latter includes "the rights of Palestinians to self-determination including the right of establishing a sovereign Palestinian state."

● The Afghanistan resolution called for continued WCC humanitarian assistance to Afghan refugees, now more than 3 million in number in Pakistan and Iran, according to UN estimates. The WCC affirmed initiatives taken by the UN for resolving the conflict, including the call for “an end to the supply of arms to opposition groups from outside; withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan in the context of an overall political settlement, including agreement between Afghanistan and the USSR; guarantee of the settlement by the USSR, the USA, People’s Republic of China and Pakistan; and creation of a favorable climate for the return of the refugees.”

● The statement on Central America denounced the U.S. “policy of military, economic, financial and political initiatives designed to destabilize the Nicaraguan government, redeem the international image of Guatemala’s violent dictatorship, resist the forces of historic change in El Salvador, and militarize Honduras in order to insure a base from which to contain the aspirations of the Central American peoples.” (*See WITNESS September issue.*)

Third World perceptions sometimes catch the churches in the developed world up short. One such occasion in Vancouver came when Allan Boesak, South African theologian and President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, told a plenary session that if it were not careful the ecumenical movement’s opposition to the nuclear arms race could lead to an “ideology of oppression.”

“Many Christians in the Third World,” he said, are concerned that “the issue of peace will be separated from the issue of justice, making of peace primarily a North Atlantic concern,” while deprivation and injustice, especially in Third World countries, are ignored. We cannot use the issue of peace to avoid the dilemmas of injustice, racism, hunger, and poverty, he added. Earlier he had

said at a peace conference in Uppsala, “Most of us don’t know the meaning of nuclear, but we know the meaning of hunger.”

If the churches do not address the unresolved issues of injustice, Boesak said, “we will make of our concern for peace an ideology of oppression which in the end will be used to justify injustice.”

A warning to peoples of the Third World was made by West German theologian Dorothee Solle in a major address to the assembly: “Do not follow our example. Claim back what we have stolen from you, but do not follow us.”

Addressing one of the assembly’s sub themes, “Life in All Its Fullness,” Ms. Solle said that material wealth and fullness of life cannot coexist. By participating in structures that impoverish millions of people, the world’s wealthy not only make impossible fullness of life for themselves, she said, but also strip the poor of life’s goodness. (*See Solle address this issue.*)

Many delegates gave witness to their conviction that while material wealth divides, solidarity in the search for justice and peace unites. Central Americans and U.S. citizens at the assembly dramatized their unity in Christ in the public signing of a covenant to “create a living bridge of solidarity in Christ spanning the Americas.” The more than 300 signers said that “Vigorous attempts are being made by those in position of power and influence to divide us . . . Here we reaffirm that . . . we are one in Christ.”

Church people who are poor in terms of money have other gifts to share. Tomas Tellez, representing the Baptist Convention of Nicaragua, hailed the opportunity to “share the little that we have which is our way of life as Christians in Nicaragua” and felt enriched by knowing the experiences others have had in Christ. The Nicaraguan Baptist Church was one of two received into

WCC membership at the assembly, the other being the Evangelical Presbyterian Church of South Africa.

Nicaraguan Moravian pastor Andy Shogreen saw a close relationship between the concept of an option for the poor and the WCC’s major programs. “I find in them a great concern for the poor, their human rights as well as their right to a dignified life and self-determination,” he said.

Brazilian ecumenist and sociologist, Professor Jether Pereira Ramalho, called attention to the fact that in Latin America for four centuries the church has been “linked to the dominant class” and “looked upon with favor by those in power.” But in recent years “the signs of the times and the action of the Holy Spirit have challenged both the Protestant and Catholic churches to change their options by moving toward greater faithfulness to Christ’s mandates and the Gospel. Today in Latin America the great challenge and happening is the growing awareness of poor people that they have the right to participate in the construction of their own project of society and life,” he added. “It can be said,” Pereira continued, “that in some countries the common people invaded the church and questioned it positively and profoundly. This is a very healthful element and a sign of renewal at every level—biblical interpretation, liturgy, spirituality and social commitment.”

In its final message, the sixth assembly of the World Council of Churches declared, “We renew our commitment to justice and peace. Since Jesus Christ healed and challenged the whole of life, so we are called to serve the life of all. We see God’s good gift battered by the powers of death. Injustice denies God’s gifts of unity, sharing and responsibility. When nations, groups and systems hold the power of deciding other people’s lives, they love that power. God’s way is to share power, to give it to every person . . .” ■



## Life In Its Fullness

by Dorothee Solle



surplis/A

*West German theologian Dorothee Solle has an international reputation for tackling “unmentionable topics,” especially those which middle-class Christians would just as soon avoid. She presented the following reflection at the World Council of Churches meeting in Vancouver. While earning kudos from most of the assembly, it also prompted one disaffected delegate to label her a “West-basher.”*

*Dr. Solle holds graduate degrees from the Universities of Gottingen and Cologne and has taught philosophy, literature and theology at several German universities. She is the author of *Revolutionary Patience and Of War and Love*, and since 1975 has been teaching at Union Theological Seminary, New York.*

I am a woman from one of the wealthiest countries in the world; a country whose history is tainted with bloodshed and the stench of gas that some of us who are Germans have not been able to forget; a country that today has the world's greatest concentration of nuclear weapons lying at the ready. The grief I feel with regard to my own country, the friction that sets me at odds with my society, springs from my belief in the life of the world as I find it in the poor man from Nazareth who had neither wealth nor weapons. This man portrays the life of the world for us and points us towards the ground of our being, to God. Christ is God's exegesis. (*John 1:18*)

By saying this, I do not intend any kind of religious imperialism, as though there could be no other expositions of God in other religions; I mean it rather in the sense of unconditional commitment to become fully involved with this Jesus Christ.

Christ came into the world that all may have life “and have it in all its fullness.” What is this “life in all its fullness”? Where does it take place? Who lives it? Looking at our world I see two ways in which life is being destroyed: *outward poverty and inward emptiness.*

For a good two-thirds of the human family there is no such thing as “life in all its fullness” because they are impoverished, living on the edge of death in stark, economically conditioned poverty. They are hungry, they have no shelter, no shoes, no medicine for their children, no clean water to drink, no work — and they see no way of getting their oppressors off their backs.

I would like to quote from a letter from a Brazilian woman, which she dictated to a nun because she herself cannot read or write.

*“My name is Severina, I come from the Northeast. Up there in*

*my country two of my babies died because I had no milk. One day in my village I saw 42 little coffins being carried to the cemetery. My sister-in-law who was very poor had 17 children: three of them lived, all the others died before they were four. Of the three who lived two are not normal. I was with her for the births and sometimes there wasn't even a clean piece of sheet to wrap the baby in. That's what happens in lots of families — thousands even — 10 or 15 children are born and five or six of the 10 die. And there are priests who tell us, ‘If you have seven children who die as infants you will be blessed: a crown of angels awaits you in heaven.’ But who really knows what it means for a woman to carry a child for nine months, weeping for the first three of them because she knows she will never see her baby grow*

*up — and that perhaps 10 times or more. Is she to love the child only to see it die of starvation . . . ?”*

But Christ came into the world so that all might have life “in all its fullness.” The absolute impoverishment, which is a crime in a technologically developed world, is destroying people physically, spiritually, mentally and religiously because it poisons hope and makes a mockery of faith by turning it into helpless apathy. What comes between Christ and the world’s impoverished peoples is exploitation, the sin of the rich who are seeking to destroy Christ’s promise. Christ says in John’s Gospel: “I am the door; anyone who comes into the fold through me shall be safe. He shall go in and out and find pasture. The thief comes only to steal, to kill, to destroy; I have come that human beings may have life, and may have it in all its fullness.” (*John 10:9-10*)

Christ and the thief stand at opposite extremes. The thief comes to plunder the poor so they will die. Christ came to bring fullness of life. We are involved in both these undertakings, the plundering and the fullness of life. Either we participate in Christ’s mission, or we participate in the thief’s plans for the world. As long as we remain merely victims or merely spectators in this struggle for justice, we are supporting the thief and his crimes.

Life in all its fullness is an impossibility when one is forced to live in absolute poverty. But even in the wealthy First World there is very little fulfillment to be found. What comes between Christ and the middle classes of the First World is not material poverty but spiritual emptiness. The meaninglessness of life perceived by many sensitive individuals ever since the beginning of industrial development has now become a widespread experience among people in the First World: nothing delights them, nothing moves them deeply, their relationships are superficial and inter-

changeable, their hopes and dreams go no further than their next holiday trip. But God created us as men and women with a capacity for working and loving. We participate in creation in our work and in our sexuality in the widest sense of the word.

Fullness of life means amongst other things becoming a worker and a lover. For most people in the First World, however, life is more like a long death lingering over many years. It is pain-free: there are pills to spare, after all. It is feeling-free: “Don’t be so emotional” is an expression of strong disapproval in our language. It is without grace because life is seen as self-achieved and not as a gift from the Creator; it is life without a soul lived in a world which calculates everything in terms of what

---

*“There is a way of doing theology in which the poor and economically exploited are never seen or heard — and that is apartheid theology.”*

---

it’s worth. We are empty and at the same time surfeited with superfluous goods and products. There is an odd relationship between the many objects we possess and consume and the emptiness of our real existence. While Christ came that we might have fullness of life, capitalism came to turn everything into money.

In the Gospel we read the story of the rich young man who seemed to possess fullness of life in the form of many possessions yet is overcome by the inner emptiness of his life. Life has treated him kindly. He has what he needs and much more. But his questions go beyond being satisfied in this material sense. He asks “What shall I do with my life? What must I do to inherit eternal life?”

Mark tells us that Jesus looked upon the rich young man and loved him.

(*Mark 10:21*) Jesus wants to draw him, and all of us, into a fuller life. But there is something radically wrong with the young man’s notion of eternal life, for he thinks: I have everything, I have obeyed all the rules, there is only one thing missing and that is: the meaning of life, fulfillment.

Jesus turns this expectation upside down: You don’t have too little, you have too much. “Go, sell everything you have and give to the poor, and you will have riches in heaven; and come, follow me.” (*Mark 10:21*)

Many middle-class people today are searching for a new spirituality. They have training and a profession, education and a secure income, family and friends but they are looking for something more — religious fulfillment, food for the soul, consolation; all this on top of material security. A religious added value, as it were, for people who are already overprivileged. They are seeking spiritual fullness of life in addition to material fullness, blessing from above in addition to their wealth.

But Jesus rebuffs this pious hope. Fullness of life does not come when you already have everything. You first have to empty yourself to receive God’s fullness. Give away what you have, give it to the poor then you will have found what you are looking for. The story of the rich young man ends in sorrow; and he goes away. Perhaps he will become depressive, perhaps he will start drinking, perhaps he will cause an automobile accident. He wouldn’t let himself be drawn into more life, fullness of life, sharing of life.

In many towns in West Germany you will see painted on walls the English words, NO FUTURE. The people who feel like this are young and energetic; yet they cannot imagine bringing a child into this world, they have stopped planting trees. Life in its fullness, the promise of Christ, produces only a weary smile. Sometimes their sorrow is turned out-

wards, in aggressiveness, often it is turned inwards, in depression.

Jesus, too, in our story goes sorrowfully on his way. "How hard it will be for the wealthy to enter the kingdom of God!" (*Mark 10:23*) The kingdom of God, eternal life, all are destroyed by wealth of possessions, exploitation, injustice. Why are so many people in the rich world so empty? With a superfluity of things life itself becomes superfluous. Among the younger generation in particular there is a strong and growing desire to break away from dependence on too many possessions. Henry David Thoreau said: "The possibilities of life diminish as so-called 'means' increase. The best thing a rich man can do to preserve his humanity is to realize the dreams he cherished when he was poor."

### Theology Explains

Economics alone cannot explain it. (They have everything, people say, what more do they want!) I doubt, too, whether individual psychology, that opium of the middle class, can offer much explanation here. I don't see that we need to know the rich young man's parents and analyze their relationship with their son before we can understand his history with God. What I think we need, in fact, if we are to understand the empty and meaningless life of the rich, is knowledge of God, theology.

If we hide ourselves from God behind the barrier of our many possessions so that God cannot touch us, then we die — the long death of the middle classes and also, now, of the elites of Third World countries. Wealth acts as a wall more invincible by far than the famous walls of Jericho: We set ourselves apart, we make ourselves untouchable, and our wall is soundproof so that we cannot hear the cries of the poor. Apartheid is not just a political system in an African country; apartheid is a certain way of thinking, feeling and living without being conscious of what is happen-

ing around us. There is a way of doing theology in which the poor and economically exploited are never seen or heard — and that is apartheid theology.

I am speaking here about my own social class, but I would also want to include all those from other economic situations who pursue the same ideals even though they may not yet have achieved them. Dear sisters and brothers from the Third and Second Worlds, I beg of you: *Do not follow our example!* Claim back what we have stolen from you, but do not follow us. Otherwise, like the rich young man, you will have sorrowfully to bid farewell to Christ. Do not pursue the idea of "fullness of life" as we have developed it in the Western World. It is a delusion. It separates us from God, it makes us rich, and dead.

The spiritual emptiness of the rich is a result of the economic injustice on which they capitalize. We have chosen a system based on money and violence. The rich young man will have bouts of depression. He cannot change his life, he can only make it secure. And he will have to keep making it more and more secure to prevent anything being taken away from him. So he stockpiles weapons; and the mild depression prevailing in so many European and North American churches is tantamount in practice to acquiescence in militarism. They have no hope because they trust in the deadly peace of the arms advocates. Money and violence go together: Those who make money their God are bound to make "security" their state ideology and armaments a political priority.

Some Christians in our countries are saying: What's so bad about safeguarding our security with arms? We're not actually going to use the bomb, just the threat of it. In reality, however, the bomb destroys the fullness of life Christ has promised to us. It destroys the life of the poor in the material sense, the life of the rich in the spiritual sense. It has

become lodged inside us, it has taken possession of us. We will never know fullness of life while we live under the bomb which has become the most potent symbol in our world, the thing our politicians research and pay for, love and fear above all else, in other words, their God.

If it is true that a superfluity of things makes life superfluous, then the way to change is to become poorer. We cannot fill our inner emptiness with God at no cost to ourselves by some kind of cheap spirituality, as some seem to imagine. We first have to empty ourselves outwardly of all that overfills us. Becoming empty for God means emptying ourselves and relinquishing or reducing all the possessions of our world: money and violence. To become poorer and rely less and less on violence, that is the change of heart which leads to fullness of life.

Jesus tried to bring the rich young man to break with his own world, with its attitudes and values, and his own privileged social class. Christ faces us with the same question: How long will you continue to go along with a world order which is based on exploitation and oppression? How long will you continue to benefit from the system which is dominated by "the thief who comes to steal, to kill, to destroy"? As far as my country is concerned, this question is a little easier to answer today than it was just three years ago.

### New Life In Churches

To be honest, I would never have expected our traditional churches, which I have often felt to be a grave in which Christ is buried, to generate so much liberation and life. A few years ago many of the most thoughtful people I know longed to be in the Third World because there the struggles are more clear-cut, fronts more clearly defined, hopes more immediate. "I wish I were in Nicaragua," one student wrote to me,



“life in Christ would be possible there.” To many of us it seemed that we could only find Christ at the side of the poor and not in our First World context.

I suspect things have changed somewhat in this respect now. We do not live in El Salvador, but we do live under the domination of NATO. In its planning offices decisions are made that affect our lives and the lives of other peoples. Sacrifices are being offered there to false gods and that is where our struggles must lie. Our historical task is to fight for peace and against militarism. This is how we can participate in the Third World’s struggle for liberation. No one who feels a bond with the poor has any reason to despair today nor to engage in senseless acts of destruction and self-destruction. Since the latest arms build-up began with a view to perpetuating the reign of terror, we know exactly where our El Salvador lies. Our Vietnam. Our Soweto. Our liberation struggle. Our conversion away from money and violence to justice and peace.

Many Christians believe freedom from violence will only be possible in the Kingdom of God, while on earth war and poverty are inevitable. People who adopt this view, however, are separating God from the Kingdom and, like the rich young man, seeking an eternal life devoid of justice and a fullness of life devoid of love, which is an absurdity. Human richness lies in a person’s relationships with others, in his or her being for others. Far from being decreased by sharing with others, the fullness of life increases as miraculously as the five loaves and two fishes. Christ sets us free from life-consuming poverty and life-sapping inner emptiness; he makes us free to enter into a new community in which we need no longer do violence to one another but can make one another happy. We have become one with the living love and do not need to postpone eternal life to another age than our own. ■

## Call for Justice In Economic Life

**A** *Work, Theology and Action Conference to explore the roots of economic dislocation, reflect theologically, and commit the religious community to action will take place Oct. 14-15 in Oakland, Cal. Among Conference organizers are the Rev. Richard W. Gillett of Church and Society, and WITNESS contributing editor. The Rev. John Moyer of the Council on Economic Justice and Work, San Francisco, was responsible for preparing a draft of the conference “call to action,” which appears below. Further information about the meeting can be obtained from Gillett at 213-225-9523, or Moyer at 415-835-9631.*

*The work of justice will be peace,  
the result of justice will be security,  
and confidence forever.*

— Isaiah 32:17

*Trouble is coming to the one who  
builds a tower with blood or  
founds a city on injustice.*

— Micah 2:12

**G**od calls us “to serve the cause of justice.” (Isaiah 42:6) We seek to do so by exploring the roots of our current economic dislocation, by reflecting theologically on what we find, and by committing ourselves, and the religious community, to action.

Our society has built its economic tower “with blood,” and the consequences of its spilling are apparent to all: the highest levels of unemployment since the Depression, massive plant closings (400,000 workers on the West Coast alone have been terminated in the past two years), a similar loss of jobs and industries because of corporate mergers, and major economic setbacks for women, racial minorities, undocumented workers, and workers in border

industries. The human costs are high:

- communities are unable to provide the benefits and care needed by people;
- family violence, physical and mental illness, and suicide have increased;
- one-industry towns are decimated;
- unemployment insurance is insufficient to maintain those laid off;
- bankruptcies are on the rise;
- home owners are victims of mortgage foreclosures;
- new wage contracts contain increasing demands by employers for damaging concessions by workers.

People are suffering. Those who are suffering the most are members of racial minorities and women, for racism and sexism flourish in this climate of layoffs and job losses. But white middle-aged “heads of household” are also feeling the pinch; industrial workers, unskilled laborers and middle management are beginning to meet one another at the unemployment office.

Another devastating personal consequence is that unemployed persons often feel that it is their fault that they are out of work. This leads not only to

depression and loss of self-esteem, but diverts attention from the fact that there are social causes for their unemployment.

At least three factors contribute to this crisis:

1. Increasing numbers of corporations are moving their capital and production facilities to new locations where cheap unorganized labor is available and there are less stringent (or non-existent) environmental protection controls. Whether the moves are made to another state or overseas, they provide a cheap tax base and cheap labor for the corporations, with a consequent rise in profits for the few. But the social and human costs are high: a shrinking tax base, major job losses and plant closings in the area that are abandoned. And in the new locations, working conditions and wages are often below minimal humane standards.

2. The current expansion of high technology, along with new forms of factory automation and robotization, also contribute to economic dislocation. When one machine can do the work of 50 employees, the 50 employees are soon out of work. And when the products in question are devices for use in the "information society" which provides services for only a small portion of society, the problem is simply exacerbated. Moreover, rapid growth industries are subject to intense competition, and follow the established pattern of moving to areas where they can cut cost production with cheap labor and a lower tax base.

3. The growth in military spending, weapons production and the arms race is another cause of economic dislocation, leading to a rise in both inflation and unemployment. Numerous economic studies have shown that war-related industries generate less jobs than comparable peace-related ones, and also produce goods that are not bought and sold in the market and thus produce

no stimulus for economic growth. Annual cost-overruns on military contracts likewise harm the entire economy save for the few corporations that are short-run beneficiaries.

Amid all the changes that the above factors have introduced, one fact remains unchanged: *The victims of these policies are those at the lower end of the economic scale*, though a growing percentage of the middle class are beginning to be affected. What is common to all is that they have become



people at the mercy of decisions about their lives over which they have no control.

They are beginning to say: "We are not willing to be victims, objects of impersonal corporate and industrial mismanagement. We are subjects, who call for justice in our economic lives. We demand work that serves and humanizes all of us, rather than work that places profits above persons and justifies poor working conditions, massive layoffs and unemployment."

The religious community has an

obligation to hear them.

Too often our religious tradition has encouraged the notion that prosperity is a reward from God and poverty a punishment. We affirm, on the contrary, that God provides sufficient resources for the entire human family, and that with proper stewardship, using justice as a guideline, all of God's children can have creative work and receive appropriate benefits.

Our tradition asserts that God is in the midst of the ongoing struggle to create justice. To know such a God therefore means to help the oppressed, to side with the victims, to love those in need. The economic dislocation that leads to oppression, victimization and need is the result of evil imbedded within institutions in our society. In the name of justice, in the name of God, they must be changed.

This call for change on behalf of the victims is central to our religious heritage. Jeremiah reminds us that to "practice justice and right," and "to defend the cause of the poor and needy," is not only "good," but is what it means to know God. (*Jeremiah 22:13-17*) Amos calls us not to concentrate our attention on "religious" practices, but "to let justice roll down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream." (*Amos 5:24*) Mary tells us that God has "filled the hungry with good things, and the rich God has sent empty away," (*Luke 1:53*), and Jesus, echoing the ancient prophet, announced his own program as bringing "good news to the poor," and "liberty to the oppressed." (*Luke 4:18*) Isaiah shares a classic vision of social justice in relation to the fruits of work: "They shall build houses and inhabit them. They shall plant vineyards and eat their fruit. They shall not build and another inhabit. They shall not plant and another eat." (*Isaiah 65:21-23*)

The Latin American bishops have stated that "the church must make a

preferential option for the poor.” Only when the needs of the poor, the victims of injustice, have been met, can we talk of a just society.

This “preferential option” means a reappraisal of the meaning of work and the uses and control of wealth in our world. In God’s plan for creation, special value is given to the dignity of human work. Through work, people become co-creators with God, and contribute to the community the products of their own creative spirit. A sense of self-worth emerges as human work provides a basis for participation in the development of the whole community. When people are not able to exercise their own creative spirit, or contribute their labor to the whole community, damage is done to the individual, the community, and the whole of creation. Our tradition therefore calls for a community in which economic rights are inherent in the very doing of work, and in which work provides for self-fulfillment and community enrichment. Simple justice demands that both community and worker share in the commonwealth of labor.

In the current economic dislocation, much of the creative energy people want to contribute is lost. We agree with John Paul II, that “[new conditions will] require a reordering and adjustment of the structures of the modern economy and the distribution of work . . . Work is for the person, and not the person for work.” (*Laborem Exercens*) Our common task, therefore, is to transform the structures of work in order that we may be the co-creators we are meant to be.

## A Call to Action

We are called to participate in the transformation of our world, to bring an end to economic decisions that produce victims, and we have not done this adequately.

We confess that even within our religious communities we have allowed

class, race and gender inequalities to separate us from the goal of justice. We have invested our resources in the service of money markets rather than in the service of persons. We have exalted patronage over love, welfare over empowerment, charity over economic justice. We have allowed concern for the individual to blind us to the unjust nature of our socio-economic structures. Repentance for such failures must lead us in new directions.

We need an educational process that will teach us to put people before profits, sharing visions of economic justice that are grounded in new strategies for industrial and agricultural production. We need a pedagogy that can help us discover effective and humane uses of new technologies, and point us toward alternatives to the current industrial and military use of resources. We urgently propose the development of such pedagogies in our seminaries and other centers of religious education.

In addition, we urge our religious communities, and individuals within them to:

1. support coalitions of religious bodies, community organizations and labor groups, which will struggle to end plant closures, and explore alternative means of providing jobs and centers of production;

2. advocate legislation that will limit economic dislocation, support community and worker participation, and exercise control over economic structures that affect the entire community;

3. support measures directed toward full employment and guaranteed income for all, particularly our exploited minority workers, immigrants, women, youth and senior citizens;

4. organize to convert dependence upon military contracts in our communities to more socially useful forms of production;

5. foster programs responding to the immediate needs of persons who are

victims of current economic dislocation, including centers where unemployed persons can organize for empowerment;

6. support appropriate stockholder resolutions and pension plan proposals aimed at economic renewal;

7. affirm small businesses in their efforts to employ people and produce goods and services;

8. encourage reinvestment in our communities to develop cooperatives, worker ownership of production centers, and emphasize the production of basic goods and services needed by the community, such as food, shelter, clothing, energy and communications;

9. support national and international agencies of the religious communities in their activities on behalf of justice;

10. urge that capital held in trust by religious communities be used for these ends, giving a central place to the most economically exploited members of such communities in the formation of new policies and practices.

As members of the religious communities in the western United States, we call upon our sisters and brothers elsewhere to become part of a covenant for economic justice, so that work life can be a vehicle of human justice, and the work of our hands an act of praise. ■



*Halloween ghosts are symbols of the demonic which still plagues humankind, according to our WITNESS editorial. If you looked carefully under the “sheets” of this issue you possibly found references to those demons in the lines of all our articles. Let us pray.*



## Cuba Meets the (Church) Press

# 'Revolution Cannot Be Exported'

by Mary Lou Suhor

Ordinarily, Central Committee Headquarters of the Communist Party in Havana would seem an unlikely setting for eight editors of the religious press to be pursuing a story. But there I sat among four men and four women from the Associated Church Press who had just ended a week's tour of Cuban churches and government institutions, in mid-May.

We had collected dozens of interviews with churchpeople and Cuban officials in an effort to understand how Christians operate in a socialist environment, and before we left we were promised a briefing on Cuba's foreign policy. Since a travel ban invoked by the U.S. government had drastically curtailed visits from broad segments of our society, the offer of a group interview around foreign policy was especially anticipated by editors from the States.

We were firing questions at Jose Arbesu, vice-director of the Department of the Americas. His responsibilities included foreign relations between Cuba and the United States, Canada, Puerto Rico and the Caribbean. Foremost on our minds in that ambience was how Cuba saw itself in the throbbingly sensitive area of Central America.

Lee Ranck, Methodist editor of *Engage/Social Action*, took the plunge. "With regard to your Latin American policy: In the United States we hear that Cuba is the stimulus for all kinds of bad things going on in Latin America. Would you comment on that?"

"That's strange," responded Arbesu. "In Cuba we hear that all the bad things that happen in Latin America come from the United States."



Jose Arbesu

The tension broken by laughter, the interview proceeded apace. Arbesu said that Cuba views the situation in Latin America as one of general economic and social backwardness dating back to colonial times. In more recent history, underdeveloped countries in this hemisphere have been under the control of oligarchies linked closely to the United States.

"This has provided a confrontation between the people and those oligarchies," he said, "and some of the confrontations have produced military dictatorships as a way to avoid revolution.

"It is alleged that we are the ones who instigate the problems. But before Fidel Castro was born, there was already a revolutionary movement going on in El Salvador. Before the Bolshevik Revolution, there was a revolution going on in Mexico. And a movement in Nicaragua

with Sandino as well. Before the time of the Cuban Revolution the dictatorship of Somoza was established in Nicaragua. So the roots of the problem have nothing to do with an East-West confrontation, but with internal confrontations in those countries which experience a high degree of exploitation, lack of freedom, poverty. The notion of external intervention and of an East-West conflict is set up to justify the role of the United States in Central America."

The present U.S. administration, he lamented, has an understanding of life "in black and white."

"For them, everything that happens is the result of the devil of Communism. They don't accept that countries have problems which stem from failing economies, hunger, lack of education, disease. This is the situation in El Salvador, in Guatemala, and still in Nicaragua, because Nicaraguans have not yet had the opportunity to change what they inherited from Somoza. They have had to concentrate on defending their country from raids by counter-revolutionaries."

Arbesu told the visiting ACP delegates that although the roots of the problem in developing countries are similar, the solutions do not have to model Cuba.

"You cannot export a revolution. It is not merchandise. For example, in Nicaragua, those who started the revolution were not and are not Communists. They have their own position, their own policies. Their people believe in a pluralistic society. In El Salvador, the progressive revolutionary forces want a political solution. In spite of the fact that I would love to see socialism in these countries,

there are other realities and the solutions do not have to be the same.”

Asked about the Domino Theory (if the U.S. allows El Salvador to turn Socialist, in the eyes of the U.S. Guatemala is next, then Mexico, then Denver, Col.), Arbesu said he did not believe in the theory “in terms of Central American countries conspiring against the United States.” He thought, however, that the Vietnam Syndrome was prevalent in those in the U.S. government who are applying the methods that failed in Vietnam to Central America.

He insisted that the charge that Cuba and Nicaragua were involved in expediting arms to Salvadoran rebels was a canard. Now that 7,000 Somocistas are in training for raids across the Honduran border into Nicaragua, with the blessing and assistance of the United States, “the flow of arms” is no longer a serious issue, he said. What is being discussed blatantly now in the United States is the covert or overt overthrow of the government of Nicaragua, he added.

“I think that if the war against Nicaragua is not stopped, and if there is no serious attempt on the part of the United States to stop the war in El Salvador, the situation will become more and more terrible. For us, it is clear that the only solution is a political solution—through negotiations which guarantee the sovereignty and security of Nicaragua and which take into consideration the positions and aspirations of the progressive forces in El Salvador.”

For the two Canadian editors among us, Bernie Wiebe of *The Mennonite* and Mary Shamley of *The Living Message*, (Anglican), Arbesu had high praise for their country. “Canada is not perceived as an adversary,” he said. “Rather it is an example that it is possible to have good relations with a big neighbor.”

He noted that 70,000 Canadians had visited Cuba as tourists last year and significant trade agreements existed be-

tween the two countries. Cuba was also appreciative of an early Canadian offer to moderate the Central American conflict, but Canada is currently awaiting the outcome of the present “Contadora” initiative taken by Mexico, Panama, Colombia and Venezuela, he said.

Arbesu listed several U.S. provocations against Cuba which had put even further distance between the two countries: the recent flight of the “Blackbird,” (a U.S. reconnaissance plane) over the length of the island; the accusation that Cuban diplomats were involved in a “drug traffic ring;” the 1981 Reagan Administration White Paper, “Communist Influence in El Salvador,” since discredited; CIA attempts against Castro’s life, and the long-term U.S. economic blockade of Cuba.



“Given the tensions in Central America, the Caribbean, and internationally, in which the United States blames us as one of the main sources, and given the aggressive policy of the United States in Central America, I see no possibility of any conversations between Cuba and the United States. We do believe these problems have to be resolved by peaceful means, but under the circumstances, how can we think seriously of dialogue?” he asked.

On that somber note, Arbesu turned the interview around and asked, “How do *you* see the possibilities of lessening tensions in the area, given your experience of living in the United States? Canada is another thing.” (Laughter)

“Very precarious,” offered Dennis Shoemaker, former ACP president and

editor of *Communique*. Shoemaker recounted a visit he had with Right-wing leader Roberto D’Aubuisson at the end of 1982 in El Salvador.

“He made it absolutely clear that there would be no negotiations whatsoever. And he ended his discussion by telling us ‘All we want is peace—peace just like your president wants.’ I don’t see in that any hope. It’s a stonewall situation.”

“On the other hand,” Shoemaker added, the message we heard from the rebel forces in El Salvador was, ‘We can win this war, only we must not. We must find a way to end it without winning it, for if we win it the American planes will not be far behind.’ That’s a painful message.”

Ranck concurred. “There is a great stream of anti-Communist feeling in the United States, and a good deal of fear has been generated about what’s happening.”

Amidst the gloom I recalled, as a ray of hope, particularly in the U.S. Catholic community, the grass roots organizing and staffing of U.S. centers in solidarity with Central America by returned missionaries and layworkers who had served in the field.

“Also, tremendous consciousness raising resulted from the death of the three nuns and Catholic laywoman and the assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero in El Salvador. That plus the fact that Christians are fighting side by side with progressive forces in the revolutionary movements at least makes certain segments of the population identify and ask hard questions about what’s happening in Central America,” I offered.

As the meeting ended, we shook hands with our Cuban hosts, all hoping that further dialogue might be possible in the future. Participating in the interview, in addition to those named, were Keith Clark, *The Disciple*, St. Louis; Terry Schutz, *Lutheran Women*, Philadelphia; and Gladys Peterson, *Interlit*, Chicago.

# Nicaraguans Visit Detroit

In response to increased U.S. military pressure on Nicaragua, a group of concerned citizens sponsored a visit to Detroit by Dr. Antonio Jarquin, Nicaraguan Ambassador to the United States, in late August.

Dr. Jarquin made several appearances on radio and television, held a press conference, and lectured at Mercy College. Arrangements for his trip were spearheaded by the Michigan Inter-church Committee on Central American Human Rights.

---

**Lois Leonard** is editor of *The Record*, Episcopal publication of the Diocese of Michigan.

Answering questions from reporters, Dr. Jarquin said emphatically that it was not the policy of his government to send arms to any other country, including El Salvador.

"We do not even have a common border with El Salvador," Dr. Jarquin pointed out. "Honduras is in between, and it is controlled by the United States. Arms get into El Salvador through many channels. There is an international black market in weapons. There are individuals who favor the guerrilla movement, including some in the United States."

"I personally would rather see the

guerrillas win than the present government of El Salvador," he said, "but the worst thing I could do would be to send them arms, because that would lend substance to U.S. charges."

On the question of Soviet and Cuban advisors in his country, Dr. Jarquin pointed out that the new Nicaraguan government, after deposing the notorious dictator, Somoza, asked the United States for help in the rebuilding of their country. The request was refused. Aid from the United States has been cut off and trade has been restricted. "Mexico, Venezuela, France, and Italy have helped us, as well as the socialist countries," he said. "We are a poor

---

## Hosting the Ambassador

One of the high points of the summer for me and my family was the visit to Detroit of the U.S. Ambassador from Nicaragua, Dr. Antonio Jarquin, and his three assistants: Ms. Angela Saballos, press officer; Mr. Amilcar Navarro, consul; and Mr. Francisco Campbell, political affairs officer.

The Ambassador and Ms. Saballos stayed with us at the Episcopal residence, and Messrs. Campbell and Navarro stayed at the home of the Rev. Robert E. Walton, associate minister of Central Methodist Church in Detroit. Our two sons, Harry and Donald, who happened to be home at the time of the Ambassador's visit, served as his drivers from the time he arrived at the airport until he left. We spent a great

---

**The Rt. Rev. H. Coleman McGehee, Jr.**, is Bishop of Michigan and Chair of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

deal of time as a family talking privately with the Ambassador and his press secretary as well as his other two aides.

We agreed that we have rarely met such scrupulous, humble, sincere, intelligent and loving people. Our two sons said of their time with the Ambassador and the others, that it was clearly one of the great experiences of their lives. Each of our Nicaraguan visitors related their years in Nicaragua and that of their families and friends during the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza, who was supported and kept in power by the United States. They told of unbelievable acts of torture and suffering inflicted upon thousands of Nicaraguans. During the last few years of the Somoza dictatorship more than 50,000 Nicaraguan citizens were murdered (the population of Nicaragua is 2.5 million).

We talked of other things, such as



**Bishop McGehee and Ambassador Jarquin**

the pluralistic composition of the present government; the difficulties which the new leadership has encountered, sometimes due to their inexperience (most government



## by Lois Leonard

country, and we must take help wherever we can find it. Our only stipulation is that our advisors do not expect us to become aligned with them.”

Dr. Jarquin told reporters that his government had proposed that the United States and Nicaragua agree to get together and see that neither side in El Salvador receives foreign arms. “We have also proposed a ban on the building of any military bases in Central America from which aggression could be launched, since the United States is fearful of attack. We are still waiting for a reply to our proposals.”

The presence of the U.S. fleet off the

coast of Nicaragua is viewed as provocative, the Ambassador said. “Our economy depends on trade. Commercial shippers are uneasy about approaching our ports. Furthermore,” he continued, “We have evidence that frogmen are being trained in the waters off our coast with U.S. techniques and weapons. It is hard to believe that our ports are not targeted for covert attack.”

The large-scale military maneuvers that the United States is conducting in Honduras on the Nicaraguan border are also a cause for concern, Dr. Jarquin said. “But we have determined we will not be provoked into conflict with Honduras,” he added.

## by H. Coleman McGehee, Jr.

leaders in Nicaragua are in their 20s and 30s and have never run a government); the mistakes which the new government has made and tried to correct; the ambitious programs to alleviate hunger, poverty, illiteracy and poor health; the role of the church in Nicaragua; the “shameful” (my word) involvement historically of the United States in Nicaragua since 1909.

Having visited Nicaragua in March, 1983, I had heard and read about most of these things from other Nicaraguans and North Americans whom I had met throughout the country. I had related much of what I had heard to my family, but hearing it first-hand from such impressive people made it even more real and appalling to them. On reflection, it seems incredible that official representatives of the U.S. government cannot be more compassionate and understanding of the problems facing this young and new government.

There is a strong Christian and humanistic influence being brought to bear in Nicaragua of which our own Episcopal Church is a part. As a nation we could deepen that influence with serious dialogue (which thankfully we are beginning to do) and humanitarian aid instead of the militaristic approach which we have been pursuing. The alternative is to guarantee an anti-American regime in Nicaragua, bloodshed and disruption for which we shall have to bear the responsibility because of our long history of intransigence and unwillingness to listen.

Speaking for all the McGehees who shared in the Ambassador's trip to Detroit, we thank God for people like Dr. Jarquin and his assistants. They are beautiful people. They are a credit to God's creation and the human family. We are proud to have had a part in their visit and to have had the privilege of their presence in our home.

## Vancouver . . . Continued from page 8

opportunity to participate. Women are making their contribution better in small groups.” Jean Skuse, head of the Australian Council of Churches and vice-moderator of the Central Committee.

- “Native Indian women continue to be persecuted for our race, color and sex. That's three strikes and we're out.” Mary Dick, Kwagiutl nursing student.

- “Theology has developed not only outside of women's experience, but against women's experience. Feminist theology is a corrective. It may not be needed in 10 years, but it is necessary now to express women's deep and often mystical experiences with God.” Sister Ellen Leonard, Toronto School of Theology.

- “Women in Africa struggle side by side with men, but when it comes to enjoying the fruits of the struggle, men push forward to take over. In rural development projects such as food processing, where there is no economic gain, the women lead. But bring in grinding machines and the women get pushed back to the kitchen and the men take over.” Sitembiso Nyoni, Zimbabwe.

- “As far as participation goes, the assembly is a delight. But I don't think women have been very successful in impacting the nominating committee. Women make up more than half the church, but 26% representation on the WCC Central Committee is even less than the percentage of women delegates attending the assembly. We're not back to square one, but we haven't won. When the churches name delegates they think first of sending the moderator or the bishop.” Ghana Judge Annie Jiagge, one of the six WCC presidents.

- “Men show us benevolent acceptance, but when it comes to sharing power, the crunch comes. This is not particular to this assembly alone, but reflects the situation of women in the

world. This process has made it visible. I also feel dominated by a male culture here. My body rebels against sitting long periods through hours of neat, rational statements in which emotions are suppressed." Baerbel von Wartenburg, director of the WCC sub-unit, Community of Women and Men in the Church.

Given the above, it is easy to understand why women in great numbers found their way to The Well and its daily programs for women, as well as for childcare, assistance with interpretation, films, music and dance, refreshments, or just a quiet place to reflect and meet friends. It provided a source of hope, consciousness raising, liveliness, laughter, and tears.

According to the Rev. Margaret Marquardt, Anglican priest who moderated the daily afternoon dialogues, more than 4,000 women visited the Lutheran Campus Center housing The Well during the 18-day assembly. Hundreds of women from Vancouver volunteered their services to make their sisters from around the world feel at home, she said.

A significant contribution to the assembly was made by those women who, speaking from the context of their struggle, were able to help people to make connections between various oppressions.

For example, Annette Hutchins-Felder, of the African-American Institute, political advisor to Coretta Scott King, said: "We have to move from our personal stories to analyze how to change systems. Poverty and racism must be put in a political context, and we must address institutions to effect change." She said that Black women were becoming more aware of economic factors affecting their lives. "In analyzing civil rights and Black power," she said, "we realized that we had gained the right to sit at lunch counters and go to desegregated movies, but what if we

were too poor to do either?"

And Darlene Keju-Johnson of the Marshall Islands, in an address to the assembly, protested nuclear experiments in the Pacific, which have left "terrifying effects" on women's bodies and on the children that they are bearing. She said that 66 nuclear bombs have been exploded at Bikini and Eniwetok, leaving a legacy of horror. Ms. Keju-Johnson has had one tumor removed and has three more. She is worried that if she has children, she might, like some Marshall Island women, have babies "with growths like horns on their heads or six fingers or toes," or the most dreaded "jellyfish baby," which breathes and moves up and down but "is not shaped like a human being — more like a bag of jelly."

Then Ruud van Hoogevest, WCC refugee service coordinator, described the lot of the "forgotten women" among the 15 million world's refugees, noting that besides the suffering inherent in the status, women frequently face rape, such as in the Gulf of Thailand, where sea pirates are raiding the boat people.

In the end, it was the bonding and networking of women that was perhaps the most important feminist aspect of the assembly. Every woman could somehow identify with each who made her way to a microphone, sometimes with faltering steps, to deliver a shaky-voiced message, perhaps about her experience with rape, violence, or prostitution.

The problem of power will persist until the next assembly.

Baerbel Von Wartenburg characterized the dilemma as a difference in value systems. "Holding on to power is a male syndrome, while women are more of the belief that you have to share power with others in order to build together."

How it will all be resolved may well be left to the Spirit, who, as Pauline Webb put it, "will take us where She will."

(Next month: *Racism and Ideology*)

## Resources

*Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry.* The result of a 50-year process of study and consultation, this text represents the theological convergence that has been achieved through decades of dialog. Over 100 theologians meeting in Lima in January, 1982, agreed to this statement. They represented virtually all the major traditions: Eastern Orthodox, Oriental Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Old Catholic, Lutheran, Anglican, Reformed, Methodist, United, Disciples, Baptist, Adventist and Pentecostal. Paperback, \$3.50. Friendship Press, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10115.

*The Community of Women and Men in the Church.* Edited by Constance F. Parvey. The Sheffield Report, result of the Consultation on the Community of Women and Men in the Church, provides fascinating reading, particularly the crucial exchanges between Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie and Philip Potter, General Secretary of the WCC; and between Elisabeth Moltmann-Wendel and Jurgen Moltmann on the origins of patriarchy and the importance of overcoming it. Among topics covered: an analysis of class, race and sex; an African perspective on women and men; iconography; ministry and ordination of women; marriage, family and changing life styles. Ends with recommendations to the churches. Paperback, \$13.95. Fortress Press, 2900 Queen Lane, Philadelphia, Pa. 19119.

Letters . . . Continued from page 3

to crusade for it?

We were concerned about pollution in 1958 in the Ohio Valley, but the bishop told us "it is all in your mind," and that pollution was good as it meant jobs. Now the church is concerned about pollution.

When my husband was a parish priest, he helped a Black man learn ham radio in our basement. The man came in the back door and went out the back door. Yet we were run out of town by the vestry, and the bishop did nothing to help us. Now my husband is a worker priest and a physics teacher and he has been able to witness for Christ better in this capacity than in the parish ministry.

Is the Episcopal Church really interested in social justice, or is it just doing these things to be fashionable? Back in the 1950s I believed in justice for everyone, and I was called a communist by some of the church leaders who are so liberal now.

**Helen K. Zunes**  
Chapel Hill, N.C.

## EPF Seeks Exec

The Episcopal Peace Fellowship stands with THE WITNESS as an advocate for peace with justice, especially as evidenced in the recent June, July and September issues. We would like to inform your sympathetic constituency that the Episcopal Peace Fellowship is seeking applicants for an executive secretary. The position will be available in December.

For information, contact Catharine Ward, 2112 Popkins Lane, Alexandria, VA 22307.

**Mary H. Miller**  
National Chairperson, EPF  
Murrysville, Pa.

### CREDITS

Cover, Beth Seka; photo p. 3, Mary Lou Suhor; *Oikoumene* photo top p. 7, Peter Williams, rest, M.L. Suhor; cartoon p. 8, Claudius; photos p. 10, M.L. Suhor; Solle p. 12, Peter Williams; Arbesu p. 18, Terry Schutz; photo p. 20, Lois Leonard.

**this Christmas  
send three  
gifts for  
the price  
of one!**



Spread the word this Christmas  
with gift subscriptions to:

- A friend
- A relative
- Your church or library
- A colleague
- A student

Compliment their taste and judgment with a year's worth of stimulating and provocative reading in THE WITNESS.

Save yourself time, energy, and money, too. No need to rush all over town or stand in long lines at the cash register. Order three gift subscriptions, which may include your own renewal, for the regular price of one — \$12. Take care of your gift list and help THE WITNESS at the same time.

Your gift subscriptions will be announced by attractive cards, hand-signed exactly as you instruct us, and mailed to the recipients.

To order, use the handy postage-paid envelope in this issue. If you need more room enclose an additional sheet of paper.

**Please act now! This offer is good only until Dec. 31.**

**THE** an ecumenical journal  
of social concern  
**WITNESS**



Yes, I want to take advantage of your special offer. Please send me the book(s) I have checked at \$5.00 each. Payment is enclosed.

- Must We Choose Sides**  
 **Which Side Are We On**

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Fill out and mail today to

**THE WITNESS**  
Box 359  
Ambler, PA 19002

# SPECIAL OFFER TO WITNESS READERS

Order **Must We Choose Sides**, or **Which Side Are We On**, two of the best-selling Study Action Guides on the market — dealing with Christian Commitment for the 1980s — for only \$5.00 and save up to \$1.95.

## Must We Choose Sides?

1979, 127pp. \$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.

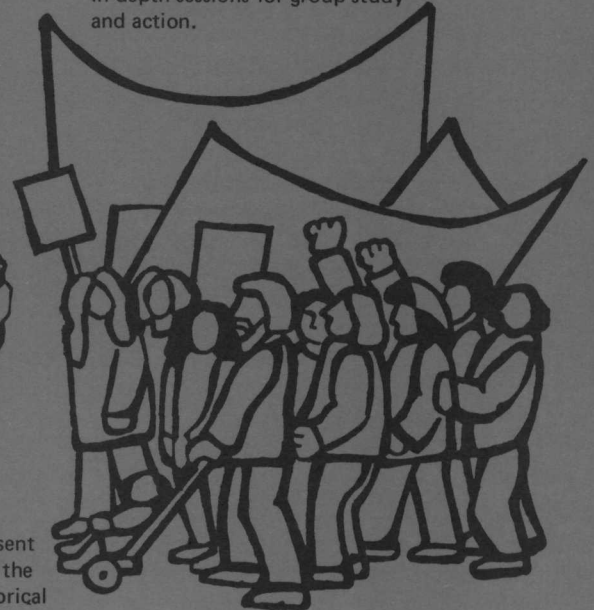


## Which Side Are We On?

1980, 172 pp. \$6.95

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.



**The Episcopal Church Publishing Company**  
P.O. Box 359  
Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002

**Address Correction Requested**

**NONPROFIT ORG.**  
**U.S. POSTAGE**  
**PAID**  
**North Wales, Pa.**  
**Permit No. 121**

# THE WITNESS

VOL. 66 NO. 11 NOVEMBER 1983

---

KAL 007 Revisited • C. G. Jacobsen

---

D.C. Arms Bazaar • Jack Woodard

---

And...Those First Women Deputies!

---



MICNoN

# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

## 'Death Train' Misleading

The "Death Train Route" article in your July issue is potentially dangerous, inflammatory and misleading.

The Trident missile is not the "ultimate first strike weapon." Any ballistic missile is an ultimate first strike weapon because it doesn't have to survive someone else's first strike. The Trident system is instead the "ultimate retaliatory weapon" because it is survivable. In spite of your apparent distrust of the government and military of the United States, the democratic system under which they operate does not permit the United States to launch a surprise first strike attack on any foreign country, and I am sure that no responsible person in our government would contemplate illegal ways to circumvent the system in order to initiate such an attack.

Since the totalitarian regimes of the world are not constrained by the same legal and moral restraints, it is necessary for us to maintain a survivable retaliatory weapon system to prevent nuclear blackmail and to discourage outright attack by those nations. The thought of the potential for destruction by those nuclear warheads is awful, but it must be realized that nuclear weapons have been available since World War II and a nuclear weapon has never been used in an act of war since Aug. 9, 1945 at Nagasaki.

It is not provable that the only reason for this restraint by all parties is nuclear parity between the nuclear powers, but it is also difficult to argue otherwise. The Trident is therefore possibly one of the strongest forces for world peace in existence. Your misguided efforts to eliminate it are inadvertently working, not toward peace, but toward an imbalance of power which could lead to

war. With the present situation of nuclear parity between the developed nations of the world and the increasing development of the industry, capital and housing of these nations, the real danger that we should all fear is that of some irresponsible terrorist group, with nothing to lose, which somehow obtains the materials to build their own bomb. The odds are that the next nuclear bomb detonated in anger will be delivered to some unsuspecting population center in a semi-trailer van rather than by a sophisticated guided missile launched from a nuclear submarine. Think about that possibility for a while before you decide against whom you should direct your demonstrations.

**Christopher W. Bolleau**  
Brigham City, Utah

## Douglass Responds

Contrary to Mr. Bolleau who confuses the meaning of "first strike" with "first draw," a first strike missile is defined by its technical ability to home in precisely, with minimal warning time, on those hardened targets of the enemy which constitute its primary deterrent force: underground missiles and command posts.

Trident is the ultimate first strike weapon because, as its former missile designer Robert Aldridge has pointed out, it will combine extraordinary accuracy with the ability to fire its missiles in massive numbers from undetectable positions relatively close to the Soviet Union. The pinpoint accuracy of the Trident missile, together with a short flight time from a surprise underwater launch, will make it impossible for Soviet leaders to detect and react to a massive Trident attack before their retaliatory forces have been destroyed in underground silos. (Unlike U.S. forces, most Soviet missiles are land-based, and its fewer missile-launching submarines at sea are already targeted through markedly superior U.S. anti-submarine warfare.)

These points are all documented in Aldridge's *First Strike* (South End Press:

1983), a book which shatters our culpable ignorance of first strike programs which the Pentagon has been building up for years. The democratic system which Mr. Bolleau and I both believe in is being destroyed from within by a nuclearist mentality, which now threatens the whole world.

The teaching of Christ applied to our end-time situation is not to oppose totalitarian regimes and terrorist groups with the counter evil of nuclear weapons but to undergo a conversion of Agape in our hearts, to act for justice and peace through a nonviolent cross, and to realize that the kingdom of God is truly at hand.

**Jim Douglass**  
Silverdale, Wash.

## Kudos From Friends

I extend my congratulations to you for an outstanding July issue. The article by Jim Douglass is excellent and the accompanying graphic is very helpful. And Sam Day's article, as well as the poem by Mary Jane Brewster, help to broaden the focus. THE WITNESS continues to be one of my favorite publications.

**Vinton Deming**  
Friends Journal  
Philadelphia, Pa.

## Correction

*It has come to our attention that in assembling the map accompanying our "Death Train" story (July WITNESS), we misplaced a few towns and cities and the border between Idaho and Montana went the voyage. We apologize to the author, and to the residents of Pampa, Tex., and Woodward and Alva, Okla., should this temporary dislocation have caused them any embarrassment or inconvenience.*

*At the same time, we sadly note that given the context, should the train carrying missile components have an accident, these citizens might be moved to even greater distances. — Eds.*

(More Letters on page 22)



EDITOR  
**Mary Lou Suhor**

SENIOR CONTRIBUTING EDITOR  
**Robert L. DeWitt**

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS  
**Richard W. Gillett**  
**Hugh C. White**

STAFF  
**Ann Hunter**  
**Bonnie Pierce-Spady**  
**Susan Small**  
**Lisa Whelan**

PUBLISHER  
**Episcopal Church Publishing Company**

ECPC BOARD OF DIRECTORS

CHAIR  
**H. Coleman McGehee**

VICE-CHAIR  
**Barbara Harris**

SECRETARY  
**Helen Seager**

TREASURER  
**Robert Potter**

ASSISTANT TREASURER  
**Robert Eckersley**

**Otis Charles**  
**Robert L. DeWitt**  
**Steven Guerra**  
**Mattie Hopkins**  
**Joan Howarth**  
**James Lewis**  
**Joseph A. Pelham**

THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215) 643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. Copyright 1983 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.

## Challenging the Bullies

**W**e have reason to be frightened. It is the fear that grips all living creatures when their survival is at stake. No one wishes to be drawn into a street fight that is initiated by bullies, drawing a chalk line on the pavement, daring their adversary to cross the line. Such a line of demarcation will be drawn once again when the Cruise and Pershing II missiles are deployed next month in Europe (assuming no agreement to the contrary in the Geneva arms talks). What must be done to stop this crazy and scary scenario?

Bullies are only deterred by strong, clear-headed dissent which insists that such a state of affairs will lead to annihilation and self-destruction. It is increasingly evident that both Yuri Andropov and Ronald Reagan are dominated by their respective military-industrial complexes. We agree with Stanley Hoffman, Chair of the Center for European Studies at Harvard University: "Despite denials, both sides seem to be working to make nuclear warfare possible, even though nobody knows how it could be waged rationally or kept controlled." Such conditions and pursuits, including the behavior of both superpowers following the South Korean Airline

tragedy, demand a reversal of gears in the arms race and in political relations. We must insist through every available channel that the present policy is intolerable and that a new policy is imperative.

We disagree with those who declare, again under the influence of the bully syndrome, that we cannot make an accommodation with the Soviet Union. We agree with Senator Charles Mathias of Maryland that habitual hatred is an unsound policy, and we should seek "to explore and maintain the widest variety of contacts, the broadest and most diffuse forms of engagement. Instead of restricting our discussions to the gravest and least tractable problems of arms control, we should be pushing our way down paths of least resistance, looking continually for limited openings, marginal advances, small opportunities to create a measure of understanding and shared interest."

We must not allow our fears to inhibit and silence us. Rather we must speak out and write demanding new behavior and new policy that will make the world safe for diversity both in Moscow and Washington.

*(H. C. W. and the editors)*

### Legacy of KAL 007

**T**HE WITNESS grieves with the families of the 269 innocent victims shot down in Korean Air Lines 007, in a merciless act, by the Soviet Union. "Trigger-happy" military, wherever they function, surely do not serve the cause of peace. Having said that up front, THE WITNESS also regrets that in U.S. reports of the incident, truth was frequently abandoned when facts suppressed had more propaganda value to the Administration.

Thus does mass media in time of crisis, more often than not, fall in lock-step to serve as the "national press." The article by Dr. C. G. Jacobsen which follows brings together the bits and pieces one had to look and listen for closely (if they were there at all), "in search of perspective."

Surely a bereaved peace movement views this incident as a tragic setback. But Christian hope pushes us further — to act in the conviction that the 269 deaths must move us away from the fear and paranoia that feed the arms race.

And the Gospel message motivates us once again to press firmly toward the work of reconciliation of nations to nations, peoples to peoples. — Eds.

# Flight KAL 007: A Search for Perspective

by C. G. Jacobsen

**M**urder in the sky. Shock, revulsion, outrage. In Washington the Soviet action is compared to the worst Nazi atrocities. Moscow frantically counter-charges, claiming the plane was on an intelligence mission, sent by people whose disregard for the innocents was akin to the Stormtroopers' use of children as shield. But saner counsel prevailed. The vitriol became a tool of policy; policy was not allowed to become a tool of vitriol.

What happened? There were many questions. Some have been answered. Some never will be. The plane veered off its scheduled path, for a 2½-hour flight through the most crucially sensitive military-strategic region in the U.S.S.R. Its course took it over the ballistic missile submarine base at Petropavlovsk, on the Kamchatka peninsula,

and over adjacent ballistic missile defense test sites, then across the submarine deployment area, the Okhotsk Sea, over the Korsakov base on Sakhalin island, and towards the headquarters of the Soviet Pacific Fleet, Vladivostok. Towards the very end, with Soviet fighters near, the plane apparently changed course, southward, out of Soviet territory. Yet this maneuver may have looked as suspect as the original heading.

But the Boeing 747's silhouette was said to be too distinct to allow confusion. Tapes of intercepted Soviet pilot conversations acknowledged that the plane's navigation lights and one other light (interpreted as a strobe light) were visible, and this was presented as proof that they knew it was civilian. Finally, the 2½-hour time frame was said to have allowed for consultation with Moscow. Andropov was personally implicated.

The silhouette point appeared damning, although dawn had not yet broken. And the mention of lights was suggestive, though not conclusive. The time argument was more strained, since it was only towards the end that the plane's course took on real crisis proportions, and since it might earlier have

---

**Dr. C. G. Jacobsen** is currently Professor of International Studies, Director of Soviet Studies, and Director of the Strategic Studies and National Security Program at the Graduate School of International Studies, University of Miami; he is also Adjunct Professor of the Institute for Soviet and East European Studies, Carleton University, Ottawa, Canada. He is author of *The Nuclear Era: Its History, Its Implications*.

been expected to respond routinely to command (to exit Soviet territory, or land).

The Washington intelligence community did in fact soon conclude that authorization to fire was given by General Govorov, the local commander, in accordance with standing orders. The tapes also quickly made it clear that, with the possible exception of the last few minutes, the fighter pilots did believe that the intruder was a military craft. They employed IFF ("Identification: Friend or Foe"), and reported that "the target isn't responding."

Four days after the incident Washington acknowledged that an RC-135 intelligence plane had been in the vicinity of the South Korean jet just before it penetrated Soviet air space. But although the blips nearly overlapped on radar screens, it was said that Moscow must have distinguished the 747's subsequent course from the standard elliptical flight path of the RC-135, which in any case returned to home base long before the downing. Unfortunately, the 747's course was equally abnormal for a civilian craft. Its charts, as those of all civilian planes, marked the area as one where it might "be fired on without warning." Furthermore, it is all too normal for an intelligence craft to accompany civilian planes for the specific purpose of testing hostile radar scanners, and their ability to discriminate.

Outrage was still sustained, through the belief that Soviet pilots must towards the end have seen that the intruder was a 747, and through continuing assertions that Moscow had not employed normal procedures to force the plane to land. The first belief may not have been warranted, in view of lingering darkness, and the tapes' evidence that the fighters never got closer than a mile; the missile was fired from a distance of two miles. On the other hand, if the plane was finally identified

as civilian, then it was also identified as South Korean.

Moscow's view of South Korea is similar to our view of North Korea. Just a few years ago a South Korean plane penetrated 1,000 miles over Moscow's Barents Sea-Murmansk base complexes. Western media then gave prominent play to the apparent inefficiencies that delayed and hampered Soviet responses. Former CIA Director Stansfield Turner and former National Security Agency Director Bobby Inman have both noted that the presumed Soviet response was to reinforce standing orders to border commands to shoot

*"Moscow is not generally in the business of shooting unarmed planes from the sky. An analogy might hypothesize a North Korean plane intruding U.S. airspace, disregarding interceptor instructions for hours, and heading straight for Colorado Springs — NORAD, and Space Command Headquarters."*

down an intruder who did not respond to instructions. To make matters worse, South Korean planes have since made a number of provocative, though brief, incursions into Soviet territory. And some have engaged in intelligence-related tasks.

The supersensitivity of the region cannot be overemphasized. Flight over an ICBM complex would be far less provocative, if only because ICBM sites are more numerous and more dispersed, and because ICBMs are intended for initial exchanges. The submarine force, however, constitutes Moscow's invulnerable second-strike force, its guaranteed

retaliatory capability, the very heart of its deterrent. And it is concentrated and deployed in just two areas, the Barents and the Okhotsk.

American tolerance of Soviet and Cuban mini-incursions along the Atlantic Seaboard, or of Aeroflot route deviations over less sensitive base areas, is irrelevant. The list of similarly minor violations of Soviet air space is equally lengthy. In both cases the response is standard. Fighters scramble, intercept, and escort the intruder out, or down. Moscow is not generally in the business of shooting unarmed civilian planes out of the sky. A truer analogy might hypothesize a North Korean plane intruding into U.S. air space, disregarding interceptor instructions to leave or land for 2½ hours, and heading straight for Cheyenne Mountain, Colorado Springs (NORAD, and now also Space Command headquarters).

But the question of interceptor instructions had of course not been resolved. In unprecedented press conferences, Marshal Ogarkov, other luminaries of the Soviet defense staff, local commanders and the pilots themselves all asserted that normal procedures had been followed, to no avail; only after the Korean pilot ignored multiple warning shots and tracer bullets was the order given to fire missiles. Washington found no supporting evidence, and exuded cynical scepticism.

Then, 10 days after the tragedy, Washington re-evaluated its tapes. As presented previously to the media and to the Security Council, they were privately acknowledged to have suffered gaps and audio problems; in a number of places the translation was open to question. Now came acknowledgement that the tapes did indeed contain references to gun bursts prior to the fatal missile launch. It had not come without warning.

The evidence of the revised tapes was politically convenient. It undercut rising



right wing pressure for further action against the Soviets. There was of course little that the administration could do. Preceding years of frosty U.S.-Soviet relations had seen cutbacks in high-technology trade, cultural ties and educational exchanges. The only cards left to play, short of Armageddon's mutual suicide, were cards that would harm American interests as much as they might harm Moscow's. America could withdraw from arms talks, but Reagan accepted that these were as vital to Washington as to Moscow. One might abrogate the recently-signed grain deal. But Reagan had castigated Carter for playing politics with grain. And there was the evidence of what had happened the last time: Argentina, Canada and the EEC had stepped in, leaving Moscow with more grain than she had originally sought. The same would clearly happen again. U.S. farmers would be the only losers.

Questions persisted. The Korean pilot's one acknowledged communica-

tion, claiming that he was over the Pacific, East of Japan's Hokkaido island, hardly makes sense. In one of his navigation systems the coordinates may have been punched in wrongly. But there are other, and back-up systems. The explanation does not suffice. The Kamchatka, and Sakhalin loom large.

A review of American reaction to Israel's downing of a Libyan passenger plane over the Sinai in February of 1973 brings up a more fundamental point. Horror was expressed, then, at the loss of civilian lives, as horror must be expressed, now, at the loss of civilian lives. But in the earlier case it was generally accepted that there were mitigating circumstances: the general tension of the region, the security-sensitivity of the area, the defense paranoia of the Israelis. Yet Russian historiography is as inductive of defense paranoia as Israel's. The Sakhalin/Okhotsk area is if anything more crucial to Soviet defenses than the Sinai to Israel. Moscow's view of South Korea

echoes Tel Aviv's view of Libya.

In 1973 Israel eventually conceded culpability, and paid compensation. But her initial reaction then was as evasive of responsibility as is Moscow's today. Israel had little time for "normal procedures;" the Boeing 727 was shot down just 11 minutes after crossing into Sinai airspace, five minutes after interception by Israeli fighters, and just as it was about to leave Israeli-controlled airspace on its way back towards Cairo. Israel and American media spoke of visual problems, due to a sandstorm. The subsequent formal report of the International Civil Aviation Organization demurred: the event "occurred in daylight in visual meteorological conditions." Similarly, Israel (and some American media) claimed the pilot had been an Arab, whose linguistic ignorance was partly responsible. But the pilot was French, and multi-lingual. One could go on.

The point is not to drag up a tragedy of the past. Rather, that then we gave every benefit of doubt, now we give none. If we were more generous, perhaps they would be, also.

Finally, a comment to those whose disgust now leads them to championing higher American defense budgets. We could transfer the whole Education budget to defense, we could add another 50 billion dollars, another million warheads, yet we would be no more able to react to a similar incident in the future. We could stir the rubble of Soviet civilization another 50 times, yet their survivable submarine forces would still be able to obliterate us in turn. With near 60,000 nuclear warheads of all types in the world today (60% American), most of which make Hiroshima look like the proverbial firecracker, the real need may not be for more. The real need may be for generosity, understanding and compassion, to alleviate the fear, in Moscow as in the Middle East, that devours the innocent. ■

## Nijinsky's Diary

nijinsky, god said, jump off the cliff.  
the snow made a clear path and  
it was cold where the sound of things carried forever and  
on past the trees where home was then and nijinsky  
did not say no even as he put the cliff to his back  
and concentrated on the water in his eyes.  
nijinsky, god said, jump off the cliff.  
the laughter in the trees called him to hurry away and pray later.  
instead he laughed and god  
laughed in the space below and he  
watched himself jump as God caught him with dry wood limbs  
just below the ledge.  
nijinsky believed there in that dead tree above space  
that he could tell his own voice  
from the voice of God.  
nijinsky climbed and stood still on the snow.  
nijinsky, god said, dance.  
and dance came as a hungry guest.  
nijinsky, god said, marry.  
and he did.  
nijinsky, god said,  
go mad.

— William Hodges

# 38-Day Fast for Life Ends With Communion

by Judith Moore

After 38 days without food, Dorothy Granada, one of 11 participants in the internationally-based anti-nuclear "Fast for Life," took doctors' advice and ended her fast with Holy Communion and a sip of brown rice water.

"I did not feel called to give my life at this time," Granada said at a news conference Sept. 13. The 52-year-old Eugene, Ore. Episcopalian began her water-only open-ended fast in Oakland on Aug. 6, Hiroshima Day, in company with three other fasters, including her husband, Charles Gray. Eleven men and women in France, West Spain, Canada, Japan, Germany and the U.S. participated in the fast.

The Fast for Life was endorsed by a worldwide list of anti-nuclear activists and pacifists including Daniel Ellsberg, Dan Berrigan, Coretta Scott King and several bishops of the Episcopal Church. The fasters' goal was to effect "a significant turnaround in the madness of the arms race," according to materials sent out to supporters. In a Jesuit retreat center in a Black Oakland neighborhood at the end of the fast's second week, the four U.S.-based fasters discussed their action. They called the fast "not entirely voluntary." The arms race, they said, was accelerating. This acceleration demanded immediate and drastic response. The quartet compared their action to that of a mother or father who rushes into a burning building to save a child. They hoped to raise worldwide popular, governmental and media response. They also wanted to initiate

---

Judith Moore is a free-lance journalist based in Berkeley, Cal.



Dorothy Granada

what Granada called "a disarming of the heart." She then described herself as "called to respond to the dual crises of the impending nuclear holocaust and the continuing holocaust of world starvation." The four Oakland fasters, looking gaunt after two weeks of water only, said that by being hungry they expressed their solidarity with the world's hungry people.

Granada, Joint Chairperson of the Third World Caucus of Clergy and Laity Concerned, talked about herself in an interview on Berkeley's KPFA during the first week of the fast. Granada explained that as the daughter of a Mexican mother and Filipino father, she is "a mestizo twice over." Raised in a Los Angeles barrio and baptized into the Roman Catholic Church, Granada became an Episcopalian when she turned 12. The Episcopal Church, she said, "spoke to me in a

deep spiritual way that the Roman Church did not."

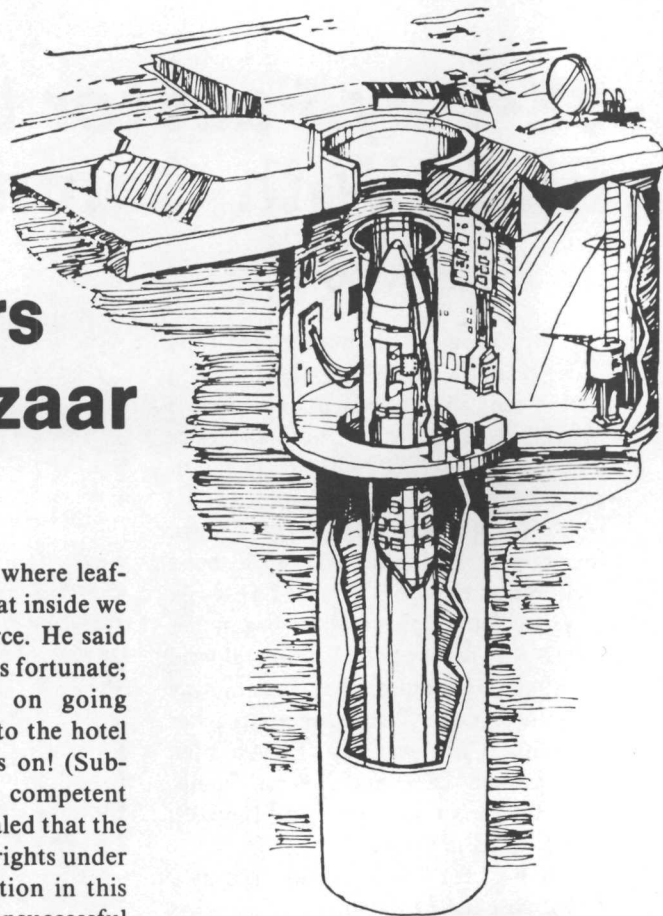
Granada graduated from college, married a Harvard-educated physician and began to enjoy what she called "a sort of typically American dream." By 1972, the Vietnam War had broken into that dream. Granada began to simplify her life, living on \$110 per month, a sum she perceived as the average individual income of most world citizens. She wanted, she said, to take only her fair share of the world's resources.

In 1978 Granada met her present husband, Gray. He had begun to plan what became the Fast for Life. Long interested in political fasting, he was circulating a pamphlet on the subject among anti-nuclear leaders. In 1980 the couple began to seek endorsement for the fast. After attending the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament in August 1982, Gray and Granada were frustrated at the lack of progress toward disarmament and felt that the time had come for more than political action. Together with Solange Fernex, President of the Green Party in France, the couple announced the International Fast for Life would begin one year later on Hiroshima Day.

Although the fast sparked demonstrations around the world and received attention from media and various government officials, little seemed changed after 40 days. The 11 fasters suffered dehydration, extreme weariness and some, including Granada, lost as much as 40 pounds. On Sept. 15, all 11 resumed eating. They did not, according to statements made to the press, feel defeated. They believed that the fast had enhanced awareness of the perils of nuclear war. Granada, on the morning she ended her fast said that she felt the action had "contributed to a new awakening" and that she agreed with fast supporters who believe "it will take time for that awakening to produce political results." ■

# Yahweh and Mars at the Arms Bazaar

by Jack Woodard



Peacekeeper Deployment  
in Minuteman Silos

At the Air Force Association's Arms Bazaar in September, the Sojourners' Peace Ministry, the World Peacemakers, the D.C. Council of Churches, and others like me from individual churches tried to dialogue with participants in a rented room inside the Sheraton-Washington Hotel. We also staged peaceful demonstrations, fairs, and worship services outside.

This was the sixth straight September of demonstrations against this major weapons sales convention. But "dialogue" didn't work because hardly anybody came to talk. Invitations were put under the doors of 1100 of the 1500 rooms before the Air Force became aware of what was going on and ordered the hotel to stop us. They forbade a placard in the lobby, invitations anywhere in the hotel, even a sign on the exterior of the door of our room. Our request to pay the going rate of \$40 per day for a notice on the hotel's closed circuit TV was refused. When we complained, the hotel manager said big conventions like this one "own the hotel" while they have it rented. He told us we couldn't be stopped from handing

out the invitations outside where leafletting was going on, but that inside we were subject to the Air Force. He said we should consider ourselves fortunate; the World Bank insists on going through *all* mail coming into the hotel while *their* convention goes on! (Subsequent consultation with competent constitutional lawyers revealed that the hotel is probably within its rights under current law and that litigation in this matter would probably be unsuccessful in the conservative climate which presently carries the day in the Supreme Court.)

But 1100 nicely printed invitations to come to Room 2008 for refreshments and friendly talk with "Ecumenical Christians for Dialogue" did get to rooms in the hotel before we were stopped. And many more were handed to people on their way into the hotel from outside. But only one person in three days came to our room in response to the invitations.

There being no conventioners in our room to talk with, I went downstairs to try to get into the weapons exhibit where Lutheran Pastor John Steinbruck was arrested four years ago and charged with criminal trespass. Wearing my clerical collar and accompanied by a friend with a convention badge, I asked for admittance.

After a short conference behind the

counter, I was asked, "Have you got a driver's license?"

Restraining the temptation to quip, "I don't want to *drive* a nuclear missile, just *look* at one," my license was produced and I was promptly given a badge labeled INDUSTRY, and admitted to the exhibit hall.

Some exhibit!

A few feet in, I was given a plastic bag for carrying literature and my first fancy folder contained a blueprint of the inside of an MX missile, including MIRV warhead. (They call it "Peacekeeper.")

A few feet further on, hanging overhead in a coat of brilliant orange, was a Cruise missile, all set to be nuclear tipped and to fly away on its mission of horror.

---

The Rev. Jack Woodard is rector of St. Stephen and the Incarnation Church, Washington, D.C.



Spread out in 88 elaborate exhibits were:

— complex, luxurious audiovisual viewing rooms showing various weapons in action;

— multiple-barrel cannon pods to hang on jet fighters;

— many, many exhibits of jet engines and the like for Cruise missiles;

— numerous missiles and fighters, all named for ancient weapons, poisonous snakes, predatory birds, vacations and vitamins, like “Tomahawk,” “Sidewinder,” Falcon,” “Cruise,” and “B-1,” anything but what they really are;

— electronic boxes of every imaginable size, shape and color;

— lasers;

— models of space gadgets.

And everywhere in the vast exhibit hall, the feel and taste and smell of

MONEY,  
TREASURE,  
GOLD,  
TAXES,  
HOUSES,  
FOOD,  
HOSPITALS,  
LIBRARIES,  
CLOTHING,  
TRAVEL,  
EDUCATION,  
HUMANITIES,  
ARTS,

EVERYTHING a huge nation possesses now and for a long time to come, transformed into phallic, macho instruments of massive death and destruction, poured out to fashion these sick things which are capable of nothing but making real a nightmare.

I was in  
a strange cathedral  
in which the soul  
of America  
has turned away  
from its humanitarian dream  
and kneels  
in apostate trust  
before the bastard god,  
Mars,  
whose bloody thirst  
for human sacrifice  
and treasure  
is not to be satisfied  
until no life,  
no treasure  
is left  
anywhere.

And I was stunned with the realization that we’ve been using the wrong biblical texts. Yes, the issue is peace, all right. The related texts, like “swords into plowshares” are wonderful. But before we can get to peace, we have to deal with *apostasy*.

Behind the peace issue is a stark choice between Mars and Yahweh. Like Jonathan and his household, we have to preach and to decide ourselves that, “as for us, we will worship the *Lord*.” America has to be confronted prophetically with that choice.

And as I looked at all those well-washed, well-dressed sales representatives and well-uniformed customers in that exhibit hall, it came to me that they don’t even know they’re worshipping Mars. In our hearts we must not condemn those who tend the altar of Mars, for they “know not what they do.” The Shalom Kingdom is for them as well

and we must find ways to open them to the Spirit.

And then I went outside and stood in the long line of candlelight vigilers as dozens of limousines arrived, bearing tuxedoed and long-gowned guests for the big banquet. They rode past the small mountain of canned food we had collected from our churches to be given to starving people.

And for a moment there in the cool twilight, the power of Mars seemed invincible and my heart cried out for Yahweh to act — now!

And my candle flame flickered in the evening breeze, but it did not go out.

And my heart-prayer turned quiet and submissive.

And my faith in the power of Yahweh to overcome the power of Mars through loving even me and my brothers and sisters there with those silly little candles, returned within me.

And I gave thanks peacefully and went home to rest in preparation for a new day. ■

## Salome’s Song

The play’s complete now, master.

You have got

that wild fierce prophet’s head  
served on a platter.

And will this morsel satisfy  
your mortal appetite?

*His* tastes were stronger.

He consumed

wild honey, and who knows

what monstrous visions

those dead eyes still feast on

fixed, staring from the royal plate?

I am the extra called for in the script.

The music played. I danced.

But if, your majesty,

you will permit one question:

Is there an epilogue?

Or am I mistress of the dance of death?

— Anne C. Fowler

# Women Deputies' Struggle Overshadowed by Ordination

by David E. Sumner

One part of Episcopal Church history that has been overshadowed by women's ordination issues in the past ten years has been the women's struggle for approval as deputies to the General Convention.

It is difficult to believe that the first women deputies were seated at the 1970 General Convention, only six years before the approval for women's ordination. It was at this same 1970 convention that the approval for women's ordination to the diaconate came, which

---

**David E. Sumner** is Director of Communications for the Diocese of Southern Ohio and is writing a book on modern Episcopal Church history.

distracted attention from the seating of women deputies.

Nevertheless, the event remains an important part of Episcopal Church history, more deterred by tradition than the theological arguments that came with women's ordination. Without the efforts made during this 20-year period, the doors for ordination never would have opened.

Approval for women to serve as deputies did not come until the 1967 General Convention, after a struggle that formally began in 1946. The first woman ever elected and seated as a deputy was Mrs. Randolph H. Dyer from the Diocese of Missouri, in 1946. However, she was the only one for the next 20 years.

At the first meeting of the House of Deputies on September 10, 1946, Mrs. Dyer's seat was challenged. After considerable debate, she was seated with the understanding that the question would be settled for future cases by proper canonical procedure and authorities.

In 1949, four women were elected deputies to the San Francisco General Convention and the matter was brought up for official consideration. These women were Dr. Ruth Jenkins of the Diocese of Olympia, Mrs. Elizabeth D. Pittman of the Diocese of Nebraska, Mrs. E. V. Cowdry of the Diocese of Missouri, and Mrs. Domingo Villafane of the Diocese of Puerto Rico (who was not present at the convention).

---

## *The Last Woman Not To Be Seated*

As I boarded the plane for South Bend for our Special General Convention in 1969, a bishop jokingly pronounced, "That's the last seat you'll get!" His laughing dismissal of my elected status as deputy from the Diocese of Los Angeles proved to be reflective of the consensus among the all-male House of Deputies at that time. However, there were a precious few with vision and commitment to a fully representative convention. These had come prepared to fight. Presiding Bishop John Hines announced to me on arrival, "We will find a way!"

Though over a dozen women deputies were present, it was my deputation which moved that I be seated at opening session of the House. This effort failed and resulted in an unbelievable extension of injustice for one more year. Women deputies and advocate deputies met under a tree outside the cafeteria at noon to discuss strategy. Our deliberations were done in the light of the Black Manifesto presented the night before in Plenary Session. We concluded that the pressing needs of black and brown people and the mandate we had as a church to

address those needs must take precedence over our rights as women. We chose to wait for seating at General Convention, 1970, in Houston.

Being identified as "the last woman not to be seated in the House of Deputies," I became the object of abuse from those who opposed women as full participants in our Lord's service. On returning home, I confessed to my husband that only by God's grace was I able to endure the humiliation, sexist remarks and laughter. God's grace opened me to know that everything I had to bear

The accommodating resolution would have changed the word *laymen* in Article 1, Section 4 of the Constitution to *laypersons*. It was defeated 35½ to 28½ among the clerical deputies, and 46¼ to 24¾ by the lay deputies, with 7 divided.

On the following day, the House adopted a resolution providing for the seating of the women by courtesy, but without a voice or vote. The three attending deputies declined, pointing out it was "irrelevant" to the question.

A statement read on their behalf by Dean Sidney E. Sweet of Missouri declared:

*"We, the three women who were elected members of the House of Deputies, and who were refused seats at the opening session, thank the House for its permission to be seated without voice or vote, which was accorded us yesterday. But we regretfully wish to inform the House that such action is irrelevant to the main issue. We were elected by our diocese, not as women, but as lay deputies. We feel the real issue has not been met by this Convention. The question*

*is not one of courtesy to women, but whether or not women may represent in its councils the church they are proud to serve. We, therefore, decline the courtesy offered to us."*



**Leaders in the struggle for women deputies and pioneers in mission: from left, Dr. Ruth Jenkins, of La Jolla, Cal.; Mrs. Mary Eunice Oliver of San Diego; and the Rev. Jean Dementi, priest-in-charge of the North Pole Congregation of St. Jude's and first woman to be a candidate for Diocesan Bishop in the Anglican Communion.**

"Next time I hope we don't rebuff the women the same day they present their United Thank Offering" was a comment said to be made by many. As the *Christian Century* observed, "The money was welcomed in while the

## by Mary Eunice Oliver

would make it easier for women who would follow.

The closing Eucharist in 1969 was held in the round. I went to the side and sat alone. Bishop Hines came and joined me. My prophet, Jack Pratt, said later, "He was the good shepherd coming for the lost sheep that had been shut out." I felt included.

And so it came to pass in Houston at the 63rd General Convention of the Episcopal Church, after 181 years, that women were seated as deputies. I was determined this moment would not be

betrayed as just another agenda item with a pound of the gavel and the proceeding of business as usual. I had written weeks before to Dr. John Coburn, President of the House, that we had to proceed penitently for all the years the church had excluded women.

As women deputies went forward to be welcomed for the first time, Dr. Coburn called the church to repent. I began to cry. It was as though all of the rejection, agony and frustration of women poured out from me. I was blessed to have been sustained by the women of Massachusetts, especially

Theresa Gillett, in that heavy moment of joy, relief, absolution and sister solidarity. I was at peace.

In 1981 the House of Bishops met in my neighborhood in my See during my 60th birthday octave. I attended opening Eucharist with the Rev. Thomas Steel from England. We sat in my usual place for worship near the front on the Gospel side. Immediately following the service, Presiding Bishop John Allin called the House of Bishops to order. And there I was! A vote was called for and I said, "Aye!" Why not? ■



women were being locked out.”

The 1949 San Francisco Convention did, however, appoint a Commission on Women to study “the place of women in the church and report to the 1952 General Convention.” The Commission presented a favorable report in Boston in 1952. It stated, “Because of the theological and historic positions stated above . . . this Commission believes there is no basis of distinction in principle between men and women in the church.” But once again, the women were defeated in their bid for equality.

In spearheading the opposition, a physician from Pennsylvania told the House that Jesus Christ was a male and all the Apostles were men. “Men and women,” he argued, “have divergent roles to play in life.”

According to the physician, the “rank and file” of churchwomen did not seek or want representation. Those who did, he asserted, were “career women” in the “top echelons” of the Women’s Auxiliary.

A deputy from Providence, Rhode Island, told the House that, “Women have their position and their power, God bless them, but we men must assume ours also . . . I think there are other ways in which the position and force of women can be integrated here without taking a place away from a man.”

A bishop from Texas asserted there was a “practical angle.” He said that giving the vote to women would tend to make busy laymen lax in their church interests, and inclined to turn the reins of the church over to the “distaff side.”

The Rev. Theodore P. Ferris, the late renowned rector of Trinity Church, Boston, led the losing forces who sought to seat women. “We want the best brains and the deepest spiritual understanding,” he said. “If these are present in a woman, I don’t want the House to be deprived of them.”

And two delegates chided their peers

for lagging behind secular society in women’s rights. Gov. Elbert N. Carvel of Delaware said, “This is not the 19th century; it is the 20th century. Women have proven themselves in government and have made a contribution to the efficient and effective operation of our states before we are allowing them to prove themselves in our church.” The Rev. Leland W. F. Stark of Washington, D.C. said, “Every argument against this resolution was urged long ago



Mrs. Randolph H. Dyer of St. Peter’s Church, St. Louis, was the very first woman to be elected as deputy to General Convention (by the Diocese of Missouri) in 1946. (From an old photo.)

against suffrage. It bothers me that secular bodies move so much faster than the church.”

Arguments for the seating of women were to no avail, however. Nor did they carry the day in 1955, at the Convention in Honolulu. The *Christian Century* reported of this 1955 effort:

*“It was conducted at a humorous, almost ribald level, with hearty laughter at every occasion of discovering a double meaning in some innocent remark of a speaker. The possibility that the Convention might be a body that*

*made serious decisions affecting people’s lives, that people ought to have a chance to speak and vote on serious discussions affecting their lives — all these never seemed to enter anybody’s head. It was just whether we liked this group in our club, whether they might take over and squeeze us out. It was not the importance, intelligence, or competence of women that was on trial in the debate.”*

For the next three General Conventions, similar proposals were defeated. The culmination of the 21-year old battle came in 1967 in Seattle. The resolution passed in both houses to change the wording in Article I, Section 4, to read *lay persons* rather than *laymen*.

The *Convention Daily* stated, “At every Convention since 1949 which decided that the word *laymen* was not generic, attempts have been made to change the constitution to read *laypersons*. These attempts were defeated by increasingly narrow margins, and were crowned with success by yesterday’s vote.”

The action was ratified at the 1970 General Convention and 28 elected women deputies were seated Oct. 12. In all, 43 women served at various times during this Convention in Houston.

An interesting footnote to this history was that the Diocese of Los Angeles elected Mrs. Mary Eunice Oliver of San Diego as a deputy to the 1969 Special General Convention held at Notre Dame University. However, the House of Deputies refused to seat her because technically the resolution, though passed in 1967, had to be ratified at the 1970 Convention. A motion to have the House, for that Convention only, set aside the constitutional bar was ruled out of order. Mrs. Oliver was finally seated on the last day of the 1970 General Convention. ■

## Memories of 1949:

# 'I Still Feel Indignant . . .'

by Ruth Jenkins

In 1949, at the convention of the Diocese of Olympia, I was asked by a group of delegates if I would allow my name to be put in nomination as lay deputy to General Convention. I asked them to consult with the bishop, to get his opinion on the matter. Very shortly they reported that Bishop Stephen Bayne had facetiously responded, "I don't know anyone I'd rather see thrown out of General Convention than Ruth Jenkins."

Knowing him well, I took that as a high compliment, and as his nod of approval.

At the diocesan convention, I received the highest number of votes of any elected lay deputy. I felt this reflected the desire of my diocese to recognize not only that a "layman" is any non-ordained person in the church, but also that women who contribute so much should be given a vote in its operation. Of course, under the episcopate of Stephen Bayne, our diocese was a very enlightened one!

However, when the General Convention of the Episcopal Church was called to order and the Credentials Committee made its report, the fight began in earnest. Long lines of clergy and lay deputies formed on both sides of the room awaiting their turn to speak.

The arguments against the seating of women seemed incredible to me. It was hard to believe that so many were so unenlightened. Perhaps I found the scenario particularly scandalous because I was born in Alaska to missionary parents and later lived in Nevada where my father was bishop. Both Alaska and Nevada were then Missionary Districts. I also had relatives who were missionaries in China, and I knew the great pioneer work done by women in the mission field. These pioneers were far more effective and also less expensive

(shame on the church) to the institution than men. Yet these women had no voice or vote in the governing body of the church.

But to return to Convention. Eventually, debate was cut off and the vote taken. Misogyny prevailed. Then a sop was offered the women deputies in the form of a "courtesy" resolution to allow them seats without voice or vote. I walked out, and into the arms of my bishop who was as disgusted as was I.

We women deputies later sent a formal reply saying we were not interested in courtesy but rather in the right of a diocese to select its own representatives to the church's councils. But it was for me both disgusting and heartbreaking to see our great church still failing to recognize what women had done and could do for the well-being of the church. It took 20 years for the General Convention to finally admit women.

It was my privilege following the Convention to be appointed by the



Mrs. E. V. Cowdry, of St. Louis, left, and Mrs. E. D. Pittman of Omaha were on the floor with Dr. Ruth Jenkins in 1949 when the House disallowed them to be seated. (From an old photo.)

Presiding Bishop as a member of the commission to study the role of women. That was a great group of bishops, clergy, and lay persons, both men and women, who presented the report to the General Convention of 1952, but the vote was still NO!

At about the same time that women were admitted to General Convention, I had a call from my rector to say that I had been elected to fill a vacancy on the vestry, because they felt it important to have some minority representation. Since there were no Blacks. Orientals, Mexicans or other minorities in our congregation, it was suggested that a woman might fill that need. Well my pioneering started at my birth in an Indian village in Alaska, and perhaps that qualified me as a minority representative. But all together, my Black, Brown, and other sisters and I do constitute 51% of the earth's population!

When I think of the great work I have seen done in both foreign and domestic mission fields (I realize these are not current forms of usage) by *women* pioneering where the church could not afford to pay *men*, I still feel great indignation on many counts.

In 1963 I visited a friend on the faculty of Cambridge University who had just been appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury to serve on the first commission to study the role of women in the Church of England. Although women are still not allowed to be ordained in the Church of England, my friend wrote me recently that the group commissioned to nominate the Archbishop of York consisted of three *women* — the Queen, the Prime Minister and another church woman who, had she been a man, would long since have been an archbishop herself.

How slowly the wheels of progress move! ■

# Women's Project Gives 'Historical Corrective' To Church Ministry

by Cynthia McLean

It is difficult to imagine any change in the life of a church or a nation more revolutionary than one centering around women. When the 51% majority moves, so moves the entire body. The implications of such change can most clearly be understood when put in the context of what went before, what led to the transformation, and what can be used from the past to empower the future.

At the 1982 General Convention of the Episcopal Church, every congregating unit was asked to take the "Next Step in Mission" by examining its work in terms of Service, Worship, Evangelism, Education and Pastoral Care (SWEEP).

SWEEP is designed to ferret out answers to questions such as:

- Are our ministries adequately addressing current needs?
- Are our ministries as presently structured *capable* of responding to these needs?

It is unlikely that we will see much renewal or innovation in church ministries unless we add one critical component to the SWEEP process: An historical analysis of the activities in the church

that have been (and are) performed by women.

The Episcopal Church has tended to take its women for granted. Although women have always made up a good two-thirds of congregations and been responsible for the bulk of volunteer outreach ministries, their contributions in time and energy rarely have been formally acknowledged. Similarly, monies raised from church bazaars for specific purposes like new choir robes or the repair of a leaky roof, have often escaped notice in church budgets. If today belated attention is being paid to Episcopal women, might it be because their absence is beginning to affect parochial life?

Since the 1960s, increasing numbers of women have entered the work force as full-time wage earners. They are finding in colleagues and professional organizations the daily satisfactions of community and social intercourse that formerly were supplied by church work. They are enjoying the freedoms brought by a paycheck. They are developing a sense of identity based on personal achievement. And they are arriving home at the end of a week as exhausted as their fathers ever were, sometimes with briefcases full of weekend work.

This scenario of course does not apply to all women in all parts of the country. But it behooves the Episcopal Church to recognize these changes in attitude, life-

style and aspiration of women. Also, because Episcopalians tend to be liberal, highly educated and upwardly mobile, it is likely that Episcopal women will be amongst the first to leave behind the roles of full-time homemaker and volunteer. What it boils down to is that there are fewer hands and hearts able to carry out all the ministries entailed in the SWEEP formula. Who will do them now and on what terms?

In order to deal with the implications of these changes then, we need an historical accounting of those ministries that women carried out on all levels of the church—local, national and international. The Episcopal Church needs to examine those activities that formerly fell under the rubric of "women's work," and ask itself whether today some of these ministries belong to the *entire* laity—men as well as women. Further, women are almost as ignorant of this history as their brothers, and need to study the record to determine for themselves whether "women's ministries" has become an obsolete concept in a church that now technically allows them to rise to the bishopric.

At first glance, it would seem there is little to consider. One cannot go to the library and find books which will relate *The History of Women's Work in the Episcopal Church*. In many cases, neither our local nor national archives even con-

---

**Cynthia McLean** is an executive board member of the Episcopal Women's History Project. A graduate of Union Theological Seminary, she is also historical researcher for the China program at the National Council of Churches.



tain the primary materials necessary to write it. As extensive as women's work has been throughout the life of the Episcopal Church, neither the church nor the women themselves counted it significant enough to write down. For this reason, some have questioned the assertion that women's ministries have been noteworthy. But the work initiated by the Episcopal Women's History Project (EWHP) over the past three years reveals an entire dimension of the mission of the church which is invisible to contemporary eyes. Countless deaconesses, missionaries, college workers, directors of religious education, altar guild members, women in religious orders and participants in the Episcopal Church Women and the United Thank Offering have served God in untold quiet ways. The problem is not that there is so little to consider, but so much!

A major challenge for the 1980s then, is to rediscover the ministries our foremothers so ably undertook, and to integrate this history into a more complete understanding of how the Episcopal Church has carried out its mission in the world in terms of Service, Worship, Evangelism, Education and Pastoral Care. The task is a large one and should easily occupy our attention for the remainder of the decade, which might appropriately be designated THE CELEBR-EIGHTIES.

The concept, THE CELEBR-EIGHTIES, derives from the realization that so many women's organizations are marking important anniversaries in the 1980s. Significantly, six of these are centennials: The Sisterhood of the Holy Nativity in 1982; the Companions of the Holy Cross in 1984; the Daughters of the King in 1985; the Church Periodical Club in 1988; and both the United Thank Offering and the Setting Apart of Deaconesses in 1989. What, we may ask, was occurring in the 1880s that warranted this proliferation of female activities?

The answer is *Missions*. Manifest Destiny, the idea that the young American

republic had a divine role to play in world affairs, was becoming increasingly prevalent in all quarters. In the churches, this translated itself as the imperative to go to the "perishing heathen" and to bring them the blessings of Christian civilization. And so they went: into the urban slums teeming with immigrants who lived in squalor and degradation; across the western plains with the settlers to ensure that the saloon would not dominate the new towns; out to the Native American encampments and remote Appalachian communities where ignorance and disease ran rampant; across the seas to India, Liberia and China, whose peoples had

---

*"Episcopal women are almost as ignorant of their history as their brothers, and need to study the record to determine for themselves whether 'women's ministries' has become an obsolete concept in a church that now technically allows them to rise to the bishopric."*

---

never heard the saving Word of Christ and whose women lived in unspeakable bondage.

The missionary movement was the major vehicle for bringing women out of their homes and into the structural life of the church. In 1820, when the General Convention first adopted a constitution for the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, it was assumed that its missionaries would be ordained men. But the needs of the "heathen" so overwhelmed those early missionaries that soon they were calling for new recruits—especially women who could reach the mothers, wives and sisters of the men the missionaries were trying so earnestly to convert. After the hiatus of the U.S. Civil War,

women's involvement in missions dramatically increased. And in 1871, the Episcopal Church sought to channel these female energies by establishing the Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions.

To understand the heritage of Episcopal women, it is crucial to remember it was this missionary fervor that spurred them on and knit their diverse activities into a seamless fabric which was called "women's work." For nearly a century, missions occupied the hearts, hands and souls of Episcopal women. And it needs to be added that women actually carried out the lion's share of concrete mission work for the *entire* Episcopal Church. It was the Sisters of St. Margaret who undertook the settlement work of Trinity Church, New York. The Sisters of the Transfiguration and the Sisters of St. Anne not only were engaged in teaching and nursing at home, but also established houses in China and the Philippines. By 1900, when wives are included in the totals, women outnumbered men in the foreign mission fields by nearly two to one—as missionaries, teachers, deaconesses and doctors. Moreover, it was women who packed and sent the missionary supply barrels; corresponded with and mailed reading materials to those in remote stations; raised vast sums of money; and were largely responsible for stirring up missionary enthusiasm at home through their writing and distribution of interpretive materials.

After World War II, the missionary movement declined. China expelled all foreign missionaries as "cultural imperialists," missions in other lands devolved into national churches able to direct their own affairs. The women's training schools in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago had been absorbed by seminaries who took over their curricula in religious education and social work. Only St. Margaret's House in Berkeley, Cal. and Windham House in N.Y. survived through the mid-1960s. In 1958 the

Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions became Episcopal Church Women (ECW). In 1970 women canonically became part of the laity and in 1976 women were permitted to the priesthood. Meanwhile, the older women's organizations had dwindled in numbers, many disappearing entirely from parochial settings. Agencies in the national church, most staffed by men, had taken over many of the educational and interpretive functions once handled by women.

So what has this terribly simplistic sketch of women's work in the Episcopal Church to say to us today?

First, that there are countless stories of faith and daring to celebrate. We need to know who went where, to do what and for what end.

Second, women's work will lead us to a review of the entire missionary movement which has been neglected for too long. Our understanding of our Partners in Mission remains superficial until the stories of the church-planters are told. Moreover, we must honestly grapple with the charge that the missionaries were "cultural imperialists." Women particularly need to reflect on this.

Third, this history reveals a host of professional church ministries that have almost entirely disappeared. Women attend seminary today, but do so primarily to become priests. Has the Episcopal Church come to the point of recognizing, providing education for and employing *only* clerical vocations?

Fourth, there is much discussion now concerning the role of the laity and the revival of the permanent diaconate. Would it not be useful to draw the historical experience of women workers and deaconesses into these discussions?

Fifth, there are some ministries that are obviously inappropriate today. Do there not remain, however, some agencies which though rooted in the "missionary era" still have a role to play? For example, the Church Periodical Club began by sending used periodicals and books to

missionaries on the "far Wisconsin frontier" in 1888. For nearly 100 years now they have supplied the printed word free

---

## EWHP Seeks Support

**The Episcopal Women's History Project (EWHP) was begun in 1980 to research, write, publish and celebrate the contributions made by Episcopal women to both church and society. Independently incorporated, it is run by a volunteer Executive Board with the assistance of an Advisory Committee of historians and scholars. One part-time worker staffs the New York office which is supported by contributions, grants and membership fees that entitle one to receive the quarterly newsletter.**

**The major function of the EWHP is advisory. It is not a repository for primary materials except as a last resort. It does, however, want to know the location of these materials in order to eventually publish a research guide for scholars. A growing network is being developed of individuals willing to organize historical activities in their own parishes and dioceses. The EWHP also emphasizes the recording of oral histories of prominent women and Everyday Saints now in their 70s, 80s and 90s. Oral history guidelines can be procured from the N.Y. office.**

**In the spring of 1982, the EWHP hosted a major conference at the Seminary of the Southwest in Austin, Tex., the site of the National Archives of the Episcopal Church. "Living History" workshops on the work of Texas Women and Women of the Sioux Nation were presented, as well as formal historical papers. Many of the latter were published in the December 1982 issue of the *Historical Magazine*. Underway is a handbook, *Cultivating Our Roots*, which will include directions on setting up a local EWHP chapter, taping oral histories and putting on EWHP workshops.**

**Individual membership is \$15. Checks can be sent to EWHP, 175 Ninth Ave., New York, NY 10011.**

---

to missions, prisons, hospitals, overseas seminaries and schools. Yet the Episcopal Church seems to have forgotten

the CPC. Even in our video age, is this not still a vital ministry that needs our support?

Six, is it not time to lift up anew the spirit of voluntary service evidenced in this history for both men and women? Many women have begun to identify with the work-and-success-ethic formerly prescribed for men. At the same time, computers have made redundant the jobs of many men who now must learn to find meaning and satisfaction in their lives outside of their work.

I have concentrated in this historical sketch on the missionary dimension of Episcopal women's history because of its dominant role in galvanizing and directing women's ministries. We should not forget, however, the consecrated work of the Everyday Saints in every parish who have quietly tended the altar, welcomed the visitors, visited the sick, hosted the potluck suppers and prayed together for the mission of the church. These, too, are significant ministries and ultimately are of a piece with those carried on outside the parish bounds. Nor should we forget the ministries Episcopal women have undertaken in such interdenominational organizations like the YWCA and Church Women United. And finally, we might ask what significance our faith has held in the lives of women who found their vocations elsewhere. Juliette Low, the founder of the American Girl Scouts; Margaret Mead, the anthropologist; Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor under Franklin Roosevelt; and Sandra Day O'Connor, the Supreme Court judge, were and are all Episcopalians. Has this mattered in their daily work?

We are called today to examine our ministries in terms of Service, Worship, Evangelism, Education and Pastoral Care. If combined with an historical analysis of women's work in the Episcopal Church, we may by 1990 be able to look back in thanksgiving on a decade of renewal and new life which indeed was THE CELEBR-EIGHTIES. ■



*THE WITNESS* last month presented Part 1 of its report on the World Council of Churches Sixth Assembly, which drew 3,500 people to Vancouver in August. The October issue carried a Third World view of the Assembly, a theological report, including Dorothee Solle's reflection on "Life in Its Fullness," and an analysis of sexism. Part 2 follows.

#### WCC Backgrounder

- The WCC currently counts 300 member churches in approximately 100 countries. They include denominations from the following church traditions or families: Eastern Orthodox, Oriental Orthodox, Old Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, Reformed (Presbyterian and Congregational), Methodist, Baptist, Disciples, Pentecostal, United, Independent, Moravian, Anabaptist (Mennonite, Brethren), Friends (Quakers).
- Geographically, they include 61 in Africa, 58 in Asia, 19 in Australasia/Pacific, 10 in the Caribbean, 30 in Eastern Europe, 56 in Western Europe, 19 in Latin America, 13 in Middle East, and 34 in North America.
- The total membership of the WCC members is estimated at between 400 and 500 million.
- Previous WCC assemblies were in Amsterdam, 1948; Evanston, Ill., 1954; New Delhi, 1961; Uppsala, 1968; Nairobi, 1975.

## Option for Poor Shapes World Council's Ideology

by Mary Lou Suhor

THE WITNESS makes a transition from its report on sexism to ideology and racism via two theological observations made to the WCC Assembly by U.S. delegate Krister Stendahl: First, "The theology we have received is being chastened by a new awareness — that most of scripture and theology was written by men. What is needed is consciousness raising — a new awareness of the power configuration. So far Christians have not been very good about speaking of power." And second, "Jesus said, you don't live by bread alone, but he never said that to anyone who was hungry."

Stendahl is helpful to get at a theme debated hotly and frequently by WCC

delegates: that the Gospel does not come to Christians in the abstract, but in real life situations in which they work, struggle, and respond.

And since these Christian delegates live in *oikoumene* — the whole inhabited earth — they responded in Vancouver with varying degrees of courage, depending, more often than not, on the type of social systems and conditions to which they had to return. This prompted one foreign correspondent to comment, "The South Africans are the ones making the gutsy statements here; they have to go home to apartheid and a repressive government."

For many Africans, the primary issue



was sheer physical survival. Anglican Bishop Henry Okullu of Kenya drove the point home: "There will be no peace while millions in Africa die of hunger, and millions in North America die of overeating and tons of food are fed to dogs."

Through its concerns and programs, the World Council of Churches has sent forth the message that ecumenism means more than overcoming religious barriers (as is being attempted in the Baptist, Eucharist, Ministry document). Ecumenism means advocating human rights, and empowering the poor and marginalized. In these matters, the World Council's claim that ideology does not influence its theology is suspect, according to its critics. But who are these critics? Well, it depends.

In 1948, when the WCC was founded, *The Wall Street Journal* charged the first assembly in Amsterdam with Marxist tendencies. Thirteen years later, at New Delhi, the *Peking People's Daily* accused the WCC of following the U.S. State Department line under a "thin religious cloak." And *Pravda* and *Izvestia* attacked the Council for its stand on human rights. In 1982, *Reader's Digest* asked the question, does the WCC serve Karl Marx or Jesus Christ? (See John Bluck, *One World, Resource*.)

More recently there was the "60 Minutes" TV attack. And as was obvious in U.S. mass media reporting, the suspicion persists that ideology sneaks into WCC theology, in spite of General Secretary Philip Potter's denial: "We don't need ideologies. The ecumenical movement and the Council began with biblical renewal and found its base in the prophetic biblical faith."

*Time* magazine headed its Vancouver report, "The Curious Politics of Ecumenism: To the WCC, the Soviets Are Sinless;" and the *Wall Street Journal* opined, "The WCC has just descended from a mountain with a stone tablet

saying that the focus of evil in the world is the United States."

At the same time, the United States apparently did everything in its Star Spangled power to influence its delegates. Speaking in Vancouver, Bishop James Armstrong, president of the National Council of Churches, said that the State Department had called a meeting of the U.S. WCC delegates to brief them on issues coming up at the Assembly. "We have little participation in these meetings," he said. "They're just monologues." He noted that the U.S. Consul General in Vancouver would be interested in the effectiveness of the briefings, in view of the WCC's strong statement on U.S. intervention in Central America.

The Assembly was concerned about freedom of speech as a human right. Said one delegate, "No Dorothee Solle rises from the U.S.S.R. to tell us about the possible emptiness of life in the Second World."

Asked why the Russian Orthodox Church was so reluctant to criticize its government, Philip Potter said, "The

church is the one body in that country which has the possibility to attend a meeting such as this. We have to realize the sensitivities of people who do not enjoy the obvious kind of freedom of expression as others do, and who must answer for the statements they are associated with."

Well, sure, but what about those gutsy South Africans? Perhaps the Orthodox need to imbibe some of the courage of Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu and South African theologian Allan Boesak.

In the final analysis, WCC's ideology must be examined against its stated option for the poor. Konrad Raiser, WCC Deputy General Secretary, sees as most striking since the last Assembly in Nairobi (1975) the change in ecumenical perspective toward those without power: the victim, the marginalized. "This shift," he says, "expresses a theological conviction about God's bias for the poor, reinforced by the testimonies of Christians who experience that bias personally."

In the context of the conflict between



**United Methodist Bishop James Armstrong, president of the National Council of Churches, addresses the media at the World Council of Churches Assembly in Vancouver.**

the two superpowers, WCC's political and social positions sometimes resonate like those taken by the non-aligned movement or United Nations' agencies. As one African bishop observed, "For the Third World to perceive ecumenism only in terms of the superpowers is to be reduced to ecumenical blackmail."

In this regard, however, many key WCC ecumenical figures have chosen the economics of socialism over capitalism as more suited to attaining social justice. They do not believe the transnational corporations "will convert, like Zaccheus."

Vancouver was the first place that this reporter heard Bishop Desmond Tutu publicly proclaim that he was a socialist. The feisty and popular General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, who was originally denied an exit visa by his government, arrived for the last seven days of the WCC Assembly.

One might almost predict that his political statement will be met with "*Et tu, Tutu?*" by many in the West who heretofore applauded his anti-apartheid stand. But the deeply spiritual Tutu's sermons and addresses always credit the Bible as his source of strength and hope. He also sees it as a radical instrument for social change. "Perhaps the missionaries should not have introduced us to it, because we are taking it seriously," he laughs.

Another disarming statement came when he modestly turned aside congratulations for his Christian witness in South Africa, for which he may yet lose his life. "On the contrary," he said, "it's easy to be a Christian in South Africa. There is one main struggle — to be against apartheid. It is far more difficult to be a Christian in the United States or Canada where the issues are many and complex."

On the whole, the World Council's long involvement in the struggle against racism has made greater impact than its



**Philip Potter leaves the post of General Secretary of the World Council of Churches in 1984 after serving that body in various capacities for 24 years. Timetable for his successor calls for a nominating committee to meet in early July to finalize nominations, interview candidates and bring their recommendations to the WCC Central Committee for decision.**

struggle against sexism, where it is at an earlier stage. Racist issues which surfaced in Vancouver included the plight of the indigenous peoples of the Pacific rim in the wake of atomic testing; the land rights of Native Americans and Native Canadians, heightened by the very site of the WCC Assembly (The University of British Columbia occupies grounds formerly held by the Musqueam tribe.)

Native rites and worship highlighted the rich culture of the people. Native Canadians participated in the Assembly from early on when they erected a totem pole (later shipped to WCC headquarters in Geneva) carved by Indian inmates in Aggasiz prison, and lit ceremonial fires.

The future of the WCC will depend largely on how it shares its power — for openers, how it structures itself in the

Central Committee and in the choice of a new General Secretary to succeed Philip Potter, whose term expires at the end of 1984.

Youth, women and the disabled were among those who complained that the nominating committee had not met reasonable quotas for their representation on the Central Committee. On the other hand, Konrad Raiser has pointed out that the solution is not a simple matter of representation, nor of assigning protected quotas, because the grass roots does not function that way.

If the WCC alienates itself from the local level, then the Central Committee runs the risk of becoming a large head without a body. Change must take place at the bottom as well as the top.

From the point of view of many women delegates, liberation cannot proceed without the concomitant dismantling of the male elitist power structure. This could create a true community of women and men, as well as a whole new way of thinking about class, race and sex. But again, this must be backed by grass roots support.

The potential power of women is formidable. It has been noted that even in socialist countries, the assumption of equality between women and men in the historical process has also demanded a re-examination of the structure of Marxist thought.

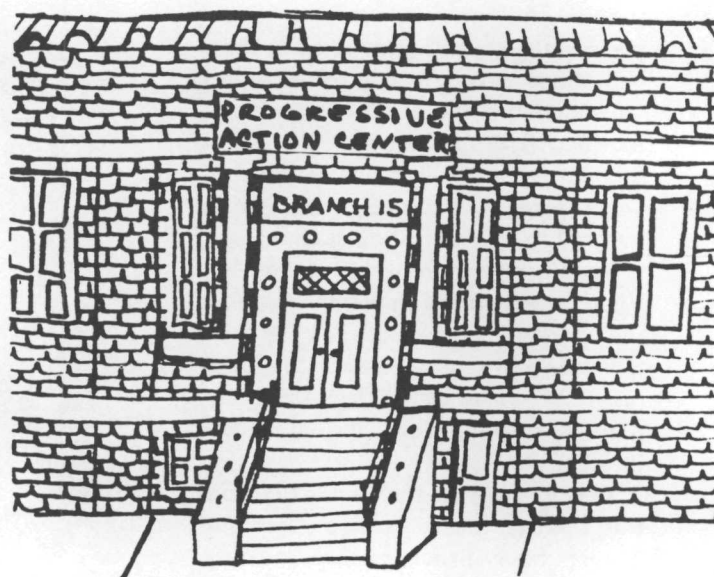
The strength of the World Council of Churches is that it brings all these concerns together under one roof — or tent — and the delegates, united in the Christ in whom they have believed — can return confidently to their countries knowing that in the end, "the gates of hell shall not prevail."

### Resource

John Bluck's article, "Does Ideology Influence the Theology of the WCC?" analyzes this subject in depth. *One World*, July/August 1983, Published by the World Council of Churches, P.O. Box 66, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland, Single copy, \$1.50.

# Common Center Serves Baltimore's Progressive Activists

by Kathleen Soppas



A child holds on to her mother's hand as she climbs the worn steps of an elegant, old dowager of a building in Waverly, a working-class, predominantly Black section of east Baltimore. A few minutes later a member of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador rushes up the same steps to arrange a meeting to discuss the need for real land reform in that beleaguered country. A little later a representative of the Federation for Progress, a consortium of community and activist groups, mounts the same stairs with a brochure for printing.

The steps are the steps to the Progressive Action Center, celebrating its first anniversary this month, in what was once Baltimore's Enoch Pratt Free Library Branch No. 15. Originally built in 1911, the old library has the high windows and ceilings which were popular for public buildings in that era. A year earlier the building had been empty and discarded, a historic relic that would have been turned into a boutique

or a fashionably restored home in one of the trendier neighborhoods down in Baltimore's reviving harbor area.

But Baltimore's economic problems are more than skin-deep, and the prosperity of Harbor Place does little by itself to deal with chronic unemployment, plant closings, or hunger and homelessness in the streets. The kind of renewal that is going on in Waverly is a renewal of progressive forces. And the methods that were used can be applicable to church and community groups in other cities. The Baltimore Progressive Action Center demonstrates that energy and innovation are more important than lavish funding.

Community activists in Baltimore had long felt the need for a low cost meeting place which would not discriminate against their political agendas. Social action groups are seldom the beneficiaries of donations from large corporations or political action committees. They rely on the meager resources of their members, supplemented by fund raising and occasional help from non-profit groups. Buying a spacious old building to serve as a center for progressive community groups

seemed like a fantasy. But a group of 37 activists found a way.

They formed a group called Research Associates and were able to buy the building from the city for \$1,000. Others had tried and failed, because in Baltimore, purchases of city property for renovation must be approved by the neighborhood organization where the property is located. Research Associates was the first group to get that approval. Neighborhood leaders saw the center and its social action orientation as an asset.

The old building needed extensive renovation to serve as a multi-functional center for the community, so Research Associates filed application for a low interest mortgage available for revival of neighborhoods from the Baltimore Housing and Community Development Agency. With the mortgage funds and vast input of volunteer labor, the "investors" renovated the building into a series of meeting rooms, an alternative day-care center called the Red Wagon, housing for an offset print shop, an Alternative Press Library and a residence for four people. The rent the residents pay, and what the center can

---

**Kathleen Soppas** is a free-lance writer based in Baltimore.



collect for rentals of space from other tenants and for meeting rooms, pay the mortgage and utilities. The Progressive Action Center took a \$1,000 initial investment and turned it into a self-supporting focal point for progressive forces in the city.

The activists had to confront another problem which renovators with less social conscience would have ignored. The library's old boiler was surrounded by asbestos insulation. While one of the contractors was willing to remove the insulation without any special protection to his workers or the neighborhood, Research Associates felt that their first priority was to protect human life. They budgeted the necessary additional cost of \$1,500 to have the asbestos removed using safe procedures.

Cliff DuRand, one of the original investors and also one of the residents, is a member of the educational committee for Baltimore Democratic Socialists of America, one of the progressive action groups which has found a home in the converted library. DSA has 7,000 members nationally. Its national chair is Michael Harrington, whose book, *The Other America*, began the War on Poverty. Its members include Harvey Cox, Rosemary Reuther, Gloria Steinem, Ed Asner and Congressman Ron Dellums.

"We have a strong feminist component in our group, and we were glad to take advantage of the sense of 'coziness' which the center offers," says DuRand, who teaches Social Philosophy at Morgan State University. "Activists sometimes think there's something wrong if there is a nurturing atmosphere around them. They make a false equation between asceticism and dedication which we have tried to avoid at the center."

The center's Alternative Press Library is simple but inviting. Boxes of periodicals including such diverse holdings as *The Guardian*, *The Progressive*,

and *Dissent*, line the plant-hung walls. Comfortable Good Will furniture is grouped in conversational patterns, and the fragrance of fresh brewed coffee combines with the sense of warmth which old buildings communicate.

The center's first anniversary also presents a new landmark — the official opening of an information processing center for the Baltimore social action community. Data processing services for community groups are now available at minimal cost, combined with the printing services which are already attainable through the Workers Action Press. The center now comes close to providing combined office services for the progressive community, as well as a training base for the unemployed.

The founders deliberately selected a predominantly Black neighborhood for the center. "We could have moved down around 25th St., where a number of non-profit and social action groups have headquarters," says DuRand. "But we wanted to try to bridge the gulf between the progressive groups, which are so often White-dominated, and the Black community. This still remains our principal challenge. While we were the first group that the neighborhood organization approved for the purchase of the library, Black groups have not used the center as much as we had hoped. We're in the process of trying to figure out why."

"People come to social action groups for a variety of reasons which form a covert agenda in most groups," says DuRand. "They want to work for their beliefs, but they are also looking for friends, lovers, mates, and social activities with people with whom they share concerns. We see this as healthy and inevitable, and we try to promote it by providing a place for parties, dances, book groups and other informal activities, as well as formal meetings."

The fact that the managers of the center actually live there helps to mend

the division between voluntary and personal responsibilities which eats at the fabric of many organizations. DuRand takes requests for room reservations on his home phone.

The center decided from the outset that it would make no effort to censor freedom by barring groups whose beliefs might be unpopular. It extends its meeting and printing facilities to all community groups on an equal basis. The groups that have met there include such disparate shades of political opinion as the mainstream Nuclear Freeze Campaign, the Citizens Party, and the Communist Workers Party.

The Red Wagon day-care center specializes in nutritious vegetarian food, and stimulation from a variety of games and play activity which stress concern for others, sex role freedom, and a multi-cultural view. The Red Wagon developed out of a concern among feminists in the community for role-free development for their children. "Even though we are feminists," says Kathy Moylan, a teacher at the Red Wagon, "we found ourselves using dolls which were sex stereotypes and unconsciously thrusting traditional boy-girl roles on the children. We've solved that now, we think, but the average day care center perpetuates sex role boxes for children. We're also providing quality day care in an area where 50% of our children come from welfare families."

The Workers Action Press, housed in the center, uses volunteer help to perform offset printing for progressive groups at cost.

Michael Harrington spoke at the opening of the center to a cheering group of founders. He talked about the creative responses which were needed to offset the war on workers and the poor which has displaced the War on Poverty. The Baltimore social activists of the Progressive Action Center did not need to be convinced. They had already taken a giant step toward the future. ■

Letters . . . Continued from page 2

## Finds Hope in WITNESS

The poem "Hope" by Madeline Ligamare in your June issue was as bright and delicate as the firefly she described. I have enjoyed and benefitted from so many of the pieces in THE WITNESS. In October I joined hands with 20,000 others surrounding a nearby nuclear warhead plant in a peaceful demonstration — the direct result of being called to Christian witness by your magazine. Thank you.

**Ann R. Blakeslee  
Evergreen, Col.**

## Food for Thought

Louie Crew's article in the August WITNESS has provided me with more food for thought on the ministry of gays and lesbians than I have had for some years. His point that these individuals needed to have a ministry and not simply be clients is an interesting and exciting one. But then we reach the *sine qua non*, the expression of one's sexuality. Could one not argue better by saying that the homosexual individual is given an added temptation?

Despite many efforts by various theologians I have yet to find a valid defense of any lifestyle other than celibacy for the homosexual person. Why should we countenance his or her living in a relationship when someone else, who from his or her own perspective might feel equally called to live in a *menage a trois*, is universally condemned? This, of course, brings us to the cutting edge of the argument. Mr. Crew does himself and his reader a disservice by accusing the clergy of using ". . . gobbledygook if they speak at all about sexual matters." This is a specious argument.

A number of years ago I reviewed Tom Horner's *Jonathan Loved David* for the *Princeton Seminary Bulletin*. My conclusions then hold today. We need the talents of gay and lesbian Christians in our churches and they need us. But the gay or lesbian person is asking too much

if she or he seeks our approval of a "marriage." The church can grant that no more than we could approve of extramarital or premarital sex, alcoholism or drug abuse. We have all sinned and we all need forgiveness and to hear Jesus' words to the adulterous woman: "Go and sin no more."

**The Rev. Peter R. Powell, Jr.  
Accokeek, Md.**

*(Louie Crew is teaching in China this semester. In his absence THE WITNESS asked the Rev. Grant Gallup, editor of The Integer, to respond. The Integer is a newsletter for gay and lesbian Episcopalians and their friends. — Eds.)*

## Suggests Gay Buffet

I am glad that Peter R. Powell, Jr. got some food for thought from Louie Crew's article. I bid him return to the buffet which the gay Christian community is now constantly replenishing for the delectation of those who are truly hungry for justice.

The principal dish which he apparently missed in his first trip to the sideboard is this: The gay experience can no longer be privatized, individuated, minimalized, or dismissed as "an added temptation." We believe the gay community has been called into being for its own liberation, and the wholeness of the human experience. If Mr. Powell cannot find a "valid defense" for anything but celibacy for gays, the yet-to-be married, the formerly married, or the widowed, then perhaps he should stop looking and do what is nowadays called a paradigm shift. If, as he says, he holds the same conclusions today that he held a number of years ago, he should remember that the flat earth theory can be reinforced as well by looking around from the same spot and never traveling; always refusing the moonshot. He says "we need the talents of gay and lesbian Christians in our churches" as if the church were not already ours as a gay community. Who is "we"? Who is "our"?

Mr. Powell has my permission to have a second helping of food and drink at the

gay and lesbian theological banquet: I suggest he have a slice or two of John Boswell, several large spoonfuls of Carter Heyward, and a soupcon of John McNeill. Bon appetit!

**The Rev. Grant M. Gallup  
Chicago, Ill.**

*(For WITNESS readers interested in Integrity, the national organization for ministry to gays, the address is 158 Northview Estates, Indiana, PA 15701. For The Integer, write to the Rev. Grant Gallup, St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, 48 North Hoyne Ave., Chicago, IL 60612 — Eds.)*

## Jesus Feeds The Multitudes

**Jesus looked around  
and gazing upon the multitude  
groaned within**

**for the hour was late  
and the crowd having been  
with him all that day  
had had nothing with which  
to feed themselves**

**so taking up five loaves  
and two fishes  
he commanded the people  
to arrange themselves  
into two groups  
according to whether they**

**were of homosexual orientation  
or heterosexually inclined**

**and taking up a machine gun  
he opened fire on the former  
in spite of much protest  
and much lamentation**

**then laying aside the weapon  
he fed the latter**

**and after the righteous  
had taken their fill**

**he made command that  
the remnants be gathered  
lest they be wasted**

**— Jim Janda**

## Grateful For Service

I wouldn't think of letting my subscription to THE WITNESS be interrupted. How do I know what's going on in the world if I can't read THE WITNESS? You do a great service for all of us and I'm grateful.

Sallie H. Eckert  
Berkeley, Cal.

## Wants to Be Episcopalian

I am no longer interested in subscribing to the WITNESS. The Episcopal Church is forgetting its origin. The WITNESS should get back to the 1942 liturgy — no female priests — no more low church. I want to be Episcopalian.

Ted Summers  
Kalamazoo, Mich.

### CREDITS

Cover, Beth Seka, adapted from a graphic by Margaret Longdon; p. 7, Granada photo by Jane Scherr; photo p. 11 courtesy Mary Eunice Oliver; photos p. 17, 18, Mary Lou Suhor; graphic p. 20 courtesy Progressive Action Center.

## Welcome, New Readers

During the past six months, THE WITNESS has had the opportunity to offer a complimentary trial subscription to the membership of three of our constituencies:

- Episcopal Women's Caucus
- Union of Black Episcopalians
- Episcopal Peace Fellowship

To the hundreds who have accepted, we extend a happy and warm welcome to our circle of readers.

We are encouraged by this response, and invite inquiries from other groups who would like to make the same offer to their members. Write or call Ann Hunter, THE WITNESS, Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002 (215-643-7067).

**this Christmas  
send three  
gifts for  
the price  
of one!**



Spread the word this Christmas with gift subscriptions to:

- A friend
- A relative
- Your church or library
- A colleague
- A student

Compliment their taste and judgment with a year's worth of stimulating and provocative reading in THE WITNESS.

Save yourself time, energy, and money, too. No need to rush all over town or stand in long lines at the cash register. Order three gift subscriptions, which may include your own renewal, for the regular price of one — \$12. Take care of your gift list and help THE WITNESS at the same time.

Your gift subscriptions will be announced by attractive cards, hand-signed exactly as you instruct us, and mailed to the recipients.

To order, use the handy postage-paid envelope in this issue. If you need more room enclose an additional sheet of paper.

**THE** an ecumenical journal  
of social concern  
**WITNESS**



Yes, I want to take advantage of your special offer. Please send me the book(s) I have checked at \$5.00 each. Payment is enclosed.

- Must We Choose Sides**  
 **Which Side Are We On**

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name

\_\_\_\_\_  
Address

\_\_\_\_\_  
City

\_\_\_\_\_  
State                      Zip

Fill out and mail today to

**THE WITNESS**  
Box 359  
Ambler, PA 19002

# SPECIAL OFFER TO WITNESS READERS

Order **Must We Choose Sides**, or **Which Side Are We On**, two of the best-selling Study Action Guides on the market — dealing with Christian Commitment for the 1980s — for only \$5.00 and save up to \$1.95.

## Must We Choose Sides?

1979, 127pp. \$5.95

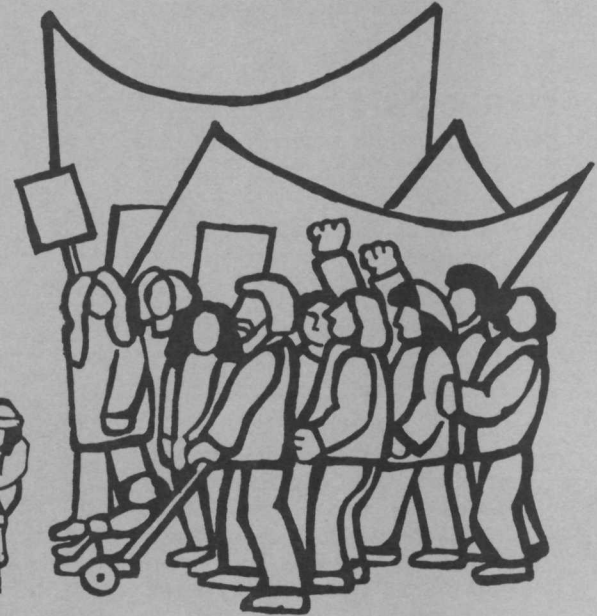
Explores the role of working people in our economic system. Investigates harsh realities of everyday life. Who owns America? Who pays the price? Six comprehensive sessions help readers examine class background and the myths of capitalism. Group exercises probe individual experience and insight, apply tools of social analysis while engaging in theological reflection.



## Which Side Are We On?

1980, 172 pp. \$6.95

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.

**The Episcopal Church Publishing Company**  
P.O. Box 359  
Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002

**Address Correction Requested**

**NONPROFIT ORG.**  
**U.S. POSTAGE**  
**PAID**  
**North Wales, Pa.**  
**Permit No. 121**

# the Peaceful Kingdom



Silkwood & After  
William J. Davis

**Peacemakers:** Women of Seneca  
Peter Fox • Franklin Jones

VOL. 66 NO. 12 DECEMBER 1983

# THE WITNESS

# LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

## Critiques 'Black Colleges'

Manning Marable's "The Quiet Death of Black Colleges" (August WITNESS) addresses one of my greatest fears. I am convinced that the traditionally Black public institutions are on their way out. The only hope for preserving Black education lies in the private institutions — and these have their own sets of problems.

The author is highly critical of the prototypical Black college president, not without cause. But if one reads the publications of the American Association of University Professors one finds that the allegations made by the author may be made against the presidents of small private colleges as a class, rather than on a racial basis. Small colleges are often run as medieval fiefdoms.

I disagree with the implicit judgment that "clones of the corporate world" are necessarily a bad thing for a private school. One of the primary functions of the president of a private college is to raise money! The money is in the corporate world. The decision-makers of this world are most comfortable with and receptive to someone much like themselves.

The author, quite naturally I suppose, focuses on lawyers, physicians, etc., in describing the impact of the Black intellectuals at Fisk on the students passing through the school. I think errors in emphasis are made here.

First, the intellectuals referred to are either in the arts or social sciences. What makes for good doctors and dentists is a core of talented scientists on the faculty. The same may be said for biologists, chemists, physicists, etc. The intellectual output of artists and social scientists

is more readily accessible to the community at large, which perhaps explains the emphasis.

Second, the "leaders" are almost ancillary to the process. What these schools have done is to meet the needs of the Black community for doctors, lawyers, teachers, college professors, dentists, social workers, etc. — essentially a "silent majority" of the Black intellectual community. The "leaders" are a by-product of this process. A leader might arise out of the most improbable circumstances, but this steady flow of competent Blacks can only be produced in the intellectual environment alluded to by the author.

Finally, I suspect that the example of the firing of W.E.B. DuBois by Rufus Clement is ill-chosen. The reasons for this firing were never, I believe, publicly disclosed. President Clement and my father were friends, and Clement confided in him regarding some of the details of the situation. It is not clear that the course of action Clement chose was necessarily the best, but it is at least understandable.

**Frederic A. Van-Catledge**  
Wilmington, Del.

## Marable Responds

Frederick Van-Catledge raises some important points which merit a second article. In brief, however, I would like to respond to three of his concerns.

Most universities by design are semi-feudal institutions, with one foot in the 21st century and the other braced in the era of Thomas Aquinas. Brazilian educator Paulo Freire and others have noted the ingrained hierarchy in Western education, and the lack of respect for students' input in the process of their own education. These tendencies toward pedagogical authoritarianism and the absence of democratic discourse are found at many colleges. What makes Black colleges even worse at times is the additional factor of institutional racism and the legacy of Jim Crow. Black faculty and students are afraid to criticize their own institutions publicly,

because such criticism might be used by racists to undermine the existence of their colleges. Segregation perpetuated a dual system of learning wherein Black college presidents justified conservative and undemocratic methods in the name of maintaining their financially troubled schools.

Second, it should be noted that the sociological development of "leadership" within the Black community has been rooted in several basic vocational groups — ministers, lawyers, teachers, entrepreneurs, and physicians. By necessity, the majority of Blacks involved in public policy or electoral politics have been drawn directly from this strata, and until recently, educated and socialized within the Black college environment. The "leadership" of the future can be drawn from other social strata, depending upon the widespread availability of educational opportunities, the evolution of the political economy, and the political dynamics of the Freedom Movement over the next decades.

Since I am currently writing a biography of W.E.B. DuBois, I must note that Mr. Van-Catledge is in error in his last remarks. The original terms of DuBois' appointment waived any date for mandatory retirement. Even NAACP Secretary Walter White, no friend of DuBois, denounced Clement's action as "cavalier." DuBois was given no adequate provision for retirement. In his biography, DuBois explained that "as a young unknown president, perhaps he saw my reputation overshadowing him. Without a word of warning, my own life was thrown into confusion." There is a substantial body of published literature on the case — all of which confirms the dictatorial aspects of Black college life at Atlanta University.

**Manning Marable**  
Hamilton, N.Y.

## Honduran Memories

Gary Mac Eoin's article on Honduras in the September WITNESS was well-written and accurate. As one who lived

*Continued on page 19*



**THE WITNESS**

EDITOR  
**Mary Lou Suhor**

SENIOR CONTRIBUTING EDITOR  
**Robert L. DeWitt**

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS  
**Richard W. Gillett**  
**Hugh C. White**

STAFF  
**Ann Hunter**  
**Bonnie Pierce-Spady**  
**Susan Small**  
**Lisa Wholan**

PUBLISHER  
**Episcopal Church Publishing Company**

ECPC BOARD OF DIRECTORS

CHAIR  
**H. Coleman McGehee**

VICE-CHAIR  
**Barbara Harris**

SECRETARY  
**Helen Seager**

TREASURER  
**Robert Potter**

ASSISTANT TREASURER  
**Robert Eckersley**

**Otis Charles**  
**Robert L. DeWitt**  
**Steven Guerra**  
**Mattie Hopkins**  
**Joan Howarth**  
**James Lewis**  
**Joseph A. Pelham**

THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215) 643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. Copyright 1983 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.

## Blessed are the Peacemakers

The peace of Christmas rests uneasy against the apocalyptic potential of recent world events. The Good News that a savior, Jesus, has been born to Mary, a peasant woman, in a lowly manger in the Middle East must break through news reports of Beirut massacres and bloody airstrikes. Add to that the U.S. invasion of Grenada, and the more violent Biblical images come to mind: The slaughter of the Holy Innocents, and Rachel weeping for her children, because they are no more.

To the world, the United States must appear as the Herod of imperialism, cutting off new governments in this hemisphere before they have had a chance to develop. Our message is clear: No nation is free to establish a non-capitalist government. As one analyst put it, "Paint Marx on your mountain and we'll shoot it off."

Central America and the Caribbean are now asking, "Who is next?" Michael Manley, former Prime Minister of Jamaica, says, "Central America's relationship with the United States has a long and tragic history. Honduras, Nicaragua, Cuba and Mexico have

all had U.S. forces invade their soil, because Washington did not like some regime or turn of events. Since World War II, the United States has interfered in Guatemala and the Dominican Republic. But never had it done so in the English-speaking countries of the Caribbean. Because of the intemperate, hasty and entirely ideological decision to call in a foreign army to solve our problems, we have added our territories to the list of those that are fair game." (*The Nation* 11/12/83)

The Congressional Black Caucus has flagged the racist nature of the venture, Grenada being a Black Caribbean country. And the refusal of Margaret Thatcher and Francois Mitterand to endorse the invasion has added credence to the statement that Grenada is the U.S. Afghanistan.

Some political analysts believe that the Grenadian invasion was good for the U.S. psyche. A show of machismo was needed to offset the "impotence" demonstrated by the Vietnam War, the Iranian hostage crisis, and the massacre of

*Continued on page 19*



# Silkwood and After

by William J. Davis

**K**aren Silkwood lives. Her voice is still being heard, even though she was physically silenced on a lonely stretch of Oklahoma highway more than nine years ago. Silkwood died on Nov. 13, 1974 under suspicious circumstances as she was on the way to document nuclear plant safety violations with a union official and a *New York Times* reporter.

The previous week, while at work, high levels of radioactive plutonium

---

**The Rev. William J. Davis** is a Jesuit priest who is co-director of the Christic Institute in Washington, D.C. He was involved in investigative work and paralegal assistance around the Silkwood case.

were found on her body, and even in her home. She has since become a symbol and heroine to a growing number of feminists, anti-nuclear activists, civil libertarians, and people everywhere who value the truth.

During the coming year she will be even more widely known after the December release of the film *Silkwood*, starring Meryl Streep. Already two major books and a number of TV shows have appeared and a successful drama is touring the country — all about this slight, ordinary woman from a small Texas town — a woman with her own frailties but with an uncommon determination to expose the truth.

Major litigation on behalf of her estate has produced extraordinary re-

sults, establishing some key precedents for the nuclear industry, and culminating in the recent Supreme Court hearing Oct. 4.

There are ironies in all of this. Some seven years ago at the height of the Patty Hearst episode, author Howard Kohn, speaking on the campus of the University of Oklahoma, suggested that in 10 years Karen Silkwood would be better known to the world than Patty Hearst. Skeptical students scoffed. But his prediction missed the mark only in its premature fulfillment.

Perhaps, as Christians, we should not be surprised at the paradox: A powerless but determined person is silenced on her way to meet with a *New York Times* reporter; yet she has managed, in

death, to reach reporters by the hundreds and households by the millions. "Unless the grain of wheat . . ."

Karen Silkwood worked in her late 20s as a laboratory analyst for the Kerr-McGee Nuclear Corporation in its Cimmaron plant, just north of Oklahoma City. Concerned about health and safety violations in the handling of deadly plutonium, she agreed to work as agent for her Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers' Union to document and expose the company's malpractice. This included falsification of safety tests in its production of fuel rods for the Fast Flux Test Facility — the so-called breeder reactor — at Hanford, Wash. Karen learned that fuel rod quality control pictures were being doctored by Kerr-McGee employees, and she was afraid of the terrible consequences of using faulty rods in a nuclear reactor.

During Silkwood's investigation, which became known to company officials, she was mysteriously contaminated with plutonium on several occasions. On Nov. 7, 1974, not only was her body found to be contaminated but her whole apartment, as well. The highest readings of all came from a package of food in her refrigerator!

In spite of this, Karen persisted in her investigation and on Nov. 13, 1974, was seen leaving a union meeting with a folder of documents under her arm for her pre-arranged rendezvous in Oklahoma City with David Burnham of the *New York Times* and union officer Steve Wodka. She never arrived. Just seven miles from her point of departure, she ran off the road into a concrete culvert and was killed almost instantly. Her documents disappeared. Independent investigation found dent marks in the back of her car and concluded that another vehicle was involved in her leaving the road. In spite of this the Oklahoma highway department persists in its story that she must have fallen asleep at the wheel.

Some of us, who now comprise the Christic Institute — a public interest law firm and religious public policy center growing out of the Silkwood effort — brought suit on behalf of the family in 1976. After a three-year investigative, legal and public education campaign, and a lot of help from individuals, we won a jury verdict of \$10.5 million against the company. Kerr-McGee was found to be "absolutely liable" for reckless handling of radioactive material in Silkwood's contamination. And \$10 million of the judgment was in the form of punitive damages — those awarded for proven activities that

are particularly outrageous, "willful, wanton, and reckless negligence." This was the first time a jury ever awarded punitive damages to a victim of radiation.

The U.S. Court of Appeals for the 10th Circuit reversed the jury verdict in December 1981, declaring that the Federal Atomic Energy Act did not allow such state penalties to be levied against the nuclear industry. If allowed to stand, this decision would take away from the states the power to penalize outrageous conduct by industry, as long as it is *nuclear* industry.

We appealed this part of the case to



Bill Silkwood (with hat), Karen's father and administrator of her estate, and Arthur Angel, appellate lawyer from Oklahoma City, meet the media in front of the Supreme Court.



the Supreme Court, and it was heard in October of this year. A decision will probably not be forthcoming for a few more months. Twenty states joined our appeal, urging the Court to review this issue, 16 of them arguing that the Appeals Court decision, if allowed to stand, would seriously impair state efforts to protect citizens from reckless or willful mishandling of radioactive substances.

Nevertheless, the Reagan administration submitted a brief in support of the circuit court, advising the Supreme Court to deny the appeal brought by the Silkwood estate. The Administration also sent an Assistant Solicitor General to argue that the federal regulatory agency should preempt state law on this point. So much for the New Federalism.

Whichever way the Supreme Court decides this particular issue, other programs growing out of the Silkwood effort and public education are being organized. Energies are being directed into critical reforms both on the nuclear safety front and on the civil liberties front.

Finally, having personally traipsed through the dusty hills of Oklahoma for months as an investigator and paralegal aide on the Silkwood case, it seemed to me a bit odd to sit amid the massive marble pillars of the Supreme Court, the very symbols of power and respectability, and think of the broken body of Karen in the ditch. The court began, as usual, with the invocation: "God save the United States and this Court." It seemed half-prayer, half-premonition.

God save them, indeed. God save us all from a legal system which, as yet, has not allowed us to litigate the civil rights aspects of the case — the wiretap, the electronic surveillance, the coverup by the FBI, the wrongful death. God save us all from nuclear proliferation and pollution and genetic defects, from materials that remain lethal for 500,000 years (Karen discovered, correctly, that

there were some 40 pounds of plutonium unaccounted for from that plant alone!) God save us all from corporations that put profitability above even the most rudimentary rationality.

God save us, indeed, and give us more Karen Silkwoods. ■



### What You Can Do

1. Publicize the Silkwood case among your friends and community.
2. Hold educational programs or panels on local issues (labor organizing, nuclear power and weapons, women's rights, civil liberties) dedicated to Karen Silkwood. (Speakers available through Christic Institute.)
3. Read and discuss the books, *Who Killed Karen Silkwood?*, by Howard Kohn and *The Killing of Karen Silkwood*, by Richard Rashke.
4. Help disseminate fliers and information outside local movie theatres when *Silkwood* is released.
5. Present Jehane Dyllan's play, *Silkwood*, an excellent labor/feminist/nuclear safety one-woman performance. The play was co-authored by Susan Holleran of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

(Assistance with the above, if needed, can be obtained through the Karen Silkwood Fund, Christic Institute, 1324 N. Capitol St., Washington, DC 20002.)

## Bishops Pass Resolutions

Resolutions passed by the Episcopal House of Bishops at its meeting in Spokane recently, related to issues taken up in this month's WITNESS, appear below:

### Deployment of Nuclear Missiles

*Resolved* that the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church declares its conviction that the installation of the new Pershing and Cruise nuclear weapons, the so-called Euromissiles, combined with the possibility of computer error, makes the danger of an atomic war by accident, miscalculation or intent greater than ever; and be it further

*Resolved* that the House of Bishops, concerned that such deployment may set off a further escalation of the arms race, calls on the President of the United States and the Congress to delay or to abandon altogether any plans to install these weapons and to intensify negotiations leading to mutually verifiable reduction of nuclear arms.

### Nicaragua

*Resolved* that whereas we believe solutions to current conflicts in Central America are best achieved through negotiation rather than by resort to arms;

Therefore be it resolved, that the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church voices its opposition to efforts by the United States Administration to support forces seeking the overthrow of the present Nicaraguan Government by use of arms, calls for the withdrawal of all foreign land and naval forces from the region, and urges the Administration to support the efforts of the Contadora Group seeking a way of peaceful negotiations for solving the human rights and justice issues, including those affecting the Miskito Indians; and be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States and to the Secretary of State. ■

# Para-dox-ology

by Carol Cole Flanagan

Some say the experience of women as women befits them for an understanding and appreciation of paradox that escapes others.

Certainly women have long recognized that parent/child relationships are often subject to paradox. Parental protection, restriction and discipline can drive away any self-respecting child, while equipping them with the competence for freedom, and the courage to risk, enables them to venture forth, and return eagerly again, and again, and again.

The paradox of power rarely escapes the notice of people long alienated from it. It's no secret that the more status and power acquired, the more one stands to lose. Such trappings often promise rigor mortis. Powerless people, free to act with little to risk, can be a pretty frightening prospect to those "in power." We are reminded of the recent disclaimer of an uneasy bishop who defended inaction with "God and prayer will fix it." Some of us thought God and prayer had fixed it. How else

---

**Carol Cole Flanagan** is president of the Episcopal Women's Caucus. Above reprinted from *Ruach*.

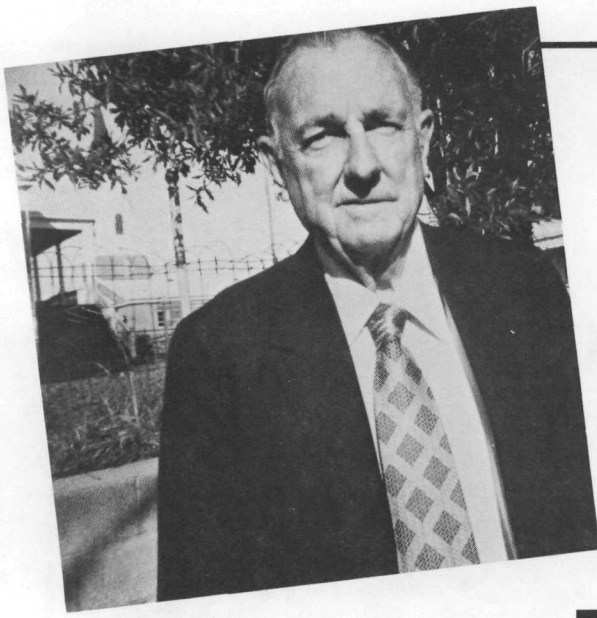
do we have bishops?

Less obvious to some is the paradox of pleasure. With performance anxiety bedeviling many men, it seems useful to note that pleasure in love-making is possible only when we can surrender ourselves to a process of being fully human with another, in a mutual exchange of selves. When pleasure is treated as an end in itself, then the conscious awareness of self, actions, object or performance make pleasure itself impossible. Much the same could be said for reading a book. Having to read a specified number of pages, outlining, highlighting, and organizing new material is qualitatively different from that of surrendering to a good novel.

With paradox in mind, we were not surprised to find The Rev. Canon John Chane of the Cathedral of St. Paul, Erie, Pa., holding forth on the subject recently. Bringing presentment against anyone, let alone clerical members of Standing Committees, is not likely to win friends and influence people. (See Nov. 1983 WITNESS.) Not infrequently, people ask why he has done that. Although the obvious is that he thinks they were wrong in closing

the ordination process to women, the following, lifted from John, may give some insight.

- People are illogical, unreasonable, and self-centered. Love them anyway.
- If you do good, people will accuse you of selfish ulterior motives. Do good anyway.
- If you are successful, you win false friends and true enemies. Succeed anyway.
- The good you do today will be forgotten tomorrow. Do good anyway.
- Honesty and frankness make you vulnerable. Be honest and frank anyway.
- The biggest people with the biggest ideas can be shot down by the smallest people with the smallest minds. Think big anyway.
- People favor underdogs but follow only top dogs. Fight for a few underdogs anyway.
- What you spend years building may be destroyed overnight. Build anyway.
- People really need help but may attack you if you do help them. Help them anyway.
- Give the world the best you have and you'll get kicked in the teeth. Give the world the best you have anyway. ■



Franklin Jones

## Profile of an Octogenarian

Marshall, Tex. is in many ways the epitome of east Texas towns, and so far east of Dallas that, in a high wind, it might easily become a part of Louisiana instead of the Lone Star State. Marshall's size is moderate by almost any standard (a little over 20,000 in population), but its politics are not. They are rock-ribbed conservative.

And in the middle of Marshall stands Franklin Jones.

For most of his 80 years, Franklin Jones has been practicing law, following in the footsteps of his father, who in his own day had taken more than a fair share of unpopular cases and causes in Marshall. Asked what dramatic occurrence had turned him so strongly in the direction he took, Jones simply concluded that he was "born and reared on a nurture of liberalism." There is more

---

**Edward P. Ross, III**, a Houston attorney and free-lance writer, has made over two dozen ecumenical talk-show appearances on TV with his wife, Janis. A member of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, he also served on the first Ecumenical Commission of the (R.C.) Diocese of Galveston-Houston.

than a little of H. L. Mencken in Franklin Jones. He was a charter subscriber ("lacking one month," he says) to the old *American Mercury*, the magazine founded by Mencken and George Jean Nathan. But his humor, though prickly, is never mean. When asked why he is an Episcopalian, he replies wryly: because it's a church "that doesn't get involved in politics or religion."

Marshall has had its problems with Franklin Jones over the years. His letters to a former editor of the *Marshall News Messenger* (which he often refers to as the "News Mess") were not printed for a long time. Later, with a change in editors, his opinions began to surface again in the local paper. Many bring about an exchange of views with other subscribers — the latest with a high school student on the subject of teacher qualification and pay. Someone asked him one time how he was able to think fast enough to make quick retorts; and another friend replied: "What makes you believe he always thinks first; if he did, he wouldn't say some of the things he does."

Marshall's main problem at present is Franklin Jones' headlong assault on the nuclear weapons build-up. At 80 years of age, Jones contrasts strangely with the stereotypical peacenik.

He has "fussed at" Congressman Jim Wright about "the President's famed window of vulnerability," and in a letter to Wright this past July, he said:

*"Deployment of (MX Missiles) will but open a window of vulnerability for the Soviets that they will most certainly try to close by deploying nuclear weapons capable of retaliating against the MX's. And so . . . the merry nuclear arms race (will) go on and on and on."*

He likes to summarize Eisenhower's opinion: that there comes a time in a nation's life when money spent for rockets and bombs, far from strengthening national security, will actually weaken it — when there are people who are hungry and not fed, people who are cold and not clothed. For, as he quotes Eisenhower, in the ultimate sense, that





# Peacemaker

by Edward Ross

expenditure becomes a theft from those who are in need.

The local chapter of the League of Women Voters' recent program on national security featured Franklin Jones as a speaker ("Doubtless," he says, "because doves are scarce in this community"). The invitation was given and accepted before the Soviets shot down the Korean airliner. He pondered that and wondered whether he should ask the League for a bodyguard, since "I'm damn well going to plump for a nuclear freeze and other steps that will not be dear to the hawkish majority of our community."

In his letters he is most irreverent about the President, often referring to him as "old twinkle eyes"; but when he thinks the administration is right, he says so. The recent Soviet attack on a Korean airliner is a good example. In a letter this September to the "News Mess" he said: "In my opinion the harsh criticism of President Reagan by his Far Right supporters is unjustified. It is my belief that he did the right thing . . . President Carter learned through the wheat and Olympic games embargo

that sanctions are ineffective if invoked by only one nation. Later, President Reagan got the same lesson from his effort to embargo the sale of supplies and machinery for the construction of the Soviet pipeline."

To a friend he wrote: "I call your attention to the fact, which you will comprehend when you get your Thursday issue of 'News Mess,' that Mayor Lane Strahan has called for a boycott of Russian made products in Marshall. Just you wait until Ambassador Gromyko learns that the owner of Circle Y Cut-Rate Liquor Store took Russian Vodka off his shelves when he heard the Mayor's boycott proclamation on the radio. That'll send the Russian trotting to the microphone to apologize for the Soviet target practice on innocent civilian passengers."

His letters express concern about American involvement in Central America. In the striking parallels between that involvement and the experience in Viet Nam, he finds only one difference: In the beginning, he points out, the American people supported our

military efforts in Viet Nam; in the current case, they have been opposed to involvement in Central America from the outset. He predicts the parallels will continue. Referring to the carrier fleet off the coast of Nicaragua and the President's desire to send some 4,000 troops into Honduras, he says: "Reagan need only await the occurrence of a 'Tonkin Gulf Incident' to ask for a Congressional resolution giving him war powers in Central America, similar to those given President Johnson in Viet Nam."

Many might ask why Franklin Jones isn't in Congress, himself, or practicing law in some big city, instead of following in his father's footsteps in Marshall. He quotes his wife's Aunt Mag, when asked about that. Aunt Mag taught school in Brown County. "There was a village in her district consisting of a filling station, church and general store, along with a school house. The place had the incredible name of Turkey Peak, and Aunt Mag rose to new heights of oratory when she exhorted the graduating class in grammar school to 'dig your diamonds in Turkey Peak.'" ■



Blessed are the  
peacemakers

## Resigns Commission Over U.S. Policy

*Peter D. Fox resigned his commission as a captain in the U.S. Army Reserve this Fall because of the “catastrophic course” in which “my beloved country is headed in Latin America.” An Episcopalian, he is city editor of the Billings Gazette. The statement below, explaining his motivation, appeared in the Sept. 25 issue of the paper, and is reprinted with permission.*

# ‘To Gain My Own Self Respect and

I cried for my country in Tegucigalpa, Honduras. I wept for the hurt and turmoil my country is creating for millions of Latin Americans.

Tears still fill my eyes as I struggle for a way to speak out against the injustice I feel — and see, and know exists.

I hurt for the hungry, the landless, the children. Particularly the children who look up with empty eyes to the *Norte Americano* for a peso or limpira to temporarily ease their hunger or burden — as their elders hold out their hands to my country’s leaders, asking for the guns, power and influence to continue the burden they in turn put on *los pobres* — the poor ones — of their countries.

In Tegucigalpa I saw American soldiers being used as an instrument of a foreign policy which says “If it isn’t in the U.S. model, then it is wrong.”

I heard U.S. soldiers say they must

fight the Communist menace in Central America. Many innocents will die before those soldiers, who now carouse in the streets of Tegucigalpa, find the will-o’-the-wisp they seek.

More children will lose their parents and more Salvadorans, Hondurans, Nicaraguans and Guatemalans will become international refugees before the U.S. troops complete their mission.

I see the cruel extension of the arrogance of power, and I see how those in control of my government are abusing the trust given them; and how those abuses translate into death — and holocaust — for innocent peoples.

I now see how brute political and economic machinations mean the military I tried to serve so well will be sent out as hired guns. I see how men and women of honest intentions can find themselves wrapped in dishonorable deeds.

How can we begin speaking out against the abuses? How can we begin telling our government to employ a humanitarian foreign policy instead of one based on military intimidation?

For more than 10 years I have served my country as a soldier both on active duty and as a reservist, as a private, sergeant, lieutenant and captain.

My love for this country and my duty and responsibilities have steadily increased over the years. I have recruited and sworn in new soldiers. I have helped tell the good stories about the citizen-soldier, a person who serves his country in love and gratitude, for the common good.

Despite the emotional, patriotic and financial losses which I will incur, I cannot continue to serve as an officer in the Army of the United States while it is being used immorally, if not illegally.

Peter Fox joined the U.S. Army in 1967, serving four years in the Army Security Agency as a Russian linguist in Japan and Taiwan before being discharged as staff sergeant. In 1976, he joined the Wisconsin Army National Guard as a public affairs specialist and was commissioned a first lieutenant. Until September, 1983, he was staff intelligence officer, 163rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, Montana Army National Guard. He recently returned from an educational seminar in Mexico, Honduras and Nicaragua.



## Alert Others . . . ’ by Peter D. Fox

I am proud — and will continue to be so — of the decade of honorable and dedicated service I have rendered to my country, state and community as a member of the U.S. Army, Army Reserve and Army National Guard. Two Meritorious Service Medals, an Army Commendation Medal and direct appointment into the Officer Corps would seem to confirm my service.

But the message must be told of injustice, deprivation and domination that have continued for more than 100 years and now threaten to cause untold horrors for our Latin American neighbors:

- Through emphasis on economic development and neglect of human rights, the United States — my beloved country — has exacerbated and cemented decades of inequality between the “haves” and “have-nots” of Central

and South America.

- Through economic interests, we have helped widen and maintain the gulf between the obscenely rich — and the starving poor.

- Through military aid, we have maintained cruel and despotic governments in power, causing thousands upon thousands of people to be murdered for dissent — the very foundation upon which our own country was built and remains free.

- Through political muscle, we impose our will on Latin America so that the actions and directions of its countries will meet the approval of our nation — without consideration of what is best for our Southern neighbors, or even if the Latin Americans should have a voice in their governments.

I will be replaced by another officer,

and the system will remain intact — for now. My loss will include an annual part-time salary of \$5,000 — that’s enough to support eight or nine Honduran families for a year — and I yield my rights to a substantial military pension.

And I will never be able to wear the gold oak leaves of a major which a dear retired brother officer wants to pin on my shoulders.

I give that up only to gain my own self respect and hopefully, to be able to alert others to the catastrophic course upon which my beloved country is headed in Latin America. This gesture may pass quickly in others’ memory, but I shall not forget.

And I shall not allow this to be my only gesture or work to help my country awaken to the horrors it is creating.

And my tears won’t stop until that is done. ■





## Historical Connections

- 1590 — Women of the Hotinon Sionni Iroquois Confederacy gather at Seneca to demand an end to war among the nations.
- 1800 — Abolitionists make Seneca County a major stop on the underground railroad with Harriet Tubman's house near the present day depot.
- 1848 — Early feminists hold first women's rights convention at Seneca Falls to call for suffrage.
- 1983 — Women join together in Seneca County in solidarity with the European peace movement to challenge the nuclear threat to life and to prevent deployment of NATO missiles stored at the Seneca Army Depot.

# Seneca Encampment: School for Peacemakers

by Anne Gilson, Sydney Howell and Laurie Rofinot

The Seneca Women's Peace Encampment in upstate New York was a place where one truly lived what she talked about. It began July 4, 1983, and ended officially on Labor Day, although some low-level activity persists. Second and third offenders who performed acts of civil disobedience on the site are still awaiting trials as of this writing.

Connections — that's what Seneca was about. It was the making of connections between our past histories and our present realities and future hopes. It was the making of connections between poverty — especially that of women — and militarism; between ecological exploitation and militarism; between racism, sexism, homophobia and militarism.

---

Anne Gilson, Sydney Howell and Laurie Rofinot are seminarians at Episcopal Divinity School, and political activists involved in peace and Central America issues.

To disconnect this military madness from other "isms" would be to see the symptoms and not the disease. It was, strangely, empowering to feel so in touch with the land and yet know that not far away were stored Cruise and Pershing II missiles headed for Europe — empowering, because it was evident that this encampment was more than a thorn in the side of the military. We knew that our *NO* to military madness had been heard because several times an hour a military helicopter flew around the border of the encampment. We knew we had been heard because there were bomb threats against the encampment. And we knew we had been heard because townspeople opposed to the encampment (there were, of course, townspeople who supported it) displayed flags and "I'm proud to be an American" signs on their property and jeered at us. (As though standing for peace and being a faithful American were mutually exclusive.)

The misunderstanding by local citizens was due in part to the deception in which the activities at the Army Depot are veiled. In order to communicate more effectively with the townspeople, the women at the encampment set up town meetings. These events were designed to show the links between Seneca and the rest of the world.

The encampment experience had a tremendous impact upon us. We arrived at two in the morning. We had the sense of being in the middle of nowhere, turning into a small farm, the driveway of which was barred with a couple of sawhorses. Clearly, this was no high-tech operation. Greeted by a friendly face and having passed visual inspection, we were offered sleeping bag space in the barn, rather than pitching our tent at so late an hour.

There was no wake up bell, no call to breakfast, no feeling of organized activity, but rather a sense of release from the tyranny of time. The atmosphere was

one of intense commitment and quiet conviction rather than flashy spectacle. Women had prepared for the long haul, as the work of daily chore groups (work webs) and administrative groups (anyone welcome to participate) bore out. The encampment was set up on feminist principles:

- Each woman spoke for herself; there was no single leader, and all respected everyone else's opinions.

- All decisions affecting the operation of the camp were made by consensus — admittedly a slower process than majority rule, but it enabled strong bonding. This was a crucial underpinning of life at the encampment: It made possible for women of varied philosophies and lifestyles to co-exist and work together in mutual support.

- Leadership was decentralized and work shared. Everyone took a 3-hour workshift in garbage collection, security (24-hour patrols), community outreach, healing, cooking, or child care. The land was respected, and waste conscientiously recycled.

We wandered through the two campgrounds, by the open pits where all the cooking was done, by the cool pits (lined with plastic and filled with ice and perishables), by the porta-janes, to the back of the property which is bordered by the army base and by an Amish farm. We sat for a while feeling the land, watching the helicopters above, and the Amish driving their small herd of cows to pasture.

Upon return from our rambling tour, we participated in a 5-hour training session on non-violent civil disobedience, particularized to the situation at Seneca. It helped us to discover the resources and strengths so necessary for our long-term confrontation with the keepers of nuclear weapons.

The civil disobedience training gave us a detailed picture of what had been going on. Women at the encampment included a group from the Women's

Peace Encampment in Greenham, England, and a group which had *walked* from North Carolina. Campers stayed for varying lengths of time and were responsible for planning their own "actions" at the base. Groups of women formed affinity groups to participate in

civil disobedience in which the process of decision making was, again, by consensus. Support people in the group were designated to observe arrests, hold IDs, check on where women had been jailed — in general, assuring that no one got lost in the system. Training sessions

## Statement of the Waterloo 54

### Marchers Harassed By Local Townspeople

**W**e are a diverse group of 54 women from throughout America who on July 30, 1983, began a peace walk along with 75 of our sisters. We set out from Seneca Falls, N.Y., to the Women's Peace Encampment in Romulus. Our purpose was to honor the great, *defiant women in our past who have resisted oppression and to bring their courageous spirit to the encampment.*

In the small town of Waterloo, four miles into our walk, our way was blocked by several hundred townspeople brandishing American flags and chanting, "Comms, go home!" To diffuse the potential violence, many of us sat down in the classic tradition of nonviolence to discuss what to do. Others of us faced the mob, speaking calmly to individuals.

We had earlier taken great care to notify the authorities of the towns through which we had planned our walk; we had been assured of its legality. For the past week, however, Vietnam vets and local VFW members had been devising a plan to prevent us from passing by blockading the bridge. On July 28, the Seneca County Sheriff assured the women at the encampment that he had successfully dissuaded them from hindering us; that he had gotten them to agree to stand on the side and let us pass.

Although this trouble had been anticipated, when we were actually confronted, police protection proved grossly inadequate. The police did take care to protect us from the more violent members of the community, but certain of the sheriff's orders in fact served to

excite tensions. For example, while we were sitting, the Sheriff announced that if we did not disperse, we would be charged with inciting a riot. At these words, the crowd became truly menacing. The chanting swelled into a roar, and the crowd surged forward, thrusting their pointed 2-foot flag poles at us. People on the sidelines kept insisting that our actions would lead to conquest by the Russians and the denial of our freedoms as Americans. Ironically, they now were threatening our freedom with the flag that was to them the very symbol of freedom.

Aware of the danger of our situation, most of us sat down to help diffuse the violence and to discuss what to do. It was hard to do this, as we also had to cope with the fear for our lives. This was not hysteria on our part. The general police appraisal of the crowd was that women could try to pass through the crowd but they would surely "be massacred." Flowers were thrown into our midst and when we sniffed them we found they had been sprayed with mace. We prepared then for the possibility of teargas by holding moistened cloths over our noses. The announcement of our imminent arrest came more frequently over the bullhorn, and the sheriff pressured us to take an alternative route. We discussed this possibility, but realized that turning our backs to the crowd would put us in greater danger. Moreover, we wanted to stand firm in our constitutional right to pass through the town and complete our walk.

At one point, the police succeeded in mak-

ing the crowd retreat about 20 feet and some of them suggested we might be able to get through on the sidewalk. The instant we stood and tried to do so, the crowd moved back in and the police began arresting us, even hand-cuffing a few of us. During the arrest, as some police tried to carry women without hurting them, they were egged on to hurt the women by the crowd's shouts of "Drag her, drag her." In all, four truck loads of us were deposited at the Seneca County Jail by 3:30 that afternoon, including Millie, a respected local resident who had joined us when she saw the obvious injustice of our arrest. Other townspeople expressed support for us by sending fruit and beverages to us that evening.

Our intent was to walk, not to do civil disobedience. We sat to diffuse the violence, to decide our course, and to make the denial of our constitutional rights clear. One of the things we love most about our country is the Bill of Rights. These rights were denied when the police tried to disperse us and when they arrested us instead of the people threatening us. If we had retreated, we would have neglected to honor our country's most democratic mandate. That Saturday, everything was pushed to its most rapid, confusing and expensive conclusion.

The taunts from the crowd were "Nuke the Lezzies," "Go Home Commies," "Kill the Jews," "Throw them off the bridge, let's see some blood." Among us are many lesbians. There are Jewish women. Almost all of us would call ourselves feminists. Most of us have various beliefs in economic or social change that people label communist, socialist, anarchist.

All of us, whatever we are, deeply feel that our civil rights to be any of these — lesbian, Jewish, feminist, critical of our country — were violated. And further, our civil rights as citizens, to walk free of terror through any town in our own land and express our views and feelings, were trampled.

As women we know all too well the connection between militarism and the violence in our lives. The masculine ideal which the military perpetuates encourages force, dominance, power and violence. It is a concept of masculinity that victimizes women, children and nature.

We remain undaunted in our determination to stop the nuclear weapons and save life on our planet.

stressed how to respond to verbal and physical abuse, and how to remain calm in dangerous situations to defuse violence.

Civil disobedience against nuclear weapons deployment was an integral part of the women's encampment. More than 100 women engaged in non-violent civil disobedience at the Seneca Army Depot in July. Many of these actions resulted in over 100 detainments and arrests. In one action, 64 women from Minneapolis were arrested after they chained themselves to the depot fence. In another, eight women set up tents on the depot airfield. Other actions involved planting rose bushes inside the fence and leafletting at the depot living quarters.

On Aug. 1 the Women's Encampment organized a demonstration to protest the planned deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles. Women from West German, Italy, Britain, El Salvador, and Australia expressed their solidarity in statements to the press. Three thousand women from across the United States and around the world carried colorful banners, flags, and signs. They marched to the truck gate of the Seneca Army Depot. Some 100 counter-demonstrators also gathered at the gate and were separated from the women by a line of state troopers. During the peaceful demonstration, women expressed their feelings of grief, anger and commitment to peace — responses evoked by the arms race — and decorated the fence with symbols of life. Then 244 women climbed over the depot fence and were detained by military police. This act was intended to express the urgency of their opposition to the deployment of the missiles in Europe.

On Aug. 6, Hiroshima Day, women at the camp expressed their outrage at the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Ongoing prayer vigils took place at the main gate. Also, women from the encampment began a fast in solidarity

with the "Fast for Life" in which nine persons fasted to end the nuclear arms race.

On Aug. 13, six weeks after the official opening of the encampment, women and children took paper cranes (a Japanese symbol of peace) they had made to the gates of the army depot. There the children presented the cranes to the military police who accepted the offering and *with* the children hung the peace symbols on the windows of the sentry booth.

Being at Seneca felt good and right. The women's peace encampment made "real" a vision of a way of being which affirms life. And the facts remain: Nuclear weapons stored at the Seneca Army Depot are a reality; the Women's Peace Encampment was a reality. The issue remains a life and death issue and the women at the encampment remain committed to life.

The purpose of the encampment was so clear to us: It was a simple, massive protest against a system which is promoting world destruction; it was the living reality of an alternative to war and division among people, the earth and its resources; it was a land where one lived, breathed, celebrated, and worked for *connectedness* in our vision for peace. As the encampment's statement read:

*"The existence of nuclear weapons is killing us. Their production contaminates our environment, destroys our natural resources, and depletes our human energy and creativity. But the most critical danger they represent is to life itself. Sickness, accidents, genetic damage and death, these are the real products of the nuclear arms race. We say no to the threat of global holocaust, no to the arms race, no to death. We say yes to a world where people, animals, plants and the earth itself are respected and valued."* ■





# A Mother Reflects On Seneca Experience

by Rebecca Cratin

**T**hose of us who came to Seneca to stay for a few days also had a chance to make this land part of our lives. It offered us a place to be as women, to talk of our hopes and our fears as sisters, with no need to justify our anger or our fear. It taught me that there is a strength in the ability to weep in the face of evil. It gave me compassion for the men behind the barbed wire with the guns.

They are boys like my 18 year old son. I wonder if they would be there if they had a chance to get a better job. Mostly, I remember the women. On the march to the depot on Aug. 1, a mother and her little girl, who obviously lived in the area, walked hesitatingly along with us on the other side of the road. When the child asked to join the march the mother brought her out and joined us briefly but left the line when we neared the depot. They turned up a country road and stood watching us go by. I shall remember that woman and the courage it took for her to join briefly with us for her daughter's sake, knowing that her neighbors would be angry with

**Rebecca Cratin** is a member of Peacemakers and Educators for Social Responsibility in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. A resident of Ft. Washington, she belongs to Plymouth Meeting Friends.

her. They looked very alone as they walked away and I think of her now that I am gone and wonder what she had to put up with after we left.

I held another mother as she wept in fear for her son who must soon register for the draft, knowing well her pain. She came to the encampment alone and searching and left sustained and filled with purpose, feeling a deep connection to other women. I talked to women in their 70s who had been marching for years and felt like a novice beside them. I met a young woman from West Germany who was here for the summer because she is so afraid of the missiles destined for her homeland. I met militant feminists who are more angry with men than is comfortable for me and also gentle, faithfilled women who joined hands in prayer outside the depot gate. In the frightening days around Aug. 1, when we all faced the violent backlash of the townspeople, I came to know the wonderful women with whom I had traveled, as we shared our fears, angers and hopes. One of them was my own daughter and that sharing was precious.

My reflections of the encampment are most certainly mine alone. Each woman came from her own place and entered into as much as she chose. We came

to protest but we also came to grow. We were able to reach out and touch each other and take strength in the gentle power of women. We were also able to reach out and touch the ugly barbed wire of the fence, or climb over it, and to really sense the fearsome might that it conceals. We were able to weep upon the ground of the depot and let our tears touch the men behind the wire, as they looked into our eyes and saw gentle, angry women, singing and praying for their lives. They will remember us and we shall never forget them.

People will ask if it was worth the effort. Perhaps we will not have prevented the deployment of missiles. But thousands of women came to the encampment and they take away a sense of connection to the spirit of women who have suffered before them, to the spirits of the women suffering today in Central America, to welfare mothers unable to feed their children while money pours into the arms race, and to the other Seneca women who touched their lives while they were there. We will return to our lives, working harder for peace, feeling less alone, rejoicing when we meet another woman who spent some time there. We have been nourished and now we must feed those with whom we live, that we all might survive. ■

*The Episcopal Church has pioneered in ministry to deaf persons — who now number more than 16 million — ever since the Rev. Thomas Gallaudet established the first church for the deaf in 1852. This history was probed, along with issues currently debated by teachers of the hearing-impaired, in an interview recently with the Rev. Robert H. Grindrod, vicar of St. Thomas Episcopal Church for the Deaf in St. Louis, father of two deaf children. He was interviewed by Olive M. Kite, a freelance writer who recently retired from a long career in education.*



Left to right: The Rev. A. W. Mann, the Rev. Dr. John Chamberlain, the Rev. Job Turner, the Rev. Thomas Gallaudet, and the Rev. H. W. Syle met at St. Ann's in New York to establish the first American Conference on Church Work Among the Deaf in 1881.

## Teachers Debate Signing, Lip Reading for Deafness

**In the ministry for the deaf, what is the biggest concern?**

**Grindrod:** Two schools of thought connected with communication and education of deaf people have created a heated controversy coloring the thought about deafness for more than three centuries. In brief, the opposing opinions state that: a) deaf people can and should be encouraged to read lips and produce intelligible speech, and b) sign language provides a communication modality which allows for deaf self-expression, and is, in fact, a separate and distinct language which should be treated and respected as such.

Both sides base their beliefs on “logic” and “common sense,” and both sides naturally have “the best interest of ‘the deaf’” at heart. Like so many problems in our society, this is not a simple clear-cut issue.

**What are the issues involved?**

**Grindrod:** For those who support the teaching of speech and speech reading (lip reading), referred to as “oralists,” the issue is simply this: It is a hearing world. Spoken communication is the expected norm, and therefore, in order to cope with society, deaf people should read lips and speak to the best of

their ability.

The oralists contend that sign language is nothing more than complex mime. According to the more radical oralists, signing should be reserved for those deaf persons who are unable to speak or to read lips.

For years, the opposing opinion was championed by the “manualists,” those who advocated the use of sign language alone. The manualists argued, with a degree of demonstrable accuracy, that those deafened at birth or early in life are likely never to develop clear speech. Furthermore, the assertion continued, since less than 50% of speech occurs on

or around the lips, most lip reading involves guessing at sounds. Sign language, they averred, is really a language by itself, and the real issue is communication, not speech.

**Has there been any attempt to combine the two methods?**

**Grindrod:** Yes, since the 1960s, the trend in education has been toward Total Communication. The advocates of Total Communication attempt to combine both methods (oral and manual) into an educational synthesis. Speech training is incorporated into an overall program based upon sign language as the basic communication mode. Pure manualism is dead. Oral education is still an issue. Total Communication primarily uses a sign language, but its program includes speech training and lip reading to synthesize the best of both schools.

**Who promotes the oral method?**

**Grindrod:** The Alexander Graham Bell Association, a national organization, promotes and defends the oral method in the United States today. *The Volta Review*, its official organ, publishes scholarly articles which generally support the oral viewpoint. The most commonly researched question concerns whether children learn and develop intellectually better in a signing or oral environment.

**Is there any conclusive evidence to favor either one?**

**Grindrod:** Deaf children of deaf parents tend to develop most normally in terms of language development. Daniel Ling, of McGill University, Toronto, is generally agreed to be the pre-eminent apologist of the oral method, and his works are some of the best on the subject of teaching speech to deaf children. Pragmatic survival and incorporation into the dominant hearing society

sum up the goals and results of a strict adherence to the oral philosophy.

**To what extent are these goals achieved? And what are the disadvantages of the oral method?**

**Grindrod:** Every oral institution has its success stories. Gifted individuals can succeed because they are exceptional to begin with. The major disadvantage is a denial of the deafness, a basic rejection of what the person is. I find myself counseling those who have no identity because of their education.

**What stand do the advocates of Total Communication take?**

**Grindrod:** Advocates of Total Communication see things somewhat differently. Research developed in a sociological vein, led largely by Dr. McCay Vernon of Western Maryland College, shows that deaf people in America form a *de facto* sub-culture, a minority group. As such, deaf people have the advantage and disadvantage of a cultured society of their own. Membership in this society is based primarily upon language, the American Sign Language or some derivative form thereof.

The work of Dr. William Stokoe of Gallaudet College in Washington, D.C., a linguist, demonstrates the existence of American Sign Language as a distinct and legitimate language. Stokoe's findings contradict the view that sign language is merely "poor English," a view commonly held by those who oppose the use of sign language.

**Is communicating in a foreign language analogous? If I were to spend the rest of my life in France, for example, I would have to learn French. The fact that I cannot understand it does not mitigate against it as a form of communication.**

**Grindrod:** Yes, and signing advocates admit that using sign language as a primary means of communication puts a burden on parents and family mem-

bers of a deaf individual. The family is forced to learn a new language in order to communicate. A further admission is that the majority of people in the world do not know and use sign language, and that signs are not iconographic enough to be clearly understood in and of themselves.

However, advocates of Total Communication and sign language, because of the work of Vernon and Stokoe, passionately believe that a denial of sign language to any deaf person, and especially to a deaf child, is tantamount to denial of their basic human rights and constitutes unusual cruelty.

**What are the goals of the Total Communication advocates?**

**Grindrod:** The goal is education, the best possible education, using whatever is available to allow the emotional and intellectual development of the child to be fulfilled. The compensations are a societal identity based upon language and the subsequent acceptance of an adjustment to one's deafness. In addition, families who sign find that healthier development, as well as more and better communication, takes place in a home where ideas and feelings are communicated with the emphasis on communication rather than on speech and pronunciation.

**What are the disadvantages of this method?**

**Grindrod:** It creates a minority group of deaf people. The oralists are correct. The dominant society is based on hearing and speech. But the resulting minority group is also an advantage because it provides an identity.

**Are my deductions valid? — The child taught in the oral school conforms to the best of his or her ability to the expectations of the hearing society. As a result, he or she can survive and be**



successful in the hearing world. The individual's self-identity depends on the level of success achieved.

**Grindrod:** Yes, that's fair enough.

**The child in the Total Communication school accepts his or her handicap and achieves an identity in the world of those who sign.**

**Grindrod:** Accepting deafness and receiving the group support, the child is better able to move forward, to strive to achieve. Because of support, he or she is able to tackle the realities of the working world more realistically.

**If we knew something of the history of this struggle and its leaders, I think we would be in a better position to appreciate the progress that has been made.**

**Grindrod:** Historically, the issues have been no less cloudy or less passionate. From earliest times until the Renaissance, deaf people were variously characterized as incompetent or unteachable and were included among those whom society either protected or ostracized. By the 16th century, attempts were made to teach the deaf, largely by Spanish monks using a sign system of their own creation. However, through the 17th and into the 18th century, real progress in understanding and teaching deaf persons was lacking.

The enlightenment arrived for deaf people, in Europe, at least, by 1760. Five years earlier, Samuel Heinicke, a German, established a school for the deaf. Heinicke's school was the first oral school in the world. Also in 1755, a Frenchman, Abbe Charles de l'Epee opened the first "free school" for the deaf in Paris. De l'Epee's school was dedicated to the use and teaching of sign language. As a result, the first educational controversy about deafness took on the added dimension of a nationalist feud as well. England joined the fray in 1760 when Thomas Braidwood opened his own oral school and used his own

methods. As a result of Braidwood, to this day England remains largely oral.

One of Braidwood's disciples attempted to bring the oral method to Virginia in 1812, but the school established there was short-lived.

The pivotal year in American education of the deaf is 1817. In that year, Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet opened the Connecticut Asylum for the Education and Instruction of Deaf and Dumb Persons. Our modern distaste at the choice of terminology notwithstanding, the event was significant for at least two reasons. First, The Connecticut Asylum became the American School for the Deaf, the first permanent school for the deaf in America. Of greater importance to the future of America's deaf community was the person and presence of Laurent Clerc. Clerc was deaf himself and established a precedent by which deaf people, themselves "native signers," were used as teachers and role models for deaf children.

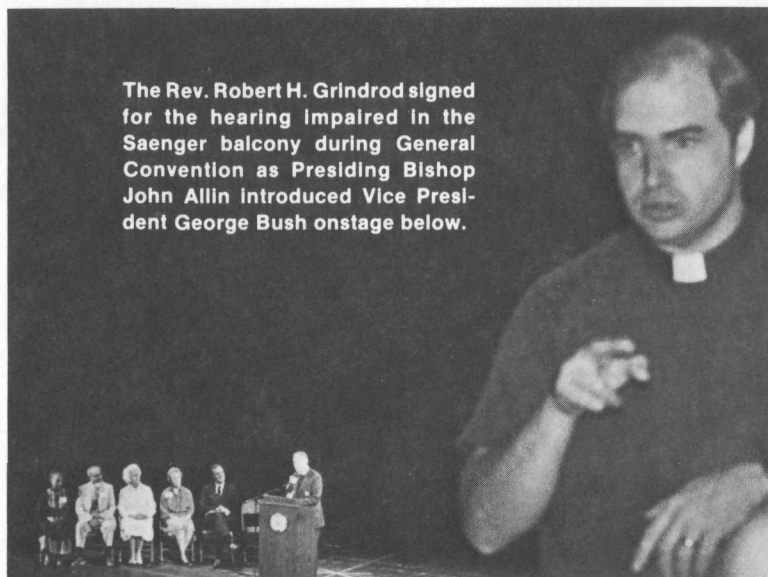
By 1867, sufficient desire for schools using the oral method prompted the opening of two purely oral schools, Lexington School in New York City and Clarke School in Northampton, Mass. Each claims to be the oldest oral

school. At this point, oralism began an ascendancy which remained in force for decades. The International Congress on Education of the Deaf met in Milan, Italy in 1880, and passed a resolution banning the use of sign language in teaching deaf children. The only dissenters were a handful of Americans, notably the Rev. Thomas and Edward Gallaudet, sons of Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet. Edward Gallaudet had established Gallaudet College in Washington, D.C. in 1864 as the only liberal arts college for the deaf in the world. It was and is a leader in the use of sign language to educate deaf persons.

**And the Episcopal Church was a pioneer in its ministry to the deaf?**

**Grindrod:** Yes, the Rev. Thomas Gallaudet was an Episcopal priest. He established the role that the church would play in the life of deaf Americans. A story, perhaps apocryphal, about Thomas Gallaudet may give us some insight into the importance of the church and sign language for deaf people.

Gallaudet established the first church for deaf persons in the world in 1852. His deaf mother and her friends were so



The Rev. Robert H. Grindrod signed for the hearing impaired in the Saenger balcony during General Convention as Presiding Bishop John Allin introduced Vice President George Bush onstage below.

overjoyed at the prospect of a church of their own, where sign language was used by priest and people alike, that Thomas was reminded of the joy of the prophetess Anna upon meeting the Christ Child. (*Luke 2:36-38*) Gallaudet named his church "St. Ann's Church for the Deaf," after Anna, and as a token of love for all the deaf who, like Anna, finally were able to experience the fulfillment of God's promise of a Messiah for all people.

Having established St. Ann's in New York City, Gallaudet proceeded to travel the country as the "Apostle to the Deaf," setting up missions of and for deaf worshippers. Gallaudet and his deaf proteges, the Rev. Henry Syle, the Rev. Austin Mann, and the Rev. Job Turner became the backbone of the Episcopal Church's ministry with deaf persons. Syle was the first deaf man in recorded history to be ordained to Holy orders, becoming a deacon in 1876. By 1881, the ministry was widespread enough to require further expansion. Gallaudet, the Rev. Dr. John Chamberlain, and Syle, Mann, and Turner met at St. Ann's in New York to establish the Conference of Church Workers Among the Deaf.

Today, the Episcopal Conference of the Deaf is a national organization which maintains some loose oversight. It works to raise the consciousness for the deaf, to offer scholarships, to provide liturgical and educational resources, and most important, fellowship among members.

### **What have been the results of this ministry?**

**Grindrod:** The church has become a haven where deaf people can relax and socialize, where they use their own beloved sign language to worship and converse without fear of ostracism by the hearing. The role of the church in preserving the use of sign language cannot be overemphasized, an outstanding example of preaching the Gospel in

### **Editorial . . . Continued from page 3**

U.S. Marines in Beirut. And so the hawks were appeased. Are we really that kind of people?

In the context of current events, the message of Christmas seems almost lost. But Christmas and bleak events belong together (witness Herod and the Holy Innocents). Christmas is strong medicine for a virulent disease.

Christmas and the Christ-story are not success stories in terms of this world. They are for those who hope against hope, who try to live this life in light of the life to come.

Christmas is Good News only to those who know themselves to be wounded healers, penitent and courageous participants. Such is the witness of those who appear in this month's magazine. Blessed, indeed, are the peacemakers.

*(M.L.S. and the editors)*

---

a language known by the people. This has been an extraordinary area of domestic missionary outreach. ■

### **Resources**

**For those interested in further information, the Rev. Robert H. Grindrod recommends:**

*Dancing Without Music* by Beryl Liefv Benderly, published by Doubleday/Anchor Press, provides the most serious attempt to deal objectively with all the issues raised by the question of deafness.

The A.G. Bell Association, 3417 Volta Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007 is a source for information with an oral tint, and the National Association of the Deaf, 814 Thayer Ave., Silver Spring, Md. 20910, provides materials with a bias toward Total Communication.

For information about the Episcopal Church's ministry with deaf persons, contact the Ven. Camille Desmarais, President, Episcopal Conference of the Deaf, 2201 Cedar Crest Dr., Birmingham, Ala. 35214, or the Rev. Arthur Steidemann, Executive Secretary, Episcopal Conference of the Deaf, 429 Somerset Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 63119.

### **Letters . . . Continued from page 2**

and worked in Honduras for a year before attending seminary I saw firsthand the sufferings of the Honduran people. I watched on more than one occasion the FUSEP (The National Police Squad) abduct young boys off the street to serve in the military. I saw how the large *fincas* controlled the farm economy, shipping most of their meat and produce to the U.S. while the *campesinos* survived on a diet of beans and rice.

My most vivid memory, however, was a day when a team of U.S. Ranger paratroopers put on a skydiving show at the local stadium. The look in my student's eyes scared me. It was a look of admiration and awe for the Rangers. I thought to myself that day that this was the example of power and success our country and the Honduran military were offering these young people. Most of my students were so captivated by the experience that they wrote later of their desire "to be like those men."

That captures for me the essence of sin our country is exporting to Honduras. Instead of sending teachers, doctors, and engineers we send in the Rangers as our example of the great technological society to the north. The recent stationing of U.S. military advisors only serves to exacerbate the sin of U.S. involvement in Honduras. My only hope is in Honduran people themselves. They are a strong, loving, and delightful people who desire only a decent wage and a safe place in which to live. My prayer is that their will may prevail and that those who seek to turn Honduras into a military base for the U.S. fail in their attempt.

**The Rev. Scott A. Benhase  
Indianapolis, Ind.**

### **Hooked on WITNESS**

If the September issue of THE WITNESS were the only one published this year, it would be worth the total price of the annual subscription. From the editorial by Richard W. Gillett to the last article,

*Alice in Blunderland*, it was well written and informative. The articles brought much of our national performance in Central America into an unpleasant, but realistic focus.

The WCC Statement on Central America clarified why much that happened in Vancouver never appeared in the daily press and news reports. It helped to explain the driving forces back of our machinations among our neighbors to the south.

I am forwarding the names and addresses of persons that I believe would be interested in seeing the September WITNESS, and I'm enclosing the cost of mailing.

I recently made an Episcopalian acquaintance at a Conference of Habitat for Humanity. In conversation, he commented that he felt the Episcopal Church should be more outspoken on social issues. I asked him if he had ever read THE WITNESS. He had not, so I told him I would get a sample copy to him.

I am not an Episcopalian, but I am "hooked" on THE WITNESS. Actually, I am a longtime Methodist, who frequently worships with some of my many Episcopal friends.

**Donald L. Tarr**  
Salinas, Cal.

## Exposes Dangerous Drift

Bravo! Your forthright and timely September issue focused in on what is really going on re: U.S. foreign policy in relation to Central America. A fresh new voice as far as I'm concerned, which needs to be heard in our church. I intend to share my issue with my priest: Who knows, perhaps some eyes may be opened to the current dangerous drift the government, in our name, is taking.

**Carolyn W. Reynolds**  
Santa Rosa, Cal.

## Dilutes Christianity

THE WITNESS dilutes what Christianity is all about. Unfortunately, many in the "organized church" today suffer from Jane Fonda/Jim Jones syndromes.

When will it be understood that most Christians much prefer the teachings of Christ rather than the hawking of syndromes?

Twelve years ago, as a deacon of the local United Church of Christ, I withdrew my monetary support because of the obvious (to some) excesses of the UCC and the National Council of Churches. It is refreshing to know that the revolt against certain negative and destructive concepts of the "established church" is widespread.

Thank God for choices. My full support goes to the Rev. Ed Robb and to the Institute on Religion and Democracy, and to the Salvation Army. After years of observing the disarray in the so-called ministry, I thank God I am a military man. I detest the hypocrisy in your ranks.

**Lt. Col. Charles E. McLean (USMC Ret.)**  
Durham, N.H.

## Close Call

I am very late sending in my subscription renewal. I had decided I could do without the WITNESS each month, but the prospect, now imminent, becomes too bleak to consider.

**Gary Siemers**  
Minneapolis, Minn.

## Seek Seminary Input

For a "jobs idea notebook" for seminary students in non-ordination programs, the Network of Seminarians With Lay Vocations seeks information from lay seminary graduates about their current work, and from lay seminary students about field placements they have done. This information will be presented at the Network of Seminarians With Lay Vocations national conference Jan. 13-15 at the College of Preachers in Washington, D.C.

If any WITNESS readers can help us with this information please contact: Anne Clift Boris, 1201 S. Courthouse Rd., #712, Arlington, Va. 22204.

**Katherine Austin**  
Convenor, NSLV  
New York, N.Y.

## Trips With Lutherans?

At the last General Convention of the Episcopal Church in New Orleans a resolution bringing a closer relationship between the Episcopal and Lutheran Churches was adopted.

So far, the major implementation of this resolution has been "liturgical orgies" where bishops and other ecclesiastical bureaucrats of the two faiths (almost always exclusively white males) gather in "joint celebrations."

However, one section of the resolution called for joint activity in education and social action, and in conformity to that I used some of my vacation time to attend the annual meeting of the Lutheran Home Relations Association of America. I joined two other Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, and 23 Lutherans on a study tour to Mexico, Honduras, and Nicaragua, sponsored jointly by the Hunger Committee of the Lutheran Church and the Institute for Global Service and Education at Augsburg College.

Seventeen Lutheran bishops are planning a trip to Central America similar to the one I was on — a fantastic opportunity to discover in depth what is really happening south of our border. Three of our bishops did make a quick trip to Nicaragua, but there is no comparable program for bishops or other Episcopalian in our church.

Perhaps instead of debating the nature of Christ's Eucharistic presence and joining in occasional media event services, both churches could find effective joint ways to respond to what Matthew's Gospel describes as the ultimate real presence of Christ — this appearance in the poor, the hungry, the naked, and the prisoners.

**The Rev. F. Sanford Cutler**  
Morristown, N.J.

### CREDITS

Cover, Beth Seka; photo p. 5, Craig Callan; Peacemakers graphic pp. 9, 10, 14 Margaret Longdon; photo p. 16 courtesy the Rev. Robert H. Grindrod; photo p. 18, M. L. Suhor; graphic p. 22, courtesy Children's House.



## The Churches and Day Care:

# Who's Minding the Children?

by Connie Myer

A popular television announcement asks, "It's 10 p.m. Do you know where your children are?" A similar question should be asked, at 9 a.m., about pre-schoolers, says the Rev. Eileen Lindner of the National Council of Churches Child Advocacy Office.

"More and more of America's children are in day care outside their homes, but no one, especially the federal government, knows much about the kind and quality of care being provided," she declares.

In fact, a survey of church-related day care done by the Child Advocacy Working Group of the NCC Division of Church and Society may be one of the most representative studies ever done. Results of the first phase of the study, the working group says, show that America's churches are the largest single provider of child day care in centers in the U.S. About 14,600 programs were reported. More children are still cared for in private homes than in centers, but these "mom and pop" providers are not linked in any way and have not been surveyed.

Lindner, a United Presbyterian minister who has a master's degree in clinical psychology, believes the churches are going into child care more extensively because this kind of social service is in

great demand, with less public aid available.

Federal and state budget cuts are adversely affecting church related centers, too. With the ending of CETA, 10,000 child care workers receive no funding. Cuts in the child food program, which pays for cooks and some food, have been so critical that some centers are serving Kool-Aid rather than milk.

Welfare parents and working poor have received subsidies for child care, under amendments of the Social Security Act, including Title XX. But this administration has cut allocations for Title XX, which are in state block grants, and some states give less priority to day care. Eligibility standards also have been changed to cut out some of the working poor.

The other major way the federal government subsidizes child care is through tax credits. The percentage of expenses eligible for the credit, which now ranges from 20 to 30%, is determined by household income. Families with lower income are able to claim a higher percentage of eligible expenses than families with higher income.

Tax credits may help the middle-class employed person, but they do nothing for the unemployed or single parent whose job hours may have been cut back. Some parents, unable to pay fees, may resort to "tying a child in a crib" while they work part-time, or to leaving babies in the care of their 16 or 18-year-old sister or brother, Lindner says. "We

all hear about fires where children die, when there are no adults home. This is a reality today."

Because of public subsidy reductions and job cutbacks, "we're seeing a gentrification of child care," she adds. The NCC data reveal a higher portion of fee-paying children in church-related day care than non-paying children.

The churches, however, are trying to counter this trend. One third of those surveyed provide utilities, secretarial or janitorial services; 51% give space without a fee; 20% charge low rents from \$1 to \$100 a month, and 49% of the churches are major providers of scholarships to their day care programs.

While public funding is drying up for day care given by non-profit centers like those in churches, commercial profit-making chains of kiddy care are growing. Kindercare, a major chain, bought out three other chains and expects a 35% annual earnings growth over the next five years.

Whatever kind of care is provided — profit or non-profit or in private homes — experts predict more and more young children will spend at least some hours outside their homes each week. The 1980 U.S. Census says 47% of mothers with children under six were working. There are more single parents, due to the growing divorce rate, and due to mothers who choose to raise children alone. The high cost of living requires both parents to work. Women also want to work because they find satisfaction in

---

**Connie Myer**, a free lance writer who lives in Manhattan, taught English for the Church of Uganda (Anglican) in 1968-69.

their jobs.

"Many families cannot choose whether or not to use day care. They are forced to by economic necessity," declares Dr. Richard Ruopp, a United Church of Christ minister who is presi-

dent of Bank Street College of Education in New York City. The problems, he points out, are that day care "costs a lot, good costs more than mediocre and not enough good is available."

Eileen Lindner believes the centers in

churches, by some indications, are providing good quality care. "But no one agrees on a definition of quality care. Licensing standards vary from state to state. Some standards are very minimal. Some states exempt churches from licensing because of the church-state separation doctrine. About 60 to 70% of the programs we studied said they were licensed."

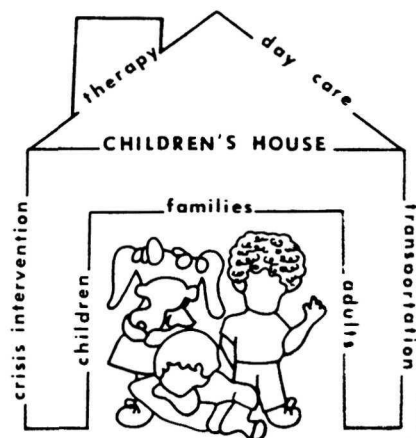
Despite licensing variability, the NCC working group reported a ratio of at least one staff person for each six infants in 90% of the programs. Eighty-five percent had one staff person for eight toddlers and pre-schoolers. Sixty-eight percent of the directors and 67% of the teachers held degrees in early childhood education.

The working group is developing a comprehensive child care policy statement that it's hoped can be the basis of advocacy for public policy.

The group has held four regional conferences of church-related centers to give grass roots input to the statement. A national conference also is planned before the policy goes to the NCC's Governing Board, probably next May. Twelve demonstration child care projects have been set up around the country; a newsletter is being published, and a how-to manual is planned.

One question that may concern some church-related centers is whether religious education should be given to youngsters. Some areas, including New York City, require anyone receiving government aided day care funds to sign a contract agreeing no religion will be taught. The NCC survey found only a small percent, 9.7, of the church centers are engaged in religious education. How this cross-tabulated with those programs receiving government aid was not shown.

The NCC survey didn't include other church providers of day care, such as the Southern Baptist Convention and the many independent churches. The



## Episcopal Center Chosen as Model

**C**hildren's House, a crisis-oriented day care center housed at St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Fayetteville, Ark, was chosen as one of 12 model centers by the National Council of Churches recently.

Started in May, 1978, Children's House offers therapeutic day care to pre-school children who need protection and support in family crises. Approximately 150 children and their families have been served by the center since its inception.

The center provides ongoing support to families who seek help in overcoming crisis situations in the home, including child abuse and/or neglect, or domestic violence. It provides therapy through play, instruction, art, music, a secure environment, and love, according to Susan Lynch, director. Other services offered are psychological testing and speech therapy, medical referrals and transportation for children in need.

Volunteers are an integral part of the center's operation. They supervise children on the playground, help with cleaning and maintenance, and in the office.

Children's House has had to rely more on community and church support in recent years to offset cuts in Title XX funds and USDA reimbursements for food. Those wishing to support the center may contact Children's House, 224 North East St., Fayetteville, Ark. (501-443-5239).

SBC Sunday School Board reports at least 3,000 churches with day care. Lindner believes Roman Catholic churches, which already have parochial schools in many cases, are not too involved in day care, though more schools have been adding kindergartens.

While some people may lament the passing of a mother's fulltime direct care for her children, child psychologists so far have not reported any adverse effects from good day care, according to *Young Children*, a scholarly journal.

Dr. Ruopp says studies show no major difference in mother-child attachment between children reared in their home and those in day care for substantial periods. For children in low income families, day care appears to somewhat improve their later school test scores, but these are studies from high quality centers.

There have been no studies, he says, relating day care to lowered divorce rates, increased remarriage rates, reduction in child abuse, etc.

All this is why Eileen Lindner believes our nation needs "a diagnosis of child care." What needs to be done? Who should be involved? The federal government? Private corporations? We may need a plurality of styles.

"Remember, the first three years of a child's life are crucial to the rest of his or her development. We need to assure quality care for all our nation's children." ■

#### Resources

*When Churches Mind the Children: Day Care in Local Parishes*, Lindner, Mattis and Rogers. Published 1983 by High/Scope Press, 600 N. River Street, Ypsilanti, MI 48197. \$7.00

*Day Care: Scientific and Social Policy Issues*, Zigler and Gordon. Published 1982 by Auburn House, 131 Clarendon Street, Boston, MA 02116. Paperback \$12.95; hardback \$24.95.

**this Christmas  
send three  
gifts for  
the price  
of one!**



Spread the word this Christmas  
with gift subscriptions to:

- A friend
- A relative
- Your church or library
- A colleague
- A student

Compliment their taste and judgment with a year's worth of stimulating and provocative reading in THE WITNESS.

Save yourself time, energy, and money, too. No need to rush all over town or stand in long lines at the cash register. Order three gift subscriptions, which may include your own renewal, for the regular price of one — \$12. Take care of your gift list and help THE WITNESS at the same time.

Your gift subscriptions will be announced by attractive cards, hand-signed exactly as you instruct us, and mailed to the recipients.

To order, use the handy postage-paid envelope in this issue. If you need more room enclose an additional sheet of paper.

Please act now! This offer is good only until Dec. 31.

**THE** an ecumenical journal  
of social concern  
**WITNESS**



Yes, I want to take advantage of your special offer. Please send me the book(s) I have checked at \$5.00 each. Payment is enclosed.

- Must We Choose Sides**  
 **Which Side Are We On**

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name

\_\_\_\_\_  
Address

\_\_\_\_\_  
City

\_\_\_\_\_  
State

\_\_\_\_\_  
Zip

Fill out and mail today to

**THE WITNESS**  
Box 359  
Ambler, PA 19002

# SPECIAL OFFER TO WITNESS READERS

Order **Must We Choose Sides**, or **Which Side Are We On**, two of the best-selling Study Action Guides on the market — dealing with Christian Commitment for the 1980s — for only \$5.00 and save up to \$1.95.

## Must We Choose Sides?

1979, 127pp. \$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.

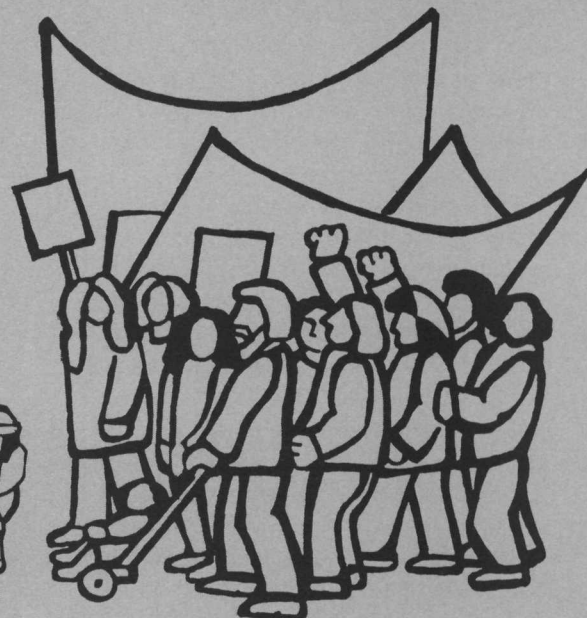


## Which Side Are We On?

1980, 172 pp. \$6.95

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.



**The Episcopal Church Publishing Company**  
P.O. Box 359  
Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002

**Address Correction Requested**

**NONPROFIT ORG.**  
**U.S. POSTAGE**  
**PAID**  
**North Wales, Pa.**  
**Permit No. 121**