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# THE WITNESS

The Political Task  
of the Church • Cornel West  
Getting to Know Cuba Again  
Cora Cheney Partridge  
Grenada: The Frozen  
Revolution • James Guinan



a new  
year  
dawning

# Letters

## Parish studies articles

Thank you for your prompt mailing of our order of a dozen copies of the November WITNESS. A number of persons in St. Timothy's parish are attempting to broaden their understanding of Central America, and my hope is that the articles in this issue will greatly enhance their grasp of the many issues involved in the strife of that area.

Several sermons by me, and promptings found within our Sunday "Prayers of the People" have stirred people's concern regarding U.S. involvement in Central America. One of the concerns that some parishioners raised was the need for a source of information and opinion other than that found through our daily newspapers and news magazines. This issue of THE WITNESS, with reports from Christians who either live in the region, or have recently visited there, certainly meets this need for an alternative source of information.

**The Rev. John Randolph Price  
Greenville, N.C.**

## Editorial reflective

THE WITNESS editorial in the November issue, "The church of the 21st century," presents Christians everywhere with a great challenge. You give us two roads to take in the coming years; actually even in the present day.

We who live in Pablo Richard's North, and thus are in the land of ease and plenty (at least that is applicable to many of us, especially Episcopalians), may well have a tendency to keep old dogmas, abstract dogmas, and in so doing build an almost impenetrable wall between the North and South. There are so many ways we can justify such a course, but they are false.

Those who decide to become the church which will be the spiritual force for the poor and the defenders of life as opposed to the Northern centers of death will have a hard and difficult road to travel, but our Lord never promised that trying to live by His rules would be easy.

They will have to be true doers of the word, and not just easygoing hearers.

An excellent editorial which forces one to think, if one thinks at all.

**Charles D. Corwin  
Colonial Beach, Va.**

## Third World voice heard

Congratulations on your wonderful journalistic ministry and mission! The November editorial is short but to the point. I'm sure Pablo Richard and the Departamento Ecumenico de Investigaciones (DEI — the Ecumenical Department of Research in Costa Rica) will be happy, even jubilant about it, for it communicates the true Christian attitudes of Third World peoples struggling for national sovereignty and human dignity.

**Sister Caridad Guidote  
New York, N.Y.**

## Saw hope in Nicaragua

I cannot thank you enough for the November WITNESS which deals so effectively with free Nicaragua, occupied Honduras, and poor, befuddled Costa Rica. You are really doing your bit to counteract the propaganda blitz we are being subjected to by our government and the mass media.

It was one of the peak experiences of my life to be present at the ECPC Awards Banquet at which Nicaraguan Bishop Sturdie Downs so movingly spoke. I add my loud "Amen" to his comments and commend you for printing them. I was also inspired by Roman Bishop Casaldaliga's "Ode to Reagan."

I knew Bishop Downs during my six months in Nicaragua as a volunteer nurse in 1983. I saw his work bear fruit when I joined a group from Managua in the church bus on Palm Sunday morning. The Bishop of Costa Rica, Cornelius Wilson, was up for a visit. We went to Matagalpa to reestablish a defunct parish by bringing the church to a poor barrio in the hills. For the remainder of

my time in Nicaragua, I was privileged to help out in that community every weekend. I was able to see them again when I went to Nicaragua's Fifth Anniversary celebration last year. The occasion was marred by the death of the younger brother of the parish secretary, in a contra ambush.

To understand the religious and national rebirth in process in Nicaragua, one needs an historical as well as economic perspective. The Anglican, and later, the Episcopal churches first arrived there as a manifestation of British, then U.S., colonialism. In charity, I can only hope that the missionaries were unwitting accomplices to the rape of the region which goes on to this day. It was the bitter reality of Nicaragua until that longsuffering land finally achieved full independence in 1979. It is still a fact of life in that classical "Banana Republic," occupied Honduras.

The scene in Nicaragua is different. In the "barrio" where the parish was reestablished in '83, the people, with some materials and technical assistance from the government, had brought electricity in for the first time, were completing the fresh water and sewage systems, and the whole neighborhood took part in a campaign to vaccinate every child against polio and measles. If that's "communism," I'll have some more, please. They now have their first Nicaraguan Bishop, an enlightened Christian and a patriot. Under him the little acorn planted by the cohorts of the colonialists can grow.

At the Convention I heard Bishop Downs referred to as "the baby bishop," a reference to his comparatively tender years and recent elevation to the episcopacy. How appropriate that it should be he who calls upon us to liberate our church and our country from the worship of Mammon. Isaiah said, "And a little child shall lead them."

**Donald McEvoy-Albert  
San Diego, Cal.**

## WITNESS abroad

I enclose my subscription for two years. May I say how stimulating I find your journal. It is a tremendous guide to the American social scene. Have you ever thought of a subscription drive in the United Kingdom?

**The Rev. Leonard Tyler**  
Berkshire, England

## Stockbroker at top OK

Given your consistent editorial stance of affirming the inclusiveness of the Episcopal Church, and seeking to overcome the labeling of Christians merely because of their age, sex, race, etc., a position which I share, I was disheartened to read in Mary Lou Suhor's article (November) what I felt to be an *ad hominem* attack on the new President of the House of Deputies, the Very Rev. David Collins, by implying that his particular profession/vocation somehow made him worthy of being left on shore as the new liberal ship of the church casts off. If Dean Collins does not share the ideology of THE WITNESS and its friends (a matter on which I have yet to be informed), then let his views be treated openly and with dignity by those who would differ with him. To suggest that being a stockbroker somehow disqualifies him by nature from our hopes for the future demeans the sanctity of whatever work in the world to which God has called each of us, and is at odds with our commitment to the ministry of reconciliation.

**The Rev. Malcolm C. Burson**  
Old Town, Maine

## Disarmament apologia

The lengthy discussion in the August WITNESS titled "Alternatives to war" by Gene Sharp was nothing less than a veiled apologia for unilateral disarmament. As I understand his proposal, Sharp suggests that the Western world, following a lengthy period of self-induced re-education should gradually abandon any

reliance upon military power to deter or discourage Soviet expansionism.

In the place of military deterrence, conventional or nuclear, he would have the West adopt a policy called "civilian-based defense"; this appears to be effectively an intellectual, nonviolent, civilian struggle against the forces of Soviet oppression and/or military occupation. I gather that this idea of civilian-based defense is patterned somewhat upon Gandhian principles of inducing socio-political change through the medium of civil disobedience and passive resistance to a militarily-supported occupation. True, Gandhi was effective in India but you seem to dismiss the fact that he was dealing with an enlightened British hegemony. I cannot help but speculate what might have been the results had the imperialism been of Soviet origin rather than British! I doubt very much that civilian-based defense could ever be effective against a determined, occupying military power such as the Soviet Union has aptly demonstrated itself to be. I think of the people of Afghanistan, Poland, the Balkans, and now Southeast Asia. As even the most casual observer of the historical process can see, once Soviet Communism has become entrenched, willingly or otherwise, it becomes impossible to change the status quo.

I further consider it to be a specious argument to cite examples of successful resistance movements during World War II in Europe, such as the Norwegian and Danish experiences under Nazi Germany, for real change came about only after overt military intervention by the Allied armed forces. Sharp does admit that there would be casualties in such a resistance movement; I would rather endure casualties during wartime with the possibility of successfully destroying an oppressive system whose history has been one of pervasive evil and tyranny.

**The Rev. William N. Tedesco**  
Seymour, Conn.

## Sharp responds

There is every reason to be apprehensive about the nature and practices of the Soviet Union, but it is pure romanticism to assume that one should choose to "endure casualties during wartime (against that system) with the possibility of successfully destroying (it)." Whatever the difficulties and dangers of civilian-based defense against new Soviet aggression or old Soviet hegemony, the nature of modern war does not make it a suitable tool for human objectives in dealing with "the forces of Soviet oppression and/or military occupation."

The gravest challenge thus far to Leninist systems by people living under them has been made by the Poles, deliberately using nonviolent forms of struggle with the wisdom that violent rebellion would have produced massive annihilation by retaliating Soviet military forces.

It is also true that the Soviet Union and its client states in Eastern Europe contain significant internal problems. We need in-depth studies of the weaknesses of totalitarian systems. With their identification it becomes possible to concentrate resistance on the pre-existing "cracks in the monolith." All past resistance to totalitarian systems, including the very important cases against Nazi Germany, have been improvised by people who had little or no knowledge of what would be most effective. However, it is now possible for scholars, strategists and practitioners to provide knowledge of how to noncooperate, how to defy tyrants of all flags more effectively and to share that know-how with populations under dictatorial rule, or which are threatened by such neighbors.

It is pure defeatism to assert that change is "impossible" against an established Soviet Communist system. That is what their rulers want people to believe. It is naive to think that modern military might does anything to help in that situation. U.S. military power has

*Continued on page 23*



## In the matter of Sherwood and Gilson

**T**HE WITNESS sadly announced in December that the Rev. Zal Sherwood, who had openly proclaimed himself a gay priest in our pages, was asked to resign his post as curate of Emmanuel Episcopal Church, Southern Pines, N.C. Since then, Anne Gilson, the seminarian who wrote about her lesbian orientation in the September issue, has been summarily dismissed from continuing her postulancy in the Diocese of Bethlehem.

In both actions, Bishops Robert Estill of North Carolina and Mark Dyer, respectively, stood firmly behind the 1979 General Convention resolution of the Episcopal Church covering the "appropriate" sexual lifestyle for ministry.

A 1985 resolution which stated that sexual orientation was not a barrier to the selection process for ordination was narrowly turned back by five lay votes in a vote by orders. Consequently, the 1979 guidelines, still in effect, state:

- There are many human conditions, some in the area of sexuality, which bear upon a person's suitability for ordination.
- Every ordinand is expected to lead a life which is "a wholesome example to all people." (Prompting *The Episcopalian* to title their '79 story, "What does wholesome look like?")
- We reaffirm the traditional teaching of the church on marriage, marital fidelity, and sexual chastity as the standard

of Christian sexual morality . . . *Therefore* we believe it is not appropriate for this church to ordain a practicing homosexual, or any person who is engaged in heterosexual relations outside of marriage.

It is the last sentence which, in the words of Bishop Wesley Frensdorff at that time, "Turns the bread of grace into a bag of stones."

After the resolution passed the House of Bishops in 1979, Bishop John Krumm immediately submitted a dissenting statement, endorsed by 22 other bishops, saying "We do not believe that either homosexual orientation as such, nor the responsible and self-giving use of such a mode of sexuality, constitutes a scandal in and of itself."

Those who signed expressed their gratitude for "the profoundly valuable ministries of ordained persons, known to us to be homosexual, formerly and presently engaged in the service of this church." (Perhaps the most noted, the Rev. Malcolm Boyd, celebrated his 30th anniversary of ordination at St. Augustine-by-the Sea, Santa Monica, Cal. recently.)

The dissenting bishops stated that the '79 resolution carried with it "a cruel denial of the sexual beings of homosexual persons." They added that the action also condemned "countless laypersons of homosexual orientation who are ren-

dered second class citizens, fit to receive all other sacraments but the grace of Holy Orders, unless — in a sacrifice not asked of heterosexual persons generally, they abandon all hope of finding human fulfillment, under God, in a sexual and supportive relationship."

Bishop Paul Moore of New York has said, "When sex and religion are mixed, there is no more violent emotion known to man or woman." In the matter of Sherwood and Gilson, such emotions are carrying the day, leaving reason and justice as victims.

Reason, along with tradition and the Bible, constitute the three pillars of Anglican theology. The church should be triply wary, then, of joining ranks with those who embrace biblical fundamentalism and non-critical theology in simplistic responses to homosexual issues. Lesbian and gay rights are being studied today in serious discourse in educational and legal fields as well as in the American Academy of Religion.

Finally, in the matter of Sherwood and Gilson, two activists who were tired of living in an ambience of duplicity and deception: THE WITNESS believes that the bishops who signed the dissenting statement about the prevailing resolution should show pastoral concern by opening their dioceses to people like Zal and Anne, giving credence to their own words and hope to the church. ■

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# THE WITNESS



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# The political task of the Christian church

by Cornel West

**A**t the beginning of this century, we witnessed the Europeanization of the world. By 1918, a handful of states located between the Atlantic Ocean and the Ural mountains controlled over 87% of the land on the globe. By the middle of this century, European hegemony had been replaced by the Americanization and Sovietization of the world.

In this article, I shall attempt to discern the political task of the Christian church in view of prevailing institutional forms of injustice introduced first by the Europeans and later reinforced by the two superpowers. For Christian thinkers, political discernment rests upon systemic social analysis grounded in an interpretation of the Christian Gospel. Such analysis should take seriously the biblical injunction to look at the world through the eyes of its victims — to see through the lens of the cross. Therefore, I shall attempt to put forth a framework which highlights the global life-denying forces which victimize people.

Distinctions should be made between exploitation, repression, domination and subjugation. Each can be identified with a particular social logic promulgated first by Europeans and intensified later by the Americans and Soviets. Social logics are structured social practices which dehumanize people. I associate exploitation with the social logic of capital accumulation; repression with state augmentation; domination with bureaucratic administration; and subjugation with white, male, and heterosexual supremacy.

The development of capitalism is a basic feature of the Europeanization of the world. Its operation is dictated by accumulation and powered by profit-maximization. Its aim is not simply to generate capital, but, more importantly, to reproduce the conditions for generating capital. As Marx noted, capital is neither mere revenue nor money, but rather a social relationship between persons which requires economic

exploitation of those who work (e.g. sell their time, skills, energies). Since the ownership of the means of production (e.g. land, raw materials, instruments) is held by a small minority, the majority who must sell their labor are forced to live lives of material insecurity. *Exploitation* here is not so much a moral term as descriptive, denoting workers' lack of control over investment decisions, their work conditions, and how their products are used.

The capitalist mode of production, an international economic system, has undergone three stages: industrial capitalism, monopoly capitalism and multinational corporate capitalism. Its basic effect has been to privatize and centralize First World economies and to subordinate Third World economies to the First World. Capitalism's major competition has been the rise of the Soviet Union and its satellite countries. Yet their centrally-planned, hierarchical economies do not provide a feasible alternative.

The social logics of capital accumulation during the Europeanization, Americanization and Sovietization of the world have resulted in centralized economic power unaccountable to the majority of the populace and usually manipulative and abusive of the neo-colonial countries which depend upon them.

In the past decade, capital accumulation in the United States has undergone a deep crisis, principally due to increased competition with Japanese and European (and even some Third World) corporations; rising energy costs due to Third World oil cartels; the precarious structure of international debts owed American and European banks by Third World countries, and victorious anti-colonial struggles which sometimes limit lucrative capital investments. The U.S. response has been to curtail the public sphere by cutbacks of federal transfer payments to the needy; diminished public worker protection; erosion of unemployment compensation; diluted environmental protection; enlargement of low wage markets and incentives, and abatements to huge corporations. In short, this response promotes the dissolution of the public sector.

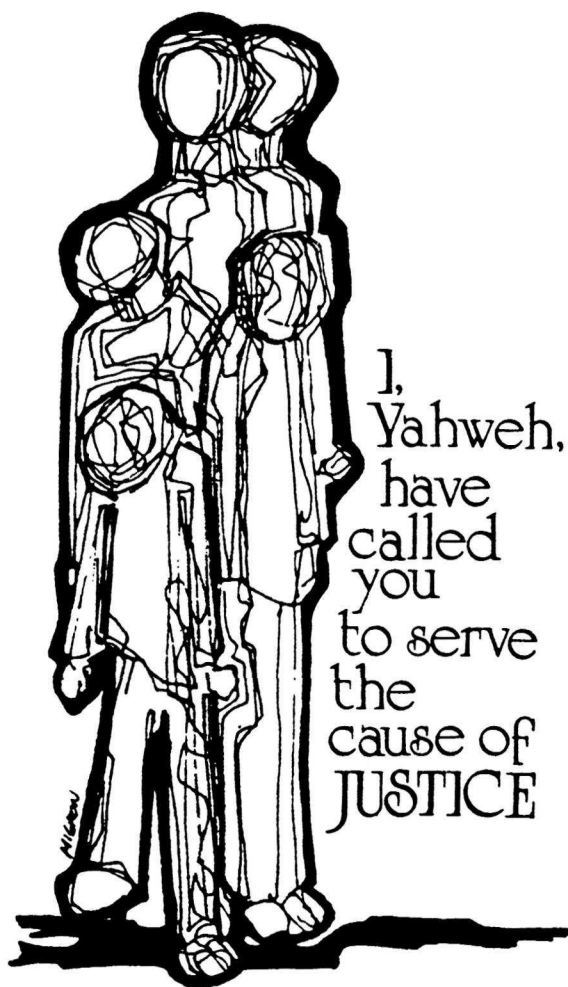
## Repression and augmentation

One of the ironies of the Europeanization, Americanization and Sovietization of the world is the increasing dissolution of the public sphere alongside the augmentation of the state. The state is understood more and more to be a channel through which public funds sustain centralized economic power (of multinational corporations in capitalist societies or bureaucratically-controlled economic firms in communist societies) as opposed to the public sphere which promotes the common good.

There has always been an intimate relationship between

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**Dr. Cornel West** is associate professor of philosophy of religion at Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn. The above article is excerpted from his address during the most recent Kellogg Lectures at Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge.



capital accumulation and the modern state, but the function of the state has changed radically. For example, industrial capitalism neither desired nor sought public regulation — yet it was buttressed by sympathetic courts, supportive military and police and financially helpful legislatures. Monopoly capitalism openly violated anti-trust laws enacted in response to peoples' movements, but its resiliency and resources — its capacity to insure economic growth — limited an expanding state to the roles of public regulation of monopolies, support for those outside the job market and protection of the marginal. And, of course, multinational corporate capitalism is saddled with a burdensome welfare state whose major recipients are not poor minority female heads of households (as is often believed) but rather corporations *qua* huge contract winners.

The salient feature of state augmentation since American and Soviet hegemony is the ever-expanding refinement of

surveillance and control methods. The primary function of state apparatuses in U.S. and U.S.S.R. neo-colonial countries — from Chile to Cuba, South Korea to Poland — is to control and contain counter-insurgency movements with brutal techniques often learned from their hi-tech patrons.

The basic difference between the Americanization and the Sovietization of the world is that the United States was born with a precious rhetoric of rights. This tradition of liberalism, though circumscribed by racist, sexist and class constraints, provides crucial resources against the encroachment of repressive state apparatuses. Hence the scope of individual liberties remains broader in the United States — as well as in the U.S. neo-colonial countries — than in Soviet neo-colonial ones. This rich rhetoric of rights is politically ambiguous in that it can resist both state repression and state support for public life. By confusing state intervention in the economy with state interference in people's lives, healthy libertarian sentiments can lead toward a conservative ideology.

### **Domination and bureaucratic administration**

The social logic of bureaucratic administration runs on impersonal rules and regulations that promote hierarchical patterns and steadfast submission. Its goals of institutional efficiency and self-preservation often enhance profit-maximization and disciplinary control. Capital accumulation, state augmentation and bureaucratic administration in both capitalist and communist countries constitute the major components of a growing "iron cage" in which labor is exploited and people are repressed and dominated.

The major responses to bureaucratic administration have been "therapeutic" releases such as alcoholism, narcotic subcultures, simulated sexuality, cults of sport and charismatic renewals of religion. These are earnest attempts to preserve some self-vitality and vigor and overcome the banality of modern societies. In the United States, such responses have often reduced religious rituals to packaged commodities, kerygmatic preaching to dramatic commercials, and protracted struggles of conversion to glib events of sentimental titillation. Rarely do these responses result in opposition to the status quo. Instead, they usually become escapist activities that reinforce it.

Capital accumulation, state augmentation and bureaucratic administration are shot through with white, male heterosexual supremacist discourses and practices. Such racist, sexist and heterosexist practices relegate black, brown, red, yellow, gay and lesbian people to marginal identities and cause them psychosexual anxieties.

Industrial capitalism boasted of overt racist practices such as Jim Crowism, exclusionary immigration laws against Asians, and imperial conquest and geographical containment of indigenous peoples. Its cult of domesticity limited the role



of heterosexual women, banished lesbians, and promoted a doctrine of masculinity which degraded “effeminate” heterosexual men and gay men. Monopoly capitalism tempered its racist practices and refined its ideologies against peoples of color, but nearly committed genocide against Jewish peoples in the midst of “civilized” Europe. It celebrated women who carried double work loads and castigated lesbians and gay men. Multinational corporate capitalism turns its racist ammunition on the black and brown working poor and underclass; focuses its right-wing movements on women’s reproductive rights and often uses lesbians and gays as cultural scapegoats.

### First World church resistance

Christians are deeply entrenched in the prevailing political situation, and our theologies are shot through with the social logics I have described. Are there any Christian resources left after one teases out the economic exploitation, state repression, bureaucratic domination, and racism, sexism, and homophobia?

Only if we can interpret dramatic biblical narratives and emphasize a morality which promotes the de-Europeanization, de-Americanization and de-Sovietization of the world. This should not result in a vulgar anti-European, anti-American and anti-Soviet stance. Rather, it should build upon the best of the European, American and Soviet experiments. Further, it does not constitute a shift of the church to a “universal” faceless church, but rather from a church caught in European, American and Soviet captivity to a church more fully grounded in people’s basic needs. In biblical language, I am promoting a church serious about rooting out its deep-seated idolatries.

Christian resources include the indispensable (yet never adequate) capacities of human beings to solve problems — hence the anti-dogmatic elements of Christianity which encourage critical consciousness and celebrate the good news of Jesus Christ which empowers and links human capacities to the coming of the Kingdom. Thus too the warding off of disenabling despair, dread, cynicism, and death itself. Last, Christians view all human beings as having equal status, as warranting the same dignity, respect and love. Hence the Christian identification with the downtrodden and disinherited.

For those of us situated in the Christian tradition, there ought to be a deep bias against the prevailing forms of dogmatism and oppression. Yet this bias should be manifested without making criticism, hope and liberation a fetish or idol; for such reductions of the Christian Gospel result in impotent irony (as with some avant-garde postmodern theologians), shallow self-indulgence (as with many First World churches) or spiritless political struggle (as with some sec-

ularized political activists).

Another task of First World middle-class churches is to preserve the Christian ideals of individuality and democratic participation in the decision-making processes of the major institutions which guide and regulate our lives.

This accents the Christian belief that all humans are made in the image of God, and are thereby endowed with a certain dignity and respect which include a chance to fulfill their potentialities. This interpretation acknowledges that the development of individuality occurs within groups and societies. Further, it recognizes the depravity of persons in the sense that institutional mechanisms must provide checks and balances for various forms of power, wealth, status and influence. These mechanisms seem to work best when regulated and enforced by democratic convictions. This concept of democracy not only calls for participation within a given set of structures, but also a share of power to change the structures themselves.

The Christian struggle for freedom is as much a struggle for moral norms and systemic social analysis as it is a struggle against the powers that be precisely because these powers must be adequately understood if they are to be effectively transformed. Battles within the Christian tradition are often fought over the kind of social analyses to be employed in understanding our lives, societies and world. Christian thinkers should employ elements of various social analyses of power, wealth, status and influence that look at the world from the situation of the “least of these.”

Given the complexity and multiplicity of social logics in our world, an acceptable social and historical analysis must be both *systemic* and *eclectic*. My framework rests upon insights from the traditions of Marxism, anarchism, Weberianism, Garveyism, feminism, womanism, anti-homophobia, ecologism, liberalism and even elements of conservatism.

Affirming the Christian norms of individuality and democracy would more than likely lead to some form of democratic and libertarian socialism linked to anti-racist, anti-patriarchal and anti-homophobic ways of life; that is, a socioeconomic arrangement with markets, price mechanisms, an induced (not directed) labor force, a free press, formal political rights and a constitutionally-based legal order with special protections for marginalized peoples. This social vision recognizes that centralization, hierarchy and markets are inescapable realities for modern social existence; the crucial question is, how will they be regulated?

Finally, the preservation of individuality and democracy depends in large part, upon our understanding of and commitment to a deep sense of justice. And for Christians, justice has much to do with the depths of our faith. ■



# Short Takes

## Parable of wild geese

Several months ago I read a fascinating report about wild geese which was taken from an aeronautics laboratory study of them made in a wind tunnel. It was discovered, according to the report, that geese can fly a 71% longer range when they fly together in this v-formation, than when a solitary goose tries to make it alone. Evidently, the action of the wing tips of the goose ahead creates an uplift which makes it easier for the goose that follows; and each in turn passes on this lift to the one behind.

Furthermore, as the geese press on towards an unseen goal, the report goes on, they have a way of rotating their leadership so that the leader, who has no assistance, does not get worn out. And then, interestingly enough, when one of the geese becomes ill and has to leave the formation; and descends to the earth for a rest (this is really incredible) one of the other members of the flock also separates itself from the group and accompanies the ill one to a resting place.

Thus endeth the parable of the wild geese in flight.

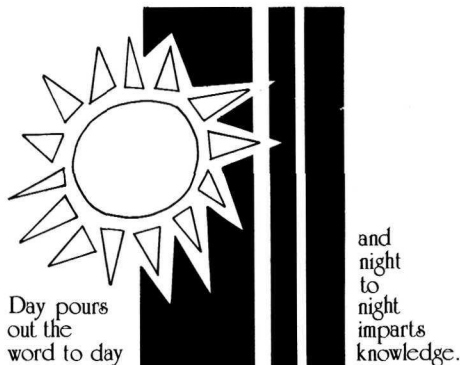
— William W. Kenney  
*Dimensions in Discipleship*  
 Vancouver School of Theology

**Spanish proverb:** An ounce of mother is worth a pound of clergy.

## U.S. arms Third World

According to a new study released in mid-May of 1984 by the nonpartisan U.S. Congressional Research Service, the U.S. has again emerged as the number one arms supplier to the Third World. The U.S. share of the market rose from 32 percent to 39 percent between 1982 and 1983, while the Soviet Union's share declined from 27 to 17 percent. Last year's totals to the Third World amounted to \$26.5 billion, with the U.S. supplying \$9.68 billion and the Soviets providing \$7.8 billion. In the current fiscal year, arms sales agreements by the U.S. have already totaled \$9.1 billion, and another \$4.8 billion is proposed, which would set a new record.

— "Grassroots"  
*World Encounter, Fall '85*



## The risk of prayer

Prayer is a very dangerous business. It carries with it one great element of risk: the possibility of change. In prayer we open ourselves to the chance that God will do something with us that we had not intended . . . Don't we know for a fact that people who begin by "just praying" go trudging off to missionary lands, entering monasteries, taking part in demonstrations, dedicating themselves to the poor and sick?

People who really pray don't talk about it much. After you have looked into the matter carefully, you may be able to puzzle out who is really praying. In general though, prayer is something of an underground. Is it because people who pray are too possessive about their experiences to share them? On the contrary, people who pray usually share their experiences generously. But on the whole they don't advertise their prayer-lives. Perhaps the energy that might be used in talk goes into prayer instead.

Emilie Griffin  
*Clinging: The Experience of Prayer*

## Quote of note

To eat bread without hope is still slowly to starve to death.

— Pearl Buck

## But for a phone call . . .

The Rt. Rev. John T. Walker, Bishop of Washington, who led Episcopal Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning in early balloting in the House of Bishops in Anaheim, had urged Browning not to withdraw his name from the race in a phone call during the summer of '85, it was revealed recently

by The Virginia Churchman.

The Virginia Churchman told how Walker related the story of the phone call during a welcome home party given by his diocese at Mt. St. Alban's after General Convention.

Walker told some 250 persons that he was disappointed not to have been chosen, "but I'm perfectly happy to be sent home. The message I received at Anaheim was that it was God's will that I stay here," he said.

He went on to relate how Browning, a close friend of his family, had telephoned him during the summer to suggest that he, Browning, withdraw his name from nomination for Presiding Bishop. Browning said he felt it would be the best thing for the Episcopal Church at this time to "make a statement" by electing Walker, the Black candidate, as Presiding Bishop. Walker said he told Browning that it would not be right for the Bishop of Hawaii to step aside, and dissuaded him from doing so.

## 'La Conquistadora'

In the museum of Santa Fe, New Mex. there is a statue of the Blessed Virgin with the meaningful name of *La Conquistadora*. This is Cortes' "Queen of Heaven," who accompanied him on his pilgrimage to our lands. With her at his side, he came from Spain in the name of God to conquer Mexico — putting into execution the greatest blood-bath in American history. As tragedy would have it, the Amerindians, in their mythology, had expected to see one day disembarking on the eastern coasts of their lands, White gods, dispensing eternal life. Beneath the banner of the White goddess, Christian conquistadors invaded everywhere, and the terrified aborigines quickly came to know the methods by which European empires limitlessly extended their borders.

As I stood in the museum gazing at *La Conquistadora*, suddenly a shock went through me. One of her eyes had been gouged out! I felt a sudden burst of joy. Some Indian had come by here and realized that this was an image of the oppression and death of sisters and brothers, and wanted to do something to avenge them.

— Theologian Georges Casalis  
*Third World Sermon Notes*

# The church in a frozen revolution

by James Guinan

When American TV showed U.S. troops parachuting onto an airstrip in Grenada, Oct. 23, 1983, most of us had never heard of this tiny Caribbean island-nation, let alone tried to find it on a map.

If one located it in the southeastern Caribbean and probed further, an atlas would reveal that the nation contains two other small islands — Petite Martinique and Carriacou. Carriacou — four hours by mail boat from Grenada and 16 minutes by LIAT Island Hopper, is where I spent six months as interim priest last year.

Bishop George Hunt of Rhode Island had called me at my retirement home in Virginia to ask if I would spend some time in the Caribbean after the hurricane season. Rhode Island has a companion-diocese relationship with the Anglican Diocese of the Windward Islands, and Carriacou needed assistance because of the unexpected death of its 32-year-old rector. Since clergy are in short supply, I was assigned by the Most Rev. George Woodroffe, Archbishop of the West Indies, to two congregations: one rural, St. Francis in Harvey Vale; and Christ the King in Hillsborough, the urban center, seaport and political headquarters of the island.

The following thoughts flow from my work experiences and involvement as priest and pastor there.

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**The Rev. James Guinan** is an Episcopal priest and longtime social activist who has served in San Francisco, Detroit, Connecticut and Rhode Island. He is now living in retirement in Deerfield, Va.

My first observation is that the church, both Anglican and Roman expressions of it in Grenada, seems inextricably interwoven in the fabric of politics. Herbert Blaize, the Prime Minister of Grenada, was senior warden of the Carriacou church. The time he was able to spend in active service was limited but nonetheless, he was a vital force and voice in the life and work of the church.

The church, by and large, is made up of people who have “made it” in the post-colonial world, and they expect to keep things the way they are. They would remind me of the horrors of the past two regimes and were clear that they did not want any more disruptiveness from revolutions and U.S. interventions and such.

My first six weeks were busy: five funerals; six baptisms with preparation sessions; two Eucharists each Sunday in both congregations plus Sunday school in the afternoon; and great numbers of memorial requiems for those recently departed. These requiems may be unique to Anglican Churches in the Caribbean. They are celebrated in the church but often in the home as well, on the ninth day, the 40th day, or the anniversary of the death. Usually the family invites friends to attend and there is a small gathering afterwards to break bread and share a drink.

The religious life of the people was a new experience for me. It was not easy to bend from my Virginia Seminary low church training and 36 years of experience as a social activist to become a “Mass priest,” saying requiems so frequently. And when I realized that the Anglican Church had also been an in-

strument of colonialization through the years, I found myself becoming increasingly uncomfortable. I was ministering to people with a post-colonial hangover.

From the first days since the Europeans and British came to these shores, the church — first Roman, then Anglican — has served as the domesticating arm of the empire. After the Spanish literally drove the Carib Indians, who preferred death to enslavement, off a cliff in Grenada, the next colonial master, the French, imported Black West Africans as slaves to maintain the lush plantations whose harvests were sent back to Europe. Since 1763, when the British “won” Grenada from the French, the Empire maintained colonial status, not for the development of the people, but for its own wealth. Since 1974, Grenada has been independent, although it remains part of the British Commonwealth.

After many uprisings and a recent revolution, the struggle for freedom still continues. Grenada, Carriacou, and Petite Martinique, with populations of some 100,000, 5,000, and 500 respectively, comprise a little “Nation of Conflict,” as George Brizan, Minister of Agriculture, called it in his recent book.

But revolution is behind Grenadians for a while. The freedom they enjoy is still shackled to a colonial way of life. They are still “of the Empire” in their Anglican ways of liturgizing and running their church affairs. Their religious expression is one of acculturation and acquiescence.

The churches here seem to have fed the people with a diet of pious palliatives and avoided the strong meat of the

Gospel. Hence, the heavy ritualistic orientation. Is that so much easier to teach than to probe the roots of poverty, 40% unemployment, poor health facilities, and how to recover indigenous agricultural production and the fishing industry? I do not understand how both the Roman and the Anglican Churches can be so insensitive to the needs of the people they serve. The politics of the church are colonial rather than West Indian or West African.

And now the government is changing its allegiance to another empire — the United States. America's dominating influence in the Caribbean leaves no doubt who calls the shots. Herbert Blaize's election was largely the result of U.S. assistance. One of our embassy officials told me, "He was the candidate we felt would best represent our interests." It is generally accepted all over Carriacou, Blaize's parliamentary base, that U.S. money and political assistance won him the election. The campaign literature, T-shirts, posters, polling assistance, etc. left no doubt that Blaize, indeed, was the candidate who would "best represent our interests." And I suspect our interests are those that will guarantee that there shall be no more Marxist countries in the Caribbean.

To be sure, the unrest before Blaize took office were frightening years for Grenadians. I have heard my friends describe them. They were genuinely apprehensive. The first Prime Minister to whom the British turned over rule, Eric Gairy, turned out to be a despot with his Mongoose Squads of killers on the loose, trampling down any and all opposition to the new government. Gairy was overthrown in 1979 by the New Jewel Movement and the People's Revolutionary Government under Maurice Bishop. Influenced by the Black Power movement of the United States, the leadership and the young nation struggled to make itself representative of the Grenadian people. Fraught with internal dissension, how-

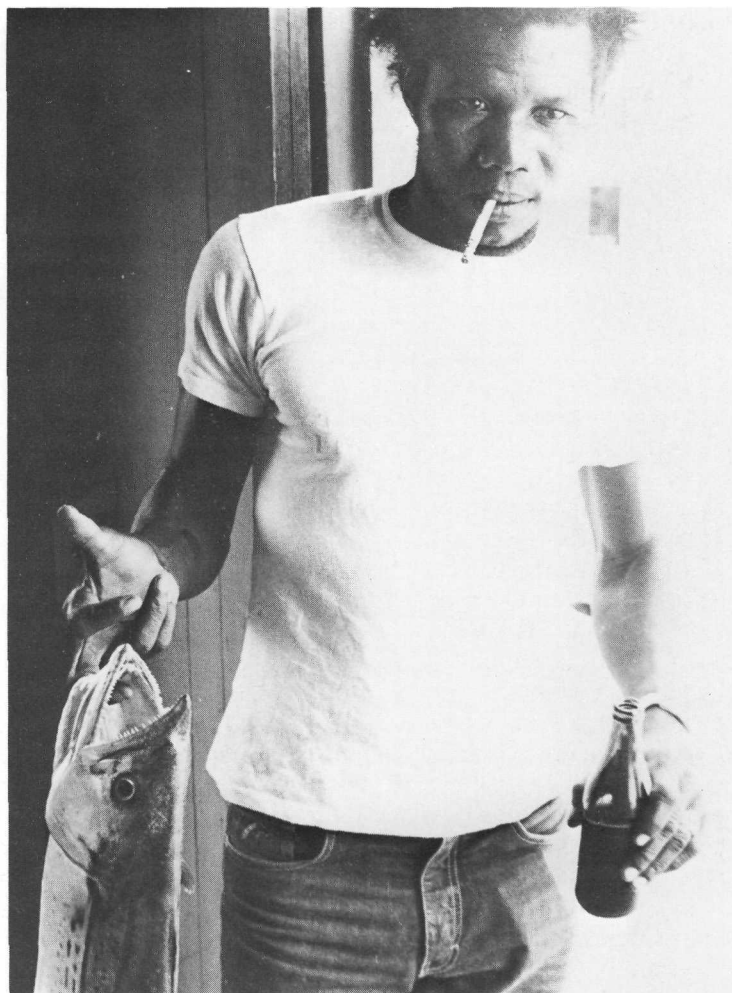
ever, it collapsed when Bishop was murdered in 1983. It was at this point that the United States invaded.

The questions that go begging today are the same questions the Bishop regime purportedly was struggling with. The church continues to retreat from addressing social and political issues that might make people aware the country is still living in dependency, in a colonial dream world. Thus, the church supports the Blaize government, and preserves the

status quo.

Although there is an attempt in the West Indies to bring the Anglican Church to a point where Black African West Indians might begin to have a sense of their past, as exemplified in the recent conference in Barbados on the theme of Afro-Anglicanism, the Grenadian church is not that far along.

The Grenadian church seems to busy itself with intricate pastoral duties and liturgical imitations of Roman Catholicism



**A Carriacou fisherman with a prize catch. The fishing industry no longer serves the islanders due to the bootlegging enterprise that ships fish off to Martinique to fine restaurants, in trade for Jack Iron Rum.**



The author in the market square purchasing tamarind balls, a delicacy of Carriacou.

such as Corpus Christi processions and Stations of the Cross. Seldom does anyone in the pews hear anything from the prophets. When I subscribed to the Caribbean Conference of Churches newspaper, I was told I should be careful because it was a “communist” publication. Actually, I found it to be the best source of news about what is going on in the Caribbean today, and a clear voice for liberation from the forces that have kept people oppressed for centuries.

What is needed, I believe, is for the church to find and preach a theology of liberation — not necessarily the liberation theology of some of the neighboring islands and Central America which is Marxist in its analysis. Clergy, today, however, are trained for the most part at the Anglican seminary at Codrington College in Barbados. Its emphasis is mostly on pastoral ministry and liturgical innovations for the Anglo-Catholic

tradition. Social issues go unaddressed. Consequently alcoholism is incredibly high; women are second class citizens; pollution prevails and potable water is unevenly distributed; senior citizens are lonely, uncared for, medically deprived and forgotten; and a basic economy of agriculture and fishing lies fallow.

A liberating theology would preach and teach about the church’s ministry in the social and political arena. A liberating theology would begin to implement social programs to help alcoholics, give hope to the aged for dignified twilight years, and insist that women demand full citizenship. A liberating theology could free a lot of people in Grenada and help deal with the defeatist attitude that says, “Oh well, it’s always been that way. How can I hope to change it?”

Maurice Bishop’s charismatic ideas touched many young people in Grenada. His New Jewel Movement was hope-

lessly overwhelmed by the rigors of trying to make good the promises within the ideology of Marxism. Today many advantaged youth have left the island, creating a brain drain. And many youth have left the church because, I suspect, the church is not saying anything of importance.

The church can have a role in shaping the revolutions yet to come in Grenada. Shaping these revolutions may prove to be the greatest challenge of the church’s modern day history.

While in Carriacou I felt I was living under a volcano. Nothing was about to erupt — it already had, and was all covered with volcanic dust and soot that no one knew how to dig out of. It is time for us to begin listening to the rumblings that are emerging from the Caribbean. The problems are real — they are not a result of Marxist agitation, as many, including our President and State Department, would have us believe. They stem from a period of colonialization and slavery that was cruel and dehumanizing, and they will not be wished away. ■

## black & white dream at end of October

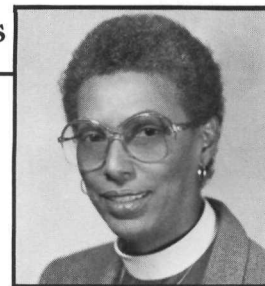
ahead, and to the side of the road,  
a little child is standing —  
i’d guess about 3 years old —  
in clothes somewhat ragged,  
with eyes this way, unblinking;  
her arms hanging down at her sides.

closer to me, the car —  
heading straight at her.  
from deep in my chest,  
i will it to swerve,  
but its engines push it onward,  
and further to the right — straight  
at the child, innocent and standing  
in the way.

i do not see the impact,  
but i know it as it happens.  
i wake and cry her name,  
“Grenada!”

— Gillian M. Dale





## Council sends mixed signals

**T**alk about damning with faint praise! A recent Diocesan Press Service news release from the Episcopal Church Center at New York carried the headline: "Shareholder Actions Split New Council." The release reported, in part:

"A debate on a shareholder resolution gave some indications of the disinvestment process ordered by (General) Convention and how the newly-seated Executive Council of the Episcopal Church might address the whole range of shareholder ethics.

"Two resolutions would have General Motors and the Raytheon Company establish policies making renewal of contracts with the government and instrumentalities of South Africa contingent upon the Pretoria government's committing itself to the end of apartheid and to 'meaningful steps' toward racial, social and political equality. A third asked IBM, Shlumberger, General Electric, United Airlines and General Signal Companies to state that they would terminate their South African business unless the government began action on the 'Tutu corollaries' before the end of 1986."

(Bishop Desmond Tutu has stated that firms doing business in South Africa should pressure the government to abandon the homelands policies; abolish influx control, pass laws and other instruments of apartheid; restore full political rights; free all political prisoners and increase funding for black education, housing, health and social welfare programs.)

If, indeed, this initial meeting does offer indications of how the 40-member council will approach the highly charged

area of social responsibility in investments over the next three years, it is already sending some mixed and confusing signals to the church and the ecumenical community. In prolonged debate over how the church would continue its opposition to apartheid in South Africa, there emerged a decided lack of clarity on council's response to the mandate from Anaheim.

Along with those who raised one of the first questions at the meeting, we too ask: Why, indeed, would the council pursue such courses of action — seeking controls on firms active in South Africa — when Convention had mandated *disinvestment* from all such companies?

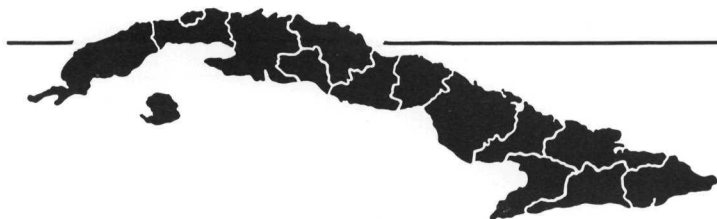
Some members of council, reportedly, argued that Convention's intention was for immediate divestment, although this is not explicitly stated in the resolution. This certainly was the understanding with which many General Convention deputies left Anaheim. Moreover, despite the resolution being flawed by lack of a specified time for implementation, it presented the church with the opportunity to couple its daily Convention prayers for Bishop Tutu with concrete action.

Newly elected Councillor Bettye Jo Harris, who directs a multi-racial/multi-ethnic Immigrant Service Center for the Episcopal Church in Hawaii, argued that "the church's witness would be all the more forceful if it took place at the risk of some financial loss." However, Treasurer Matthew Costigan dropped in a bon mot by conveying the church's attorneys' opinion that "the Council was bound *legally* to prudent investment pol-

icies that seemed to bar the sale of stock at a substantial loss if that could be avoided."

When all was said and done (at least until the next meeting in February), council voted to pursue the umbrella action calling on the companies to seek conformity to the Tutu corollaries and calling on GM to end its ties unless apartheid is dismantled. A resolution calling on Raytheon to follow the GM course was sent back to committee.

The remainder of the DPS report was equally as damaging and really needs no comment. To wit: council also deferred action which would have called on AT&T to terminate its contract to manage the nuclear weapons division of the Sandia national laboratories. The Rev. George Bates, council member from Albuquerque, N.M. objected strenuously to this measure because of *phraseology*. AT&T, he argued, manages the *whole lab* — with facilities in Albuquerque and Livermore, Ca. — not just the nuclear weapons division under contract to the Department of Energy. The vote: 22-12. The meeting also authorized a resolution calling on Martin-Marrietta to establish a company committee to explore and report on the firm's ethical involvement as a prime contractor in the development of the MX missile and make renewal of such contracts contingent on the report. A measure which would have Shlumberger report to stockholders the extent and nature of its sales to the Soviet government won similar quick support. ■



## Getting to know

**I**n late 1984 I visited Cuba for the first time since 1950. I was not prepared for what I found — a new and almost buoyant Cuba. Readily available reading matter on the country for the last two decades has been scarce and slanted

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**The Rev. Cora Cheney Partridge** is an Episcopal priest active in three dioceses — Delaware, Florida, and Vermont. An author of children's books, she has traveled extensively abroad. Her recent trip to Cuba elicited the accompanying article, and the interview with the Rt. Rev. Emilio Hernandez, Bishop of Cuba, below.

here, torn between flagrant Cuban revolutionary propaganda on one hand and reports on the U.S. uncompromising fear of Communism on the other.

Consequently, there is a vast area of indifference and ignorance in the United States about our Cuban near neighbor, its history, its problems, and its own adaptation of Marxism which we need to know about if we are to be friends. Little is taught in our public schools about Cuba to our post-1960 generations.

The Cuban Revolution of 1959 was a great leveler. There is almost total literacy, total employment, free education

at all levels, free medical care, free child care centers. To ride a bus costs five centavos for all. There are safe, clean streets, no beggars. While housing is cramped in some areas there is still a place for everyone to live.

Rationing is in effect, but there are “parallel” stores for food, gasoline, goods and luxuries if one works extra hard to pay the higher prices. Basics are available to all people.

Most businesses are state-owned. There is no free press but there are many inexpensive books for sale. Serious

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## Cuban bishop, once prisoner,

**T**he Right Rev. Emilio Joaquin Hernandez Albalate, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Cuba since 1982, sat, apparently relaxed, in a worn chair in his office in the *Obispo's* House, adjoining the Holy Trinity Episcopal Cathedral. In this neighborhood of historic mansions and embassies of the Vedado section of old Havana one recalls the pre-revolutionary city with its walled compounds and well tended gardens — and its slums that once lay beyond.

The bishop's relaxed appearance is belied by his eyes that look beyond the crumbling old walls to the new Socialist-Communist world of Cuba today. Experience has given him insights that differ from the social and political stability of most bishops. Emilio Hernandez, (note: in the Spanish manner, his moth-

er's name *Albalate*, is appended after his surname) after fighting along with anti-Batista forces, became an active revolutionary soldier in the turbulent 1950s. In the confused Cuban world after Castro's takeover in 1959, Hernandez was involved in an anti-government plot, for which he spent 10 years in prison, from 1962-72.

“I was guilty as charged,” he said. “I paid my debt.”

He preferred not to belabor the details of the reasons for his imprisonment and eventual release, but he spoke freely of his decade in prison, and of his revolutionary student days.

Born into a Roman Catholic family in Camaguey Province in 1925, young Emilio attended the Episcopal Trinity School in Moron. This led to involve-

ment in an Episcopal missionary Sunday School. In time he became an Episcopalian and began to have thoughts about the priesthood. He yearned to go to the United States for theological study.

“But my mother thought I was frail,” smiled the thin and delicately built bishop. “She persuaded me to study in Cuba. The cold climate of *Norte America* held a great terror for her, so I entered the University of Havana and began the study of medicine.”

The bishop paused, thinking back on student days. It is a matter of public record that Fidel Castro was also at the University in that period of change and unrest in Cuba.

“My mind was a revolutionary mind at all times. Serious Christians live in

# Cuba again

by Cora Cheney Partridge

shortages of cars and spare parts exist (Where else would you see a Henry J. and an Edsel parked side by side today?). There are also shortages of taxis, small buses, machinery and such luxuries as fancy clothes, cosmetics, and non-essentials that flood the Western world.

But best of all, the Cubans are still the joyous people they used to be, and while there are dark and light sides to all issues, there is no doubt that most of the population seems better off under the new system. The people look well dressed and healthy with none of the dreariness that I experienced in Soviet populations.

Partly, the difference is in the basic moods of the two peoples, and part is that Cuba has adapted its own brand of Socialism to its special needs. Cuban people are still the determined rebels who do not relish total loss of individuality; historically they are freedom fighters against any entrenched oppression.

In 1961 an attempt to overthrow the Castro government by a force led by Cuban exiles with U.S. support was a fiasco. The Bay of Pigs invasion turned back in 72 hours, became a unifying and rallying event for the Castro govern-

ment. After the event, the United States broke diplomatic ties with Cuba, and the great blackout of news and free intercourse began. However, the United States retained Guantanamo Naval Base near the Eastern tip of Cuba, but it is totally fenced off.

The Cubans seem to want our friendship (and dollars) very much, and they are bitter about the U.S. trade embargo, in existence since 1962. They are put into a position of having to purchase from distant countries, driving a wedge between natural partners.

Many Cubans resent the fact that we

## sees brighter future

revolt in the world, and Christ was the greatest revolutionary of all times."

While at the University, after three and a half years of medical school, Emilio, now in his 20s, became firm in his ambition to become an ordained priest. He confessed that it was with some "guilt" that he left medical school and entered the seminary at Matanzas, Cuba, where he graduated, at age 27, in 1955. He was ordained deacon that year, and in 1956 became a priest and took a country parish.

Meantime, in 1952, he had married Edivia Mesa, and they began their family of two sons and a daughter. Now they have three grandsons.

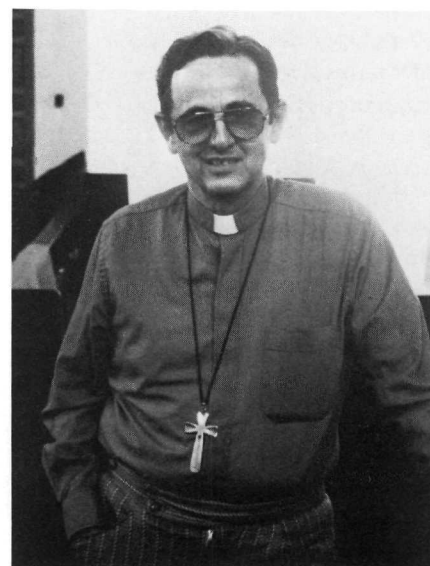
Although he had a family and a parish, the young priest was politically active;

five years after he was ordained he was in prison for his politics. At no time did he consider abandoning his native land. During the ordeal of his imprisonment his wife and children remained in Cuba, his loyal supporters.

"We are Cubans," he said proudly.

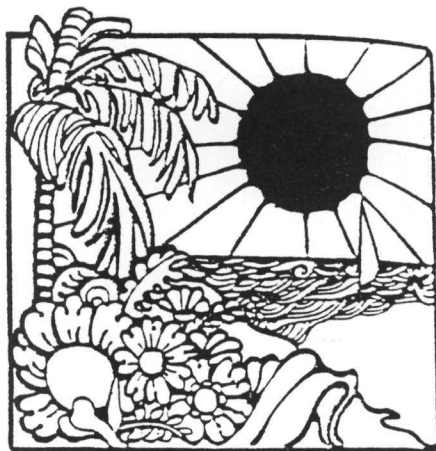
Despite the hardships to himself and his family, Emilio found the 10 years in prison an "edifying" experience. It was a time of deep spiritual growth, and he soon became a virtual chaplain of the prison.

"People who are locked up need healing," he said. "It was also an ecumenical experience. We were all one under God, as well as under guard. I found that the spiritual needs of people are stronger



The Rt. Rev. Emilio Hernandez

*Continued on page 17*



"Norte Americanos" consider that we liberated Cuba in 1898, when they had been fighting a winning revolt against Spain for half a century. In 1894, my own father, at age 15, ran away from home in a small Southern town to join the Cuban rebels. His anxious parents overtook him in New Orleans and persuaded him to come home to finish his education. There was a tremendous sympathy for the revolutionary cause among American liberals, and Jose Marti, the political philosopher, humanitarian and writer whose thoughts have probably influenced present day Cuba more than any one person, was a hero to many in the United States as well as Cuba.

Churches are still communicating between the two countries. Contrary to widespread opinion, Castro never persecuted the churches nor prevented either Protestant or Roman Catholic worship as long as they did not advocate the overthrow of the government. (We cannot do that in the United States either). After the revolution there was an exodus of the wealthy establishment, many anti-Castro Cubans, who went chiefly to Miami, foreseeing drastic economic changes. The emigres included many professionals and many religious people. The influential Cuban community in Miami today is vocally anti-Castro and pro-Reagan.

The remaining congregations in Cuba began to work together for an indigenous new church with much ecumenical emphasis. The only sign of Christmas celebration I saw in Havana in 1984 was in churches, usually in cooperation with others, a rather refreshing movement to put the Nativity back into a religious atmosphere.

The old Evangelical Theological Seminary at Matanzas has survived the revolution and today is teaching students from a variety of denominations. Church membership in all religions is down from pre-revolution days; however a small but steady increase is developing.

In the new constitution the "Family Clause" defines the status of women. Although it may not be totally adhered to, there is legally no discrimination against women in pay or in jobs. Men are required by law to share the housework and child care. I actually saw a man hanging out the wash.

The country, although not very well prepared for it, is seeking tourism. Citizens of the United States can enter through cultural exchanges or through church connections under certain circumstances. European, Canadian, and Asian travel groups are flooding Cuban hotels to capacity.

Water is potable throughout the country, in contrast to other Latin American countries. Fresh salad vegetables offer no risk to wary tourists. There are almost no manufactured tourist goods for sale, but the government hard currency stores in hotels have a few souvenir type items. The Cuban peso is worth slightly more than a dollar.

A traveler with even a slight knowledge of Spanish is able to enjoy bus rides without an escort and talk to other passengers. Visitors are free to move about with no "shadow" following. There was no indication that any areas or institutions were either set up for or prohibited to tourists. Bus rides on cheap and crowd-

ed public transportation can take you through the countryside or into rural villages to see the daily life style of the people. Cubans do not have our freedoms of press and speech, but they also do not have the poverty and living conditions they had in the past.

Is Cuba exporting revolution? Is the United States exporting democracy? Is mutual respect possible, making a literal effort at loving one's neighbor on a hemispheric basis? ■

## Thornell heads ECPC Board

The Rev. Kwasi Thornell, recently named canon missionary of the Washington National Cathedral, has been elected new chair of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company to succeed the Rt. Rev. H. Coleman McGehee, Jr., whose term expired.

Other officers are the Rt. Rev. J. Antonio Ramos, Associate Director for the Caribbean and Latin America, National Council of Churches, vice president; Gloria Brown, consultant-psychologist from Los Angeles, secretary; and Carman St. John Hunter, of World Education, Inc., New York, treasurer.

Re-elected for a second term are the Rt. Rev. Otis Charles, dean of Episcopal Divinity School; and Steven Guerra, who will complete a full second term interrupted by his incarceration as a Grand Jury resister.

Newly elected Board members are the Rt. Rev. John H. Burt, retired Bishop of Southern Ohio; and the Rev. William W. Rankin, rector of St. Stephen's church, Belvedere, Cal. Newly named to the Contributing Editors of THE WITNESS magazine is the Rev. James Lewis, vicar of the Church of the Incarnation, Ann Arbor, Mich. The full complement of the ECPC Board, and all Contributing Editors of THE WITNESS, are listed on the masthead on page 5.



## Cuban bishop . . . *Cont. from page 15*

than the physical needs. Prison gave me the unshakable conviction that the spirit is the basis of human welfare.”

How does he see the role of the church in the new Cuba?

“A new church is emerging in Cuba, where only about 15% of the population are professed Christians. All over Latin America churches are looking after the needs of people. The church is not oppressed here, but professed Christians cannot be ranking members of the Communist Party. Yet the church still has power.”

Nevertheless, church rolls are smaller in revolutionary Cuba than in the 1950s. For example, the Episcopal Church, which has always been a minority church in Cuba, has about 2500 to 3000 members in contrast to the 5000 to 7000 members of 25 years ago, many having left the country. The attitude of most Christians is more ecumenical now.

“We are co-operative, for the church reflects the society where it exists. Cuba’s indigenous new church is being formed in a new context, with new interpretations of the Scriptures” reflected the bishop.

The Episcopal Church is in ever closer contact with its counterparts in Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Mexico, and to the extent possible, other Caribbean churches.

“The role of the church in a communist country is to help people spiritually as in any other context. The church offers a continuing challenge of political change,” he mused. “The new government has unquestionably improved the lot of the general population. The Family Clause in the new Constitution of Cuba truly tries to give total equality to women, for example. Men are required by law to take half the share of housework and child care.”

His wife Edivia brought in hospitable cups of thick Cuban coffee, and they exchanged a quick smile.

“We’ll see if it works out. Even this is reflected in our church. We are getting ready to ordain three women to the diaconate soon. We welcome this healthy development for our women who will become priests in the normal pattern of the church.”

Can the churches of the United States and Cuba lead the way for opening diplomatic channels between our two countries? Bishop Hernandez paused occasionally to re-form his Spanish thoughts into English words.

“Some churches in the two countries are moving to work together despite political differences. Take, for example, the sister relationship between the United States Diocese of Florida and the Episcopal Diocese of Cuba, which was initiated by Bishop Frank Cervený of Florida in 1982.

“Since then we have had a delegation at the Florida Convention in 1984 and 1985, and Bishop Cervený with a supporting group has recently been allowed to come to Cuba. The Diocese of Florida has given me a new car to replace my 1966 Austin. That is church diplomacy for I certainly am grateful for the new Datsun.”

The Episcopal Church in Cuba, which has existed formally for over a century, was until 1966 a mission diocese of the Episcopal Church of the United States. *The Iglesia Episcopal de Cuba (Diocesis Autonomo e Independiente dentro de la Comunion Anglicana)* drew up its own constitution in 1967. It operates under the Metropolitan Council which consists of the Primate of the Anglican Church in Canada, the Archbishop of the West Indies and the President of Province IX, Episcopal Church, U.S.A.

In a country where there are many Blacks, it is notable that the first native-born Cuban Episcopalian to be ordained was Emilio Planas Hernandez (no relation to the present bishop) who became a priest in 1904. Bishop Hernandez, who became Bishop Co-adjutor in 1980 and

consecrated Bishop in 1982, was the third Cuban-born bishop.

Although the 1979 *Book of Common Prayer* is now translated into Spanish, the Cuban Episcopal Church is working out its own liturgy and hymns to fit its special culture.

Is it harder to be a Christian in a communist society or in a capitalist society?

“It is hard to be a Christian in any society,” the bishop replied quietly.

What about Liberation Theology which is now so associated with Latin America?

Emilio Hernandez rubbed the back of his neck, walked across the room to straighten on the wall a picture of his newest grandson, and replied thoughtfully.

“That is a popular term, with many meanings. I tend to consider myself a traditional theologian. In Cuba, the revolution itself represents liberation for most people, but there is a price. Capitalism also has its price. Whatever the choice, some people will think the price is too high. Christ is the liberator. When that idea is grasped, the church will endure in some form in all societies.”

Since this interview took place, the Episcopal Church of Cuba at an extraordinary synod approved the ordination of women to the priesthood and episcopate by a unanimous vote of clergy and lay delegates. “That is far ahead of some other Anglican bodies,” the bishop noted on that occasion.

—C.C.P.



# In technology we trust

by Michael Hamilton

**R**onald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev have met at last. But specific agreements between them about nuclear arms affairs were conspicuously absent. Reagan did not respond to Gorbachev's invitations to continue to abide by the SALT II Treaty, nor was the U.S. president willing to explore a comprehensive test ban, nor an anti-satellite weapons ban; he did not modify his Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) plans, generally known as Star Wars; nor did he clarify his understanding of what the ABM Treaty means to him and to his administration. If goodwill takes no tangible shape, it lacks a crucial incarnational element.

And so the arms race will continue. Over the last decades we Americans have embarked upon a series of technological developments euphemistically known as "weapon modernization." This process has brought neither the Soviets nor ourselves any greater security. And, it has been our "leadership" as Americans — our scientific superiority — that in most cases has initiated these developments. The Soviets have responded in kind. They have also sought advantage whenever they could. God's judgment surely falls upon both of us.

But let me review recent history. It is common knowledge that we were the first to develop and use the atomic bomb. Then we developed the hydrogen bomb in 1952. The Soviets were the first to flight-test a satellite in 1957. We were the first in 1962 to equip our submarines

with nuclear missiles. We were the first to deploy ICBMs with multiple warheads in 1975. And in 1983 we were the first to deploy advanced cruise missiles. Each one of these incidents were watersheds in which enormous advantages in technological development took place. How and why have we done this?

First, because we cannot resist the temptation to take advantage of every scientific idea that excites our curiosity and our wish for temporary military advantage. And the profits made by our military industrial complex are an added incentive. By misleading our people, our leaders over the years have justified these developments on the false grounds of a "bomber gap, missile gap, window of vulnerability, bargaining chip," or in the words of a recent Defense Department policy paper, "to prevail over our adversaries." In every case, our advantage has been short-lived, for the Soviets have followed us in order to maintain their own strength.

In condemning this mutual escalation I am not a pacifist. I am not arguing for the present elimination of our nuclear weapons, nor have I ever thought we should endanger our national security. We should maintain nuclear deterrence, which I believe is morally justified, until both we and the Soviets through arms control treaties can reduce our arsenals to the point when we begin serious negotiations for the maintenance of peace born of justice and ecological security, not fear.

But it is important to reflect at this time because we have just crossed one new watershed in weapons development and we are about to cross another. The first is our recent testing of an anti-satellite

weapon. Both the United States and the Soviet Union have done research in this area, but the Soviets have observed a moratorium on testing for the last two years and they have offered to negotiate an anti-satellite treaty with us. We still refuse to cooperate. Recently we shot down a satellite with the first sophisticated system.

This may be a technological triumph, but it is also a disastrous watershed. If we and the Soviets continue to develop weapons to destroy each others' satellites, then we destroy the capability to see and verify what each other is doing and, in time of tension or war, our crucial link of communication with the Soviets can be destroyed.

The second and even more calamitous policy, I believe, is the SDI, or Star Wars, proposed by this administration. We are embarking on a technological research program including the intention to test the system's subcomponents. It is an enormously expensive program, running into as high as \$33 billion over the next six years. It has been condemned by many scientists as unfeasible, by veteran arms control professionals as destroying the ABM Treaty in principle, and incidentally, has recently been condemned by the General Convention of the Episcopal Church.

There are two additional compelling arguments against this venture. First, assume for a moment that SDI is in position and ready to be used. It has never been tested, it never can be tested. Do you think for a moment we could trust its effectiveness? Secondly, dream again that a nuclear war breaks out. SDI is activated and nearly all Soviet ICBMs are destroyed in space. As we "cele-

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**The Rev. Michael Hamilton** is canon of the National Cathedral, Mt. St. Alban's, Washington, D.C.

brate," 500 cruise missiles slip in past all of our defenses and the holocaust occurs after all.

President Reagan, in his speech on March 23, 1983, proposed that scientists, through the SDI program, "give us the means of rendering nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete," and of "eliminating the threat of nuclear missiles." "Wouldn't it be better," he asked, "to save lives rather than avenge them?" His charm is our undoing, for his words are grossly misleading. They may sound comforting and innocent to us, but reflect for a moment how they sound in Soviet ears. Actually, no imagination is needed, for they have already told us, loud and clear, that it frightens them. What sounds like defense to us, is a threat of attack to them. What sounds like an ethical goal for us is, in terms of its consequences, a delusion for it brings a

major escalation in the arms race.

If we try to develop a means to shoot down their missiles, they will have lost their deterrent ability and security. And they have told us what they are going to do. They will greatly increase the production and deployment of their own offensive weapons so that any Star Wars defense begun by us will be overwhelmed by them. And finally, as fast as they can, they will research and deploy their own Star Wars weapon system. President Reagan says of this program that "it is a vision of the future which offers hope."

It is not! It is evil, it greatly increases the fear and danger of war, and I believe President Reagan speaks like a false prophet. We should do all we can to halt this new arms race.

At the summit, both Reagan and Gorbachev agreed that it was in their mutual interest that there never be a nu-

clear war. Since our president has an apparently unshakable commitment to SDI, our task as church people is to lobby Congress to cut back on its appropriations. We should also take advantage of every opportunity for personal and cultural exchanges, so that the poisonous atmosphere which this administration has engendered in our public towards the Soviet Union be changed. The fact that a summit meeting has occurred makes these efforts more feasible.

Finally, if our destiny as humans were to be decided only on the levels of this analysis, our future would look bleak. For it is true that those who live by the sword, shall die by the sword. But we Christians also worship a God who is concerned with human affairs and who can bring good out of evil. It is in that faith, in obedience to that God, that our essential security lies. ■

## ONE TRILLION DOLLARS

### ONE TRILLION DOLLARS!

That's a lot of money. It averages out to \$18,000 for every family of four in the United States. The initial budget of approximately \$30 billion is only for research and development—the camel's nose under the tent. The big money gets spent on production, deployment in space, and operations. Former Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger estimates the twenty-year cost for the total system at **one trillion dollars**.

### STAR WARS COULD NOT PROTECT US!

Most experts agree that an "Impenetrable shield" against thousands of nuclear warheads is absolutely out

of the question for at least twenty years. **Current military plans call for Star Wars to protect only missile silos, not civilians.**

### WHAT WOULD THIS TRILLION DOLLARS BUY US?

- More Soviet nuclear weapons: If the Soviets believe many of their missiles will be shot down, they will deploy thousands of new missiles to overwhelm our "defense." They will also build anti-Star Wars weapons and, of course, their own Star Wars system.
- Higher risk of nuclear war: The chance of an accident or miscalculation during a crisis grows as the number of complex weapons escalates and fears about the other side's intentions increase.

- More cuts in programs for poor and middle-class people.

- Higher federal deficit: One trillion dollars represents one half the current total U.S. federal deficit.

### WE NEED THIS ONE TRILLION DOLLARS TO ENRICH LIFE, NOT DESTROY IT!

For more information, contact:  
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American Friends Service Committee  
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Philadelphia, PA 19102  
(215) 241-7167

Additional leaflets may be ordered at \$5.00 per hundred.

This leaflet printed in-house by AFSC.

The American Friends Service Committee has published a unique educational leaflet — a "Trillion Dollar Bill" — the projected cost of Star Wars, the Strategic Defense Initiative proposed by President Reagan (shown actual size above).

On the front is a Darth Vader-like torso with the words, "In Technology We Trust" underneath, and figures of spacecraft shooting down missiles. The trillion dollar bills are available from AFSC at address noted above.

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# South African church stirs pot

by William Johnston

*South Africa, a society in extremis, provided a remarkable 26-page theological document toward the end of last year similar to the Barmen Declaration in which the Confessing Church challenged rising Nazism in Germany in 1934. THE WITNESS asked William Johnston, president of Episcopal Churchpeople for a Free Southern Africa, to comment on the piece, The Kairos Document, as well as the recent World Council of Churches meeting about the critical nature of the region.*

**T**he *Kairos Document* comes out of the tempest sweeping South Africa. Laypeople and clergy from a wide spectrum of Christian churches began meeting together last July impelled by the fast moving human devastation overwhelming their country, and by September had produced *Kairos* — entitled “Challenge to the church: A theological comment on the political crisis in South Africa.” The 153 signatories range from members of the Apostolic Faith Mission Church to the Roman Catholic — theologians, nuns, parish priests, church officials, women and men, four-fifths of them Black. Some have been detained; several tortured by South African police.

*Kairos* — the moment of truth — is direct, tough, angry. It admits to being an unfinished document and invites comment and refutation. It addresses the conflict in South Africa between oppressors and oppressed — a “crisis for the church as an institution” because “both oppressor and oppressed claim loyalty to the same church.”

*Kairos* is divided into three sections. The first deals with State Theology — the apartheid regime claiming it is ordained with “divine” authority, relying on a misinterpretation of Paul’s *Romans 13:1-7*. The churchpeople’s document

demolishes this notion and its corollaries: that Pretoria’s law and order is just and must be obeyed, that opposition thereto is communistic, and that Pretor-

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## Tutu not among signers

**While Anglicans comprised the largest number of *Kairos* signatories, Bishop Desmond Tutu was not among them.**

**In an interview with *Washington Post* correspondent Allister Sparks, he said, “I am in agreement with the broad outline. I am with them maybe 90% of the way.”**

**However, Bishop Tutu said he found the tone “unnecessarily abrasive.” He added, in an afterthought, “But the prophets, I suppose, were not noted for their delicate language.”**

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ia’s god is the True God. *Kairos* states: “The god of the South African State is not merely an idol or false god, it is the devil disguised as Almighty God — the antichrist.”

The creators of the *Kairos Document* speak with the immediacy and the authority of those deep in the tumult and horror of South Africa today. They know the increasingly frantic barbarity of the instruments of the apartheid state: the army, the police, the roving goon squads. Almost 1,000 Black children, women and men have been killed over the past year and a quarter. Hundreds of young men and women — those who survive — come out of police torture damaged both in body and in mind; surgeons and psychiatrists cannot cope, nor can parents. The signatories see about them the beginning disintegration of the South African State and the painful firstlings of the birth of a new society.

Two witnesses to both death and birth with the credentials to sign *Kairos*, and who could not, are of particular interest to Episcopalians: Anglican priests Geoffrey Moselane and Mcebisi Xundu. Father Moselane was rector of Sharpeville (a place marked in blood since the 1960 massacre). As revolt swept his township last year and as Pretoria’s puppet councilmen fled, he became the acknowledged community leader. He was detained incommunicado in October 1984 and is awaiting trial for treason. Father Xundu played a similar role in



Lamontville Township outside Durban. That community resisted incorporation into the Kwa Zulu “homeland” and the priest was among those who bore the brunt of attack by both state authorities and the Kwa Zulu Inkatha Movement. On Aug. 1, he witnessed the murder by a nighttime hit squad of civil rights lawyer Ms. Victoria Mxenge. He was detained shortly thereafter. Upon release he went into a hospital, and has now fled to the Port Elizabeth diocese.

*Kairos* next critiques Church Theology as “inadequate, irrelevant and ineffective.” Without mentioning names, the signatories level the charge that church leaders condemn violence without analyzing the differences between the pitiless South African State violence and that of the majority of South Africans who resist that violence. *Kairos* speaks to the leadership’s confusion of justice in the South African situation as a matter of reform whereas there is a clear understanding among most South Africans that apartheid cannot be reformed, it must be demolished. This perception is nationwide and the struggle to destroy apartheid and exploitation is well underway. *Kairos* states that Church Theology takes “reconciliation as the key to problem resolution.” It argues this does not apply in South Africa today. “Nowhere in the Bible or in Christian tradition has it ever been suggested that we ought to try to reconcile good and evil, God and the devil . . . we are supposed to oppose, confront, and reject the devil and not try to sup with the devil.” The oppressor must first repent then reconciliation may take place. “No reconciliation is possible in South Africa *without justice*.”

In Towards a Prophetic Theology, the *Kairos* churchpeople call for urgent church social and biblical analysis of the South African situation. Inherent is the plea for the church to catch up with political and societal determinations being made in many quarters, not the least,

# Summary: Kairos Document

## Challenge to the Church

**T**he political crisis in South Africa today is the *Kairos* or moment of truth not only for apartheid but also for the Church. A *Kairos* is a critical and decisive moment, a time of grace and opportunity, a challenge to decision and action.

What this moment of truth shows up first of all is that we are a divided Church. Some would even say there are two Churches — a White Church and a Black Church. Both the oppressor and the oppressed, who are in mortal conflict at the moment claim loyalty to the same Church and the same faith and participate at the same table of the same Lord. How is that possible?

In relation to our political crisis there are three different theologies or ways of understanding Christian faith.

### State Theology

The apartheid State misuses biblical texts and Christian beliefs to justify its oppression of the people. This we call State Theology.

1. The State appeals to *Romans 13:1-7* where Paul says that we should obey the State. That would be true in normal circumstances but Paul does not tell us in this text what we should do when the State becomes unjust, oppressive and tyrannical. When this happens we must say with Peter that we shall “obey God rather than men” (*Acts 5:29*). We should also read *Revelations 13* where the State is described as a diabolical beast.
2. When we oppose the State and resist its oppression, the State makes use of the idea of *law and order* to try to make us feel guilty and sinful. But “law” here is the unjust and discriminatory laws of apartheid and “order” here is the disorder of oppression and exploitation.

We must as Christians resist this type of law and order and obey the law and order of God.

3. In State Theology the symbol of all evil is *communism*. Everyone who disobeys and opposes the State is called a godless, atheistic communist. And the State’s idea of hell-on-earth would be a future communist take-over. They use this in an attempt to frighten people.
4. And finally the *god that the State preaches* to us is not the God of the Bible. It is an

idol. It is the god of the gun, the god of oppression. In fact this god is the devil in disguise — the antichrist.

We must reject this heretical theology and its false prophets who can even be found among the ranks of those who profess to be ministers of God’s Word.

### Church Theology

Many Church leaders, who make statements and pronouncements about apartheid, appeal to certain abstract Christian ideas like reconciliation, peace, justice and non-violence. This we call Church Theology and we offer here our critique of this theology too. It is inadequate, irrelevant and ineffective.

1. **Reconciliation:** There can be no true reconciliation and no genuine peace without justice just as there can be no forgiveness until there is repentance. If we call for reconciliation and negotiations now before repentance and justice and equality have been established we will be calling for reconciliation between good and evil, justice and injustice, God and the devil. We must not come to terms with evil, we must do away with it.
2. **Justice:** True justice cannot come from the “top” from the oppressor in the form of concessions and reforms. Why then do Church leaders so often address their appeals to the “top,” to the State and to the White community? They (the top) must indeed repent but true justice will be determined by all the people together as equals. Should the Church not address its appeals to the oppressed, encouraging them to take up their own cause and to struggle for justice?
3. **Non-violence:** Violence is a loaded word. What a person calls “violence” and what they call a ‘legitimate use of physical force in self-defence,’ depends upon which side the person is on. When Church statements call all physical force “violence” no matter which side does it, they are trying to be neutral and to avoid saying who is right and who is wrong, who is the aggressor and who is the defendant. Of course that does not mean that every or any use of physical force by the oppressed is justifiable but it

*Continued on page 22*

the blood-drenched streets of the townships.

*Kairos* includes a message of hope but adds: "The conflict and the struggle will have to intensify in the months and years ahead because there is no other way to remove the injustice and oppression."

A Challenge to Action at the end wisely warns the church not to become a third force between oppressor and oppressed. The church must not duplicate people's organizations or have programs "that run counter to the struggles of those political organizations that truly represent the grievances and demands of the people." A World Council of Churches emergency meeting on South Africa and South African-occupied Namibia in Harare, Zimbabwe, recently spoke with the same sense of urgency that *Kairos* does. The WCC manifesto calls for the resignation of the South African government and for mandatory economic sanctions against Pretoria. It urged support for liberation movements fighting the apartheid regimes. The world church organization rejected reform: "Only the liberation of South Africa will be sufficient," it said.

Those who forged *Kairos* in the furnace of South Africa end their statement with an appeal for support from Christians throughout the world. The WCC's declaration lays out some hard, practical moves which challenge Americans whose government — despite recent tepid "sanctions" — remains Pretoria's strongest ally. Divestment is only a stage of the total effort needed to act for the people of Namibia and South Africa. Comprehensive mandatory sanctions require a national commitment from U.S. church-people. And, Americans must guard against their government's stealthy entry into the South African war of independence by way of support for UNITA in Angola, a flanking maneuver to keep "South African reform" in hand.

A summary of the *Kairos* document accompanies this article. ■

### Continued from page 21

cannot be condemned for the same reason and in the same way as the violence of the aggressor.

4. **The Fundamental Problem** with this kind of Church Theology is that it is still influenced by a type of spirituality that tends to be other-worldly. It is only recently that the Church has come to face the realities of this world and it has not yet developed an adequate analysis of our society and an appreciation of the need for politics and political strategies. A new biblical and prophetic spirituality is needed today.

### Towards Prophetic Theology

What we need now is a prophetic theology that takes a clear and unambiguous stand in the present crisis. This will have to be based upon a reading of the signs of our times, that is to say, a *social analysis* of the conflicting forces or interests that make up our situation of oppression.

Then we will have to go back to *the Bible* to find out what God has to say about oppression and what it means to say that God is always on the side of the oppressed. In the Christian tradition we will find this same theme expounded in terms of *tyranny*. A tyrannical regime is one that has become the enemy of the common good because it governs in the interests of some of the people and not in the interests of all the people — the common good. The apartheid regime is clearly a tyrannical regime. It is therefore a *morally illegitimate* regime and should be replaced by a government that will govern in the interests of all the people.

A prophetic theology, however, will not only point out what is wrong and sinful in our society, it will also present both the oppressor and the oppressed with a relevant and explicit *message of hope*. There is hope because God has promised us in Jesus Christ that justice and truth and love will triumph over all injustice and oppression in the end.

**God Sides with the Oppressed:** We are a divided Church and there is only one way forward to unity and that is for the Christians who find themselves on the side of the oppressor or sitting on the fence, to cross over to the other side to be united in faith and action with those who are oppressed. We must be united in Jesus Christ and in God "who is always on the side of the oppressed" (Ps 103:6).

**Participation in the Struggle:** The present crisis challenges the Church to move

beyond an "ambulance" ministry to a ministry of participation in the struggle for liberation by supporting and encouraging the campaigns and actions of the people.

**Transforming Church Activities:** The usual activities of the Church like Sunday services, baptisms, funerals and so forth must all be re-shaped to promote the liberating mission of God in our present crisis. The evil forces we speak of in baptism, for example, must be named. We know what these evil forces are in South Africa today.

**Special Campaigns:** The Church should also make its contribution to the struggle by having special programmes, projects and campaigns. However, this should be done in consultation with the political organizations that truly represent the grievances and demands of the people. Otherwise there will be a serious lack of co-ordination and co-operation.

**Civil Disobedience:** The Church must not collaborate with tyranny and oppression. It should encourage all its members to pray and to work for a change of government. In the process the Church may sometimes have to confront the apartheid regime and even advocate civil disobedience.

**Moral Guidance:** It is also the role of the Church in its present crisis to provide moral guidance by helping the people to understand their rights and their duties especially the moral duty to resist tyranny and to struggle for a just society. While it is necessary to curb the excesses of those who act wildly and thoughtlessly, the Church should be experienced as the community that challenges, inspires and motivates people.

It is hoped that this document will become the basis of discussion, reflection and action and that it will be further developed and improved by those who can hear what the Spirit has to say to the Churches in our day.

### Resource

*Episcopal Churchpeople for a Free Southern Africa*, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012. Telephone 212-477-0066. An independent group supporting those within and outside the churches struggling for freedom in countries in Southern Africa. Publishes regular newsletters and frequent booklets addressing human rights, human needs, economic and social development in countries in Southern Africa.



## Letters . . . Continued from page 3

been of no use whatsoever to assist in the liberation of people in Eastern Europe, for example, even when they were already in revolt.

If we choose not to become the victims of any tyrannical systems, nor to become the victims or preparers of nuclear annihilation, then it is essential that we explore the potential of nonviolent forms of struggle both against established oppression and to prevent new aggression. That is not a topic for speculation or doubt, which William Tedesco apparently prefers. It is a topic for serious research, policy analyses, and courageous resistance.

**Gene Sharp**  
Cambridge, Mass.

## Re Harris article

Barbara Harris, writing in October's WITNESS, makes an important and valid point about the role of Black women in the church ("A cloud of witnesses"). Thus it is even sadder that the only way she can find to uplift her Black sisters is by putting down other people.

It may be true that the agenda for some Black women is different from that of some White women within the church. However, to say that "the Black woman's agenda" is one thing or another implies that all Black women are limited to a single idea, and that they are all alike. The following idea, that "Black women must not be seduced by the personal power game operative in the White feminist movement" is at best evidence that the author has a narrow view of feminism. That women have fought and suffered in order to gain the right to be ordained in the Episcopal Church because of some sort of "personal power game" sounds more like the Prayer Book Society's nattering about "priestesses" than something I'd expect to read in THE WITNESS.

However, Harris doesn't limit herself to attacking other women. Black male clergy also get to feel her knife, when she says that many of them "are bound by aspects of traditional Anglicanism that enslave the mind and stifle the spirit".

Whether or not there are many conservative male Black clergy, Harris' language is unnecessarily inflammatory — she is not likely to convert anyone by describing Black males as enslaved and stifled by Anglicanism.

Her third blow is directed at young males, Black and White. Apparently "certain younger males (are) more interested in playing church than in being church," a sin which doesn't affect Black women with late vocations, according to Harris.

It is certainly true that preachers and writers must use different language when addressing different groups, and THE WITNESS article was initially given at a Conference on Afro-Anglicanism held in Barbados.

THE WITNESS, however, is a different forum. Harris has done herself and her thesis a disservice by going out of her way to alienate the same groups she should be trying to reach — the same people who, once reached, could be supportive. If Black women aren't supported by other women (personal power games), by other Black clergy (enslaved and stifled) or by young clergy (playing church), they are going to find themselves all alone, which is not the best place to be.

**Francis C. Zanger**  
General Theological Seminary  
New York, N.Y.

## Extols column

I could not refrain from "penning" these lines of appreciation to Barbara Harris. Their provocation has been a process rather than a single reaction to her November column.

"Bombs and bombast" is such an important message! As a longtime sustainer of KLANWATCH (as is my mother), I have always spread the news in order to gain more support of their tireless efforts. But this column will reach so many more.

As Harris says between the lines, "preemption" is this government's way of dealing with its naughty non-allies — which is most of the world! If the government really wanted goodwill to break out like a field of flowering tulips, it

would *pour* funds into foundations like KLANWATCH and Food First.

Every month I receive more updates on the cases in progress vis a vis the Klan. With each photo from KLANWATCH, I am reminded of James Baldwin's short story, *Going to Meet the Man*, written in the 1960s. Now hate renews its frontal surge once again.

There is so much I have to thank Harris for — the journey of the Rev. Pauli Murray (August column) not being the least. I can only imagine what that wells up in her.

**Janeice McConnell**  
Long Beach, Cal.

## Fascinatedly horrified

I read THE WITNESS out of fascinated horror. While I do not disagree with everything you all publish (corporate capitalism is a terrifying thing), I am very much opposed to most of what you print and to your basic philosophical position.

I have read the Bible regularly for some 20 years and where you get your positions from is beyond me — some very strained exegesis and more than a little eisegesis, it would seem.

I support and work for the recovery of historic orthodox Christianity within the Episcopal Church. Historic orthodoxy has been the source of much social and political challenge and ideas — but it does not produce leftist/collectivist/governmental-centrist ideas. Those come from some other source, not Scripture nor the Lord of Glory who inspired Scripture.

**The Rev. Charles Sutton**  
Eutawville, S.C.

## Enriches whole being

What a great joy to receive THE WITNESS each month, to share in the living faith of so many WITNESS authors and to know that the Christ I have known through my seven decades is being effectively translated into the life of today. Between this and *Sojourners*, plus a few others. I'm being fed something that enriches my whole being.

**The Rev. Joseph S. Dickson**  
Kent, Ohio

## Back Issues Available:

● **AIDS: The plague that lays waste at noon**, plus articles on the rights of gays and lesbians in church and society. Authors include John Fortunato, Zalmon Sherwood, Anne Gilson, Domenic Ciannella, Madeline Ligamare. September 1985.

● **Capital Punishment:** Articles by Mary Miller, Joe M. Doss, Marie Deans, Thomas Shepherd examining how the death penalty is symptomatic of a violent society; what it means when a prison chaplain loses a friend to the electric chair; the morality of capital punishment; a survivor's view of murder; and a model church ministry to prisoners. April 1985.

● **Bishop Tutu Speaks Out:** Includes quotations from various speeches of the noted Nobel prizewinner, showing his courageous stands against apartheid, his deep biblical faith and his keen wit; backgrounder on South Africa; and letter from U.S. church leaders to Congresspersons refuting claims that U.S. companies in South Africa are a force for change. Also lists resources for those working against apartheid. December 1984.

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## Urban caucus to meet

The Episcopal Urban Caucus will hold its sixth national assembly Feb. 26 to March 1 in Pittsburgh at the Westin William Penn Hotel. In addition to those from across the country involved in social ministry, the new Presiding Bishop Edmond Browning has indicated that he will attend.

Theme of the assembly is "Celebrate the City: Stir up the Church to be the Wounded, Living Hands of Jesus." — "Celebrad la Ciudad: Agita la Iglesia para sea las Manos Heridas y Amorasas de Jesus."

The Rev. William Boli of Saginaw, Mich., of the EUC planning team said, "We are going to meet in the heart of the Rust Belt. Pittsburgh is corporate center for many major industries and yet the Monongahela Valley is a wasteland of closed steel mills, factories, and warehouses. The contrast between corporate wealth and vast unemployment is greater in Pittsburgh than in any other American city — a perfect setting for the Assembly to

examine issues of economic justice in America today."

Keynote speaker will be economist Dr. Howard Stanback, currently on academic leave to assist the Mayor of Chicago. The assembly it was announced by EUC president, the Hon. Byron Rushing of Massachusetts will also hear labor and business leaders, politicians, and the unemployed offer their perspectives on the economics of the Monongahela Valley. Representatives of The Consultation, a coalition of progressive groups who worked together successfully at the recent General Convention, will share their future agendas with Assembly participants.

The Urban Caucus has set aside \$2,500 for scholarships to help low income or unemployed persons attend, available on a first come, first served basis. Private housing is also available on request. For further information: The Rev. William Boli, 720 Tuscola St., Saginaw, MI 48607.

## Nun raps bishops' pastoral on women

We live in the historical rootedness of patriarchy in which the human person is defined and valued in terms of male superiority. It is patriarchy that has validated the legal, social and economic systems of society. It is patriarchy that continues to enforce relationships of domination and subordination, determining all human enterprise, public and private, nurturing the evils of racism, sexism and militarism. This culture of dominance is masculinized, monosexual, hierarchical, exclusive and elite. It perpetuates a social order based on domination and privilege for the few. It creates and nurtures institutions of limited access and no ownership. It is for many women the institutional church . . .

Patterns of patriarchy are so deeply embedded in the institutional church, that they come to be seen as divinely revealed and unchangeable. For women to be involved in

God's activity is to be co-creators of this earth: to dream new dreams, birth new ways of doing theology; nurture new unities, challenge hierarchical structures of control.

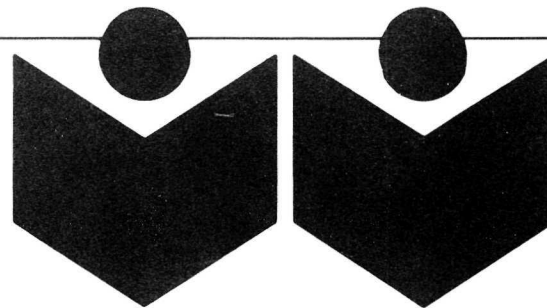
To write a Pastoral Letter on Women is ridiculous. In the past, bishops have written on racism, not on Black people; on economic justice, not on poor people. Why are you writing on women who are the victims rather than on the issue of sexism and the condition of patriarchy? The National Assembly of Religious Women urges you *not* to write this document. Unless you are willing to change the focus, such an effort is inappropriate and lacks credibility.

— Sr. Marjorie Tuite, O.P.  
(testifying before the National  
Conference of Catholic Bishops'  
Committee for the Pastoral  
Letter on Women)



# THE WITNESS

## 1985 Index



**T**he task of indexing a year's collection of **WITNESS** articles used to be a tedious and thankless process, avoided by staff until the last minute, the final assembly involving at least a weekend and numerous pots of coffee. No more, thanks to the fleet fingers of Editorial Staffer Susan Small, operating our IBM computer. She has tamed it to spit out information in short shrift which formerly took agonizing hours to compile.

Librarians, researchers, and students have found this tabulation helpful in the past. We have most back issues available should new subscribers recognize a particular author or topic which they would like to acquire for their files. Parishes may wish to order articles in bulk quantities as resources for study groups.

**THE WITNESS** is also indexed by *Religion Index One*, a publication of the American Theological

Library Association. We have been providing a complete index (by author and subject) of articles in **THE WITNESS** since 1982. An abbreviated index dating back to 1974 when the magazine was re-instituted is available for \$2 to librarians or to long-time subscribers who may be interested in looking up their favorite authors. Send queries to Ann Hunter, **THE WITNESS**, P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002.

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"Richard Gillett has taken a large step toward reversing theology and pastoral life's ignoring of human work. He has also given us a thoughtful overview of the profound and disruptive transformations of the post-industrial economy."

Joseph Holland  
Center of Concern,  
Washington, D.C.

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## THE HUMAN ENTERPRISE: A CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE ON WORK

by Richard W. Gillett, Contributing Editor, *THE WITNESS*

"This book is remarkable for its synthesis of theological, humanist, and technical-economic material — even more for the accessibility and wit of its prose. Essential reading for those concerned about the struggle by working people, their churches and their local governments to build a new economic life for themselves in the wake of the de-industrialization of America."

Bennett Harrison, MIT, Co-author:  
*The De-Industrialization of America*

"Human work is a key, probably the essential key to the whole social question," stated Pope John Paul II in his Encyclical *On Human Work*, issued in 1981. In the industrialized countries, most prominently the United States, this observation comes at the precise moment when a profound transformation in the substance and shape of the workplace is occurring. Characterized most often as a shift from traditional blue collar industry to a service and information-oriented work force, the shift also has other characteristics which qualify it a genuine revolution in the workplace.

Richard W. Gillett's book addresses critical questions, such as the role of transnational corporations in the reshaping of the workplace, the role of technology, the militarization of the economy, the alienation of work and racism and sexism in the workplace. The frame of his reference for his inquiry is the basic significance of work in the Christian tradition.

Sheed and Ward  
1985



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# THE WITNESS

**Climbing the mountain in Kensington**

Susan E. Pierce

**Work, economics and religion**

Richard W. Gillett

**Putting Grandma in jail**

Margaret Ellen Traxler

**FIGHTING  
DRUGS  
IN THE  
NEIGHBORHOOD**

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# Letters

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## Church quiet on AIDS

We at the Resource Center for Learning Ministries, an ecumenical center supported by several denominations including the Episcopal Diocese of Newark, were delighted to see the September WITNESS stories on AIDS by John Fortunato and Domenic Ciannella. This is the first writing of substance which we have seen coming from our major denominations; if there are others I would appreciate knowing about them.

I am giving more than fulltime work, voluntarily, both in education and in service to persons with AIDS. 1) I am preparing a file of resources in the Center and am available for consultation with pastors and representatives of our churches; 2) I have taken the intensive training from General Theological Seminary in New York, sponsored by the Gay Men's Health Crisis Center, and am now on a team of 20 persons providing services to patients; 3) I am a member of an information group for Monmouth and Ocean Counties in New Jersey, co-chairing a support group for families, friends, including children, persons with and without AIDS; 4) I am doing a clipping service for the Lesbian Gay Coalition of New Jersey and have created quite a file of resources, spending hours in the county library covering as many newspapers and magazines as possible. Here I underscore the need for your articles. *The church has had little to say!*

**The Rev. M. Earle McCullough**  
Resource Center  
for Learning Ministries  
Montclair, N.J.

## Re negative Karma

I would like to thank you for THE WITNESS. Even though my views are considerably more conservative than yours, I enjoy the challenges set forth in

the articles you publish. I am a bit chagrined, however, by the air of smugness that pervades the magazine's writing.

Perhaps the quintessential example of this is John Fortunato's reply to several letters on his article regarding homosexuality (December WITNESS). It was surprising that he would choose to not deal with these responses. It would appear that the assumption he works under is that those who do not agree with him must be motivated by hate. What ever happened to the free exchange of ideas? "Ingesting negative Karma?" you've got to be kidding. We should all rejoice that Jesus was willing to die for us even though we were yet with "negative karma."

**The Rev. James B. Simons**  
Monroeville, Pa.

## Sides with oppressed

Congratulations on a fine publication. It is one of the few I have encountered which does not hesitate to take the side of the oppressed, especially if it means confronting the church in the process.

John Fortunato's article on AIDS in the September issue was well-written and thought-provoking. Ellen Dursi's commentary on hymnody with bad theology in Letters to the Editor was both humorous and poignant. I'm sure it will receive wide circulation.

**John P. Bauman, A.H.C.**  
Wrightwood, Cal.

## 'Onward' and the grape

Ms. Elsie Dursi is rightly upset in her poem by hymns based on fad theology. (See Letters to Editor, September) However, she is in "the right church but the wrong pew." The golden oldie "Onward Christian Soldiers" addresses, not the warfare of nukes and armies, but that of temperance and white ribbons.

Personally, I find an ironic jest in the

hearty singing of this grand old temperance hymn by congregations over-fond of the grape. We Episcopalians condone alcohol abuse to the point where we have the dubious distinction of having the highest incidence of alcoholism of any of the "mainline" denominations. Maybe we ought to sing "Onward," with appropriate commentary, a little more often!

**The Rev. Paul C. Hewett**  
Wilmette, Ill.

## Sharings in prison

Thank you for the December WITNESS. When I received the magazine, I thumbed through it, as I always do, and two things jumped out at me — the letter from the Rev. Paul Kabat and the poem by Helen Woodson. I have never met either of them, but I know they are also both in prisons and one of their Plowshares co-defendants, Larry Cloud-Morgan, a Native American, is one of my closest friends here. We spend a lot of time sharing spiritually.

I am the Chapel Clerk and spend my time trying to get men involved with Christ. You don't have to be incarcerated to be in a prison. All of us are in prison without Christ, and none of us are in prison with Christ. I will share the magazine with the men here.

**William R. Bailey**  
Terre Haute, Ind.

## Church forgets roots

Recently I attended a conference where Barbara Harris (of the Episcopal Church Publishing Co.) told of the difficulty experienced by Blacks, Hispanics, and women in obtaining favorable clergy positions in the Episcopal Church.

Isn't the basic problem one of historic perspective? We have allowed our anglophilia to eclipse our catholicism. Most U.S. Episcopalians grow up accepting the myth that Jesus was born during the

reign of Queen Elizabeth and that the Twelve Apostles were bishops of the Church of England. Is it any wonder that we find our role models for clergy in 16th century England: White, male, and Anglo-urbane?

Why not begin teaching our children that our roots are in the church catholic? The best place to start this history lesson is with the post-apostolic age where the

church indelibly established and formalized its catholic nature.

Let us note well the "complexion" of the early ecumenical councils. The most famous was held at Nicea (in Bithynia) in 325. Of 300 bishops present *only six were from the west*. No doubt most of the faces were brown or black having come from Alexandria, Jerusalem, Ephesus, Athens, Antioch, etc. (Canterbury, Cam-

bridge, Coventry were *not* represented.)

This is not to suggest that we shouldn't appreciate the contributions made to Christianity by the later branches of the church. The damage occurs when a denomination becomes so enamored with one of the branches that it forgets its roots.

**The Rev. Eldred Johnston  
Columbus, Ohio**



**The New York Times** ran this photo on its front page Jan. 12, the day after the installation of Episcopal Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning, showing Bishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa congratulating him. We are delighted to identify the two women in the photo, (unreported in the *NYT*) as,

from left, the Rev. Barbara Harris, executive director of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, and Mary Miller, chairperson of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship. **THE WITNESS** adds its applause for the new Presiding Bishop. UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos.



## Robbing Peter to pay Paul

**G**eorge Bernard Shaw once said, "A government that robs Peter to pay Paul can always count on the support of Paul." How apropos to today's government-big business alliance, when elected officials favor special interests above the people's welfare. Witness a Justice Department which allows E. F. Hutton and Company to plead guilty to 2,000 counts of fraud in a check-kiting scam without prosecuting a single person.

In this regard, it is instructive to note who Congress actually represents by way of assets. Manning Marable, WITNESS contributing editor, recently revealed the following in his syndicated column:

- The median annual family income for Black Americans is roughly \$15,000; for Whites, \$28,000.

- According to the *New York Times*, in 1978, the 78 newly elected members of Congress

claimed an average of \$41,400 in assets. Only one millionaire was elected that year.

- By 1984, the average wealth of the 43 new members of the Senate and House of Representatives had soared to \$251,300. Fifteen millionaires had been elected as "public servants."

This prompted Mark Green, head of the Democracy Project, a public policy group, to observe that "the evolution from a House of Representatives to a House of Lords denies the diversity of our democracy. It establishes a de facto property qualification for office that increasingly says, low and middle income need not apply."

Marable noted that the high cost of campaigning for public office is partly the reason that Congress is inaccessible to most Americans. In 1984, the successful candidates for the House of Representatives spent an average of \$459,300, which included an average of \$50,000 in personal donations from the

individual candidates. In the Senate, elected members spent over \$2 million each. Moreover, the proliferation of conservative and pro-corporate political action committees buttresses the financial base of an already well-to-do incumbent and aspirants.

In this issue, Frances Fox Piven and Richard Cloward flag other vital concerns — including screening out the poor from the voting populace — and warn that the risk of *repression* is even greater "when the social base from which movements draw support is substantially underrepresented in the electorate."

Until sweeping campaign law reform is passed and third party candidates are able to gain fairer access to the ballot, we cannot expect to broaden national politics to reflect the economic and social concerns of the majority, including tax reform which benefits the poor.

Put another way, in an old American proverb, those who preach patience never knew pain.



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# THE WITNESS

## FIGHTING DRUGS IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD

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## Community activists vs. drugs

# Climbing the mountain in Kensington

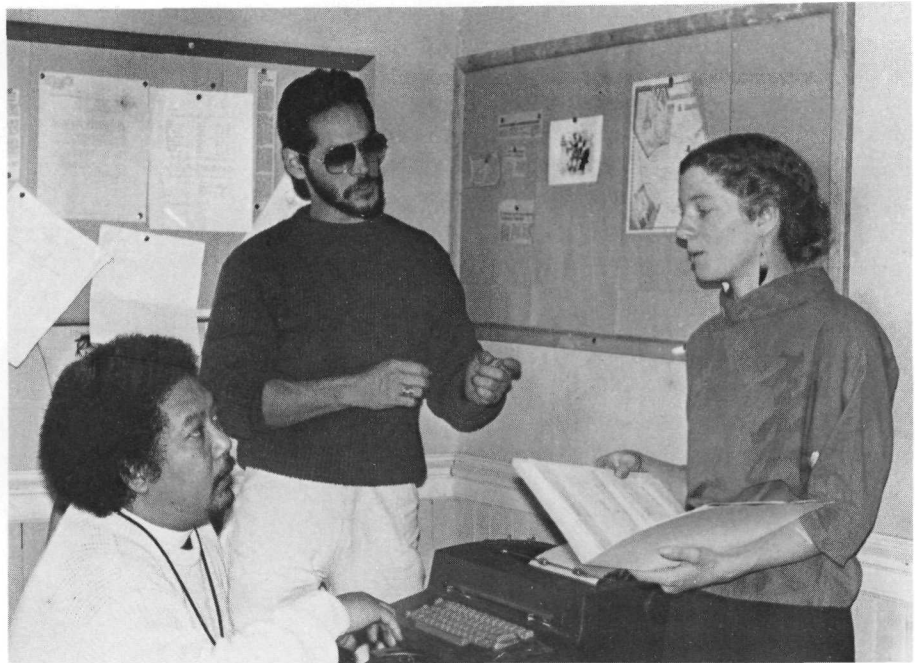
by Susan E. Pierce

**K**ensington, a deteriorating neighborhood in northeast Philadelphia, appears at first glance to be just another sad example of urban decay. Over the past decades much of its economic lifeblood has been drained away by the flight of industry; public services have declined, and unemployment has risen steadily. Now the poverty of the area has attracted a deadly industry that does a booming business — drug dealing. The drug trade has created an atmosphere of violence, fear and despair.

Near Norris Square Park, in West Kensington, the streets can be very mean. Neatly-kept rowhouses compete with boarded-up shells and garbage-strewn vacant lots, and drug dealers stand on almost every corner.

But not far from Norris Square, a group of Kensington residents gathered recently in St. Barnabas, a century-old Episcopal church, to offer their vision of hope and renewal for their neighborhood and how they are struggling to achieve this vision. Members of a grassroots coalition, the Kensington Joint Action Council (KJAC) described their battles against the community's ills.

Much of the militant, direct action for social change in Kensington has been under the auspices of KJAC (pronounced Kay-Jac), an umbrella organization and resource for neighborhood citizens' groups. KJAC member Mike DiBerardinis, who is legislative aide to State



From left, community activists the Rev. Floyd "Butch" Naters-Gamarra, pastor of St. Barnabas, Kensington; Ephraim Rios, youth worker, and Pamela Riley, executive director of KJAC discuss the next steps for the United Neighborhood Against Drugs (UNAD). Both Father Butch and Rios have been physically assaulted by drug dealers in the area.

Representative Ralph Acosta, defined Kensington: "For many Whites, Kensington is whatever part is White — so the neighborhood has been shrinking for years. But we choose to define the neighborhood according to its historic geographic boundaries as opposed to its racial boundaries."

DiBerardinis noted that East Kensington is mostly White and West Kensington is Black and Hispanic, and has in fact the largest Hispanic population in

the city — 95% Puerto Rican. Between the two sections there is a small corridor that is integrated.

"One of KJAC's tasks in this traditionally racially divided area of 65,000 people has been to break down racial barriers," said Pamela Riley, executive director of KJAC. "We try to bring people together, and have been really strong about breaking down fears, teaching about different cultures. Unemployment compounds the problem. It is usually

**Susan Pierce** is a free-lance journalist based in Philadelphia.

double the national rate — upwards of 7% — in depressed areas, but in certain sections of Kensington, it's 25 to 40%, while in White areas it's 12%."

But thanks to KJAC's efforts, said the Rev. Floyd Naters-Gamarra, rector of St. Barnabas, "This is one of the few organized communities I have ever worked in. All I had to do was plug into what was already happening."

DiBerardinis agreed. "This is the best organized community in Philadelphia. It took 10 or 15 years to make it happen and it's the network that makes it strong, not any one group." He also felt that a viable cross-racial and cultural leadership had emerged in the past three or four years, "which is unique in this city."

KJAC has conducted several successful campaigns in the struggle to revitalize Kensington. A watershed victory came recently when KJAC's organizing prevented St. Christopher's Hospital for Children from leaving the neighborhood and causing a further loss of jobs and services. Also, because of KJAC's efforts, a new high school for the area, on the drawing board of 20 years, will finally be constructed.

At present, KJAC is campaigning against the proposed merger of two local banks until the management promises to negotiate equitable lending and investment practices for Kensington. And KJAC is also fighting a battle on the most dangerous front of all — against the drug trade.

All types of drugs are available in the neighborhood — marijuana, cocaine, heroin — but "coke" is the fastest seller. The area is the center for "crank" production — amphetamines — for the whole Northeast of the country. People come from all over to buy, and Cadillacs frequently pull into the neighborhood.

Teresa Joyner, senior warden at St. Barnabas, mother of five sons and long time community activist, sees first-hand every day what drugs are doing to Ken-

sington: "I have watched these kids grow up in the neighborhood and see them now addicted to drugs, or they have dropped out of school and are selling drugs. It's really hard as a mother to explain to your child when you don't have money and he wants a pair of \$65 sneakers and he tells you his friend has a pair — but his friend and his friend's father are dealing drugs. They pay kids \$300 to \$400 a week to stand on the corner and deal dope."

She added, "It's an easy way out for the kids. Don't go to school anymore. You can just stand on the corner, you can make so much a day. Since almost everybody in this neighborhood is low income, this excess money is glorious."

*Clergy play a central role in helping a Philadelphia neighborhood fight deterioration — and the drug trade. A Hispanic priest, twice beaten by drug dealers, persists in the struggle along with his parishioners.*

Young women are turning now to prostitution to get drug money. A lot of children have no interest in coming to church because they're high all the time. You see them walking around like zombies, and you think, this is our youth, and this is our future."

Joyner says she talks seriously to her sons about drugs, about their effect on the body. "I say, sure, it's an easy way to make money, but you have to think about the risks. Any day you can be shot down, and if they think we have drugs in the house, they could wipe me and my whole family out."

Drug dealing has its risks, but so does going up against the drug dealers. Naters-Gamarra, known as "Father Butch," and Efraim Rios, who works with youth,

are members of KJAC and of a group called United Neighborhood Against Drugs (UNAD). They both have been attacked by unknown assailants. Last April, Rios was beaten and stabbed. Father Butch was attacked twice — worked over with a rubber hose on Halloween of last year and, most recently, beaten into unconsciousness. He was thrown into a vacant lot in pouring rain, to wake up bloody and full of mud. He also lost two teeth, which he refers to as "cheap dentistry."

Rios explained how he earned the drug dealers' enmity: "I help run an urban environmental education center and after school, neighborhood kids come in for different activities. I'm a key resource person because I speak Spanish. I also do draft counselling and a lot of community organizing. In 1982, with another neighborhood agency, we staged a big rally in Norris Square Park, right in front of our office. The drug traffickers were in the square. Since then, the dealers started writing graffiti on the walls in Spanish saying *Odio al chota* — 'Death to the snitch.' That's when I started receiving notes at work and at home.

"While I was working at the center one night storing wood under the porch I felt someone pull my legs. At first I thought it was some of the kids. But then they threw a tarpaulin over me and two males started kicking, cutting and slicing me. I was only saved because something scared them away — maybe a car or a passerby."

After being attacked Rios went to the police, but "nothing the police have done has made me feel secure," he said. At first he thought it might have been a random attack, that he may have disturbed a robbery in progress at his place of work. "But about a week later, I received a note that said, 'We're not done with you yet. We'll make you bleed slow.'"

UNAD was formed, all KJAC mem-



bers agreed, because the police effort to combat the drugs and the violence was not sufficient. Naters-Gamarra said, "It's like Dodge City around here," referring to the fact that gunfights can break out in broad daylight, and people feel like hostages. The consensus was, in fact, that the entire city government had turned its back on Kensington.

"I came here when I was 10 years old," said the 33-year-old Rios. "And I saw the change. Companies leaving, buildings just dying — you can see them actually deteriorate before your eyes. It's like a movie of H.G. Well's *Time Machine*, where in fast motion you see the buildings collapse. The city has no response. It's like they're saying, 'The heck with those people. Eventually that whole area of North Philadelphia will be vacant and we can come in after 20 years, bulldoze everything and do what we want.' "

The coalition has not let city apathy nor fear of drug dealer retaliation stop their campaign, though the attacks have made them all more cautious and forced some changes in their lives. Rios, a life-long pacifist, has bought a gun and trained himself and his wife to use it.

Panamanian by birth, Father Butch said, "I'm getting a lot of support from the folks around here, but I must confess I'm still very paranoid. I feel like I'm back in Central America, always looking over my shoulder. And if I go anywhere, I sit with my back against the wall."

Joyner acknowledges the danger, but said, "I think as I walk, 'God walks with me, there's a greater power than all these other ugly things happening out here.' Sure, you're afraid, but you have to have a greater fear of what's going to happen to your children and your neighborhood."

The anti-drug coalition's goal, said DiBerardinis, "is to get rid of the pushers and develop long-term programs to create a climate where drugs won't flourish. We have to go after the drug issue



KJAC members Teresa Joyner, senior warden of St. Barnabas, and Mike DiBerardinis, legislative aide to Pennsylvania State Representative Ralph Acosta, describe the racial and ethnic mix of the Kensington area.

because it ranks up there as a major concern; it's one part of the whole picture. If we don't deal with it, we're missing something, just like if we don't deal with housing, we're missing something." He pointed out that the drug problem is one of the hardest to address because neighbors fear violent retaliation and because it's more difficult to get police accountability.

"The police don't want outsiders asking them for accountability. And it's hard to see the effects of your work. There are problems that are special to this kind of organizing. We're trying to bring everyone together to take a systematic and comprehensive approach to the problem, and to see it in context," DiBerardinis said.

"That led us first to develop a public focus, to tell people, 'It's OK to fight drugs, there's leadership in this community that's willing to stand up.' Second, we wanted to create the correct political climate — involve elected officials, get

their support, then get a lot of people in the neighborhood out there, get the media to cover it, so when we go in to the city managing director, the mayor, they're predisposed to deal with us because we have community involvement, votes, and political clout. Our first series of events were designed to create that climate."

The coalition's first action was a vigil in Norris Square Park in July, 1985. The vigil got good community response and media coverage, and was followed in the next months by a march and a rally.

"Now the heat is on downtown and they have to do something about it," DiBerardinis said. He and others were encouraged when Philadelphia got a new police commissioner and district attorney recently. The coalition has a list of drug hot spots, said DiBerardinis, and wants to give city officials that list "and work out a process where they're going to be accountable to us on what they do with the information we give them. We want increased resources and a special unit



that's going to work up here with us on our problem."

The community had success with the special unit approach several years before in dealing with a child pornography and sexual abuse ring that was operating in the neighborhood.

Many area churches besides St. Barnabas are involved in the coalition and Executive Director Riley is working on an idea for a Clergy Day. On a designated Sunday, every church in the area would talk about drug trafficking.

KJAC includes in its membership some 20 service agencies, churches and community organizations and a grass-roots membership of 800 families. Its standard committees include housing, crime and safety, and South Africa and Central America. Committees meet monthly and a Steering Committee meets monthly as well. The Steering Committee of some 20 to 30 members is comprised of two elected representatives from each committee, and agency and church representatives.

Joyner, a devoted church member and vice president of KJAC, feels the churches have a crucial role to play in the fight against drugs. She said, "The church has to take a stand against what's happening and it has to be spoken from the pulpit. At St. Barnabas, it has been talked about and we got involved. But other churches are going to have to take a stand too, and let their parishioners know you can't hide behind the pulpit and in the church. You've got to get out there in the community because your church is in this community."

As a priest, Naters-Gamarra feels "It's our responsibility to help people become conduits through which change can come. One thing we try to tell people in this congregation is unless we are willing to practice what we preach, everything is a joke. I have no desire to be a martyr, but I don't have a choice, because if I say to my people, 'You've got to be willing to take risks,' then I've got to put

up or shut up. So even after being attacked, I can't turn back now."

The coalition's community activism ranges beyond problems in the neighborhood to seemingly more distant international concerns. KJAC's Committee on Central America and South Africa does outreach in the schools and community. Naters-Gamarra said, "The idea is to help people make the connections. Apartheid is in South Africa but it's also right here; oppression and militarism exist in Central America but they also exist here. While we see jobs, social services and money leave the city, we read that millions in aid is going to the contras, and they're putting up missiles in West Germany. There is a connection and therefore people are affected. And when a war comes up, it's our kids who are going to be fighting someone else's war. We try to create consciousness around those issues."

Edison High School in Kensington lost more students in the Vietnam War than any high school in the United States, coalition members pointed out.

KJAC and the various groups have been so successful in addressing a variety of issues because, DiBerardinis said, "Years of working together have gone into building the trust level, the multi-racial unity, the political and organizational sophistication to pull it off."

Rios said, "When we started to open up, to say, wait a minute, I can't do this by myself, it was miraculous that all of a sudden we opened our eyes, saw each other and said, 'Hey, we can help each other. The energy is here. The people are working together.'"

"You have to be united to get results," said Joyner. "It has to be Black people, it has to be White people, it has to be Puerto Rican people — we all have to join together to bring change. If we give up, Kensington is going to die and be barren land. But there are decent, caring people who want to bring change to this neighborhood."

"My hope is that I can keep on working. We might not be able to get up to the top of that mountain right now, but eventually we are going to climb over that mountain. There will be a change. If you keep knocking on the door, somebody's going to listen eventually."

Naters-Gamarra, who is proud to note that "St. Barnabas' congregation has always symbolized hope and change," summed up the basic aim of the organizing in the community:

"We may not see the results right away, but we're building a foundation that's going to enable people to realize that we're in the boat together. All of us might have come over here on different ships — some in chains, some as stewards — but right now we're in the same boat."

---

## The old lady down the block

They brought her to this suburb  
like a Guernsey on a rope  
with the meadow grass in her nostrils,  
woods at dawn at the back of her eyes,  
into this groomed and balanced block  
where houses politely did not touch.  
Soon roses, peonies, blueberries  
clustered on the fences and porch rails,  
tomato plants, brussel sprouts  
and pumpkins up against the house.  
Beanrows meandered in the backyard  
half dug with schemes  
and mounds of plans.  
Winter her lights burned old yellow  
while she baked as she nursed seedlings,  
counting bulbs on every table.  
Found she did not bite, they finally  
enjoyed the stump of her bent  
among the riot at any hour,  
set their seasons by her, counted her  
a watchdog of the neighborhood.  
Within this space she still held memories  
of fifty acre fields and thoughts  
of barns tottered in her head.  
She could taste her father's orchard,  
pass on mutely her steady rhythms  
to neighbors with a handful of soil.

— Ray Greenblatt

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# Short Takes

## New Silent Majority

We agree that the yuppie phenomenon has been overblown by the mainstream media, and yes, we're tired of reading about trendy yup lifestyles. But we can't help wondering about the rest of the baby boomers. Leave it to the market researchers to come up with a neat little category for that great silent majority. They're the *yuffies* — young urban failures. According to the Lempert Report, a marketing newsletter, only 8% of Americans born between 1946 and 1965 earn over \$30,000 per year and qualify as yuppies. But 74% of working baby boomers make \$20,000 or less and 40% earn less than \$10,000. No brie for this crowd — let them eat macaroni and cheese!

**Dollars and Sense 9/85**

## Quote of note

Economists think the poor need them to let them know that they are poor.

**Peter Drucker**

## World War III underway

Without being radical or overly bold, I will tell you that the Third World War has already started — a silent war, not for that reason any the less sinister. This war is tearing down Brazil, Latin America, and practically all the Third World. Instead of soldiers dying there are children; instead of millions of wounded there are millions of unemployed; instead of destruction of bridges there is the tearing down of factories, schools, hospitals, and entire economies . . . It is a war by the United States against the Latin American continent and the Third World. It is a war over the foreign debt, one which has as its main weapon *interest*, a weapon more deadly than the atom bomb, more shattering than a laser beam.

**Luis Ignacio Silva  
Brazilian Labor Leader  
Conference on Latin American  
and Caribbean Debt**

## Definition

An Irish atheist is a person who believes there is no God but is sure that the Blessed Virgin is God's mother. Anon.



UN 1986 Peace Year Emblem

## Reality

It is easier to rape the world  
than it is to risk Love,  
and the world eagerly awaits  
real intercourse.

**Jean C. Higgins**

## Right on cue

In the Roman Mass there is a frequent exchange between priest and people: "The Lord be with you;" . . . "And also with you." I heard of a priest who was about to give the greeting when he tapped the microphone and muttered: "There's something wrong with the mike." Back came the responsive congregation, "And also with you."

**The Rev. Joseph Gallagher, Columnist  
The Evening Sun 12/12/85**

## Celibate bishops only

In February, Anglican Archbishop Robert Runcie will be a principal speaker at a week-long Bible convention to mark the 150th anniversary of the Mar Thoma Syrian Church, Kerala, India. The Mar Thoma Church is Protestant in doctrine and Orthodox in liturgy, with *celibate bishops* and *married clergy*.

**Diocesan Press Service**

## Workers in trouble

"The working class of this country is in trouble," says Joseph Romano, president of the United Steelworkers' local at Danly Machine Corp., Cicero, Ill. Romano was referring to hard-line approaches companies are using in current labor negotiations. He could have been just as well referring to the overall decline of U.S. union membership; now 18.8% of the work force, down from 30% in 1950.

The major reason is that organizing has not kept pace with the dramatic shift in the nature of the work force. An AFL-CIO report points out that manufacturing and construction account for 50% of union membership, but these sectors employ only 22% of the civilian work force. In contrast, 90% of all new jobs are being added in service industries. The service sector will employ 75% of the work force by 1990. Yet less than 10% of the service sector is union organized.

**National Center for the Laity  
Initiatives, Fall 1985**

## Fate, chance and God

Whatever one's belief about death and God, the events of sickness and accident point to the much forgotten and denied fragility of life. Each of us really is only a heartbeat away from death, or as likely to be crushed by an airplane wheel as to be diagnosed with a terminal illness tomorrow. The question for me is not, "Why does this happen?" The real question is "How shall we live, knowing that such events are possible?"

**The Rev. Chuck Meyer  
St. David's Hospital  
Austin, Texas**

## Mark your calendar

*Central America Week*, March 16-24. Educational packets available from the Inter-religious Task Force on Central America, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10115. *National March for Women's Lives*: March 9, East Coast, Washington, D.C.; March 16, West Coast, Los Angeles. Sponsored by NOW to mark National Women's History Week, and to coincide with International Women's Day.



## EUC: The sleeping giant stirs

**A**t the end of this month, the often maligned, yet tenacious Episcopal Urban Caucus will hold its sixth National Assembly, bringing together persons from around the country who are involved in or share a concern for social ministry. The Assembly theme, "Celebrate the City," appends the appeal to "Stir up the Church to be the Wounded, Loving Hands of Jesus."

Characteristically, the Caucus, which last met 18 months ago in Detroit, will take its gathering to the seat of a pressing urban problem — Pittsburgh, Pa. — which, because of closed steel mills, factories and warehouses, has been described as the heart of the "rust belt."

The Caucus, which got off to a rousing start in the fall of 1980 with a huge and enthusiastic gathering at Indianapolis, has fallen on hard times financially and otherwise in the intervening years. Like many groups that periodically have emerged in the Episcopal Church, it has suffered from the twin ills of traditional Protestant limited attention span and Anglicanism's short-lived love affairs with good causes. No small part of its problem was the early expectation of many that the Caucus could be the repository for the concerns of virtually every disaffected liberal group within the church and corresponding efforts to bite off not only more than it could chew, but a lot more than its supporters could digest. The frustration that ensued was shared by many of us who served on its

original governing board.

Fortunately, the Rev. Ed Rodman, Canon Missioner for the Diocese of Massachusetts and a brilliant strategist, was brought on board in 1984 as interim coordinator to help revitalize and refocus the Caucus and hone its agenda to a more manageable set of concerns.

In a report to the September 1984 Assembly, Canon Rodman pointed out that regardless of a desire to be inclusive or its commitment to the broad range of injustices that exist not only in urban areas but throughout society, the Urban Caucus could not be all things to all people. He proposed, and the Assembly wisely agreed, that the Caucus "establish its priority of mission with regard to advocacy for and on behalf of the dispossessed within and without the church as they may be found in our cities and/or rural areas." In turn, EUC would support other groups which are clearly capable of lifting up their specific concerns in the life of the church.

The continued viability of the Caucus, Rodman stated, will be in direct proportion to the degree of commitment, time, energy and money all can give to its agenda, which must be clearly articulated and presented on a "take it or leave it" basis. Groups of a more fundamentalist and conservative nature long have found this to be a strategically sound and tactically effective approach.

A highlight of the 1986 Assembly will

be an open forum called a "Vision Quest" where members of the Caucus will have the opportunity, in the presence of Presiding Bishop Edmond Browning, to present their views about how the Episcopal Church could respond to issues on the urban scene and in today's inter-related world. In addition, the Revs. Earl Neil and Peter Golden, Staff Officers for the Church's Coalition for Human Needs (CHN) and Jubilee Ministries, respectively, will report jointly on the status and relationship of those two efforts and how representatives of urban churches can access these vital funding sources.

Offering new opportunities for involvement, the Caucus Board has authorized the setting aside of up to 50% of its available funds for regional and/or local expressions of EUC to organize and apply for grants up to \$7,500 to initiate programs designed to "stir up the church to deeper awareness and involvement in urban issues."

With a streamlined agenda, a sharper focus and renewed enthusiasm, it seems this sleeping giant is again stirring. Those who claim an interest in urban mission would do well to lay aside personal agendas and lend a hand to moving the giant forward. As was true in 1984, this is no time to drop out, break away, sulk, pout or denounce. Rather it is a singular opportunity to significantly influence the church's agenda in its transition to new leadership.

# Church role vital for justice in

*Our age has its own particular mission — — the creation of a civilization founded upon the spiritual nature of work.*

**Simone Weil, *The Need for Roots***

**A** growing call for economic justice in the United States is issuing from the religious community these days. It would be a mistake to over-estimate its significance. But the steadily rising rate of unemployment levels deemed “acceptable,” the existence of a permanent underclass of people who have never worked, massive plant closures, and our growing inequality of wealth have all had an effect on the churches. The Roman Catholic bishops have done us the best recent service with their pastoral letter, “Catholic Social Teaching and the U.S. Economy,” now in its second draft. More books on the subject are beginning to appear, such as the recent commendable title, “Toward a Christian Economic Ethic” by Prentiss L. Pemberton and Daniel Rush Finn.

These are welcome developments, and they signal an awareness within our churches that we cannot in conscience stop at Band-Aid approaches to social pain when the whole body politic is shot through with the cancer of economic injustice. But there is a deeper problem here. “Economic justice,” while a sweeping term, nonetheless retains the focus upon *economics* without pushing beyond. Moreover, to speak only of economic justice seems to ignore the inseparability of one’s economic life from one’s social, cultural and family life.

The real debate must ultimately focus through and beyond our economic life to the issue of *work itself*. That, in these last years of the 20th century, is where profound shifts and upheavals are occurring. Simone Weil is right. We need to strive now for a civilization founded upon the spiritual nature of work.

To talk about the crisis in work as people of faith puts us on firmer ground. We have a spiritual understanding of work in

our tradition. It stems from the earliest chapters of the book of Genesis, permeates the parables of Jesus (so frequently cast in the metaphors of work), and is reflected in the commentaries of many of the early church theologians. The emphasis on work also allows the recognition that the economic arrangements of society are not set in concrete, but are consequent upon the more primary understanding of the purpose of work in society. If, for example, the purpose of work is to increase production and profits, as has been Western capitalist society’s operating assumption ever since the Industrial Revolution, human beings are subservient to that goal. If, on the other hand, there is a spiritual purpose to work, as Weil has it, other understandings flow.

The Papal Encyclical *On Human Work*, issued in 1981, explores this question in some depth. “Human work is a key, probably the essential key, to the whole social question,” the encyclical states. This sentence alone indicates that it is a more radical document than the bishops’ economics pastoral. Therefore, addressing the issue of work, instead of economic justice, allows us to consider a gamut of issues related to and derivative from work.

This focus is not merely some academic exercise for theoreticians. Quite the contrary: Within the last decade the convergence of economic, technological and social developments in the workplace is transforming the shape and content of work more fundamentally than at any time since the Industrial Revolution, with pronounced adverse effects upon tens of millions of people and thousands of communities in the United States.

In addition, the militarization of the economy is skewing the nature of work as well as insuring a continuation of the arms race. Three aspects of these developments deserve brief mention.

- First, the shift away from a blue-collar industrial society toward a service-and-information society will have caused massive economic dislocation of 15 to 45 million workers before it runs its course. This shift carries a sharp downward movement of both wages and skill levels, accompanied by the extensive loss of trade union protection. The shift has strongly abetted the creation of a permanent underclass of people. Since this underclass is disproportionately composed of minorities and women, racism and sexism simply get reinforced in a vicious cycle. So while the stock market booms

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**Richard W. Gillett**, a contributing editor to THE WITNESS, is director of *Work, Economics and Religion*, a new Los Angeles-based ecumenical project. He is the author of *The Human Enterprise: A Christian Perspective on Work*. (See ad back cover.)



# new workplaces

by Richard W. Gillett

along we become conditioned to accept as “normal” an upwards of 7% unemployment rate, a figure which was politically unacceptable as recently as the Nixon presidency.

- Second, an increasing vulnerability of working people is resulting from the mobility of corporations, the weakening of trade unions, and the new and more demeaning division of work tasks brought on by new technology. When the backbone of the industrial system was the steelworker, the miner and the auto worker, there was an implicit recognition that they had the power and the right ultimately to withhold their labor if they were not getting a fair deal. Now that has changed, because the power equation has changed. In the new service-and-information economy, it is inconceivable that the video display terminal operator, the hospital worker or the McDonald's fast-food server could wield that kind of labor power. They and others are now peripheral to the power equation. To put it bluntly, they are expendable.

- Third, the large corporations and banks to whom this power has accrued now operate largely beyond the reach of public accountability. Their computers tell them where to invest, what rate of profit they will need, where to shift production, buy or sell companies (or declare bankruptcy!), in order to satisfy their stockholders. This aggressive corporate behavior began back in the 1970s when American business was increasingly encountering world competition. In response, our business schools began to evolve new strategies. One was to emphasize “cash management” over commitment to any specific product line. (A cynical term illustrated this new strategy: “cash cows.” A “cash cow” is a company generating large cash flows which can be “milked” for investment needs elsewhere. Later it can be discarded.) A second corporate strategy was to demand massive concessions from labor, frequently accompanied by threat of closure. A third strategy centralized decision-making about investments, rates of profit, location of plants, etc. This dramatically reduced the influence of local management, labor, and the community in decisions affecting jobs and production. These strategies have been highly successful for top management and investors, resulting in massive transfers of capital overseas and huge job losses at home.

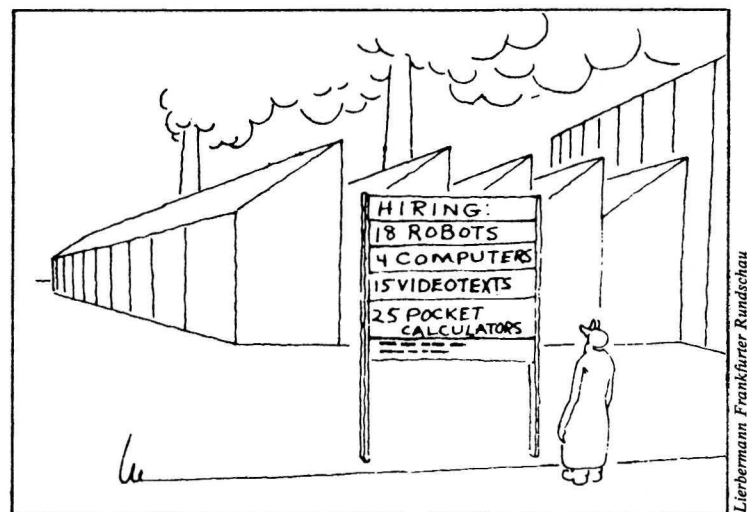
In confronting these new developments we must continue to strategize about particular economic justice issues, of

course. But the real opportunity lies in pushing the debate onto the ground of work and its purpose in human society.

From this ground we can say from a religious point of view that in the early chapters of Genesis we are urged to tend the earth and be the stewards of the Creator. There is an ethical nature given to work: it has intrinsic meaning for the person who performs it, and also meaning in relation to the world. The papal encyclical on work states that all work has a threefold moral significance: “First, it embodies the distinctive human capacity for self-expression and self-realization. Second, it is the ordinary way for human beings to fulfil their material needs. Finally, work enables people to contribute to the well-being of the larger community.”

In their 1982 Labor Day message, the Episcopal Urban Bishops emphasized the importance of work: “Work that does not serve the common good, that does not build towards a peaceful and just community, fails the test of work defined as a metaphor of creation.” They went on to outline steps toward such a vision, such as worker ownership, worker cooperatives, and democratic decision-making in the workplace. They also strongly affirmed the right and desirability of workers to organize and form unions, and sharply criticized the new mobility of corporate capital.

There is some concern here and there in our parishes about these issues. But sad to say, the current shape and thrust of



parish ministry almost totally ignores the work life — or the unemployment! — of parishioners. One half of a parishioner's weekday waking hours are spent at work. Yet rare or non-existent are the parish programs which probe the significance of work and the workplace as subjects integral to a Christian vision of justice and human wholeness.

Lee Schore, director of the Center for Working Life in Oakland, Cal., emphasizes the importance of understanding how a person's work life influences his or her family life and social and cultural outlook. (See box.) Noting that workers who are unhappy or under stress at work typically blame themselves, she deals with working people in groups to assist them in analyzing their work situation as well as their own feelings. Schore, a counsellor, teacher and former auto worker says, "A worker who is oppressed and deprived of her dignity on the job must learn to direct anger where it belongs: at the unjust workplace situation instead of at herself." Schore brings groups of working people together to conduct a "family work life history" which assists them in seeing the connections between their work life and their family life, in assessing their work situation for what it is, and in exploring attitudes and perspectives on work shared by one's parents

and grandparents as they are reconstructed in the memory.

Under a grant by the Cathedral Corporation of the Diocese of Los Angeles, Schore will conduct a work life history for 15 lay people in Southern California, who will also be trained to conduct such an exercise with others in their own parishes. This program, coupled with subsequent related projects, thus seeks to broaden the base of awareness among churchgoers about the centrality of work in people's lives, and its relationship to a Christian vision of social justice.

How might the church at national, diocesan and parish levels begin to address more directly the issues of work and economic justice at this particular historical moment? Here are three suggestions:

1. It is time for a new round of regional hearings similar to those on "The City" sponsored by the Episcopal Urban Bishops several years ago which resulted in the publication, *To Hear and to Heed*. But the focus ought now to be upon specific *situations* instead of the problems of cities as a whole. The "situation," to be identified beforehand, ought to focus on an issue or issues involving working people or unemployed whose circumstances are illustrative of the structural injustices of the workplace. The hearing could thus

## Guidelines for family work history

*The following questions are guides to help you think about the way work has affected your own development.*

1. What work did your grandparents and parents do? Was there a big difference between them? How were you aware of that difference? What were your expectations for yourself based on their work?

2. What were the stated and unstated assumptions about work in your family? How was work viewed? Was it ever talked about? As a child, what was your understanding of your parents' work life? Do you know what your parents actually did on their jobs? If not, why

not and how did that shape your own attitude about work?

3. What did the parents of your friends do? Did you feel different about their work than your own parents'? What sense of pride or shame did you have about your parents' work? Did it change as you grew older? How and why did it change or remain the same?

4. How did your parents' jobs affect the structure of your family? I.e., when you ate, when you spent time together, their availability for you emotionally and physically,

etc. If either of your parents had a different kind of job, would it have affected your childhood in any way?

5. What is your work history? What kinds of jobs have you held? What skills do you have? What jobs did you like best? Why? What jobs did you hate? Why?

6. What are your attitudes about work? If you had an absolute choice, not related to earning money, what would you most want to do? When you think of "workers," what is your image?

— Lee Schore

Center for Working Life, Oakland, Cal.

encourage both analytical and educational information, and enable local churches and dioceses to construct responses and build alliances.

2. The Protestant and Catholic churches at national levels might undertake a joint exploration of the recent impact of the policies and practices of large corporations upon communities and working people. A decade ago, several denominations conducted such studies. The growing dominance of large corporations over community and workplace requires a new examination. The results of such an exploration, which should be directed by "rank and file" working people and trade unionists fully as much as academicians and business persons, would issue its recommendations for community-church strategies, public policy advocacy, and funding priorities for projects engaging in issues of work and economic justice.

3. At regional and congregational levels, pilot programs on the relationship between work and family life, and on church responsibility for involvement in particular workplace struggles should issue in the design of new Christian Education curricula and techniques relating work, human fulfillment and the Christian gospel.

As more is learned about the workplace, the transformation of work, and their relationship to economic policy, the church should investigate ways to enable its own laypeople *as workers* — and as managers (for they too are affected) to begin a social analysis and to theologize about their experiences. A grassroots theology of work, developed by working people and aiding their actions for justice in the workplace and community, would be a new and vital contribution to a Christian community striving to be relevant to the complexities of modern social and economic life. It would also signal that we were determined not to let an economists' elite hold sway as high priests of our social well-being. ■

### Resources

*The Human Enterprise: A Christian Perspective on Work* by Richard W. Gillett. Sheed and Ward, paperback \$7.95. See ad back cover.

*Toward a Christian Economic Ethic* by Prentiss L. Pemberton and Daniel Rush Finn. Winston Press, paperback \$10.95.

*Must We Choose Sides: Christian Commitment for the '80s*, Vol. I, published by the Interreligious Task Force for Social Analysis for use in parish study groups or for individual readers. Prepaid orders only. \$5.00 each, bulk discounts upon request. Make check payable to THE WITNESS, P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002.

*To Hear and to Heed*. Published for the Urban Bishops Coalition by Forward Movement. \$2.00 Order from THE WITNESS.

## Some of Georgia's best

He had the stuff pioneers are made of.  
He drove an old model car,  
and called on many folk who had  
disabilities.  
He was Mr. Sosby of State Rehab,  
A program hailed by the blind,  
and the lame who wanted to survive  
upon their own.

Once he drove a distance to help a man  
who had no legs,  
To build a little sled, to which the man  
could hitch a mule,  
And plow his fields in the spring, and  
grow a garden too.  
And among his rows of corn, stood  
sunflowers, turning as the sun moved  
their way.

He and others blessed the day that  
Mr. Sosby came.  
A pioneer in his time,  
A quiet man who had the depths  
to know the needs of many,  
A man of soul and mind who looked  
beneath the outer shell,  
And saw where hopes and dreams  
begin.

And in his path have followed many  
others in their time,  
Chosen for their gift to see and know a  
need, and follow through.

To know that sans eyes, sans arms,  
sans legs, need not mean that one has  
more need to prove  
one's self, than another,  
Who may feel more fortunate,  
And that desire to live and work and  
learn, and grow is as natural  
as the earth.

— Ruby Royal Quick



# How protest movements affect electoral politics

by Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward

**T**his is a time when activists seem to have turned away from movements in favor of electoral politics, although for diverse reasons and with diverse strategies. Some, jarred by the election of 1980 and the dramatic changes in national policy that followed, have moved into the Democratic Party fold. Others have been more assertive, attempting to enlarge the possibilities of electoral politics by enlisting under Jesse Jackson's banner, or, as feminists have done, by acting as a pressure group demanding concessions from within the Democratic Party. Still others have joined in voter registration campaigns, hoping to transform the Democratic Party by enlarging its constituency to include substantially more of the poor and minorities.

One way to interpret the renewed emphasis on electoral politics is that it reflects a certain disillusionment on the Left with the movement politics of the 1960s and early 1970s. This interpretation seems credible because movement and electoral strategies have come to be seen as polarized

alternatives. Those who reject electoral politics do so on the grounds that movement constituencies and the issues they raise would inevitably be swallowed up in the electoral morass, exhausting their energies in exchange for token responses. In turn, that view receives support and standing from a good deal of the work of the intellectual Left which defines electoral politics, in a nutshell, as a system of ritual legitimization of prevailing structures of power and inequality. Viewed from this perspective, those on the Left who choose electoral politics over movement participation are often judged as having failed a test of conviction.

There is much about this argument that is true. The turn to electoral politics does usually result in the absorption of movement leaders and the dissipation of movement energies with little recompense in policy concessions. The reasons are obvious. On the one side, movement leaders rarely represent blocs of votes sufficiently large to command concessions. And even when the adherents are numerous, movement leaders do not have the resources to organize and hold their votes against the onslaught of propaganda and promises of party leaders.

On the other side, movement leaders striving for electoral influence must contend with the enormous countervailing power of business. By their capacity to marshal and

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communicate “expert” opinion, business leaders ordinarily dominate debates over definitions and solutions to economic crises. They also wield the powerful weapons of capital strike and capital flight, which can destabilize an economy. Few political leaders feel secure enough to weather the economic instabilities that these investor tactics create, or to invoke sanctions to prevent their use, as the experience of the Italian Communists and the French Socialists reveal. Moreover, the influence of business on the political parties by conventional means is also growing. The state and local infrastructure of the old party organizations has been virtually superceded by big money propaganda operations, including the rapidly swelling contributions funnelled directly to candidates through Political Action Committees. Against these formidable resources, voters have only their votes with which to contend for influence in party circles.

All of this notwithstanding, the relationship of movements to electoral politics is not one of simple antithesis. In a large and important sense, electoral strategies from the bottom depend on movement politics. Advocates of the electoral path to reform typically assume that votes are automatically translated into influence, or that at least organized votes are automatically translated into influence. That is a frail assumption. Nevertheless, there are conditions under which voters do matter, under which voters can force responses, and those conditions depend critically on the emergence of movements.

Voters become more important to politicians, and have some influence on the agenda of electoral politics, when their allegiance cannot be taken for granted. Large-scale events like war or rapid economic change may generate the discontents which loosen established party allegiances. When electoral volatility increases, political leaders try to protect or rebuild their coalitions by searching for the symbols, promises, and policy concessions that will hold old voters or win new voters, without at the same time provoking opposition elsewhere among their constituent groups.

At such moments of electoral instability, mass protest movements can play a catalytic role, as the movements of industrial workers and the unemployed did in the '30s or the civil rights and anti-war movements in the '60s. Movements sometimes generate such disruptive effects as to break the grip of ruling groups, so that new definitions and new policies can be advanced from the bottom. The issues generated by masses of defiant people politicize and activate voters; they widen divisions in the electorate; and they sometimes attract new voters to the polls who alter the electoral calculus. When political leaders make policy concessions, it is to cope with these threats of electoral cleavage, or to rebuild coalitions in the aftermath of cleavage. The impact of disruptive mass

movements on public policy is thus mediated by the electoral system. Movements win policy concessions when the issues they raise fragment, or threaten to fragment, party coalitions.

If protest movements can thus activate electoral constituencies, and give them political weight, movements in turn depend both for survival and success on the electoral context. For movements to emerge and to grow, their potential followers need to feel some measure of hope, on the one hand, and some sense of safety from severe repression, on the other. Political leaders play a large role in signalling these possibilities. If they risk few repercussions at the polls, they are unlikely to generate the symbolic appeasements which may give movements a sense of strength and courage. They are far more likely to repress the movement at the outset. The risk of repression is even greater when the social base from which movements draw support is substantially underrepresented in the electorate. That is a powerful reason for attempting to ensure that people at the bottom have as large a presence as possible in the electoral system.

Nor are protest movements likely to succeed in pressing new issues onto the political agenda, or to win concessions on these issues, if they cannot mobilize a following among electoral constituencies upon whom political leaders depend. The point is not that policy decisions are in fact simply a reflection of voter preferences rather than economic power. Rather it is that for those who have little economic power, or whose economic power can only be mobilized under extraordinary conditions, votes do provide some protection, and sometimes, in the context of electoral instability and movement mobilization, they even provide some influence.

Taken together, these points of interrelationship reveal the interdependence of disruptive mass movements and electoral institutions. Voter influence is not likely to be realized without the instigating force of protest, and protest movements in turn depend upon the relative size of the electoral constituencies that polarize in their support.

This is not an argument in support of conventional electoral politics. We would be the last to argue that movements should devote their resources to drafting legislative proposals, attending high level conferences, or testifying, or lobbying. Movements do not influence electoral politics



by the usual means. Still, the electoral context cannot be ignored, and the most crucial feature of that context is the extent to which the movement's social base is included so that, once activated, politicians are forced to contend for its support on more than symbolic terms.

This brings us to what is indisputably the most important feature of American politics: the low level of electoral participation by the bottom half of the population. The United States has the lowest level of voter participation among the Western democracies. Seventy-five to 90% of Canadians and Europeans turn out in national elections. Little more than half of the eligible American electorate voted in 1980. The significance of low voting participation for popular protest movements is that the missing half is concentrated among the people who are in effect their potential source of electoral support.

Although experts offer differing explanations of the persisting low registration rate, there is a growing consensus that the main causes are difficulties associated with the distinctive American system of voter registration. Other Western democracies have some form of universal registration, and the United States does not. When turnout among registered voters in the United States is compared with turnout in Europe, differences disappear. About 80% of Americans who are registered also vote. And they vote in roughly the same proportions no matter their age, education, or minority status. The problem in the United States is that 55 million people — 35% of the eligible electorate — are not registered. The history of how this came to be is instructive.

Ironically, White working men in the United States won the franchise earlier than workers in other nations. The bulk of the states had removed property qualifications by the early 1830s, at least a half century earlier than most of Europe. At the end of the 19th century, however, as class conflict on the farms and in the factories was coming to a boil, state governments curtailed this basic right by erecting obstacles to voting. The 1890s were the crucial years — a time when railroad and steel workers engaged in violent strikes and family farmers joined in the great protests of the Populist movement. Throughout the South and West, usurious interest rates and exorbitant railroad and granary charges goaded farmers into action. In response to Populist pressure, a number of states passed legislation regulating railroad and granary fees.

But the Supreme Court quickly acted to defend the big interests, reversing hardwon legislative victories, and so the Populists sought redress in national politics. In 1896, they made a serious bid for power by entering into a coalition with the Democratic Party and segments of the industrial working

class. The nascent formation was so threatening that the business classes — in their first major effort to dominate electoral politics — mobilized one of the most vitriolic, and expensive, campaigns in American history.

The Populists were crushed, and in the flush of victory industrial and financial interests in the North and planter interests in the South solidified their hold, and erected barriers to voting. They “reformed” state election laws so that another challenge from below could not be mounted. They introduced poll taxes, literacy tests, and grandfather clauses throughout the South. These measures not only made it impossible for Blacks to register, but half of Whites as well — the same poor Whites who had been the foot soldiers of southern Populism. Nor was the backlash confined to the South. Across the North, literacy examinations, residency tests, and various cumbersome procedures were built into the registration process. By the onset of the Great Depression, registration restrictions had reduced voter turnout from 75%

*“The risk of repression is even greater when the social base from which movements draw support is substantially underrepresented in the electorate. That is a powerful reason for attempting to ensure that people at the bottom have as large a presence as possible in the electoral system.”*

in national elections in the latter half of the 19th century to little more than 50%. Most of the drop occurred among the ranks of Blacks, poor farmers, and industrial workers. And so a contraction of the American electorate took place which persists to this day.

To sum up this history in another way, the reason the United States has the lowest level of voting participation among the Western democracies is that the right to vote in the United States was sharply curtailed by the laws and procedures surrounding voter registration. In other words, the elemental right to the franchise is still in dispute. And that is a serious problem for popular protest movements. It means they are more vulnerable to repression — what better case in point than the violence done participants in the Southern civil rights struggle? — and it means that the demands raised by protest movements lose force because of the weakness of the electoral constituencies to whom they ultimately appeal.

It is for this reason that the turn to electoral politics in the present period is not, in the longer term sense, a shift away from protest politics at all. Most important, there is ample evidence that, despite persisting barriers, large scale voter registration efforts have been spurred by the growing polari-

zation of electoral politics by class, race and gender. The success of these efforts to enlarge the electorate is integral to the future strength of protest movements from the bottom.

#### Resource

The above article is excerpted from the foreword by Piven and Cloward to *This Mighty Dream: Social Protest Movements in the United States* by Madeleine Adamson and Seth

Borgos. *This Mighty Dream* interprets the development of popular movements for social change in the United States over the last century. Agrarian protest, the labor struggle, the Black freedom movement and community organizing are vividly depicted. Richly illustrated with photographs, drawings, posters, cartoons and songs. Send \$9.95 plus \$1.50 postage and handling to ACORN, 522 8th St. S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202-547-9292).

## If God were process-oriented

*The following bit of fluff, author unknown, was sent to us by Abbie Jane Wells of Juneau, Alaska, who received it from W. H. "Ping" Ferry of Scarsdale, N. Y. We pass it on to WITNESS readers, and will be happy to provide attribution in a future issue should anyone out there know its source.*

If God were process-oriented, the Book of Genesis would read something like this: "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth." The earth was without form and void, so God created a small committee. God fully balanced the committee by race, sex, ethnic origins and economic status in order to interface pluralism with the holistic concept of self-determination according to the adjudicatory guidelines. Even God was impressed. So ended the first day.

And God said: "Let this committee draw up a mission statement." And behold the committee decided to prioritize and strategize and God called this "process empowerment," and God thought it sounded pretty good. Evening and morning were the second day.

And God said: "Let the committee determine goals and objectives, and engage in long-range planning." Unfortunately, a debate as to the semantic differences between goals and objectives pre-

empted almost all of the third day. Although the question was never satisfactorily resolved, God thought the process was constructive. Evening and morning were the third day.

And God said: "Let there be a retreat in which the committee can envision functional organization and engage in planning, being objective." The committee considered adjustment of priorities and consequential alternatives to program directions. And God said that it was good. And God thought it was worth all the coffee and doughnuts. So ended the fourth day.

God said: "Let this committee be implemented consistent with the long-range planning and strategy and commitments, and consider the guidelines and linkages and structural sensitivities and alternatives and implemental models." And God saw that this was very democratic. So would have ended the fifth day except for the unintentional renewal of the debate

about the differences between goals and objectives.

On the sixth day the committee agreed on criteria for adjudicatory assessment and evaluation. This wasn't on the agenda that God had planned. God wasn't able to attend the meeting, having to take the afternoon off to create day and night, heaven and earth, seas, plants, trees, seasons, years, sun, moon, earth, fish, animals and human beings.

On the seventh day God rested and the committee submitted its recommendations. As it turned out, the committee recommended forms for things identical to the way God had already created them. So the committee passed a resolution commending God for God's implementation according to the guidelines. It was expressed (very quietly of course) in some opinions that mankind should have been created in the committee's image.

And God caused a deep sleep to fall upon the committee. ■

# Putting Grandma in jail

by Margaret Ellen Traxler

**T**hey called her "Queenie." She was 79-years-old and suffered a dysfunctional hip which made crutches a necessity. She was a lifer and saw for herself no end but death in prison.

"I stabbed my husband," Queenie told me. "He aimed a gun at me and I ran him through with a kitchen knife," she said. Then she asked me, tears running down her furrowed and leathery face, "Should I have let him shoot me, or was I right in defending myself?"

Since 1970, the number of women 60 years and older sentenced to prison has risen 40%. The arrest rate for persons 55 years and older increased 46% between 1970 and 1980. Five percent of the total U.S. population in prison is 60 years or older. According to JERICOH prison studies there are 80,000 elderly men and women in state and federal prisons. Of these, between 30 to 50% are women, incarcerated for the first time when they are at least 60 years of age.

I have seen these women in prisons and jails all over this country. They are the silent ones — in a daze at what seems to be the end of their lives. They have known marriage, family, death of a spouse and now they are in prison.

What offenses bring older women to this sad ending in their declining years? *Women commit economic crimes of relatively minor nature such as forgery,*

*shop-lifting, stealing from the U.S. mails or cheating on welfare. The more serious crimes such as murder are usually once-in-a-lifetime offenses. Claudia McCormick, while serving as superintendent of Cook County Jail in Chicago, conducted research showing that out of the women studied who were accused of killing a spouse, all had suffered at least 10 years of physical and sexual abuse. All had used a kitchen instrument for the crime which means that violence was probably not premeditated.*

In a Southern prison, our Institute of Women Today teams found Debra, mother of 10 children who killed her husband and the father of all her children. The court would not admit as evidence Debra's 11 years of medical records showing that her deceased husband had broken her clavical, cut off an ear that was sewed back on, cracked her skull and lacerated her back, all documented by X-rays. The court restriction is common in some states where evidence of self-defense is denied. In this instance, however, the state supreme court reviewed Debra's case and released her for return to her rejoicing children.

Another important reason for the rise in elderly women in prison goes back to the middle '50s when states began to release mental patients from hospitals. The rationale was that the ultimate good of the patient called for de-institutionalization and a return to family settings and normal environment. As reasonable as this sounds, many of the mentally ill now end up behind bars. Studies clearly show that the present prison population has one-third more mentally disoriented

residents than are represented in the population at large.

A warden at a large state women's correctional center showed me the new mental health prison unit. She said, "Legislators are willing to spend multi-millions on this new facility, but they refuse money for mental hospitals." The staggering additional sums necessary for the guards and prison network support systems seem no problem for the legislatures.

A third factor contributing to the rise of women in prison is an economic crunch that hits women hardest. In 1983, Warden Linda Geissen, at that time head of the Illinois women's prison said, "The State Corrections Department predicts that the number of women in prison will double by 1986." When I asked the reason, she replied, "Women are left as sole support of their children and welfare subsidies are inadequate, so women will commit economic crimes to make-up the difference." Already by the end of 1985, this prediction had been realized. The prison population in Illinois, as well as on national levels, had doubled.

More and more grandmas will be going to jail for additional reasons. Older women are the fastest growing population segment in the United States. Of these, 2.8 million women over 65 live in poverty, compared to less than 1 million men. Sixty percent of women over 65 live alone with social security as their only income. Many such women make up the fiscal dichotomy between income and needs by moving into cheaper housing and eating less. Some are gradually lured by fiscal need into the economic crimes which land them behind bars.

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**Margaret Ellen Traxler** is a Notre Dame nun who directs the Institute of Women Today, which ministers to women in prison. She was co-recipient, with the Rev. Jean Dementi, of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company's Vida Scudder Award in 1985.



These crimes are not the E.F. Hutton-type, check-kiting crimes of magnitude, but repeated petty offenses that certainly do harass law enforcement people but which could be better corrected by attending to root causes of the pauperization of women. Societal structures, including churches, seem unwilling to examine diminishing resources and the critical choices that must be made by the poor.

Our prisons pay from \$30,000 per resident per year (Alaska's expenditure) to \$4,500 (which Texas pays). Texas has been under court order for five years to improve its corrections facilities, which the courts have declared inhumane. The average cost per resident in state and federal prisons is \$9,000. That amount would send younger prisoners to college and represents double the average annual income of the elderly in our country.

The most compelling drawbacks preventing reform of our prison industry seem to be the billion dollar employment structure which prisons support for administration, guards, etc., and the attitude of citizens who cannot look upon the challenge of corrections as an economic frontier in need of reform.

The needs of elderly incarcerated women are the immediate challenge, however. Older women cannot participate in many of the leisure-time activities in the prison schedule such as sports. Even walking between buildings or down long corridors is hard on the feet of the elderly. Our Institute of Women Today

provides for the special needs of older women prisoners such as support hose and foundation garments to which older women have become accustomed and which are not provided by prison apparel supplies. Apart from the leisure-time activities, the work schedule is problematic. Older women who may not have skills for clerical, computer or para-professional positions are assigned to janitorial jobs which have no inherent training potential.

The Institute of Women Today has begun small industries in prisons such as quilting and the making of shoulder bags on contract from Church Women United of New York City and from the women of the Presbyterian Church. These shoulder bags, made out of donated denim, bring 100% profits to prison women who use the money for their own needs and those of their children. The quilting industry was begun by older women in prison who brought this sewing folk art skill with them and then taught the younger women in what is now a flourishing business.

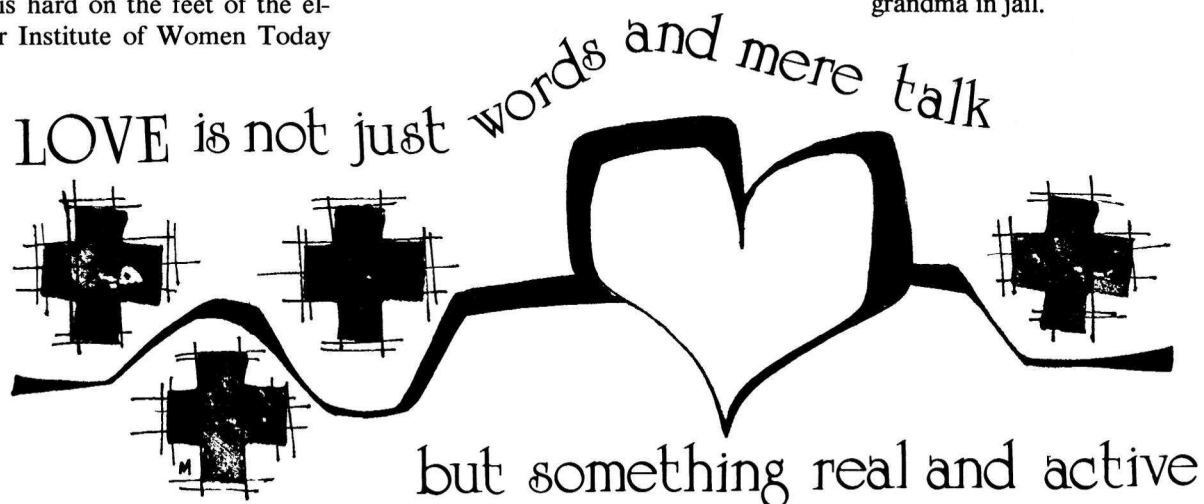
Judge Richard Fitzgerald, chief judge of Cook County Criminal Court, in an interview with *The Chicago Sun Times* was asked about gainful employment of prisoners. Judge Fitzgerald passed off the question with cavalier dispatch. "That was the philosophy 25 years ago," said Fitzgerald, "and it didn't work. It hasn't worked," he repeated. "That's the

utopian approach to rehabilitating criminals."

U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice Warren Burger disagrees. Burger recalled his visits to Scandinavia where all prisoners work for wages. Justice Burger hopes that the present 10% of U.S. prisoners who work can be raised to 50% in the next 10 years. Ann Britt Grunewald, warden of Sweden's maximum security prison, said, "Everyone here works for the market wage." When told that U.S. prisoners have a recidivism rate of about one-third, Warden Grunewald replied, "Industry helps rehabilitate. Almost none of ours have to return."

Miami has put into effect a program now called The Miami Plan. When a citizen breaks the law for the first time, the court asks a team of two or three peers to help the offender. Team and offender talk over together reasons why the law was broken and then the team "adopts" the offender. They work out a relationship and a plan for remedial action. The Miami Plan is proof that while citizens do want laws observed and safe streets, they are also willing to cooperate in cost-saving plans and authentic rehabilitation.

The Miami approach, which asks citizens to help resolve the problems of crime and punishment, transcends the courts that oftentimes take on the aura of the Grand Inquisitor. The Miami Plan seems a far better solution than putting grandma in jail. ■



# Toward empowering Black women

by Manning Marable

**T**here is a tendency within the media to classify all of Black America into one single socioeconomic and political package, ignoring its internal diversity. Problems related to gender inequality, the absence of pay equity and full political representation for women, are frequently characterized as relevant to White females alone. The burden of racism affects all Black Americans regardless of gender — with the possible exceptions of Clarence Pendleton and ideologue Thomas Sowell. Yet the structural inequalities of sexism are indeed profoundly felt within the national Black community.

Economically, Black America has become increasingly stratified along gender boundaries. For example, in 1981 the average married Black couple earned \$19,600, roughly 77% of the median income of White two-parent households. For Black families with both spouses in the labor force, their median 1981 income was \$25,000, or about 84% of the median incomes of similar White families. But for Black women with no spouse, their 1981 median income was only \$7,500.

Such disparities can be observed in health care, vocational hiring, and in electoral politics. Black women are four times more likely to die in childbirth than White females, a statistic which reveals in part the inadequacies of public health facilities and medical care available to

Black women. In middle-to-upper income professions, Black women are still unrepresented. As of 1981, Black women comprised less than 1% of the legal profession, compared to 2% for Black males and 14% for all females. Twenty-two percent of all physicians are women, but only seven-tenths of one percent of the total are Black females. Clearly, Black women are burdened with the dual oppression of race and gender, struggling in a society which tends to reward White males at the expense of the majority.

In 1985, more than 400 Black women from 29 states caucused in Atlanta to hold the first assembly of the National Political Congress of Black Women. Founded two years ago, the Congress has attracted 2,000 members to date and was active in elections at the grassroots level. Through its financial support, it helped to elect Alyce Griffen Clark to the Mississippi State Senate in 1984.

The National Political Congress of Black Women has targeted several specific goals for the next decade. Through local and national fundraisers, it hopes to raise \$10 million to finance the legislative races of Black women. Key organizers plan to give workshops in the technical aspects of media relations, fundraising, and the development of local leaders as potential candidates. The overwhelming majority of Black women in politics are Democrats, but the Congress has attracted bipartisan support. National leaders include liberal Democrat Shirley Chisholm, the national chair of the Congress; C. Delores Tucker, the leader of the Democratic Party's Black Caucus, vice chairman; and conservative Republican businesswoman Gloria Toote, second

vice chair. As Philadelphia city councilwoman Augusta Clarke observed: "We're in existence because we are for the political power of Black women — Democrats, Republicans, and independents; our uniqueness is that this group is diverse and independent and we speak for all women."

The rising clout of Black women in the electoral arena is apparent from the 1984 election statistics. Nearly 70% of all Black women were registered, compared to only 62.2% four years before. Their electoral turnout rate of 59.2% was significantly higher than their 52.8% figure of 1980.

The election of more Black women can only promote the political and economic interests of the national Black community as a whole. But specific organizing efforts which target the non-electoral concerns of low income and working class women — from healthcare to public housing — must also be initiated and led by women as well. The battle against racial and gender inequality requires mass mobilization, demonstrations, neighborhood-level formations, as well as electoral reforms. ■

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**Dr. Manning Marable**, a contributing editor to THE WITNESS, teaches political sociology at Colgate University in Hamilton, N.Y. His column, "Along the Color Line" appears in over 140 newspapers internationally.

# Phil Bozarth-Campbell dead at 37

**M**ore than 800 friends, colleagues and family members attended memorial services for the Rev. Philip Bozarth-Campbell, rector of St. George's Episcopal Church, in St. Louis Park, Minn. Dec. 14. Bozarth-Campbell died suddenly from cardiac arrest Dec. 9 at the age of 37.

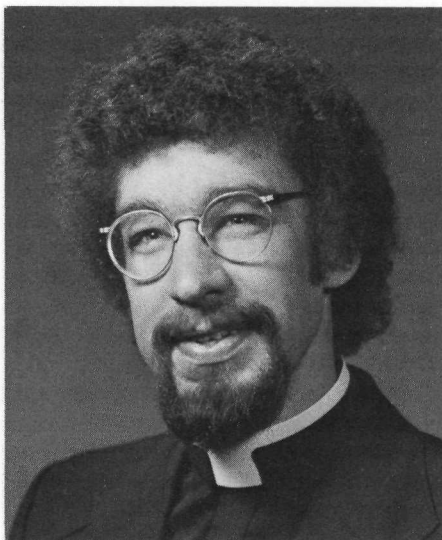
Guitar players and the church choir joined to celebrate his life with music. Alla Bozarth-Campbell, one of the first Episcopal women priests, described her husband as "a music man."

"His priesthood was expressed through his music," she said, "and there wasn't a group he couldn't touch with it. He was the finest guitar player I've heard, and his repertoire included folk music, spirituals, religious, modern and classical works. He knew 1,000 songs by heart, and could play Beatles music with one age group, English traditional folk music with another and old time rousing hymns with yet another. That was the richness of his style."

Philip Bozarth-Campbell became rector of St. George's in February, 1976, having served previously as youth pastor. He also had a prison ministry and an ecumenical ministry with the Lutheran Church of the Reformation, and visited Westwood and Texas Terrace nursing homes every month.

The young rector died three weeks to the day from a conference he had attended where his wife had spoken on the subject, "Dance for Me When I Die: Death as a Relational Rite of Passage." Alla, a poet, had read some of her works as part of her presentation, and her husband recorded the event.

A number of poems were written by Alla Bozarth-Campbell to commemorate her husband's death. The most recent,



The Rev. Philip Bozarth-Campbell

sent in an Epiphany message to her St. George's "family," appears below. ■

## Christmas Resurrection

Husband, your habit  
of opening  
doors and drawers  
of closets and cupboards  
and leaving them open —  
so like your mother,  
your gift is: To Open.

Priestfriend, don't close  
now, the light you left,  
or let us close from  
the eternal radiance  
you burst open and into.

Stay with us yet.  
Fulfill in our midst  
your childhood wish  
from your comforting place  
on the Cathedral radiator:  
"To be as warm as the sun of God!"

My own Love risen, opened  
into Larger Life,  
my Christmas Star.

— Alla Bozarth-Campbell

## Back Issues Available:

● **AIDS: The plague that lays waste at noon**, plus articles on the rights of gays and lesbians in church and society. Authors include John Fortunato, Zalmon Sherwood, Anne Gilson, Domenic Ciannella, Madeline Ligamare. September 1985.

● **Capital Punishment:** Articles by Mary Miller, Joe M. Doss, Marie Deans, Thomas Shepherd examining how the death penalty is symptomatic of a violent society; what it means when a prison chaplain loses a friend to the electric chair; the morality of capital punishment; a survivor's view of murder; and a model church ministry to prisoners. April 1985.

● **Bishop Tutu Speaks Out:** Includes quotations from various speeches of the noted Nobel prizewinner, showing his courageous stands against apartheid, his deep biblical faith and his keen wit; background on South Africa; and letter from U.S. church leaders to Congresspersons refuting claims that U.S. companies in South Africa are a force for change. Also lists resources for those working against apartheid. December 1984.

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## THE HUMAN ENTERPRISE: A CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE ON WORK

by Richard W. Gillett, Contributing Editor, *THE WITNESS*

"This book is remarkable for its synthesis of theological, humanist, and technical-economic material — even more for the accessibility and wit of its prose. Essential reading for those concerned about the struggle by working people, their churches and their local governments to build a new economic life for themselves in the wake of the de-industrialization of America."

Bennett Harrison, MIT, Co-author:  
*The De-Industrialization of America*

"Human work is a key, probably the essential key to the whole social question," stated Pope John Paul II in his Encyclical On Human Work, issued in 1981. In the industrialized countries, most prominently the United States, this observation comes at the precise moment when a profound transformation in the substance and shape of the workplace is occurring. Characterized most often as a shift from traditional blue collar industry to a service and information-oriented work force, the shift also has other characteristics which qualify it a genuine revolution in the workplace.

Richard W. Gillett's book addresses critical questions, such as the role of transnational corporations in the reshaping of the workplace, the role of technology, the militarization of the economy, the alienation of work and racism and sexism in the workplace. The frame of his reference for his inquiry is the basic significance of work in the Christian tradition.

Sheed and Ward  
1985



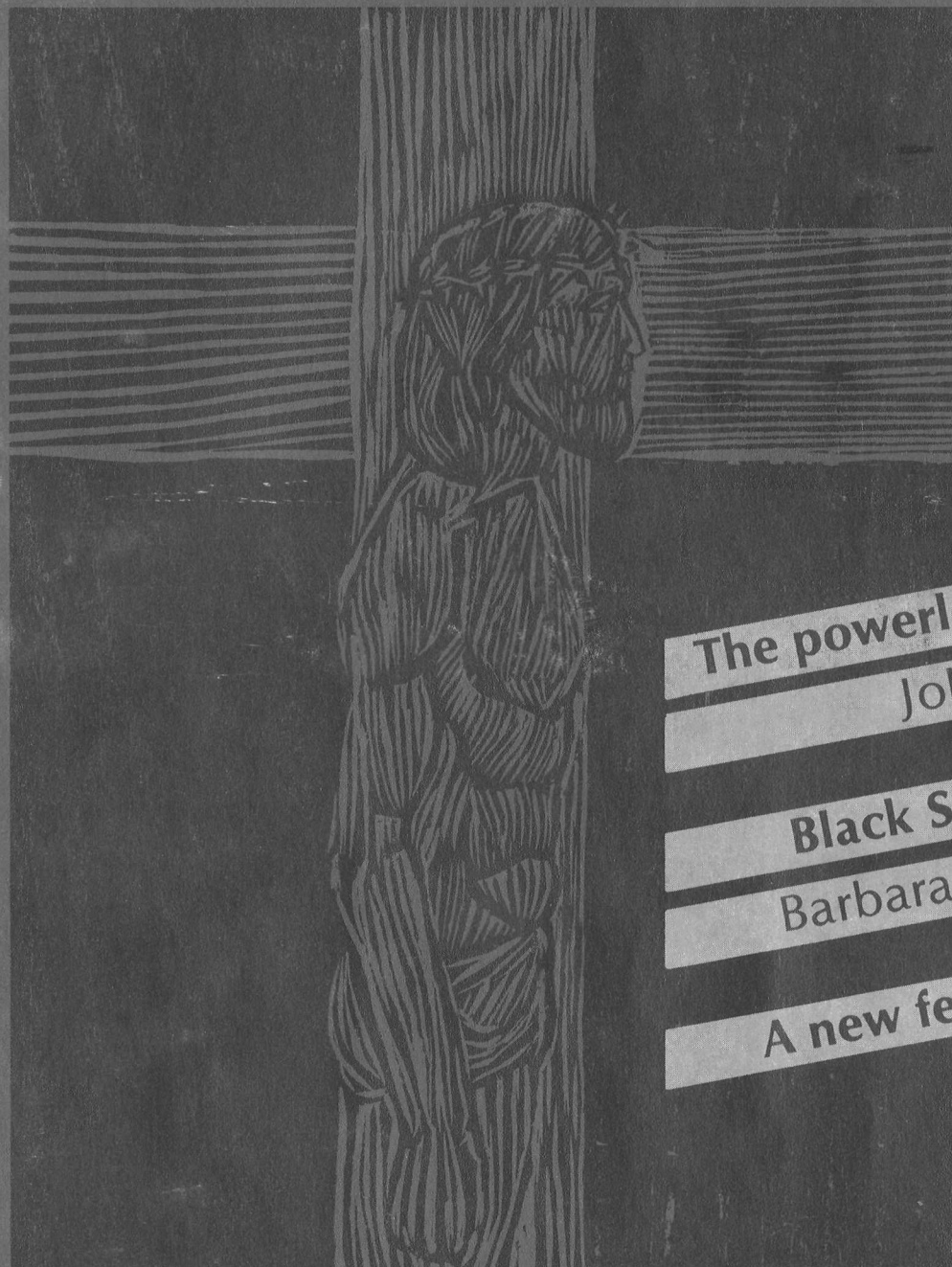
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# THE WITNESS



**The powerlessness of Christ**

John Shelby Spong

**Black Sash vs. apartheid**

Barbara M'Cready Sykes

**A new feminist anthology**

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# Letters

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## Untie priest, diocese?

I appreciated your January editorial on Zal Sherwood and Anne Gilson, (who lost their church posts because they revealed that they were gay/lesbian). I particularly found significant the suggestion about bishops "opening their dioceses." I'd like to develop that a little.

I am, ironically, one of those gay men who can be described as "straight acting and appearing" (although I find that phrase extremely offensive). People don't know I'm gay until I tell them. Yet I have been "branded" in my diocese, the Diocese of Dallas, because in response to God's call as I felt it, I founded the Dallas chapter of Integrity five years ago.

God has called me, I believe, to the ordained ministry. Yet in my diocese, I cannot answer that call. I am now a student at Episcopal Divinity School. I have no official candidacy status with a diocese. I have only minimal financial aid, as it is simply not available without official status.

Our current ordination process might work well in usual cases, but it does *not* work for people like Anne Gilson and me. I cannot enter the ordination process in another diocese without "establishing residency," which not only drags out my situation in terms of time, money, and stress; it still carries no guarantees. I might move to another city, "establish residency," and not be accepted. Yet I *am* established in a parish; I *do* have the support of a rector — in Dallas, where the process cannot move beyond the parish level.

I question the wisdom of having ordination so tied to a diocese. I feel the Roman Catholic Church has a much better approach to this matter, as they tend to ordain priests for the church, not for a local unit of the church. Only in the last few months has Dallas ordained women; yet before the ordination of Gwen Buhrens, there were at least two women priests in the diocese. They were

not allowed to function officially by the bishop, but they were there, as priests; in their parishes, their work places, and at cocktail parties they could be among people as Episcopal priests who happened to be women. That, I would say, was a strong witness, and no small contributor to the changing of attitudes enough to finally allow the ordination of women in Dallas.

Since enrolling in seminary, I have found I am perceived, in the eyes of the world if not those of the church, as having at least a sort of semi-official status in the church. With that status, I have found my simply being among the gay community — in Dallas or in Boston — *is* a witness. I can attend a gay community meeting or a dinner party, and simply the fact that I can say yes, I am openly gay; yes, I am a seminary student; and no, I don't feel any conflict between the two is more Christian presence than many in the gay community (who have understandably turned their backs on the church) have ever experienced.

That, of course, is the value of having openly-gay priests. Both gay people and straight people need the experience of meeting and getting to know more openly-gay priests. If every gay person who wants to be ordained has to become a resident of one of the "open" dioceses, people in places like Dallas are never going to meet an openly-gay priest.

I'm not asking a bishop to guarantee me a job. I'll find a way to make a living, whether it's teaching or counseling, or whatever. I'm asking a bishop to ordain me, not for a particular diocese, but as a priest in the one, holy, Catholic and apostolic Church.

**Robert Williams**  
Cambridge, Mass.

## Supports editorial

I am a new subscriber to THE WITNESS — a Lutheran sister — and read with great interest your January edito-

rial. I am supportive of the position you took and am most concerned about the two people who lost their positions due to the public nature of their stand. Continued blessings on your efforts to call the church back to justice and healing for her members.

**Mary Moisson Chandler**  
McMinnville, Ore.

## Calls for sex education

It has not been my custom, during the 35 years I was in the active ordained ministry of the Episcopal Church nor in the two years I have been the retired Bishop of Central New York, to write letters to editors of church magazines, but the disturbing editorial in the January WITNESS has moved me to write this. "In the matter of Sherwood and Gilson" caused me too to be deeply saddened because I know and have admired one of those persons for some years as a committed Christian, a very sensitive person and an articulate witness of the Faith.

Their bishops, both of whom I know and respect, have every right to make the decisions they did. Having agonized over many episcopal decisions myself for 20 years, I feel deeply for them too.

The root cause lies within the church itself. A few years ago the Episcopal Church authorized a study of a document it produced on human sexuality. It was good and helpful to those who used it. It was, however, only a beginning and unfortunately it was not used extensively. Such a study has to be an ongoing educational process. Only in that way and done with an openness to the moving of the Spirit can we move out of the attitudes of an institutional church which has never been able to deal with sex.

Pastoral concern is certainly needed for Sherwood and Gilson. In that instance I am sorry I am retired. However there is also sorely needed an educational process within the church on the issue of human sexuality which can give greater

hope and opportunities for service to future servants of the People of God.

**The Rt. Rev. Ned Cole**  
Syracuse, N.Y.

## Gay percentage inflated

I recently read a copy of your issue on AIDS, which I found most interesting. I would like to point out, however, that using the Center for Disease Control's percentages (which record gay IV-drug abusers simply as "gay") seriously overstates the "gay" and understates the "IV drug abusing" percentage of victims. The point is that the church should review and update its programs aimed at substance abusers in the very near future. There is some indication that (besides dirty needles with the virus) *all* drug abuse harms the immune system.

**Albert L. Peruzzo**  
Chicago, Ill.

## Life after AIDS

It was with mixed feelings, as a person diagnosed with AIDS-Related Complex (ARC) that I read your September issue. The problem was not only with the word "plague" in your cover title (AIDS is an epidemic, not a plague). The real problem was more in the area of paternalism in not having any of the articles written by persons diagnosed with AIDS or ARC. Some of us are somewhat tired of the hierarchical paternalism which always has "the well" — whether gay or non-gay is irrelevant — chosen as spokespersons for us.

I will not own the medically and media-induced belief in the "inevitable death" from AIDS/ARC. Such a belief pattern only contributes to the "life-threatening" aspects of the disease, and what we should be about is learning to own life in its fullness, even as Jesus said, "I am come to bring Life . . ."

Is there a lesson for living in this AIDS crisis or only a farewell? As a person diagnosed with ARC, I must die a little and be reborn a little and live a little each

moment. It is ridiculous to dwell on sickness and death like some Thomas Mann character. I will need all of my strength — and possibly more — along the way.

My eyes overflow. I know how to die (all of us do; it's the one thing at which no one's ever failed). But do I know how to live? It is in the control and the letting go; the ability to find that special moment and the going with the flow of Becoming and Being that I find my wholeness and strength through the universal and indwelling Christ of God.

**Mikhael Francis-Maria Itkin**  
Syro-Chaldean Communion  
San Francisco, Cal.

## Larnin' a lesson

I enclose a check for a copy of the September 1985 issue, which I trust is still available. I have received the December issue, with reader reactions to the September issue, my copy of which I gave away and don't know how to go about getting back.

It should just "larn" me not to give away issues until after receipt of the reactions, far too often from persons who themselves need a great deal more larnin'.

**Fred R. Methered**  
Honolulu, Hawaii

## Wayward WITNESS

I am grateful for your magazine, since it provides an effective inoculation against stupidity, self-justification, and heresy. Just a smidgen of your publication builds up great reservoirs of anti-bodies against its pernicious teaching. In that, you perform a service.

Discussing THE WITNESS with a bishop friend, I tried to fathom the depth of your waywardness by suggesting that perhaps you do not know the Biblical revelation. He replied with piercing accuracy, "Oh, they know it well enough. They just don't like it."

**The Rev. Bruce W. Coggin**  
Cleburne, Tex.

## Agrees with Guinan

I want you to know how much I enjoyed James Guinan's "The Church in a Frozen Revolution" (January WITNESS). I am now retired, but spent 13 years in the south Caribbean, mostly in the Province of the West Indies — specifically in Guayana, Trinidad, Tobago, Curacao and Venezuela.

All that he says about Carriacou is true of the places I have mentioned except possibly Venezuela. In Curacao, the Anglican Church is largely made up of immigrant West Indians who came there a generation or less ago to work in the Shell Oil refinery, and so they are a microcosm of all the West Indies. I have never been to Grenada, although it is almost visible from Tobago on a clear day. There are many Grenadians in Trinidad and Tobago.

I agree heartily with Guinan's evaluation of the Anglican Church in that Province as I knew it. I was in Trinidad the longest, and I believe that diocese is less infected with a pseudo-Romanism than is the case with the Windward Islands and especially Antigua. Codrington was an ostrich with its head in the sand and unaware of the yeastly life going on. Ornate liturgy would cure everything! Is there any hope?

**The Rev. Howard R. Kunkle**  
Ft. Scott, Kans.

## Picking up the banner

Many thanks for the December issue of THE WITNESS. Brad Taylor's reflection, "Who Will Carry the Banner?" is appreciated.

WITNESS readers may wish to know, more specifically, why the demonstration sponsored by the Brandywine Peace Community at General Electric took place. GE, the fourth largest war contractor in the United States, consumes about \$13 million each day from the public treasury in war contracting. GE's Space Division, headquartered in Valley

*Continued on page 17*



## Lent and the 'right stuff'

**L**ent is a fitting time to think about heroes and sacrifices, particularly as memories of the Challenger disaster linger on. This month also brings Central America Week (March 16-24), a time to commemorate those who heroically worked, suffered and died in the endless struggle for peace with justice in Central America.

What is heroism? Is it one dramatic gesture, the sacrificing of oneself for a cause, the pursuit of a dream? Or can heroism be more unassuming: daily, unromantic work carried on in the context of grave danger?

On January 28, when the deadly fireball of flame and vapor streaking across the Florida sky filled TV screens, the nation watched and wept for the Challenger astronauts who died so tragically. From the President on down, Americans mourned. Our hearts were in the capsule-tomb with Smith, Scobee, McNair, Onizuka, Jarvis, Resnik and McAuliffe.

In stark contrast — less than six years ago when roses bloomed in a Salvadoran December — four American women were raped and murdered. And the U.S. government turned its back. Shocked Americans were outraged by the pictures of their brutalized bodies being dragged by ropes out of a shallow grave. Had that event received any measure of the Challenger publicity, it could have been a catalyst for real grassroots action to end corruption and U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

The government, however, did not praise the heroic sacrifice of Ita Ford,

Maura Clarke, Dorothy Kazel and Jean Donovan, nor even mourn them as innocent victims. The work of the three nuns and lay missionary as advocates for the poor was a threat to those in power, their deaths an embarrassing reminder that the United States was supporting a corrupt regime. Politicians and militarists must define their heroes with great care, and ideologies can transform heroes into villains.

Thus, in coverup, Jeane Kirkpatrick, President Reagan's choice of Ambassador to the United Nations, was quoted 14 days after the death of the women: "I don't think the government (of El Salvador) was responsible. The nuns were not just nuns. The nuns were also political activists."

And Secretary of Defense Alexander Haig: "Some of the investigations would lead one to believe that perhaps the vehicle the nuns were riding in may have tried to run a roadblock . . . and there may have been an exchange of fire." (Evoking *Harper's* wry comment, "On Capitol Hill fascinated spectators called it, 'The Day the Nuns Attacked the Soldiers.'")

The tragedy of the Challenger was so poignant because it was the deferring of a dream — space exploration. For the first time a civilian-teacher, Christa McAuliffe, was to widen that horizon for all of us, her pupils. The tragedy of the murders in El Salvador was obscured by a violent political cross-fire of propaganda and confusion where "subversives" preached the Gospel and "friends of democracy" terrorized the people.

Other contrasts haunt us. The Chal-

lenger crew faced risk, but were also buoyed by the confidence born of previous successful missions. Ford, Clarke, Kazel and Donovan confronted danger every day. They buried the mutilated bodies of friends and neighbors. Their deaths Dec. 2, 1980 were among the hundreds in Central America that day. They could easily have left El Salvador. They never did.

The Challenger crew left on their final mission with the support of cheering crowds. When the four women set out on their last journey, there was no one to bid them farewell but their murderers.

Heroes are potent figures in life, sometimes more so in death. We must take care that we do not let politicians and propagandists, solely, define our heroes for us.

Today, we proudly inscribe the names of the seven astronauts in our archives of national heroes. And during Lent and Central America week, we prayerfully celebrate the lives of the four women in El Salvador who were carrying on the work of a hero who lived long ago, a certain "subversive" Nazarene named Jesus.



Ford, Kazel, Donovan, Clarke



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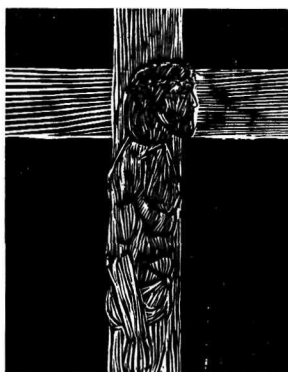
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Simon of Cyrene helps Jesus (woodcut, Tracy Councill)

# The powerlessness of Jesus Christ

by John Shelby Spong

**H**oly Week confronts us with a powerless Christ. The portrait is that of the victim, not the victor. Jesus is arrested. No one contests that arrest. When the story was written down some two or more generations later, the absence of resistance was embarrassing, and so it was softened. One account suggested that the arrest was at Jesus' command. Another said that at least Peter tried to resist and he was rebuked by the master. These are kinder sentiments, but hardly historic. This was the powerless Christ, the victim Christ; betrayed, arrested, condemned. He had no way of escape. He endured the indignities of a prisoner. His privacy was invaded, his personal belongings were confiscated. He was separated from his friends, interrogated in accusatory terms, beaten, mocked, tortured, crucified, killed. Holy Week ends with the picture of his broken body limp and lifeless, hanging from a cross. A powerless person.

The church has trouble with that portrait. We are quick to clothe that dead body with regal robes or to turn that crown of thorns into the crown of kingly power. We endure Good Friday only to get to Easter. A powerless Christ is not an appealing image, particularly for a church that historically has always been a seeker of power.

The powerlessness of Good Friday is not an aberration in the story of Jesus. It is rather, a vivid final expression of that which his life was always about. When he confronted the jealous ambitions of the disciples he placed a child into their

---

**The Rt. Rev. John Shelby Spong** is Bishop of the Diocese of Newark.

midst — a powerless child — and said, “Unless you become as little children you cannot enter the Kingdom of God.” On other occasions he said, “He who would be great among you must be servant. The last shall be first.” The fourth Gospel shows us a Jesus who washed the disciples’ feet, performing a menial task of the servant. In his teaching Jesus chose the powerless Samaritan over the powerful priest and Levite to be his hero. He chose the pathetic Lazarus, eating the crumbs that fell from the master’s table, rather than the rich man Dives who dined sumptuously. Jesus responded to the woman of the street — a powerless person — rather than to Simon the Pharisee, in whose home he was a guest. The message of this Jesus in his words and in his deeds was the message of humble servitude, the message of powerlessness.

That message finds its ultimate expression in the powerlessness of the crucified one. It is not a comfortable note of the Gospel but it is an essential note. We hurry past it to enjoy the triumphalism of Easter, Ascension, and Pentecost, all of which draw us magnetically. The defeat of the cross repels us. We know how to relate to victory; we seek to avoid defeat. We respond to power far more easily than to powerlessness. The church needs to resist the temptation to rush beyond the cross and to linger in the story of the passion until the call to become servants of a powerless Christ is felt.

In so much of our history, the Christian church has been a power-seeking institution. The church’s ordained ministry has been the beneficiary of that power. We have basked in the status of our institution. In past eras, the church has ruled the world. We have as an institution made kings and removed them, started wars and ended them, identified enemies and executed them. We have brokered power in exchange for life and sometimes in exchange for integrity. It is a strange history for an institution that claims to follow the powerless one. Time

after time we have adopted the symbols and images of power. We took the Eucharist and made the one who served the Eucharistic meal a person of power. Serving the people of God at the table — the traditional role of the servant — has become the very source of the power of the priesthood. “Which is greater” our Lord said, “the one who dines or the one who serves?”

But we have reversed the power equation in the Eucharist. In every way possible we say as an institution that the one who serves is greater. That one is called the rector or ruler. That one is called father. The power role in the patriarchal society is the title applied to the priest. We have identified the priesthood as the higher calling. We have attached reverend to the priest’s name. The priest is the revered one. The priest who becomes a bishop is the right revered, or the most revered one. The Bishop of Rome who claims to head the universal church is referred to by the not immodest title, His Holiness. We identify our priestly status by a little cross beside our names. No one can miss our claims to holiness, our identity with power and favor.

Corporately the church, which is dominated by the ordained, states the desires of the ordained in the way we relate to that priest we choose to be our bishop. We clothe our bishops with crowns and royal capes. We house them in homes called palaces. We seat them on chairs called thrones. We place the royal ring on their fingers and the royal sceptre, called a crozier, in their hands. Not coincidentally, we call them prelates or princes of the church. Is it any wonder that the Christian church reflecting these claims to status refuses to gaze for very long at the powerless Jesus of Good Friday or to listen with much attentiveness to his constant message of powerlessness? This Jesus of the passion narrative is heard calling his disciples to emulate his teaching, to walk the way of the cross, to embrace the vocation of

powerlessness, to accept the role of the servant. That is not a popular message for us save in our rhetoric, so we confine that message to the prison of our words.

We place that concept into an isolated holy place where lip service to it becomes our only duty. We talk about the servant church or the priesthood as the servant class. It sounds good to our ears but we are careful never to act it out and none of our symbols affirm that image. We prefer to dwell in the illusion of our ecclesiastical power.

The church in our day, however, is rapidly losing its temporal power. We no longer govern nations or make kings. We have been forced to retreat from the center of life to our present position on life’s periphery. Members of the priesthood continue to pretend that we have status but our morale crisis betrays that pretention. Our profession is badly divided, deeply competitive, under tax pressure from local municipalities, and victimized by bureaucratic rulings in the Internal Revenue Service. We are looked upon by large segments of our society as benign, ineffective do-gooders; as irrelevant, non-productive members of the social order. We suffer a crisis of confidence. We lack symbols of affirmation. We are not well paid. We have never been well paid, but once we were well valued. Now that has been taken from us.

We attempt to justify ourselves in countless ways. Some undervalued priests become workaholics in a vain attempt to win respect and gain value. Others focus on tangential skills of the priesthood, becoming pastoral counselors, consultants, community workers, in the frantic effort to regain power. In our powerless state we cling even more desperately to our ancient symbols of power. Sometimes we shrink our orbit which once embraced the whole world and all time, into the narrow confines of our small churches and for the space of only the Sunday hour of worship. There, we pretend that the

world has not moved past the 13th century and that the priest is still the power person in the community. It is a rather pathetic game, a rather desperate attempt to claim that which we no longer are.

The church today is not a powerful institution. The clergy — the bishops, priests, and deacons — are not powerful people in our society. Even when we band together and speak with a corporate voice as the Roman Catholic Bishops in America have done on peace and the economy, the political forces do not listen. The MX missile program passed the Senate despite the almost universal protest of the religious leadership of this nation. The safety net underneath the poor in this country has been all but removed despite the religious voices which are heard crying in the wilderness. Religious opposition to the death penalty has not prevented it from being reinstated in state after state. The Christian church's historic institutional quest for power has run its course and we have become increasingly powerless — not yet scorned and ridiculed, but powerless. Some of us feel hopeless, despairing, depressed, and fearful as to what the future holds for our institution and for our profession.

The time has come to look anew at our Christ! Was power ever his goal? Should it ever have been the goal for His church? Was earthly status and prestige ever meant to be the marks of the church's ministry? Has not the day come when we must rethink the meaning of servanthood as the church's vocation — a vocation not in rhetoric, but in fact? Should we not begin to lay down our claims to power, our titles, our pretensions, and in a radical way learn how to follow the powerless Christ, how to walk the powerless way of the cross in the 20th century? Can our real contribution to the world ever be measured by the power standards of success? Is it not time we stopped competing in that arena? No one can identify the leaven when the bread has been

baked. No one can isolate the salt when the banquet is fully seasoned.

Our Lord Jesus Christ did not accomplish his work by winning. He did not meet power with power. His was the life of the victim. He was the powerless person who drained the evil of life out of the hearts of men and women and restored them to wholeness. He was the servant who, for their sakes, gave his life to them without defense or justification. His task was to bear witness to the love of God, not to win the battles, not to impress the world, not to lord it over other people. He was a powerless Christ.

This church of ours is being driven in our day to emulate this powerless Christ. Many, especially among the ordained, see it as defeat, as the end of the Christian era. I believe that it presents us with the opportunity to be faithful and true to our vocations in a way that has not been possible at least since the time of Constantine.

Holy Week draws us to the altar. We come as a servant priesthood serving in an increasingly powerless church. But the Lord of that church reminds us by the events of this week that He is the powerless Christ — the Christ of Holy Week, the Christ of Good Friday, the victim and not the victor. Our call in our day is to learn to be a powerless priesthood, to rejoice in it rather than to bemoan it, to see it as an opportunity and not as a defeat. We need to work out what that means for our lives, for our justification, for our future. In this period of transition we need to call each other to that priestly vocation of powerlessness which has been ours since the dawn of the Christian era but which we, blinded by our symbols of power and authority, have so often failed to see.

This generation of ordained people is privileged, but only because we cannot avoid facing that which we were always meant to be — a powerless priesthood, dedicated to serving our world in the name of our powerless Christ. ■

## Episcopal woman bishop, Roman women priests?

**T**he Rt. Rev. John S. Spong, Bishop of Newark, who wrote the lead article in this issue, has proposed that a woman be elected Suffragan Bishop to his diocese.

While not formally calling for the election, he raised the possibility recently in his column in the diocesan paper, *The Voice*. Assuming a positive response, it would be reasonable to anticipate a formal call in the near future.

About the same time that Spong wrote his column, the National Coalition of American Nuns (NCAN) called upon retired Catholic bishops to consider defying Rome by ordaining women.

The 1,800 member organization said, "We extend our invitation to retired Catholic bishops because we recognize that they have nothing to lose; neither promotion to positions of higher jurisdiction nor to a red hat."

Among the 370 Roman Catholic bishops in the United States, some 80 are retired.

"The courageous example of our Episcopalian sisters who were ordained more than 10 years ago gives us hope," NCAN said.

In another development in the Diocese of Newark, its annual convention passed a resolution urging the Church Pension Fund "to divest with all deliberate speed from companies doing business in South Africa," and establish a voluntary escrow account to be used if and when CPF trustees fail to comply. The resolution's timetable specified that the CPF at its April meeting begin to implement divestment from the 12 companies cited by the National Council of Churches, and by the following meeting implement divestment from all companies not complying with the Sullivan Principles. ■



# Short Takes

## Reinventing democracy

Today we have the opportunity to reinvent democracy, and once more make the state serve the well-being of the citizens. We cannot hope to remove the nuclear threat, or even to reduce it drastically, without reconceiving citizenship and revitalizing democracy . . . A final cautionary note: these long-term goals are associated with transforming the state by rejecting the logic of military power as the essence of security. Such an undertaking need not displace more immediate efforts to moderate the dangers that this logic produces. It can be useful to work against MX, Star Wars or Trident II, or on behalf of some forms of arms control. But these activities must not foster the grand illusion that we can get rid of the nuclear threat without liberating the state from militarism.

— Richard Falk

*Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, 8/85*

## Berrigan, AIDS victims

The Rev. Daniel Berrigan, noted Jesuit peace activist (Catonsville and Plowshares) and author, is currently working with AIDS patients at St. Vincent's Hospice in Greenwich Village.

"I work with young males for whom a hole has opened in the universe through which they have fallen. It's going to get much worse. I was helped in my decision by the image of my grandfather who died at age 45 of what was then called 'immigrants disease' — tuberculosis. By this label, he was stigmatized in life and death.

"Every age wants a scapegoat. Currently the same aura and fear is growing around AIDS victims. We might bear in mind the image of St. Francis kissing the leper, or Rose Hawthorne — Nathaniel's daughter — and her group of nuns caring for the poor dying of cancer at a time when cancer among the poor was rewarded by shipping them off to an island used as a kind of latter-day leprosarium."

— Jennifer Marrs

*The Hartford Advocate*

On the day the God-man underwent the death penalty, he abolished it.

Victor Hugo

## Let us pray

**Disturb us, Lord, when we are too well pleased with ourselves, when our dreams have come true because we dreamed too little, when we arrived safely because we sailed too close to the shore.**

**Disturb us, Lord, when with the abundance of things we possess, we have lost our thirst for the waters of life; when having fallen in love with life; we have ceased to dream of eternity; and in our efforts to build the new earth, we have allowed our vision of the new heaven to dim.**

**Stir us, Lord, to dare more boldly, to venture on wider seas, where storms will show your mastery; where losing sight of land, we shall find stars. We ask you to push back the horizons of our hopes, and to push us into the future in strength, courage, hope and love as we are fed, as we share and as we go forth from this place to serve you. All this we ask in Jesus' name. Amen.**

— adapted from a prayer by David Hardman

Quoted by Canon Charles Minifie  
*Cathedral Age Fall '85*

## Proof it!

Some recent published evidence that a single letter can make a big difference:

*The Wall Street Journal*, referring to the decline in the number of persons affiliated with certain large U.S. Protestant denominations, observed that "membership in the old mainline churches is swindling" . . .

*Newslog* of the Associated Church Press passed along word of a position vacancy in the London-based World Association for Christian Communication. Among the qualifications: "The person should be a committee Christian . . ."

*Context* heard of a college summer school advertisement with a photograph of a teacher who had written on the blackboard: "Judo-Christian teaching". To which a correspondent retorted, "Give us a few black belts and we'll take on the lions!"

"Notebook," *One World*

## FDR's tragic flaw

The conclusion of Hugh Gallagher's exceptional biography, *FDR's Splendid Deception*, notes that FDR's greatness has never been genuinely appreciated by the American people. Plans for a monument commensurate with tributes to Washington, Jefferson and Lincoln have long been accepted, but construction has never been initiated.

The basic flaw in FDR's historical image is the absence of a sense of identity as a disabled man. He failed to realize that he was part of a minority group engaged in a continuous struggle for equal rights. Ironically, Roosevelt's oppression also has seemed to prevent Americans from recognizing him as an authentic national hero.

Gallagher's volume, which resonates with the disability experience, ought to be read by all disabled men and women who are grappling with their own identities. Perhaps an essential foundation for this process is an awareness that the appearance of disability can be a source of dignity and pride. This consciousness might eventually enable artists to erect a statue of Roosevelt using the wheelchair in which he refused to be photographed.

— Harlan Hahn

*Mainstream 7/85*

## War

Held to be a crime when committed by individuals, homicide is called a virtue when committed by the state.

St. Cyprian (200 A.D.)  
quoted in EPF Newsletter

## Nicaraguan difference

I've traveled in Third World countries before. I've seen poor people, living in shacks, dressed in rumpled, used-up clothing, their shoulders bent, their faces tired, simply from trying to live. Though the poverty was evident, something in Nicaragua was very different. There was something about the people — an unmistakable dignity. "Nicaragua libre, viva, Nicaragua." They say the word "libre" as if it were gold, or the name of their only child.

Sharon D'Amico  
St. Ann's, Sayville, N.Y.  
in *Peace Offerings*



Paul Alberts

**Sheena Duncan**  
**Black Sash president**

Not a karate match

# Black Sash fights apartheid

by Barbara M'Cready Sykes

Not long ago a senior official in South Africa's government was asked what he thought of the women in Black Sash.

"I hate them," he said, "we all do."  
"Why?"

Angrily, "Because they are the conscience of this nation!"

He was not referring to a group of female karate experts nor to an acronym for some Society Against Something or other — Black Sash is sometimes called simply Sash — although stalwart women and a hatred of injustice are Black Sash's leading characteristics. Black Sash is an organization of some 2,000 women, most of them White, who hardly let a day go by without protesting against apartheid — and doing what they can to fight it.

Thirty years ago the organization came into being when the National Party in South Africa, intent on establishing complete White supremacy, decided to deprive the Coloured (mixed-race) people of the right to vote although the franchise had been guaranteed to them in the constitution of 1910. The Afrikaans-speaking Nationalists could only achieve this deprivation by packing the Senate and the Appellate Court and they proceeded to do so, much to the consternation of the English-speaking Whites who feared that

the Afrikaaners might even go so far some day to discriminate against *them*. (For example, decree that English would no longer be one of the two official languages, also promised in the constitution.) The stock market dropped, lawyers and businessmen and army officers issued protests, some families talked about leaving the country, but the matter was generally accepted as a fait accompli.

Except by six women of British descent who, having tea together in Johannesburg one afternoon, decided they should do something about it. They knew very little about politics but they knew that the constitution was being flouted. They went to their telephones and each woman called six women of her acquaintance and they each called six more and within a few weeks 100,000 people had signed their petitions of protest. Soon groups of women started appearing in public and official places wearing black sashes diagonally from their shoulders to their waists and carrying posters saying "Honour the Constitution" in both English and Afrikaans.

They stood in silence and imperturbably ignored the laughter and abuse that greeted them, and tried to ignore the occasional egg and tomato that were thrown — even long hatpins were flourished alarmingly near. (Women have never been taken very seriously in South Africa.) They held all-night vigils in town and village squares, they organized lectures, they rode in a thousand-mile mo-

torcade to Capetown to take up their accusing stand at the opening of the newly-packed parliament. The newspapers made much of them, partly scornfully, partly admiringly, but the government paid no attention to them, other than to refuse to accept their petitions, to evict them from the galleries and to confiscate their sashes. Their protests were to no avail and the Coloureds were deprived of the vote.

Truth to tell, in the beginning most of the women had actually been more upset about the insult to the constitution than about the Coloured vote. They knew very little about the plight of the Coloured and Black peoples. But in the process of protesting they learned a great deal and their eyes and minds were soon opened. They resolved not to disband the organization (although much of their membership had melted away) and within a very few years came out squarely against apartheid.

Most of the members were English-speaking; for them this stand meant a sharp break with most of their community; and for the few Afrikaaner women it meant practically social ostracism. Believing it would be banned by the government or harried by the police if it became a multiracial group and since there were no Coloured or Black women voters, Black Sash thought it would be more effective if it were wholly White; today it is a closely-knit sisterhood with some Coloured and Black members

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**Barbara M'Cready Sykes** is a free-lance journalist living in Harwichport, Mass., who has a long-time interest in Black Sash and social justice in South Africa.

(people of color now have their own vigorous organizations fighting apartheid) and an increasing number of dedicated Afrikaaner women.

What does Black Sash do? First, it protests publicly and incessantly against the legislation that makes apartheid legal: against the pass laws which dictate where and how Blacks can live and work; against the forced removals of entire Black communities to undeveloped areas and their former homesites being given over to White purposes; against the assigning of Blacks to so-called homelands (comprising 14% of South Africa and often barren regions with which the Blacks have had no connection whatever) and then depriving them of their South African citizenship; against indefinite detention in prison without trial; against, according to its constitution, "any law or action that diminishes the right and freedom of the individual." Legislation is constantly being passed by the government to implement new apartheid regulations (only a very few minor ones have been rescinded) and members carefully study both the laws and their effects and tirelessly publicize their findings. They join in meetings and protests with other anti-apartheid groups and still stand on occasion, black-sashed and silent, in public places — protesting, for example, the lifting of Bishop Tutu's passport or the continuation of national conscription. Since the government has banned outdoor gatherings (a gathering is defined as more than one person coming together) each woman must now stand out of sight of the next woman. Members regularly visit Black townships, removal areas, hostels for migrant workers and the extremely inadequate schools and write reports on conditions in them which are published in their own magazine, *Sash*. Since radio and television are totally controlled by the government and there is a very subtle kind of censorship of the press, if it were not for "*Sash*" many of the cruelties and hu-

miliations of apartheid would never be known.

For almost 30 years Black Sash has run its seven Advice Offices, scattered throughout the country and open to anyone who comes in. Here members sit down in one-to-one consultation to help the Black people cope with and to surmount the difficulties and the degradations that the pass laws daily impose upon them. Blacks over 16 years must carry at all times pass or "reference" books containing their fingerprints, their ethnic origin, their tax payments, their work records, any detail the police find interesting. If the bearer cannot instantly produce a pass book up-to-date and in perfect order he or she can be immediately arrested. Blacks cannot leave their homeland to visit another area for more than 72 hours without laboriously ob-

taining permits from both the place they are leaving and the place they want to visit. People come for advice about getting their names on housing lists, about improper race classifications, about proving rights to live or work in urban areas, about permits to have a lodger or be a lodger, about searching for missing children.

A widow and her children are about to be dispossessed because it was the father of the family only who held a residential permit; a youth must get his first pass book and wants help about changing the job category he has arbitrarily been put into; an older man comes in despair because he has been discovered working illegally (as thousands do, at the only jobs they can find) and now he is to be dumped in a homeland where he has never been and where probably there will be



Members of Black Sash lined the railings of the Houses of Parliament, Cape Town, in a continuous vigil in 1956.

Mirabel Rogers



no job for him at all. The mass of repressive regulations has been directly or indirectly the cause of breaking up an enormous number of families, of jobs and opportunities lost, of skills and energies wasted. Yet these pass laws are one of the cornerstones of apartheid and so complex that most lawyers shun them.

The Black Sash Advice Offices provide clarification and paralegal aid and find lawyers when necessary. Rural workshops on these matters are set up by Black Sash, often working with the South African Council of Churches, and although it is not a member of the United Democratic Front, a much admired league of hundreds of anti-apartheid groups headed by the Rev. Allan Boesak, it has observer status with it.

What are the goals of Black Sash, beyond an end to apartheid? Black Sash is pledged to non-violence and it believes that the political conflict can and should be ended by means of a national convention. It calls for a universal franchise; once that principle is accepted, constitutional ways of protecting individual rights and security can be agreed upon. At its conference this Spring its president Sheena Duncan said: "We in the Black Sash have always been concerned with the victims, the excluded, the poor, the dispossessed. Our task is to find the non-violent ways in which power can be transferred to the powerless — not in any desire for the defeat or subjugation of the presently powerful, but in the true longing for a society in which equal distribution of powers will lead to peace and justice preserved in that creative tension which exists between conflicting interests of equal strength."

Addressing two forthright questions to the government and the business community, Mrs. Duncan asked: "Are you prepared to risk everything to be a partner in that creative tension? Or will you wait to be destroyed because you have never been able to show that you mean what you say?" ■

## A profile of Leah Tutu

**Q**uestion: "What does it feel like to be under constant surveillance by security forces?"

Answer: "It feels very safe."

She says this with a comfortable chuckle, then continues, more seriously, "... at least you know the identity of the assassin."

Leah Tutu was talking about one aspect of her daily life in South Africa. On a brief visit to European agencies which support the South African Council of Churches, she spoke to people in the Ecumenical Centre in Geneva who had gathered to meet the woman who is as involved as her husband, Desmond, the Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, in the struggle to bring about change at home. And she says change is happening every day. "Things move so fast in my country. I've just left there, but what I tell you today may already be out of date."

"We are going to be free — I can see it coming — and let's hope it's a reality before a lot of blood is shed. Because there are still unchanged aspects of our daily life: tear gas in Black areas, army vehicles roaming freely, picking up people at will, children taken from schoolyards and on their way to school — many simply kept in police detention."

"Our government says there are changes in the pass laws, but that is not true. The offices where Blacks without passes are processed are as crowded as ever."

Leah Tutu is director of a domestic

workers' employment project, creating jobs and fairer conditions for these often abused laborers. She is at the nucleus of a group of Soweto residents who want the government to pull the army out of Black townships, under threat of a total boycott of businesses run and owned by Whites.

"Those whom I know and for whom I can speak want the boycott," she says, "and I'm told that many others want it as well. Because we want change."

"White South Africans have not suffered. So they say it's Blacks who would be most affected by a boycott. But we are suffering already, and we don't hold all the Krugerrands which buy the luxuries for Whites. We don't have so much to lose."

Leah Tutu is especially concerned about what happens to children who grow up under a state of siege in Black townships. "One of the hardest things to be in South Africa today is a parent," she says. "If your children are late, you have to worry whether they are in jail or being tear-gassed or stoned."

The Tutus have reared four children. Only the youngest is still a student. Their mother feels that young people in South Africa have come a long way in expressing their anger over the racist government and unjust social system under which they live.

She was aware of segregation when she was growing up in the 1930s and 40s, she says, recalling the time when she suddenly recognized that there were two categories of people in her country.

"I was 12, and about to be communicated into the Anglican Church. I needed to buy a little hat. They wouldn't let me try it on. The White girls were

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**Monique McClellan** is a radio producer in the World Council of Church's News and Information Office. Her profile of Leah Tutu appeared originally in *One World*, Vol. 111.



## by Monique McClellan

allowed to try theirs on.”

There were many more painful incidents to come, but she says it took her until the 1960s, when she was already married and a mother herself, to realize that she was not going to take things the way she had in the past, sitting down. And she brought up her children in that spirit.

Now she says it would worry her if her children were the way she was at the same age. “Of course, I worry about them in a different way: I might lose them because of their commitment. But my feeling can’t dominate my thinking.”

She sees part of her work as being available to support others with her presence in police stations or courts. News of arrests or police harassment travels fast on the township grapevines.

“Some time ago reports came in about arrests of children. When a group of women got to the police station, more vehicles arrived, full of children who had been taken from school.

“The mothers formed a human chain to stop the cars from driving into the compound, but they reversed and entered through another gate. Confronted by a chain of policemen with dogs, the women were completely helpless.

“The next morning we all went to the court where the children would appear. Some had been released the night before. But all the mothers came. The police had chosen a large room, because there were many children.

“Each name would be called out and they appeared one by one. After several names, there appeared a boy who looked no older than six. There were gasps, one of them from my son, who had not been

detained but came along to support.

“My son has a very loud voice — obviously,” she says with a smile, “and a policeman jumped up, grabbed him and took him out by his jacket. I jumped up and followed, and a young man appeared, who told me he was an attorney. I immediately instructed him to act for my son.

“The police quickly separated us, not permitting contact. But the attorney shouted after him: ‘Don’t say anything, Trevor! Don’t answer any questions!’

“The police kept him for 14 days, without charge. Then they released him to the family. And, thank God, they had not assaulted him.”

Leah Tutu is convinced that the many random arrests are also a source of income for the government. “They arrest so many people for no reason, and then they ask for bail. Especially where children are concerned, there is nobody who

wouldn’t scrape their last coins together to bail them out. With every arrest, we are afraid of the deaths that occur during detention.”

She pauses, then adds with a smile, “Just the interest on the bail money should be enough to run the country.”

For someone living under the pressure she does, Leah looks surprisingly composed and calm. A person who travelled with her said, “She can hold her own. She’s an individual. She stands next to Desmond, not in his shadow.”

But Leah herself puts it more modestly. “I’m just like any other mother in my concern for my children,” she says, “just like any wife in my concern for my husband. There is nothing unique about me at all.”

She says she wanted a normal family life, “like all women,” and that hers has actually turned out to be that. “If Desmond hadn’t from the very beginning



Leah Tutu

Terry Foss/AFSC

talked with me about his ideas, and what he had to do to fight racism, and acted on it, only *then* our life wouldn't have been normal.

"We discussed what he would do beforehand. Sometimes I worry about his safety, or about detention, but that never means that I would have preferred him quiet."

Living as a Black woman in South Africa today the way she does, nurturing life under the threat of death, makes her quite special — certainly in the eyes of those who live outside that volatile situation. She does not see different roles for men and women in the struggle for an end to racial oppression, and she is prepared to be in the forefront of resistance to the apartheid regime.

"The police don't treat women any differently from men. Women stand the same banning orders. I think that when the women who are arrested at present are sentenced, the courts will not exercise leniency. If anything, they may be harder." ■

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### Present tense suffering

"Once suggestions are made about how governments can help destroy apartheid, we hear the same sweet talk, 'But Blacks will be the first to suffer,'" Leah Tutu told the American Friends annual public gathering in Philadelphia recently.

"What makes you worry about future suffering if my present suffering is nothing to you?" she asked. Then she admonished, "Be honest. Just say, 'sanctions and disinvestment will hurt our profits and balance of payments, as well, of course, as hurting Blacks in South Africa.' It is OK for Blacks to suffer as long as they suffer alone, that's what we seem to be reading.

"The western philosophy of democracy, equality and freedom for all is being tested. The western countries are asked to put their actions where their mouths are. Are they going to do it?"

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## Random thoughts from

*Helen Woodson, mother of 11 children, joined a Plowshares action to jackhammer a Minuteman II missile silo in Kansas in November, 1984. Sentenced to 18 years, she noted her first anniversary at Alderson Women's Prison recently with the following meditation, and adds a P.S. about the commutation of her sentence to 1996.*

As a result of atomic testing, women in the Marshall Islands are having "jellyfish" babies, blobs of tissue with no skeletal structure. In their ignorance, they think it's their fault. Meanwhile Americans continue to pay taxes and allow the missiles in their cornfields. In their sophistication, they know it's not their fault . . . A friend from DC Jail is here doing 18 years for attempted murder. "And you," she said, "are doing 18 years for attempted non-murder. The country's crazy!" She has never read Merton but would probably enjoy his reflection on mental health in a world in which Adolph Eichman is legally sane.

We laughed so much in the court holding cells that one marshal slammed the door in anger. I guess when missile death expresses the national mentality, joy is indeed an outrage . . . A child from Nebraska wrote that she was uncertain about our action until her teacher explained the difference between God's law and human law. She said her original hesitation may have had something to do with the fact that her father is police chief . . . My Kansas cellmate remembered being committed into the custody of the Attorney General and asked about that position. Upon my explanation, she said she didn't mind prison, but she ab-

solutely deplored being so closely associated with professional criminals . . . Someone wrote that he hopes my time passes quickly, but I pray the opposite. This is most of the rest of my life, and I'd kinda like to live it . . .

We sat up timing a sister's labor pains. She would return 3 days later without her child, but for those precious hours, we were just women together celebrating the miracle of life. Perhaps the continual cycle of taking in and letting go teaches women to live fully in the present moment . . . Those who think I should seek sentence reduction and accept parole ask if I do not wish to "save" myself. Even assuming that salvation emanates from the court, the question arises — save myself for what? Under the terms of law, I could renounce my act, refrain from further civil disobedience, pay for repairs to the missile silo, subject my personal life to official sanction and be "free." Somehow, prison seems the better deal, and I have a feeling God will take better care of my immortal soul than the 8th District of Missouri . . .

One of my students in the prison school said, "I can do real good. I could even get to be white." Here "whiteness" is a function of power. Niggers populate

# the first year in prison

by Helen Woodson

prisons and whitey runs 'em, and this applies even when the prisoner is Caucasian and the warden Black. It might be that the major problem in America today is avoiding criminality. The street criminal makes a living off the misery of others, and the judge, prosecutor and jailer make a living off the misery of others. For some reason, one avenue is legal and guarantees a good pension; the other isn't and doesn't. No one has yet explained to my satisfaction why that is . . .

While adults reel with confusion, my children seem unperturbed. At the county fair, they saw people paying to smash a junk auto with sledgehammers and ran over to engage in their own "Pow-shares," beating the unfortunate car and shouting, "Kick the Bomb!" At our visit, they entered happy and left happy, and when I said, "I love you," Jeremy replied, "I know." . . . I have lost my driver's license which could pose future testing problems because I never mastered parallel parking. I wrote the Department of Motor Vehicles that next time I take a truck into a missile silo, it will be illegal . . . The prosecutor says my continued refusal to comply with legal processes is "extremism." I guess in a country where MX is "peacekeeper" and 20,000,000 casualties from a "limited" nuclear exchange is "acceptable collateral damage," telling the truth and sticking to it *is* a bit extreme . . .

One can find in prison the despair and degradation of tormented people. I find much more the mutual support and re-

silient spirit of human beings who refuse to be crushed. When my illiterate cottage-mate started school, the sisters greeted her with cheers. On the street, she had hidden her "shame" for 20 years; here where there's nothing left to lose, she can be what she is and dream of something more . . . People say we're political prisoners and should be adopted by Amnesty International. I have a friend who nonviolently burglarized a hotel and got 75 years. She suffers a variety of problems relating to poverty and has almost no hope of anything more. Seeing as how decisions about who gets the goodies and who doesn't are political, the response of the oppressed is likewise political as is the punishment inflicted upon them. I wish someone would adopt my friend . . .

We are commended for our courage, strength and love. Christ said when people do all he has commanded, they are but ordinary servants. He also said, "My yoke is easy and my burden light." Now either Christ is a merciless tyrant with no concern for human frailty, either he is the biggest con artist of the millenium or he is right, and Christian duty is well within the grasp of ordinary people. I suspect the latter. After all, if Christianity were accessible only to a select few, why did Jesus go to such pains to recommend it to the weak and sinful? Besides, I feel very ordinary . . .

We must give thought to communicating the joy of resistance. We are acting not from despair but from a love and proper enjoyment of life. Do we leave

that behind at the silo gates? Gandhi spoke of entering prison as a spouse enters the marriage chamber, yet our focus is more often on suffering and sacrifice. If I were to nominate a spokesperson for the joy of resistance, it would be another of the Nebraska kids who wrote, "I believe in what you did and I'm happy for what you did. You are lucky that you were picked for the job. By the way, have a good time!"

Thank you, my friend. I will!  
P.S. The new release date is May 15, 1996. I would like lobster and two and a half Black Russians. I get lost looking for the bathroom after three, so dignity will be maintained. ■

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## Good Friday

And some truth begins to dawn . . .

that the ground we stand on is firm  
firm enough to hold a cross.

that the cross is firm  
firm enough to hold a life.

that life is firm  
firm enough to hold the depths  
of pain and love.

that love is firm  
firm enough to reach out to us  
in our alienation, in our sin, in  
our fear, in our wonder.

We stand today on solid ground  
for God shares our ground  
and risks pain and death to say  
to each of us and all of us  
that we are loved, accepted, cared for,  
forgiven, companioned.

The ground is firm . . .

It is we who tremble.

— Kenneth Ian MacDonald

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**S**teven Guerra, a member of the Board of Directors of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, is completing a three year jail sentence in La Tuna, New Mex. for refusing, as an act of conscience to testify before a Federal Grand Jury investigating the FALN. He is shown above with his wife Nancy during their Christmas visit. Guerra sent the accompanying open letter to **THE WITNESS** recently. Though never charged with a crime, he and four other Hispanics have been labeled "FALN terrorists" by the FBI, a designation which has cost them an early parole. Others in prison are Maria Cueto, Julio and Andres Rosado, and Ricardo Romero. **THE WITNESS** will carry a story about their release in a future issue.

# Letter from prison

by Steven Guerra

**B**efore long I will be getting out. As you might imagine, I am starting to look long and hard at the calendar, for this is "my year" as they say in prison. By the time you receive this I should be about 40 days short of freedom (mid-April). Hopefully time will move forward quickly. I realize how foolish that may sound to you but in here, time has different characteristics. Sometimes it's fast, others slow. I now want it to be fast forward.

Still, upon reflection, I can say that although at times it did not seem so, we were really only here for a "minute." And for the last year or so I know I've felt better for it, for I have now gone through the ordeal and know like all else, jail, too, can be conquered.

It's funny, for they thought by jailing us they could isolate us and thus weaken our resolve; but what came to pass is exactly the opposite. We are certainly not isolated, and to be sure I, for one, am infinitely stronger in my conviction that the Grand Jury investigation was both illegal as well as immoral, and as far as Puerto Rico is concerned, the U.S. presence in our homeland is both repugnant and criminal.

Enclosed is a photo of Nancy and me, taken at a recent visit. As you might imagine, she is excited about my release as well. I am trying desperately to lose

the 15 pounds I put on while in the hole at Petersburg.

I've written a few new poems. I have about 25 in all, and a journal in Puerto Rico will be publishing some fragments of them just about when I get out. I guess now is a good time to share some with you. I cannot believe that it has been two years, for it seems so very much has changed, both personally and politically.

Well, here goes the Guerra method of mental agony — my poetry! This is called:

## Fragments of my exile

**I**  
 Having left behind the hell  
 of the mystics,  
 I stumbled into the hell  
 of the alchemists.  
 There I changed, from bad to good  
 and back again  
 Like magic.  
 I met those who  
 lacked both hearts and faces  
 I learned to lie loudly  
 and hold truth hostage  
 Until I was unable to distinguish  
 the faces of those  
 who crumbled secretly with fear  
 from those who  
 could not be taught to kneel.  
 And  
 now I know that  
 to lead is not a small thing  
 But,  
 there are things greater.



## II

In westtown there is a wall  
on which is written  
the story of my life.

*Duende loves Marianna forever  
Latin kings Rule.*

*Libertad para los Cinco Nacionalistas  
Six children died here*

† June 22, 1979 †

It is a wall which forgets nothing  
On it I played out  
a theatre of emotion  
Viva las FALN!

*Puerto Rico Libre — Cuesta lo que cuesta  
Duende loves Eva*

*Libertad para los Presos Politicos y P.D.G.*

It is a wall on which I plotted rebellion  
where I gave away my secrets  
to whoever was bored enough  
to stop and read,

where I translated profound words  
into common speech

In westtown there is a wall  
with a space on it  
for the final word  
is yet unwritten.

## III

A long time ago  
I, together with many  
of my fellow conspirators  
in Guatemala, Chile, Robbens Island,  
the Philippines and Palestine  
resolved never to change.

Our resolution, faith  
determination and hope  
was not born of anything special,  
Just the fact that we knew  
the day we stopped burning  
with love of freedom  
our people would begin  
to die of cold.

Well, you can see I feel a lot of conflicting emotions. I'm glad I went through this, though, for I am infinitely stronger and clearer about myself and my relationships to others.

OK, here's another poem, then I'll

close. I wrote this after some long conversations with my fellow Grand Jury resister Ricardo Romero while at Lewisburg.

**What is liberation?**

Someone I once loved asked me.

Answering quickly,

for I was younger and knew more then,  
I said it is the cry of the oppressed  
for bread and justice.

And now looking back

I can see it is so much more.

It is being gentle enough to love,  
having the courage to resist,  
the will to win

when everything around you is still dark  
and so cold.

Liberation, my friend,

I said, shouting into the night  
is a river that flows from  
Babylon to freedom.

It is a dialogue between  
their past and our future

It is the festival of life  
that burns like a fire  
in my bones.

And though I am today covered  
by the blanket of time

I know it to be carina  
the power of the poor in history  
struggle  
and  
transformation.

That's it for now. My love to everyone  
at THE WITNESS and all our friends  
everywhere. I send you my hopes for

**Justice and peace,  
Viva Puerto Rico libre.  
Steven Guerra**

*Steven*

## Letters . . . Continued from page 3

Forge, Pa., is producing DSCS III and other satellite systems for the command and control of U.S. nuclear war plans, as well as components for MX and Trident II first strike nuclear missiles, and is developing Star Wars related weapons.

We would welcome any and all who would want to pick up the banner to which Brad Taylor referred, and participate in our two day walk of conscience and nonviolent resistance to GE at Valley Forge, Holy Thursday and Good Friday, March 27, 28. For information call (215) 544-1818.

**Bob Smith  
Brandywine Peace Community**

## Issue goes to meeting

The November article by my neighbor, the Rev. James Lewis of Ann Arbor, entitled "How Honduras is Getting Fixed" carries so much truth that I wonder how every U.S. taxpayer can be alerted to the situation. Perhaps this article could be printed as a pamphlet and distributed by the thousands? Likewise, the article by Bishop Sturdie Downs, "A Christian from Nicaragua": "If you knew (you taxpayers) about the interventions by the United States and how your country created a National Guard which kept our people down, and how the multinationals exploited us, you would be out in the streets protesting." And Jim Levinson's testimony on Nicaragua should be given before the Congress and entered into the *Congressional Record*, that more Americans could read the truth.

Time does not permit me to comment on other articles in the November issue except to say that I am going to take my copy to the meeting of MICA (Michigan Interchurch Committee on Central American Human Rights).

I was also greatly impressed with your December issue. I share your concern that it would be disastrous to lose sight of the North-South contradiction. It certainly is "the fundamental problem which polarizes humanity."

**Sister Agnes Prendergast  
Adrian, Mich.**

# Looking backward, living forward

by Nathan E. Williams

A fascinating feature of a 1957 Plymouth station wagon my father once bought was a third seat which faced backwards. My brother and sisters and I used to compete for that seat. One time while traveling with a favorite uncle, we began to tease him from our outpost near the rear bumper. Uncle Rupert acknowledged us in his goodnatured way and said, "Turn around and pay attention to where you've been."

My uncle's remark is still good advice. It is possible to look backward to see, not just where we have been, but where we are going.

The prophet Zechariah once offered a humane and wholesome vision of the future to his people. A look backward toward Zechariah and those who followed him might afford us a glimpse of our own destiny.

*These are the words of the LORD of Hosts: Once again shall old men and old women sit in the streets of Jerusalem, each leaning on a stick because of their great age; and the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls, playing in the streets. These are the words of the LORD of Hosts: Even if it may seem impossible to the survivors of this nation on that day, will it also seem impossible to me?*

**Zechariah 8:4-7**

*I lifted my eyes and there I saw a man carrying a measuring-line. I asked him where he was going, and he said, 'To measure Jerusalem and see what should be its breadth and length.' Then, as the angel who talked with me was going away, another angel came out to meet him and said to him, Run to the young man there and tell him that Jerusalem shall be a city*

*without walls, so numerous shall be the men and cattle within it. I will be a wall of fire round her, says the LORD, and a glory in the midst of her.*

**Zechariah 2:1-5**

What an extraordinary vision this is! Old and young alike share city streets in safety, with mutual appreciation and respect. The city in which they live lies open to the world. The presence of God dwells in the midst of the city, and the security of God stands between the people and any potential adversaries.

Some 60 or 70 years after Zechariah a man called Nehemiah came to Jerusalem. Unlike Zechariah, he had no word from God. Nehemiah was a civil servant turned politician who had learned, while serving the king of Persia, that the city of his ancestors was without walls. The news depressed him terribly. A devout man, he prayed for the opportunity to help his people. The king of Persia was reluctant to part with Nehemiah's service, but he finally appointed him governor of Jerusalem.

Nehemiah arrived and quickly confirmed his worst expectations. He rallied the people saying, "We're defenseless. Someone might come and attack us. We must rebuild the walls." The people felt the need for security, and construction began. No sooner was work underway than neighbors to the north began to worry and accuse Jerusalem of hostile intentions. These neighbors threatened a pre-emptive strike to keep the walls from being built. Nehemiah accused them of escalating tensions, and responded.

He cut his work force by half to create a militia. The remaining half had its efficiency drastically reduced by the requirement that they wear weapons and battle dress to work. People were in-

creasingly fearful. Workers did not dare to leave the city to return home after work. They slept in the city with a guard standing watch. And, they slept in their clothes in order to be instantly responsive to an alarm.

The civilian population was economically oppressed to support the militia and build the walls. Adults mortgaged their homes, fields, and vineyards to buy food and pay taxes. Parents sold children into slavery for the same reasons. The elderly were reduced to begging. But, Jerusalem had walls, and the people, forgetful of Zechariah's vision of an open city and deceived into thinking they now had security, celebrated the walls with Nehemiah.

The society that lived within the walls was dismal. Most cities of the time allowed their gates to stand open during the day. In Nehemiah's Jerusalem the gates were shut and barred. Jerusalemites, in the time prior to Nehemiah, had married Ashdodites. Nehemiah ordered the persecution of all who had married non-Jews. He presided when people of mixed marriage were beaten and the hair was ripped from their heads. After torture he extracted signed pledges from people that they would not marry non-Jews or permit their children to marry them. Finally, he banished many dissenters from Jerusalem. The City of Peace had become a totalitarian nightmare. Children and the elderly avoided the streets.

Nehemiah, the politician of national security, came to the end of his life with a clear conscience praying, "Remember this to my credit, O God."

Uncle Rupert spoke more than he knew. We ought to look backward to see where we are going and not just where we have been. ■

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**The Rev. Nathan E. Williams, M. Div.,** is minister of the First Baptist Church of Pittsburgh.



## Life, liberty and the pursuit of duplicity

**A**s kids growing up we learned a lot about duplicity from adults, especially church folk who had a way of demanding public penance from “sinners” who got caught. We secretly mocked grown-ups for an ethical stance and posture that boiled down to “Don’t do as I do, do as I say.”

The lessons of duplicity are still around for the learning by the current generation. They can see the “morality” of their elders played out on a grand scale, this time by a government that loudly touts the sanctity of human rights — supposedly a pre-condition for its economic aid — while it selectively subsidizes the suppression of human liberties at home as well as abroad. The President’s recent fast-paced State of the Union message is a case in point. Like most of his Hollywood-hype-oriented pronouncements, it was long on rhetoric and short on substance in this area.

“To those imprisoned in regimes held captive, to those beaten for daring to fight for freedom and democracy, for their right to worship, to speak, to live and prosper in the family of free nations,” said Reagan, “you are not alone, ‘freedom fighters.’ America will support with moral and material assistance your right not just to fight and die for freedom, but to fight and win freedom — in Afghanistan, Angola, Cambodia and Nicaragua.” This, he continued, “is a great moral challenge for the entire free world.”

Absent from the President’s list were not only such freedom fighting strongholds as South Africa and El Salvador, but the barrios and Native American reservations of this country where government suppression of the struggle for human liberties is as blatant as in any totalitarian regime.

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company and THE WITNESS for some time have focused on political repression at home, with particular attention on several Hispanics who have resisted testifying before federal Grand Juries investigating the activities of the Puerto Rican Independence movement. Five of these prisoners of conscience, who include former national Episcopal Church Center staffer, Maria Cueto, and ECPC board member, Steven Guerra, are approaching the end of three-year sentences in federal correctional institutions. Guerra, the only first time “offender” in the group, is slated for release next month. Given past Justice Department maneuvers, there is every reason to believe that the five could be subpoenaed again and, refusing to testify, be subjected to the same harassment, prosecution and persecution as the government seeks to extract its desired 15-year “pound of flesh” in three-year increments.

Similar is the plight of Native American political prisoners such as Leonard Peltier, who has spent 10 years in the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth.

Peltier, though obscure to many Americans, has become a powerful symbol of U.S. persecution of Native Americans fighting for religious freedom and against the continuing expropriation of their lands by major corporations in league with tribal governments backed by the Bureau for Indian Affairs.

Peltier was on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, near Wounded Knee, helping to maintain a small spiritual community of traditional Indians resisting attempts by their tribal chairman to sell sacred lands. Two federal agents who drove directly into the living compound of the community were killed in an ensuing gun fight, along with an Indian male. The latter’s death was never investigated. Court records of Peltier’s arrest, extradition and trial, however, are replete with examples of blatant government misconduct.

His current appeal before the Eighth Circuit Court in St. Louis is supported by eight Episcopal bishops, along with Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev. Jesse Jackson and other international religious figures and organizations. The church, the ethical conscience of the nation, must continue to speak and act forcefully when human liberties are at stake.

So long as the Peltiers, Guerras, Cuetos, Rosados, Romero, et al are targets of repression, America’s ability to speak effectively to other governments is seriously diminished. ■

## New feminist anthology out

**M**y Story's On: *Ordinary Women, Extraordinary Lives* — a unique feminist anthology made possible by a grant from the Episcopal Church Publishing Company — has made its debut after a three year search for materials from women who have often been excluded from mainstream feminism.

"My Story's On grew out of a belief that most women are not corporate vice-presidents or employed in non-traditional jobs," said Paula Ross, editor of the new publication. "We are not all members of that elite feminist club that requires you to be a young, white, urban, able-bodied, heterosexual, middle-class, childless, professional woman in order to be admitted. Women can't afford this false face of feminism. Not only does it exclude too many by holding up a mirror that reflects a single image, it also cuts off feminism itself from a source of tremendous power — the strength lodged in

diversity," she said. Ross, a Black editor who resides in Berkeley, grew up in Detroit.

Authors who appear in the anthology are women from different races, cultures, classes — who write in the laundromat, in prison, in kitchens, in ghettos, in mental hospitals, on lunch hours.

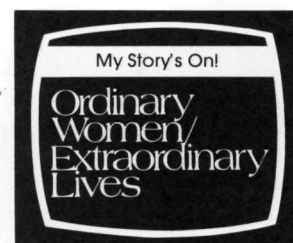
The concept for *My Story's On* developed after some 15 women from varied backgrounds met in New York in 1981. Most had attended one of seven regional meetings across the country, sponsored by ECPC, to discuss the feasibility of such a project. The women met for two days, developing a common vision and a solicitation plan which ultimately resulted in the submission of 300 manuscripts.

A working group of six from the original 15 met periodically thereafter to review submissions. In addition to Ross, who made the final selections, they included the

Rev. Patricia Merchant, a mother and assistant rector at St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Atlanta; Pandoura Carpenter, a Black cab driver from Oakland, Cal.; Joan Howarth, an attorney and former member of the ECPC Board; Inez Yslas, a Chicana activist from Denver; and Mary Lou Suhor, WITNESS editor. In selecting manuscripts, a major concern was to maintain a high percentage of work by women of color. Publisher of the book is Women and Children Too, a non-profit corporation based in Oakland.

"The New Right and the Moral Majority have produced dozens of books, selling their image of what it means to be a 'real woman,'" Ross said, "but we think that feminism belongs to any woman who claims it."

Below is a sample from the book — a story by one such woman — who took on a U.S. bank, single-handedly.



## A Bank of America story

by Andrea Canaan

**I**t was January 3, 1983. I had received no income since November 15, 1982. After almost two years of working for a gay agency, I quit my job because of intolerable hostility, harassment, blatant racism, and, finally, because my physical and emotional health were being adversely affected. My unemployment benefits were being held up because of an error in reporting my social security number. Although I had

applied for welfare on the first of December, as soon as I knew that I could not make it on my last check for an extended period, I did not receive a check until December 29, after the banks had closed. I had been disqualified to receive food stamps because I had "voluntarily" quit my last job. The rent was overdue, there was little food in the house, and I had been very frightened until the check arrived. Now I could pay for the bare essentials until my unemployment came through.

I went to the Bank of America because I had closed my personal checking account, due to lack of money and to the new policy of my bank to charge \$15 to service any account

**Andrea R. Canaan** is a Black, Southern, lesbian, feminist who currently resides in New Orleans. A longer version of the above appears in *My Story's On: Ordinary Women, Extraordinary Lives*. (See ad back cover.)



with an average daily balance lower than \$200. I reasoned that, under the circumstances, I needed to go directly to the bank that the check was drawn on to have any hope of getting it cashed. This was the only reason that I happened to be in the Bank of America on one of the most crowded days in the month. When I arrived at the bank the line was 35 deep. There were 12 tellers serving and I quickly calculated how long it would take me to be served. After I cussed myself for not bringing a book, as is my custom, to ward off my fear of crowded places and the dreaded loss of identity and hysteria that often surfaces in them, I busied my mind with the tasks of the day and reviewed the past week's events.

To speed up my departure from this teeming space, I had ready my ID, the unendorsed check, and the services I needed. I also rehearsed soothing tones and the appropriate customer stance. It was finally my turn. The teller at the 12th window said, "Next," and I moved toward her.

I proffered my documents, said "Hello," in my holiday voice, and waited for all to move in concert at my unsuspected direction.

After inspecting my documents by turning them this way and that and looking into my face several times, the teller said, "I'm sorry, but I cannot cash this check unless you have other identification," with a small, questioning, slightly embarrassed teller lilt and an I-don't-make-the-policies lift of her eyebrows and shrug of her shoulders.

I said in a reasonable and dignified tone, "I don't have any other form of ID. Perhaps you can check with your supervisor."

The teller moved away and came back with a serious look. "I am sorry, but I cannot help you."

One decibel above normal, I said, "This check is drawn on this bank. I have two valid forms of ID. I have every intention of having this check cashed today!" in precise and pushing tones.

The teller left the window, walking quickly as if something were chasing her, and returned with a woman I assumed was her direct supervisor. This woman walked up to the window and said, "I am sorry, Miss, but the policy of this bank is that you must have at least two forms of ID. A driver's license and state ID only qualify as one. If you wish to cash this check, may I suggest the county offices on Oak Street. I am sure they can help you there," as if she thought the matter surely settled and closed to further discussion.

The county office the second teller referred to is 15 miles away. It is not a bank. The likelihood of my getting a check cashed was the same as my Black, good-looking face getting me a reservation in a nuclear bomb shelter on Doomsday. So I said, one decibel louder, to the second teller, "I have one dime. My rent is due today. I have no idea if the county office can help me, but I *know* this one can! If you cannot authorize

check cashing, then get someone who can!"

The second teller left with an exasperated look and a roll of her eyes. The other tellers and customers nearby were obviously uncomfortable. During my last speech it became crystal clear to me that if I were going to get my check cashed it would be against all odds. My throat and chest started to fill with dread and a curious infusing energy. I was determined, a little desperate, and shaking inside. I thought about my mother and called up her voice to guide me. I felt a stubborn gear shifting into place. I was in communion with her will, determination, and her fighting off this same sense of shame, guilt, and humiliation while she raised four children alone during the '40s and '50s.

The second teller returned with a tall, thin white man who was looking too important to be bothered with petty customer disturbances. When they arrived before me, the third teller said to the second teller, "What seems to be the problem here?"

The second teller said to the third teller, "This woman does not have adequate ID and refuses to take our suggestion to go to the county office for help." Both spoke in injured party tones and seemed frozen in Saturday Night Live relief.

The third teller turned to me with an accusing and disbelieving stare to say, "Miss, you don't have *any* credit cards?"

At decibel three, I responded, "Mister, when you are unemployed and forced to accept welfare, they do not allow you to keep credit cards! Does the Bank of America allow its card holders to legally retain their credit cards when they can no longer pay their bills?"

There was a ripple of low laughter and angry supporting grunts around me as the third teller rolled his eyes upward to the Great Versateller in the sky, stepped slightly backward, and pursed his lips in distaste at the force of my third decibel. Staring into the vista of the sit-down side of the bank, seeming to look for someone, he spoke as if to himself. "Where is . . . (inaudible)?" As if by magic, a uniformed and armed guard appeared. I immediately assumed that there were others so alerted. The other customers shifted and moved restlessly as a mass and grumbled as if they too were threatened by this obvious show of force, before settling into a watchful hush.

I responded to this threat by going to decibel five. "SURE, PUT A WOMAN IN JAIL BECAUSE SHE IS UNEMPLOYED, FORCED TO ACCEPT WELFARE, AND YOU REFUSE TO HONOR A CHECK DRAWN ON YOUR BANK THAT MAKES MORE MONEY *HOLD-ING* THAN DISBURSING. HER PRESENCE EMBARRASSES AND FRIGHTENS YOU! THIS WILL NOT BE THE LAST TIME YOU WILL HAVE TO

CONTEND WITH PEOPLE WHO DO NOT MEASURE UP TO YOUR ELITIST STANDARDS NOR WILL ALL OF US BE BLACK, THIRD WORLD, OR WOMEN. LOOK INTO MY FACE AND SEE *YOUR* FACES AFTER THE POLITICS OF DESPAIR YOU PUT INTO OFFICE CATCH UP TO YOU. EITHER PUT ME IN JAIL *NOW* OR FIND SOMEONE IN THIS BANK WHO WILL AUTHORIZE THIS CHECK TO BE CASHED! AND DO NOT BE MISLED BY THE FALSE SENSE OF YOUR POWER VERSUS MINE, I *WILL* BE SERVED HERE TODAY! NOT TOMORROW! NOT ON OAK STREET! BUT HERE!

As I was ending this oration, a small, older white man walked up to the slightly shaking and pale third teller and began to speak in almost inaudible tones. When I had finished, all was silent and still except for the fourth teller's whispers. It was as if time had caught her breath and all was frozen except the fourth teller's lips. My heart was pounding and I was perilously close to tears. The tears caught me off guard, for rarely do I cry. As a matter of fact, I often feel that my inability to cry is a weakness. But the idea of crying in front of those white folks struck terror in my passages — my finely tuned racial and woman memory of centuries-old rule of the few over the many, of the rainbow people being robbed and killed by colorless people who coveted our rich hues, our culture, our knowing.

Through the myriad voices of my people, their urgings, prayers, and support, the fourth teller was saying something to me.

"Uuh, Miss Grahnjay," as he looked up from my documents with an accomplished smile.

"Granger," I responded at decibel four. "It means farmer."

"Well, Miss Granger, we *may* be able to help you if you will just step aside. You are holding up the line."

I moved back to decibel five. "I AM A CUSTOMER HERE DOING LEGAL BANK BUSINESS AND I HAVE EVERY INTENTION OF OCCUPYING THIS SPACE UNTIL MY BUSINESS IS CONCLUDED."

The fourth teller took both volume and response in stride and continued to look at me as if he could deal with me without serious incident. He said, "Miss Granger, do you have any documents other than these? A welfare card? Food Stamp card? Letters with your name and current address on them?"

I responded at decibel three, "Are you the president? Will you approve this check?"

He brightened a little at the reduction of volume as if to say, finally, progress is being made. He said, "No, I am not the president, but I may be able to help you."

At the sound of the withholding *may*, I went back to

decibel five. "WELL, MISTER, THEY DID NOT GIVE ME A WELFARE CARD, IF THEY EVER DO. I AM NOT ELIGIBLE FOR FOOD STAMPS EVEN THOUGH I HAVE NO MONEY AND LITTLE FOOD. THE ONLY ID I HAVE OTHER THAN WHAT IS IN YOUR HANDS IS MY LIBRARY CARD, MY CO-OP CARD, AND MY SIGNATURES THEREON. IF I HAD THOUGHT THAT COUNTY DOCUMENTS SAYING I HAVE NO MONEY WERE ADEQUATE IDENTIFICATION, I WOULD HAVE HAD THEM WITH ME TODAY. SINCE LETTERS AND WELFARE CARDS WILL DO, I AM SURE THAT THESE ALSO WILL VERIFY MY EXISTENCE TO YOUR SATISFACTION!"

The fourth teller silently reached out his hand for the papers I had ready. He then said, "I won't be long," and moved off to the back of the stand-up side of the bank. He signalled to someone outside my field of vision, and a few moments later an older white woman approached to receive his instructions. She returned with his glasses. He picked up a phone.

My being was concentrated on the fourth teller. My every pore was beaming pressure onto him — pressure to do my will this day. I stood at rigid attention, never allowing my eyes to leave his face, and willing myself to stem my imminently leaking eyes.

Time stopped again. I checked all my senses to be sure that I was still alive and human. I went over my actions in the bank so far that day with my mother as a guide in my head. "You are acting wisely," she counseled. "You have not attacked anyone personally. You have held your composure as you have stated your case forcefully. You have not done any more than make these people want to get you out of here as quickly as possible and with as little further loss of face as possible. Be patient and watchful a little longer. They will go through the motions of further verifying your existence and then cash your check. I love you and I am with you. Remember that there is no degradation in being poor and no humility in allowing any system to render you powerless and without voice." At that point I remembered a line of precious poetry:

*So it is better to speak  
remembering*

*we were never meant to survive*

(from "A Litany for Survival" in

*The Black Unicorn* by Audre Lorde).

Suddenly a dark-skinned white man stood next to me. In my watch and communion with my mother and sister, I had not noted his movement or his approach. He said to me,

uncomfortably close, "I would have shouted just as loud and I thank you."

I nodded my head slightly, moving only my eyes to see him. I did not want any change in my body posture to signal to the fourth teller relaxation on my part. The effort of taking in the presence of the man and his words threatened to break my watch, my composure, my too-tightly-wound and protected spirit. While I was surprised that anyone would actually speak directly to me in this situation, I remained suspicious and wary.

After the passage of my supporter, I tried desperately to hold on to my mother's counsel. In all, it had been 25 minutes since I first approached the 12th teller's window and another 20 minutes waiting in line before that. I calculated that 72 people had been served since I first got into line and 36 people had been served since I had walked to the 12th teller's window. I declined to estimate the number of people who would be served before I left the bank.

As I finished my calculations, the fourth teller made a sign in the air in my direction. It said, "I am making progress on the state of your existence." The solicitous nodding of his head and the smile on his face said, "Don't look so stern. Relax."

I stiffened my stance in response.

Time stopped. I thought to myself, He *must* be talking to someone else. Is he signalling his boss behind me or calling more guards to haul my ass out of here?

Finally the fourth teller returned. He said, breathlessly, as if he had been doing hard manual labor, "What is your counselor's name at the welfare department?"

I answered at decibel three, "T. Hillary."

I wondered what he thought my welfare worker could do and was prepared for him to use her as a ploy to get me to move from my stance. I had already made a decision that under no circumstances was I moving until they took me away or I had cashed my check.

He went back to the phone and returned to stand before me and say triumphantly, "I have finally come up with a test to establish your identity — What is your daughter's first name?"

I was stunned. I hesitated, a little confused, as if drugged or suddenly awakened from a dream. I thought to myself a little hysterically, Is this the game show Password or something?

I was not prepared to call my daughter's name. I was also not prepared to lower my voice in the compromise of allowing only him to hear it. So in the same decibel as before, I precisely spelled out the six letters of her name. The fourth teller returned to the phone and then finally came back to me. He handed my documents to me and with them his card. He attempted to speak to me but I cut him off, after reclaiming

parts of myself, to say, "Thank you, I will use this card the next time I come to the Bank of America to cash my welfare check — with the *same* credentials that I have today."

He attempted to speak to me no further and signalled to the teller in the 12th window to cash my check.

As I was finally accomplishing my original task, I began to plot my departure so that those people would not see me cry. My face felt like granite, my body as if it belonged to a long-dead corpse. As I left the bank, I could hear myself repeating through the deadness and granite, a line from a Marge Piercy poem:

*She is not strong as a stone  
but as a wolf suckling her young  
(from "For Strong Women" in  
The Moon is Always Female.)*

The tears began to glide down my face as I willed myself to the car I had borrowed. When I finally got in, I cried out the rage and defiance that desperation had borne. I moved mechanically to start the car, to complete the still necessary tasks with the haunting feeling of the loss of something I could not define, as well as with the gain of something equally hard to put into concrete conscious thought.

A few days later, as I sat reading and half listening to music, the song playing caught my full attention as it called up the feelings of loss and gain I felt upon leaving the Bank of America on January 3. I suddenly knew. The gain was the sweet music of my mothers' voices comforting, guiding and supporting me. The loss was the bitter knowing that in my coming to *know* I had oppressed, suppressed, and ignored them, as if I were hearing- or sight-impaired, without the grace of sense expansion, and thus created a translucent and muting screen between myself and treasures of comfort, wisdom, and strength . . .

The image shows the front cover of a book. At the top, in a white box, is the text 'My Story's On!'. Below this, the title 'Ordinary Women/Extraordinary Lives' is written in a large, stylized font. The background of the cover is dark with some abstract white patterns.

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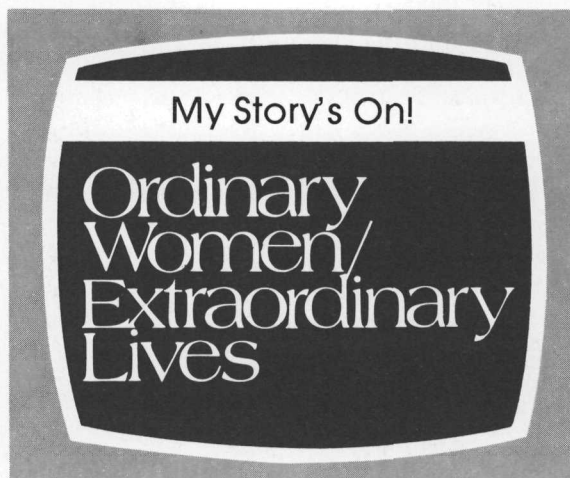
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# THE WITNESS

‘Reasoning’ with U.S.  
diplomats in Moscow  
NORMAN SOLOMON

THE WITNESS meets  
the Presiding Bishop

Assisted begetting  
CHARLES MEYER

# Letters

## In streets with bishop

I am aware that it is unbecoming to yield to anger in pursuing Christian goals. So is it quite as unbecoming to yield to the false comfort of complacency. I am an angry Episcopalian whose Nicaraguan bishop, Sturdie Downs, tells me, "If you only knew about the interventions by the United States and how your country created a National Guard which kept our people down, and how multinationals exploited us, you would be in the streets protesting." (November WITNESS).

I get angrier when I hear about the terrifying things my tax dollars and Reagan's murderous Contras have done to struggling Third World human beings who are trying vainly to mind their own business. Now in the austerity Gramm-Rudman years ahead, Reagan has announced his intention to get \$100 million to continue funding Contra terrorism. All this on the basis of a simplistic philosophical snobbery succinctly enunciated years ago by Foster Dulles: "The world is divided into two groups of people — the Christian-Anti-Communist, and the others."

On one side, a minute number of WASP-ish First World elite makes and enforces the rules. On the other side are the *others* of the Third World whose indispensable colonial functions have been to obey the rules, provide cheap labor, sell raw products to First World, buy the First World's processed goods and borrow First World dollars. By the Dulles formula the First World contains authentic people; the Third World people are just so much protoplasm. Further, a Christian must squirm at the automatic label, "anti-Communism" or anti-anybody and the implication that the billions of *others* must by geographical circumstance, be Communists.

If Christians had to choose between Dulles' Christian anti-Communists and the Third World *others*, they would find themselves in terms of prophetic obligations more useful and warmly theologi-

cally at home in the Third World camp — where 40 of its 118 countries are the poorest in the world; where 1.2 billion of its inhabitants (60% of the population) subsist in poverty; where there is a (resented) post-colonial surge of national self-reliance; where, as in Nicaragua there is a deep-seated desire to develop and fashion national survival policies according to what they see as their own needs, problems, and historical experiences. I am in the streets with our Nicaraguan bishop.

**Robert P. Moore**  
Sewanee, Tenn.

## Left wing nausea

I've been receiving THE WITNESS for almost a year now and can sum up my reaction in three words — disgust, outrage and shock.

Its content across the board is consistently un-American and at times treasonous, not to mention un-Christian. I am frightened at the thought of that many misguided souls being organized enough to turn out such a publication. If "Big Brother" isn't already looking over your shoulder, he should be.

**Vickie P. Miller**  
Belle Glade, Fla.

## Mary's image miscast

The paragraphs headed *La Conquistadora* in your January Short Takes held a challenge for me. Surely the Amerindian who gouged out one eye from so false an image as this one was justified in being angry; and doubtless Cortes' conquest of the natives was, as Georges Casalis says, the greatest bloodbath in American history. Before the actual events which fill us with such horror took place however, the psychological stage had to be set, and that was the selling into prostitution of Jesus' Mother to a worldly pimp.

Traditionally Mary stands for Christ's human nature. It is natural for a human being (unless shackled) to act in freedom, in defense of the freedom of other

human beings. Unless the Virgin is a free human being in her own right, can we expect humanity to be free?

It is horrible to think of an eye being gouged out, even from so false an image as this so-called Queen of Heaven; it is bound to suggest mutilation of a true image, however we rationalize to the contrary.

In her usual appearance Mary is serene, anything but an object of controversy. But look under the surface and you will find that in the soul of man she is even more controversial than her Son.

**Mariquita Platov**  
Tannersville, N.Y.

## Drug article exemplary

I read, with great interest, the article in the February issue of The Witness Magazine titled, "Climbing the Mountain in Kensington," by Susan Pierce. For many years I have been working with community organizations in fighting the problem of drug trafficking in my community. The community people featured in the article, along with scores of others, have, at great personal risk, chosen to fight the big business of drug trafficking. Their work should stand as an example to others as to what can be done when a community unites and takes action.

I commend your magazine for this insightful and timely article.

**Ralph Acosta**  
State Representative  
Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

## Technology we worship

It was encouraging to read Michael Hamilton's plain-spoken denunciation of President Reagan's Star Wars program as "evil" (January WITNESS). Many rational, "post-mythical" Christians seem reluctant to acknowledge the spiritual reality of evil in this way, even though Scripture calls us unequivocally to such a view (*Eph. 6:12*, etc.).

In my opinion, the nuclear weapons

movement is not only evil in its present world-threatening dimensions, but has been so since its very beginnings. The TV documentary "Oppenheimer" reminded us of the combination of boyish enthusiasm and Faustian arrogance with which that brilliant team of Los Alamos scientists pushed ahead with their research, quelling their consciences and taking refuge in Oppenheimer's advice that scientists shouldn't get mixed up in politics. Oppenheimer's recollection, as the first test bomb exploded, of the line from Hindu scriptures, "I am become Death, the shatterer of worlds" shows an awareness of evil which I find chilling.

The test was called "Trinity." One thinks of the attempt a few years ago to name a nuclear submarine "Corpus Christi," an equally diabolical incongruity. Oppenheimer apparently chose "Trinity" with specific reference to the poem of John Donne which starts, "Batter my heart, three personed God," and continues, "Yet dearly I love you and would be loved fain, But am betrothed unto your enemy." The following is from another eye-witness, General Farrell, in a later report to the War Department:

*Everyone in that room knew the awful potentialities of the thing that they thought was about to happen. The scientists felt that their figuring must be right and the bomb had to go off, but there was in everyone's mind a strong measure of doubt. The feeling of many could be expressed by "Lord, I believe; help Thou mine unbelief."*

*We were reaching into the unknown and we did not know what might come of it. It can safely be said that most of those present were praying, and praying harder than they had ever prayed before.*

*The effects could well be called unprecedented, magnificent, beautiful, stupendous and terrifying. No man-made phenomenon of such*

*tremendous power had ever occurred before.*

*(The explosion and the air blast were) followed almost immediately by the strong, sustained, awesome roar which warned of doomsday and made us feel that we puny things were blasphemous to dare tamper with the forces heretofore reserved to the Almighty.*

The symbolism of evil could scarcely be clearer. Canon Hamilton's title could be taken one step further: "In technology we trust: technology we worship." Lord, have mercy upon us.

**The Rev. Carlton T. Russell  
Norton, Mass.**

### 'How to' peace pamphlet

THE WITNESS has provided numerous articles on peace and justice issues. Many Episcopalians are anxious to see these issues addressed in their parish and such concerns made a part of parish worship. However, it is hard to know how to begin or what to do.

The Episcopal Peace Fellowship has been working on this problem for several years. Its 'how to' experience is available in an EPF pamphlet titled "Working for Peace in the Parish/A Guide for the Laity". The pamphlet describes 20 things lay people can do to make peace and justice a part of parish life. For a free copy, write Episcopal Peace Fellowship, 620 G Street SE, Washington, DC 20003.

**Dana Grubb, Chair  
Parish Peace Action Committee**

### College editor's resource

I'd like permission to reprint several articles that have appeared in THE WITNESS, in particular those which discuss South Africa and divestment, in my student newspaper, the *Clarkson Integrator*. In addition, I'd like to be billed for a subscription. I consider it my responsibility as editor of the paper to inform my

readers about many of the issues which THE WITNESS discusses, and I would consider it a helpful resource.

**Tom Seager  
Clarkson University  
Potsdam, N.Y.**

### Gay Christians supported

After reading your January editorial, "In the matter of Sherwood and Gilson," I wanted you to know of the support of my parish for lesbians and gay men. At All Saints, Pasadena, we have a staff-supported group which has been crucial in the lives of some gay Christians who were on the verge of abandoning their faith because of the loud, persistent message from most churches, that we can't be gay and Christian. Our bi-monthly meetings are announced in the Sunday Liturgy.

We who are lesbian or gay at All Saints are extremely fortunate to hear the Good News with such clarity. I am proud of my parish and want to share this good news with WITNESS readers.

**Mark Benson  
Los Angeles, Cal.**

### Sex: impossible tangle

The issue of sexual orientation among the clergy — and for that matter among Christians generally — has become an impossible tangle unless we look at it from a new perspective. Preoccupied as we are by sexuality here in the West, we have perhaps overlooked the nature of sex, which is after all a biological drive, or form of energy. It is best regarded, I would say, venerated, as a vital creative force in human life when properly used and conserved, and like all such forces, capable of being quite destructive when it isn't.

The language of early church teaching on sexuality is a kind of symbolic shorthand, using concepts like morality which

*Continued on page 23*

## The case of the missing canon

*"No one shall be denied rights or status in this church because of race, color, ethnic origin, sex, sexual orientation, physical disabilities, or age, except as otherwise specified by canon."*

The above highly applauded attempt to expand the so-called "Civil Rights canon" of the Episcopal Church — widely reported by the press as having passed both the House of Bishops and House of Deputies at Anaheim — does not appear in the newly published *Constitution and Canons of the Episcopal Church*.

That revelation brought shock and no little anxiety, especially to the Episcopal Women's Caucus and Integrity, which had worked since early 1984 to have the canon expanded to cover the rights of women and additional minorities. The Consultation, umbrella organization of groups working for justice and peace issues, had also thrown its full weight behind the effort at General Convention. But the old canon is still in place: "No one shall be denied rights or status in this church because of race, color, or ethnic origin."

The debate around this canon and a parallel resolution which would have stated explicitly that sexual orientation was not a barrier to the selection process for ordination provided the longest and most heated discussion during Convention. The latter resolution was narrowly defeated by lay deputies in a vote by orders. But it was generally believed that the "Civil Rights canon" had passed. Reports in

the *General Convention Daily, THE WITNESS*, the mass media, and in *The Episcopalian* added credence to that belief. Scott Field Bailey and John Gundrum, secretaries of the House of Bishops and House of Deputies, respectively, had even signed a document affirming its passage, which was later retracted in *The Episcopalian*. The "Civil Rights canon" was incorporated in this year's General Ordination Examination (GOE) by the General Board of Examining Chaplains, who apparently also thought it had passed.

The errant canon, it seems, was not successfully processed. Deputies had changed the wording of the resolution, approved by the House of Bishops, substituting "sex" for gender, as an example. The changes were sufficient to warrant a return to the House of Bishops for concurrence.

Why did the Convention's most hotly debated resolution never resurface in the House of Bishops?

Was it purposely scuttled, or shuffled to the bottom of the pile by its enemies? That conspiracy theory is faulted by the fact that three days passed from the time the House of Deputies acted until the convention ended, sufficient time for lobbyists tracking legislation to turn up skullduggery.

On the other hand, many lobbyists at convention have complained that it was almost impossible to follow legislation through its course. They claimed that access to information was severely limited; numerous resolutions got lost in the shuffle or resolutions

"mysteriously changed their form overnight."

THE WITNESS believes that major blame can be traced to an antiquated computer technology and communication system. The staggering amount of paper shuffled through a telescoped legislative session was formidable. Some resolutions never even arrived before committees — four of them, curiously, dealing with women's issues (comparable worth and contraception among them).

THE WITNESS believes that a more sophisticated information system must be in place for General Convention in 1988. In a high-tech society the legislative process is little enhanced by the dinosaur apparatus of tellers running up and down aisles counting votes.

A computer network system could provide instant voting results, more accurate transfer of data between Houses, and an updated file of resolutions, by subject and with current status. Texts could be secured upon request. Terminals in both houses, available to visitors, would guarantee that the legislative process would be as open as possible.

In an era when human and civil rights violations demand constant vigilance worldwide, it is unconscionable to have a "loose canon," such as the one which went awry, in the Episcopal church, especially when its new Presiding Bishop espouses a multi-racial, multi-cultural, inclusive church. And freedom of access to information, another global concern, would help assure that this would not happen again.



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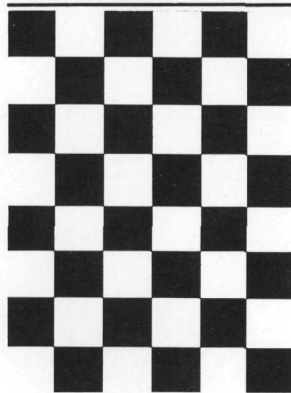
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# THE WITNESS



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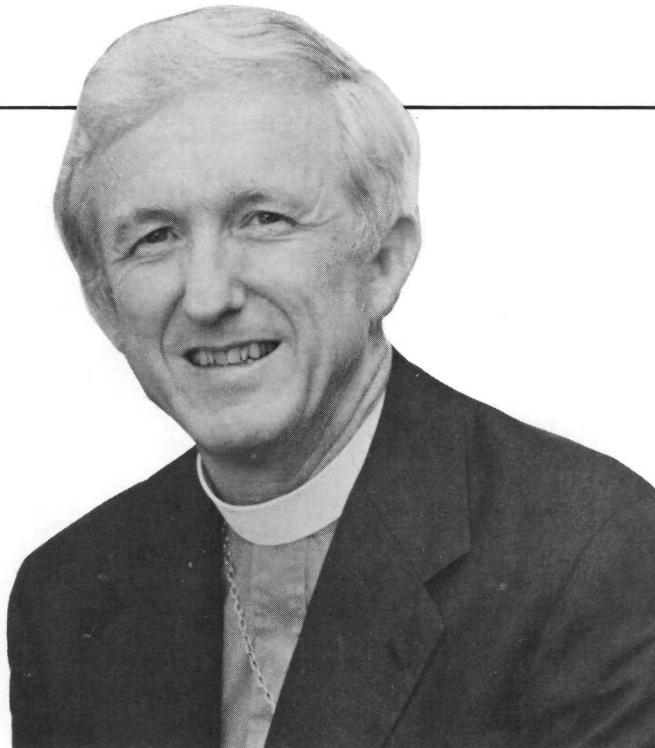
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## **WITNESS interviews P.B.**

*The Rev. Barbara Harris, executive director of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, and Mary Lou Suhor, editor of THE WITNESS, interviewed Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning when he was in Philadelphia recently for the installation of the Rt. Rev. Allen Bartlett as coadjutor of the Diocese of Pennsylvania. Bishop Browning described the theology which undergirds his ministry, his favorite spiritual authors, his leadership style and vision for the church in the hour session.*



**The Most Rev. Edmond Lee Browning**  
Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church

# **Building a vision with the people**

**Question:** We'd like to open with questions about theology and spirituality. You're the first Presiding Bishop to have mission experience in Asia, Europe and Hawaii, giving you a unique global perspective. Can you tell us how your theology has evolved, undergirded by this global view?

**Answer:** My theological frame of reference is basically what I call the servanthood ministry of Christ, which I try to design in terms of the need for a compassionate spirituality. In living in various places, I have come to a deep awareness of my own sense of brokenness and of the brokenness that I've seen around the world, and the need of the church to give wholeness to that brokenness in everything the church does. But I don't think that awareness comes without the acknowledgement of our humanity, and out of that knowledge, hopefully a more creative response to the needs of the community.

Over the years, moving about as I have, my understanding of the Sacrament of Baptism has taken on new meaning. That is, primarily, in the recognition of the call to mission in Baptism, which is a universal call to all people who are part of the

church. And I hope that out of that understanding has come a recognition of the worth of every person's ministry and of the need to enable those ministries to find their richest fulfillment.

**Q. Has Roland Allen been an influence on you?**

**A:** Oh, sure. And each place I've gone has made a tremendous contribution to my own life. When I was in Okinawa, I think I grew up there in terms of understanding the nature of the church and the value of each person's life in the total ministry of the church. A lot of that growth came about largely because of trying to understand the culture.

I probably had some kind of fantasy in the back of my mind when I went to Okinawa that I was going to take God to the Okinawans. But then I discovered God was there long before I got there or any missionary had gotten there. That really came out as I got to know the Okinawan people, and came to see the beauty of their lives and their culture — like their sense of family and the way they were trying to pursue their own course of happiness and fulfillment.

**Q: Then what does the missionary add, if all of that is already there?**

**A:** You mentioned Roland Allen. I began to read Roland Allen in Okinawa and one of his principle theses is that the gift of ministry is in every place — you do not have to import ministry to make it happen. Mission is the acknowledgement of the gifts in a place and it enables ministry to come into being. Okinawa was a profound experience and I think Roland Allen helped me to interpret what I was experiencing.

**Q: You'll be going to Central America soon, where many have embraced and been nurtured by liberation theology. What do you think about liberation theology? Is it a Marxist-Communist phenomenon, or secular humanism, or does it have validity?**

**A:** If I understand liberation theology, and if I understand the Gospel of Luke and Jesus' proclamation of His own ministry then I see that liberation theology is the carrying out of the imperatives of the Gospel as it relates to the place where the Gospel is being lived out.

**Q: When people move, it's a time to throw away a lot of things. Frequently books are a problem, especially when some are "special friends." Do you have any spiritual books or favorite books that you carry with you when you move about as you have done?**

**A:** There are some that are friends, and have been friends for some time. The works of Henri Nouwen have been a tremendous help in my own development, in my understanding the brokenness of the world and how to relate the ministry of Christ to that brokenness. Then there are Juan Luis Segundo's books. And Shusaku Endo is a Japanese author I've been reading recently. One of his novels is called *Silence*. His work has been translated into English. I've just finished *Silence* and it's pretty factual stuff about missionaries who went to Japan in the 16th century when Japan was closed off from the rest of the world, and describes the suffering of Japanese Christians during that time.

**Q: In terms of the church here, you had indicated you were going to spend a lot of time listening to folks in the church. Have you started that process, and what are you hearing?**

**A:** It's too early to say what I've heard; the main thing is that there's a lot of excitement about the new beginnings and very high expectations about the future. We just had a meeting of Executive Council and one of the early priorities that I see is getting myself involved with Executive Council and establishing a trust level so that things can happen. I'm trying to get as much input as possible from Council members

to see how they would like things structured. One of the things we have done is to appoint an agenda committee to give direct input about the design of the listening process and the places we're going to do that. In June we're going to Atlanta. In February of '87 we're going to St. Augustine's College and then to Central America the following June. That's how Executive Council is being used to find out where this church is and where it wants to go. Hopefully, this will make an impact on the decision-making bodies of the church.

My own initiative has been to set priorities for all the responsibilities of a Presiding Bishop. Most of the things I have lined up are in response to those priorities. I'm not attending any diocesan conventions and, with the exception of Toronto and Panama, my travel is limited to the United States for the next year. I have purposely tried to set up meetings with as many different groups within the church as I can, such as the Union of Black Episcopalians, the Urban Caucus, the Board of APSO — Appalachian People's Service Organization — and Provincial Bishops.

**Q: What do you do about the information glut — you must have less time to read now?**

**A:** The time that is difficult is when I'm traveling. Now that we're living at the Episcopal Church Center in New York, there's an advantage to living in the city, over the shop, so to speak. I find I have more time for my personal prayer life and for reading than I've had for a long time. I don't have to worry about getting into a car in the morning and rushing off someplace, and that really is kind of neat. I look forward to having that special time.

I was talking previously about setting priorities on the job. One of the things I'd done before was I had put my spiritual and personal life, taking care of myself physically, and my family life in second place, and I had put pastoral care of bishops in first place. But my brother bishops who make up the Council of Advice really jumped on me. They said, take care of yourself first, and then you can take better care of us. If I'm going to survive in this job, and I plan to, that's going to be a high priority.

But there's also always the need to get ready for whatever is the next event. I don't shoot from the hip very well, and I intend to enlist the staff to help me prepare. Before I go to the next meeting, by golly, somebody's going to have to brief me on what the issues are, what concerns we should raise, and assist me with that sort of planning.

**Q: Have you begun your consultation with the Primates on the issue of women bishops?**

**A:** I've written the Archbishop of Canterbury that it be high on the agenda at our meeting in Toronto and he's assured me

that this was so. You might ask a couple of bishops who were at the pre-Lambeth meeting in Lima what was discussed there.

**Q. A majority of the House of Bishops indicated it would not withhold its consent to the election of a woman bishop. What happens if a majority of Standing Committees do not consent?**

**A.** I don't think that would happen. I hope that we don't have too many bishops who are in conflict with their standing committees.

I think the American church has a strong conviction about women in the ministry. We've lived with it for 12 years now and we have a real commitment to it. I think some people elsewhere have problems with it, which means we're going to have to do some work with relationship to the Anglican communion as well as to other parts of Christendom.

**Q: Have you completed your staff appointments?**

**A:** No, I'm really just into it. Dick Chang and Charles Cesaretti are going to work very closely with me, will help me move about the country and get ready for various things. But there will be some changes in the Church Center executive positions.

**Q: Any major restructuring planned?**

**A:** It's too early for me to say. One of the things I'm attempting to do is spend a lot of time in New York with the Church Center staff to learn about their hopes and expectations, what they're doing and how they're doing it. I'm going to ask someone to look at the overall structure of 815. I feel there's probably a need for more sharing across departmental lines and a need for a clearer understanding of what each department's goals are and how they interface with each other. I've asked someone to come in to help bring that about, and that's going to take time.

I think there are some great social issues that the church can creatively respond to in many ways. I've just asked for a review of the church's Washington office, which right now is just a one-man office with a secretary. William Weiler works there with an ecumenical consortium. Last year Executive Council voted for an evaluation to find out how the office could be strengthened to be more effective. Hopefully by June we'll have a report to Executive Council that will tell us how the office can better deal with issues and take advantage of being in Washington, where the church can have an effect on government decision-making.

Whenever someone new comes into this job, I think the staff looks forward to it. They've all dreamed of changes they'd like. They've been under one administration for a long

time and now they see this as a chance to try some of their ideas. We're going to be flexible and just let them float. I'm not one who goes into things with a fixed agenda. I believe when you're building a vision, it doesn't just come from you, it comes from the whole church. I'm not talking about just trying to build consensus, but about trying to find out where we all hope this church can go, and a lot of people can share in that process.

One of the things I've thought about doing after a year, a year and a half, is to call together people who represent the leadership of the church, which I would see as a pretty mixed bag, and ask them, "What do we want to do for the next three, six or nine years? What do we want as our major focus, how are we going to get there and what is it going to take to get there?" I think it could be an exciting process.

**Q: How would you describe your leadership style?**

**A:** I think that a real element of leadership is building trust. If you don't trust me and I don't have a sense of that trust, we're going to have a hard time getting anything moving. Although it may be a backbreaker, I think getting around the country is absolutely essential. That way people can get to know me, so that when they hear some statement of mine, maybe they won't say, "Migod, there he goes again," and will say instead, "Well, we're going to listen because we know he's willing to listen to us." Hopefully that will create a dialogue out of which will come some sense of direction about who we are and what we're called to be. That's the way I operated in Hawaii. I don't know whether you can operate that way nationally. It's going to be a little more difficult but it's worth a try.

**Q: If you could "blue sky" for a minute, what would be your vision for the church?**

**A:** On the one hand I find that difficult to do; on the other, I do have some ideas and points I'd like to make. I am really eager to listen. There's so much I have to learn about the job, especially about how to grab hold of the talents in the church, how to lift those talents up to help the church find out which direction it wants to go. One of the areas I sincerely hope to be able to develop is that of ministry. For example, I see Jubilee Ministry as an effort to make possible some of what I was talking about in regard to Roland Allen.

Even before Anaheim, I felt the Episcopal Church was moving in other significant ways, particularly in the direction of becoming a multi-cultural body. It's my hope that the multi-cultural expression can grow in the next 10 years, and whatever programs we design will emphasize enabling people to perform the kind of ministry that fosters freedom of ex-



pression and celebrates the wholeness of life. There's a real need to see a wider expression of that multi-cultural life in the decision-making areas of our church — I think we've got a long way to go on that. When I look at commissions, Ex-

ecutive Council and other church bodies, I'm not sure how much they truly reflect the diversity. We can make a difference if we are intentional about reflecting that diversity in all areas of the church. ■



## Womanbishop talk sparks debate

**D**on Wright's cartoon above, sketched to run after the Roman Catholic worldwide Synod ended in December of last year, may have longer life than the artist anticipated. A recently disclosed exchange of letters between Pope John Paul II and the Archbishop of Canterbury is expected to put pressure on Anglican primates to halt further moves toward the ordination of women in the Church of England and in other Anglican provinces, and toward the election of the first woman bishop in the United States, according to Herbert Williams, Religious News Service correspondent in England.

As of this writing, contents of the correspondence had not been made public, but the letters should also add fuel to an already fired up Movement for the Ordination of Women (MOW) to dig in its heels when it meets April 18-20 in Canterbury. The challenge facing MOW and its international visitors is formidable: The Church of England actively opposes the ordination of women. Archbishop Robert Runcie of Canterbury, who heads the Church of England and is also

leader of the Anglican Communion, has said that a woman bishop would create "a serious rift" within the worldwide episcopate and be a major obstacle for those who are beginning to come to terms with women priests.

Archbishop Runcie and the Anglican primates were meeting in Toronto as this issue of *THE WITNESS* went to press. It will be interesting to track whether the Rome-Canterbury correspondence impacted that conclave.

Since the U.S. church may well have consecrated a woman bishop before Lambeth meets again in 1988, the all-male worldwide episcopate of the Anglican church is trying to avoid the "serious rift" in its ranks by an educational process. Those who support women's ordination present their views in open debate during pre-Lambeth meetings such as recently took place in Lima, Peru, and at the primates meeting in Toronto. Such supporters deem papal involvement in the subject of women's ordination unwelcome.

As countries line up, the Canadian church is not far behind

the United States. Canada will celebrate the 10th anniversary of women in the priesthood in November. New Zealand, Kenya, Uganda, and Cuba have added their names to a growing list where women may share in the threefold ministry of deacon, priest and bishop. For them, the election of a woman bishop is seen as a natural progression from their commitment to women in the ministry, as Bishop Browning indicates in his interview in this issue of *THE WITNESS*.

Some of these views, expressed recently at Lima, during a

consultation of bishops from Canada, Central and South America and the Caribbean, appear below. According to Jerry Hames, editor of the *Canadian Churchman*, who covered the event, many of the bishops there thought the response was surprisingly positive.

Hames' story, made available to *THE WITNESS*, follows. Incidentally, the *Canadian Churchman*, national newspaper of the Anglican Church of Canada, is considering changing its name to a more inclusive title.

## Lima: Women in episcopate?

**LIMA.** One of the topics discussed at the pre-Lambeth consultation of bishops from the Americas upon which there was sharp disagreement was centered on the election and consecration of women to the episcopate.

A special hearing was held at the request of the Episcopal Church to explain the U.S. bishops' recent decision that they would not withhold consent to the election of any bishop on grounds of gender.

Bishop Edward Jones of Indianapolis, who made the presentation on behalf of Presiding Bishop Edmond Browning, said the decision was based on two reasons — "upon 10 years of experience of women as presbyters and second, upon the conscience of a large majority of bishops who believe that in Christ, there is no Jew or Gentile, nor male or female."

Although it is evident that the U.S. church will move to consecrate a woman bishop in the future, he said the Episcopal Church is pledged to consult with others in the communion.

"We realize it will affect the lives of those throughout the Anglican Communion, as well as the churches with which we are having ecumenical conversations."

Bishop William Folwell of Miami told the bishops that the reaction from such a move will be felt within the Episcopal Church itself.

"We have already experienced some schism in the U.S. church. We can an-

ticipate that a considerably greater number of people will leave the church, maybe even some bishops," Bishop Folwell said. "We need your understanding, support and prayers."

Some bishops stated that the consecration of a woman to the episcopate will create serious tension within the Anglican Communion and a barrier to ecumenical conversations.

Bishop Drexel Gomez of Barbados said relationships within the communion would be seriously impaired. A woman bishop would not be recognized, nor allowed to preside at the eucharist, in the West Indies, he said.

Bishop Clive Abdullah of Trinidad and Tobago diocese said the question is whether the Anglican Communion will be able to survive a number of shocks that it will undoubtedly be subjected to in the next decade.

"Lambeth cannot simply stay as it has in the past," he said.

Bishop Christopher Luxmore of Bermuda said the consecration of a woman bishop "would erect an insuperable barrier to unity with the Roman Catholic Church."

But he was contradicted by Archbishop Michael Peers of Regina who said Roman Catholics had been present at every ordination of a woman at which he had presided and that all had found it a moving event.

Bishop Sumio Takatsu, one of five

Brazilian bishops present, said the ecumenical consequences of taking such action would depend upon with whom the church was in dialogue.

"Are we going to dialogue with the reactionary hierarchy (of the Roman Catholic Church), or with those in ferment who are working for the ordination of women as priests," he asked.

Archbishop Ted Scott said the Canadian church is facing somewhat the same situation as the U.S. Episcopal Church.

"Women have been approached, but none have allowed their name to stand (for election)," he said. "They have resisted (because they were) sensitive to the feelings of the Anglican Communion."

"But there comes a point when you have to take a decision even if it will cause some difficulties."

To a plea that archbishops could refuse to recognize an election of a woman, Archbishop Peers said it was not within his authority to do so.

"If I were confronted with such a situation, I would have two considerations," he said.

"The first would be the communion as a whole, and that would require consultation."

"The second would be our Anglican ecclesiology and the constitution of our province. For me, that would take precedence. It is an integral part of our ecclesiology that a province is the unit and that there is no larger unit."

— **Jerry Hames**

## I write in the laundromat by Marcy Sheiner

I write in the laundromat.  
I am a woman  
and between wash and dry cycles  
I write.

I write while the beans soak  
and with children's voices in my ear.  
I spell out words for Scrabble  
while I am writing.

I write as I drive to the office  
where I type a man's letters  
and when he goes to lunch  
I write.

When the kids go out the door  
on Saturday  
I write  
and while the frozen dinners thaw  
I write.

I write on the toilet  
and in the bathtub  
and when I appear to be talking  
I am often writing.

I write in the laundromat  
while the kids soak  
with scrabbled ears  
and beans in the office  
and frozen toilets  
and bathtubs and letters  
and in the car  
between wash and dry.

and your words  
and my words  
and her words  
and their words  
and I am a woman  
and I write in the laundromat.

— From *My Story's On: Ordinary Women, Extraordinary Lives*.

*"My Story's On is a book that is both accessible to most readers and critically attentive to racism, classism, imperialism, heterosexism and other structures of injustice which give sexism its particular shapes among us. It testifies boldly to the fact that neither sexism nor feminism can be comprehended adequately as a "white middle class" phenomenon. I will use the book for courses in feminist theology, liberation theology, and theological methodology."*

— The Rev. Carter Heyward  
Episcopal Divinity School

*"Authors who appear in this feminist anthology are women from different races, cultures, classes — who write in the laundromat, in prison, in kitchens, in ghettos, in mental hospitals, on lunch hours. Hearing from these voices is central to understanding the dimensions of women's issues."*

— Chris Weiss  
Women and Employment  
Hurricane, W. Va.

*"When the editorial project for My Story's On started I didn't even dream it could be what it miraculously turned out to be — real, traumatic, yet refreshingly the voice of women who are never heard as part of the whole of woman-kind. I stayed up till 2 a.m. reading it."*

— Mattie Hopkins  
Board of Education, Chicago  
Board Member, Union of Black Episcopalians

See ad, special offer, back cover.

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# 'Sometimes there's just no reasoning

The U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union was polite during most of our 40-minute meeting at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow recently. But Arthur A. Hartman's civility soured when we mentioned our plans to stay in the embassy's political section to operate a disarmament desk from the ninth floor.

"You don't understand," said the tall silver-haired envoy as he stood up in his three-piece suit. "This meeting is over."

Anthony Guarisco, director of the International Alliance of Atomic Veterans, did not move from his seat. Neither did I. We had just handed the ambassador a statement denouncing White House refusal to reciprocate the Soviet nuclear test moratorium as "a tragic crime against humanity" — and explaining that as American citizens "we have come to the U.S. Embassy here in hopes of supplementing its activities on behalf of nuclear escalation with activities for nuclear disarmament."

A few minutes later we walked to the reception room next to his office and sat down. Hartman followed, looking a bit shaken and threatening to send for Marines to remove us from a "classified area." Then, apparently realizing that his visitors had no intention of voluntarily fading into Moscow's twilight, Hartman offered to let us stay in another reception area, down the hall, "as long as you like."

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**Norman Solomon** is director of the disarmament program for the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Nyack, N.Y. and co-author of the book, *Killing Our Own: The Disaster of America's Experience with Atomic Radiation*.

Taking the ambassador up on his offer, Anthony and I moved to the outer waiting room and sat on a couch, our portable typewriter and lots of paper in hand. But Hartman's promise turned out to be no more trustworthy than his government's nuclear policies.

We used a lamp-table phone to provide an update to American news bureaus in Moscow. During our third call, the phone went dead. At about 6:30 p.m. — a few minutes after an Associated Press reporter arrived and about an hour after our meeting with Ambassador Hartman had ended — an embassy official ordered Anthony and me to leave the building. Normal office hours at the embassy, he repeated, are 9 a.m. to 6 p.m.

I replied that Mr. Guarisco and I would be pleased to leave the embassy if we could receive credible assurance that the U.S. government would not escalate the nuclear arms race after those same office hours. But unfortunately, Anthony and I noted, the U.S. escalation continues 24 hours a day.

Sometimes, however, there's just no reasoning with diplomats.

A few tall gentlemen in crew cuts arrived on the scene. Two of them, in sweat suits, grabbed me. While I slipped to the floor, they picked me up and put me on another fellow's shoulder.

Being carried to the elevator, I heard Anthony saying that he suffers from severe spinal ailments — a result of his participation, as a U.S. Navy seaman, in two nuclear bomb tests at Bikini atoll in

1946. As much as he would regret assisting in his removal from the embassy, Anthony said, he preferred to walk since being carried might make him a paraplegic.

Nine floors down, I was carried out of the elevator and through the embassy's front door, where I was dumped on the sidewalk of Tchaikovsky Street next to two astonished-looking Soviet police officers on routine duty. In the glare of Cable News Network floodlights (the CNN Moscow bureau later decided not to transmit the footage), a few reporters asked questions. Anthony, walking with his cane, emerged from the embassy minutes later.

Our Feb. 19 meeting with Ambassador Hartman had been a dialogue with madness. He hauled out all the old excuses for the Reagan administration's continuation of nuclear test explosions. We responded with evidence that nuclear blasts are unnecessary to assure "stockpile reliability" — and that compliance with a test ban can be easily verified through existing technical means.

But the ambassador added a new line of rhetoric: "Until there is elimination of nuclear weapons, we cannot ban nuclear tests." This contention prompted the International Alliance of Atomic Veterans to send Hartman a telegram later declaring: "Such an approach would insist that when constructing a house no foundation be laid until the roof has been installed. We found our meeting with you to be truly frightening for the prospects of human survival."

The nuclear veterans' group informed Hartman that "despite fierce competi-



by Norman Solomon

tion from fellow members of the Reagan administration, you have won the first annual *Dr. Strangelove Award* of the International Alliance of Atomic Veterans."

Anthony Guarisco, a 58-year-old Arizona resident who coordinates the alliance of atomic testing veterans in the U.S., Canada, Great Britain and Australia, later commented that "it was Ambassador Hartman's complete lack of comprehension of present and past U.S. nuclear recklessness that made it impossible to reason with him."

An Associated Press dispatch, describing our disarmament action at the embassy, appeared in some daily newspapers in the United States. But the most prominent coverage was in the Soviet afternoon paper *Izvestia*, which published a lengthy interview with Anthony and myself, and followed up the next day with a story about our direct action at the embassy. In contrast with an article by the *Chicago Tribune* Moscow correspondent that confused Anthony's personal background with my own, the *Izvestia* accounts were fully accurate.

No one seems to remember any similar event at the U.S. embassy in Moscow. Anthony Guarisco and I believe that, at the very least, our actions there communicated to many Soviet people that the U.S. government's deranged nuclear policies are being resisted by American citizens who deeply appreciate the Soviet Union's bold new disarmament initiatives. ■



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**КРУГЛЫЙ СТОЛ «ИЗВЕСТИЙ»**

Почти сорок лет назад на атолле Бикини Соединенными Штатами были взорваны два атомных заряда. Жертвами этих испытаний риканские военнослужащие острова, и американцы к ядерному полигону.

В их числе оказался и тогда еще 19-летний военный моряк Энтони ГАРИСКО, находившийся во время испытаний на одном из кораблей.

— Энтони, расскажите, как все было на Бикини.

— К атолу подошло около 90 кораблей. Нас, военных моряков, было на них 42 тысячи. Из близлежащего населения отселено было несколько тысяч человек. Наконец настало 1 июля 1946 года. Мы отошли на 1 километр от лагуны. Мне, как и всем, приказали лечь на спину, подтянуть руки и не двигаться до команд.

Из рубки доносился колющий голос, отчетливый секунды, оставшиеся до взрыва: «Десять, девять, восемь...». Я почувствовал атомный заряд, я слышал это и с закрытыми глазами. Ощущение было такое, будто в голове у меня кто-то и погасил. Светло шло, и голубая дымка появилась над водой. Нам разрешили подняться и посмотреть на атолл. На атолле бушевала вырвавшаяся сила. От земли поднималась стеклянная пыль, огромные клубы белого дыма. Меж ними металась молния. Шум, производимый соко в воздухе и с размаху врезающимися в пучину. Стеной встал ядерный взрыв, недвусмысленно продемонстрировавший свое

перед человечеством. Между тем пока невозможно, что администрация Рейган готовит отнестись к этим предришью Америки в истинном смысле этого слова. Поэтому и осуждаем нашу администрацию советскому мораторию. В пользу своей позиции Белый дом продолжает приводить избыточные аргументы о неких трудностях контроля за соблюдением моратория.

— Но этот аргумент теперь не работает. В Заявлении Генерального секретаря ЦК КПСС С. Горбачева говорится, что контроль для СССР — не проблема.

— В том-то и дело, — горячо говорит Норман. Аргумент этот и выдуман только для томораторию. Да и другие аргументы не лучше.

— Я согласен с Норманом, — говорит Энтони. — Здесь можно говорить лишь об увертках. Не может быть ни одного аргумента, который бы не мог быть использован в одну или другую сторону. Это тезис, что дескать, Советам нашего президента в СССР мы слышали из уст губернатора штата Юта именно такие слова. Но то у Советского Союза куда больше оснований не доверять нам, чем вам — не верить родные договоры нарушают.

## ЗАВЕТНАЯ МЕЧТА ЭНТОНИ ГАРИСКО



An interview with Anthony Guarisco, di-

**An interview with Anthony Guarisco, director of the International Alliance of Atomic Veterans, left, and Norman Solomon, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation's Disarmament Program, appeared in *Izvestia* following their civil disobedience in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.**

The reproductive revolution:

# Ethics of assisted begetting

by Charles Meyer

**W**ith all the begetting going on in the Bible you would think there would be more commentary on the use of donor sperm. Actually much is there, mainly focusing on the *method* of that procedure. But that was in the olden days when you had to have sex to produce babies.

Biomedical assisted reproduction techniques are now offering options that will determine the kinds of families we will *construct* and the kinds of children we will choose to have (or abort). While the legal and medical ramifications of these options are currently being debated around the country, the religious community has been reticent to study, evaluate and advise upon the ethical dilemmas inherent in them. One such area of discussion is AID — Artificial Insemination by Donor.

George Annas of The Hastings Center has noted that the technology of the '70s brought us sex without children and the technology of the '80s brings us children without sex. In addition, the '80s now offer women the option of children conceived from another man's sperm without committing what has been traditionally considered adultery.

Artificial Insemination by Donor

---

**The Rev. R. Charles Meyer** is Director of the Department of Pastoral Care at St. David's Community Hospital, Austin, Tex. He has also served as a prison chaplain and pastoral counselor, and is the author of several magazine articles.

(AID) is now a relatively common method of circumventing male infertility. When the male of a couple is found to be oligospermic (he produces too few sperm), azoospermic (no sperm) or infertile for unknown reasons, the couple can choose to have the woman receive semen from a donor. When the woman's ovulatory cycle is ready, semen collected from a donor is placed into the woman through a tube, often with the husband present.

Until recently, those who have objected to the practice of AID have done so largely on the basis of adultery, the breaking of the fidelity bond of the marriage contract. Introduction of a third party into the intimacy of the marriage was considered to be intrusive and divisive, and to separate love making from baby making, an unnatural and unwarranted act.

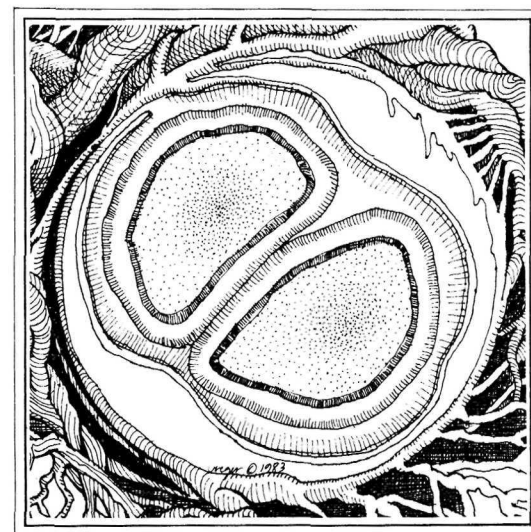
Others argue that, since no sexual intercourse takes place, no adultery has occurred and no bonds have been broken. In fact, they contend that the marriage bond has been strengthened both by the decision to have the procedure and by the hoped-for result of desired offspring.

But "new occasions teach new duties" and the technology of In Vitro Fertilization and Embryo Transfer (IVF-ET) is offering expanded possibilities when combined with AID. To traditional critics, adultery is now the least of their worries. With AID and IVF-ET it is now possible for a child to have five parents: a

genetic mother and father, a gestational mother, and a sociological mother and father (the ones who raise the child).

The following ethical dilemmas develop partly from the use of AID itself and partly from its use in combination with IVF. These issues bear careful scrutiny and cautious evaluation due to their far reaching (and as yet untested) individual and societal implications.

**Donor selection and screening:** Who ought to be chosen or accepted as appropriate semen donors? Many programs use medical students exclusively, claiming that they have "a better understanding of the process" than others. But is such an understanding required? Other programs without a pool of medical students often use law students. (Physicians



are then in the rather ironic position of reproducing attorneys).

But restricting the groups which are "acceptable" as donors seems open to the charge of elitism at best and classism at worst. What makes the semen of a medical student (or law or seminary student) any more valuable or desirable than that of a poor person who also sells blood plasma?

As a rule, U.S. donors receive \$50 per donation. Ought there to be any payment at all? Does not, in fact, the word "donation" imply a free gift? How many persons would offer to go through the inconvenience of screening, selection and scheduling necessary to donate their semen without any prospect of monetary gain?

A recent report from Great Britain indicates that payment may, in fact, lead to the withholding of necessary medical or genetic information. The report recommends either no fees be offered the donor, or minimal payment of "transportation" expenses (amounting to less than \$20) be provided. The Australian system makes it illegal to accept payment for any body parts, including organs, blood or semen, thus demanding other motivations from donors. The French have designed a system where prospective AID recipients recruit general donors for a national program, from which pool semen is derived with no remuneration.

Screening for disease is another important factor. Some AID programs rely solely upon the statement of the donor for information regarding health and genetic history. In July of 1985, four Australian women reportedly contracted acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) through semen donors in an artificial insemination program. Many programs, therefore, and their government overseers, are beginning to require screening for genetic diseases as well as for hepatitis and the HTLV III virus responsible for AIDS.

The role of the donor is another ethical variable. Should the receiving couple be able to choose a particular person for this service? If a husband dies can a wife choose his twin brother to donate semen in order to produce a child with nearly identical genetic characteristics? Or should the donor always be anonymous? Some programs include a waiver of rights statement signed by the donor to avoid legal problems with visitation or paternity issues. In the 22 states that have legislation covering AID, the need for a waiver is usually precluded by laws that determine the father to be the husband of the woman who bears the child, thus also

*"With the technology of In Vitro Fertilization and Embryo Transfer (IVF-ET) it is now possible for a child to have five parents: a genetic mother and father, a gestational mother, and a sociological mother and father (who raise the child)."*

circumventing the necessity for legal adoption.

But other programs invite the full participation of the semen donor into the lives of the couple and offspring. His collaboration is public and made known throughout the process, from the artificial insemination, through the hoped-for pregnancy and birth, and often into the life of the child. Sometimes the donor is responsible for regular visitation and economic support of the child. Should this be made a requirement of donors in general?

Finally, unless a program limits the number of times a donor can provide semen, offspring produced by that donor may face the problem of unknown consanguinity. One donor in Washington

D.C., who had provided a large number of semen samples for various programs there, advised his children not to marry anyone from the D.C. area for just this reason. Some legislators have suggested a national registry for the keeping of donor screening information so that consanguinity can be avoided to a great degree.

**Records and research:** What kinds of records should be kept? Unlike the parallel situation of adoption, AID records tend to be sparse, with little uniformity. This may be responsible, in part, for the fact that so few follow-up studies of donors, families or children exist.

Some have argued that no records should be kept at all, thus assuring the anonymity of the donor and extinguishing the possibility of family disruption caused from discovery by the child of the donor/parent. Others believe that files (including a photograph,) should be carefully kept, so that if the child does want to know who the biological/genetic father was, the information is available. Such data also would make follow-up studies possible.

Research that has been done, much in the last five years, reports mixed results. Some studies show positive benefits and little harm to the AID child and couple, while others indicate potential problems with paternity questions, as well as a nearly unanimous abhorrence to telling the child "the secret" of his or her origin. Apparently no long-term developmental studies have been done on the children of AID and, because the procedure is so new, none have been carried out on the use of AID with IVF-ET participants.

It may well be that we are now in the same stage as adoption was early on. Refusal to disclose origins, reluctance to talk to friends and relatives about the procedure, and denial of approval to participate in long-term studies may indicate the marginal acceptance of AID by society. But that hesitance may also indicate some psychological and societal

disapproval that ought to be taken seriously and may even gravitate against use of AID or AID with IVF. Clearly, more studies are needed before either procedure is practiced with no restrictions.

**Couple selection:** Who ought to have access to the use of AID or AID with IVF? Everyone who desires it? Only those who can afford it? Those for whom all else has failed? Most medically accepted criteria indicate the use of AID for the treatment of male infertility: oligospermia, azoospermia, physiological impotence, sterility, or infertility of unknown origin. AID may also be considered where the male has a known inheritable genetic disease or disorder. In these cases, donor semen is used at the couples request and/or the physician's recommendation.

Similar criteria are used in selecting participants for the IVF-ET programs, though these mainly focus on female infertility. Few psychological guidelines for selection appear to be considered other than medical "necessity" and the willingness of the couple to accept either procedure.

Other countries (Netherlands, Australia, Great Britain) have noted the unknowns of combining these two technologies, and require that the couple be in active treatment for infertility for at least 12 months prior to the procedure. Some state that the physician treating them must not be the one carrying out the IVF process.

In nearly all recent studies and profiles of couples requesting AID (many with IVF), the need for psychological counseling is stated to be paramount. Before entering any program, couples must be confronted about infertility, the desperation they experience, the values motivating them, and the frequently inordinate hope (or need) to have their own genetic offspring. Should they be found acceptable (as adoption screening finds couples acceptable or unacceptable), further support counseling is needed

during the process, preferably with other couples undergoing the same stress. Finally, after the procedure either fails or succeeds, counseling is needed to face the loss (like a death) or to follow up as the family grows and matures (again parallel to adoption).

**Family structure:** It is clear that the traditional family structure consists of two parents with children of their own gametes. Where that structure is changed by accident, death, disability or divorce, then other socially acceptable arrangements follow. Resulting family configurations include many variations on a theme of mixed or non-existent genetic relationships. Social vocabulary describes these mixtures as "half-brother," "step-sister," "stepfather," "adopted daughter," "ex-husband," "children by my first (second, third) wife."

In nearly all of these relationships there is some genetic investment (biological relationship) resulting from the broken bonds of the original family relationship. Supporters of AID and AID with IVF argue that using these procedures produces offspring with at least half the genes of the couple, thus bonding them closer than adoption might.

Critics counter that producing a child with half the genes of the parents results in an asymmetrical relationship. Only one member of the couple (the wife) is genetically invested and thus bonded to the offspring. In times of distress the husband may not feel responsible for "her child," or be told "It's not your child, anyway." With adoption, on the other hand, there exists a genetically symmetrical relationship. Neither parent has a genetic claim, and thus both are equally free to relate without the pressure of that claim.

The model for the traditional family is clear, though variations caused by unforeseen events are, of course, acceptable. Ought we, however, to deliberately restructure families away from that model by the planned introduction of a third

genetic party into the couple's relationship? Does the intense desire for children with the genes of at least one parent offset the psychological and sociological implications inherent in the introduction of another's semen into the couple's family structure? Is it not the case that the desired family structure is that of two parents with children who are wanted and loved, regardless of genetic relationships? With this model as the goal, adoption and biological birthing are *equally* valuable and the pejorative nature of "infertility" itself is entirely circumvented.

As for the argument that the technologies are "unnatural," many people consider that *all* medicine is "unnatural" and thus immune from criticism on those grounds. But there does seem an immense difference between the replacement of a hip or knee joint with an artificial appliance, or the treatment of an epidemic with serum injections, and the use of AID with or without IVF. The social ramifications of most medical practices go no further than the effect upon the individual, or the individual and the family. The use of AID, especially with IVF, deliberately and consciously sets out to condone the restructuring of a long accepted societal norm.

As mentioned earlier, few long-term studies of AID and its effects on family life have been conducted and none on the use of AID with IVF. But even if sufficient data existed, ought we to participate in such technological restructuring, merely because it is possible? And does not that restructuring reinforce genetic replication as a higher value than the nurturing of children in general, thus judging infertile couples (and those who adopt) as "inferior?"

**Justice:** The medical community prefers to present AID/IVF only as the "treatment of infertility." Because they view AID as an "acceptable" standard for treatment, and IVF as becoming an acceptable standard for treatment, they largely see no reason for caution in com-



binning the two. The technology is there, therefore it ought to be used.

But to see AID/IVF merely as an issue of infertility is evidence of professional myopia and cultural arrogance. It is, of course, true that some couples grappling with infertility feel damaged, cheated and unfulfilled. Such feelings are reinforced by a medical system that describes infertility as an illness to be treated and an abnormality to be overcome. Insurance companies also participate in this, paying for obstetrical bills (some even for several IVF attempts) but not adoption fees. Similarly, state and federal tax systems allow deductions for these medical bills but not for expenses incurred in adoption. Is such a heavy weighting in favor of novel medical approaches to infertility, and against adoption, just?

The justice issue also involves world demographics. The International Planned Parenthood Federation estimates that the population of the world in the year 2000 will be 6 billion, of which 590 million will be malnourished. Their report states that "even when every possible local and international effort has been made to develop agriculture, some checks on population growth seem inevitable. Those checks can take the human and voluntary form of coordinated population policies and family planning programs — or, if governments do not take timely action, then nature may impose crueler checks in the form of higher death rates."

Deliberations about the ethical nature of AID/IVF do not occur in China, where families are limited to one child so as to equitably distribute resources to young and old alike. Nor do they occur in Africa where about \$1 per year per person is spent on health care. The discussion is also moot in Nicaragua, Brazil, Mexico, Vietnam and India. Indeed, the nations where assisted reproduction issues are most vehemently debated (Australia, Great Britain, France, Netherlands, and the United States) seldom see the dis-

cussion as another cultural luxury item compared to the basic survival issues of the rest of our global village.

Given population projections, current food supply and the obvious surfeit of babies already living and available for adoption, is it just to expend increasingly precious health-care resources to produce even more babies? If the goal is parenting and nurturing, there are surely enough children to go around. If the goal is bearing and reproducing one's own gene pool, or even a portion of it, should limits be placed on the number of times and methods that may be attempted? Is it not, in fact, genetic as well as cultural arrogance to ignore the surfeit of available infants and thereby deny overriding responsibility to care for those already born?

Some have argued that it is unjust to the infertile male not to have access to AID, and unjust to the infertile couple not to provide AID with VIF. But while there is a desperate need to have children (often based on the erroneous learned belief that infertility is a sign of personal failure) there is no *right* to have them. One has the right to attempt to have them, but children — or resources to produce them — are not owed to anyone. As J.R. Nelson stated in *The Christian Century* as early as 1982: "Calls for federal funding of IVF based on rights are as persuasive as demands for printing presses to fulfill the right of free speech."

Others believe that the uncreated embryos are done an injustice by not permitting conception and birth into the world. It is better to be born they argue, than never to have existed. But since we have no direct experience with nonexistence, the question cannot logically be answered.

Finally, even if true, the argument that life is preferable to death or nonexistence is further evidence that we ought to take seriously our first duty to those who are alive already — and available for adoption.

The American Fertility Society sets the clinically accepted standards for programs of assisted reproductive techniques in this country. The AFS Ethics Committee (consisting mainly of physicians, and only one woman, an attorney) is currently drafting an ethics statement. While some believe that this arrangement keeps reproductive technology from being politicized, others convincingly argue that a national governmental body should debate the ethical, as well as the clinical guidelines for these programs in open forum. France, Australia, Great Britain and The Netherlands all have established blue ribbon commissions to study and offer legislative recommendations governing assisted reproductive techniques.

As Christians, we have an obligation to be informed about and come to an opinion regarding technology that may so drastically affect our family structure as well as our global village. Perhaps the church could lead where the government seems fearful to tread, by establishing a national commission for the study of assisted reproductive techniques. Such a group could offer legislative suggestions based on sound ethical deliberation. At the very least, these issues deserve careful scrutiny at the parish level.

One thing is clear. If we do not soon state our preferences regarding limits and boundaries appropriate for reproductive technology, the ethically unlimited and morally boundless technology will set them for us. ■

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### Resource

*Good Genes: Emerging Values for Science, Religion and Society.* A group study guide edited by David A. Ames and Colin B. Gracey, 1984. 140 pages. \$3.95 plus postage/handling. 10 or more, \$3 each. Forward Movement Publications, 412 Sycamore St., Cincinnati, OH 45202.

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Heterosexism:

# Enforcing male supremacy

by Carter Heyward

**H**eterosexism is the structure of gay/lesbian oppression. To comprehend any act or attitude structurally is to realize that it is never simply a thing in itself, unrelated to the social fabric of the world we inhabit. A man is not thrown off a bridge in Bangor, Me., simply because he was an “effeminate” individual who had the misfortune of running into some particularly homophobic youth. Unless we perceive that Charlie Howard was killed because All-American kids are taught by church, synagogue and state to hate “fags,” and that the three young men who killed Charlie Howard represented the dominant moral ethos of our mainline religions and our society, we will never understand why Charlie Howard was murdered.

To comprehend why the Christian churches have embraced heterosexism with a vengeance, I propose that we examine what power means in our society. We cannot make sense of either sexuality or theology unless we have some idea of how we experience power in the world.

In a profit-consumed economic order, the value of persons is diminished. The capacity to value our bodies, to enjoy a sense of self-esteem, to take pleasure in our work, and to love either ourselves or others is swallowed up in the competitive market. This loss of ourselves and one another is what Marx meant by alienation. In an alienated situation, no one can relate as humanely as he or she might desire. In the U.S. context of racial, economic and gender alienation, power has come to mean the control by a few over the lives, labor and relationships of all others. The food we eat, the air we breathe, the love we make, even the dreams we nurture, are controlled

to a large extent by the structural configurations of power which have been shaped by affluent white males who often fail to see any more clearly than the rest of us the exploitative character of their lives.

Thus, we and those who have power over us have learned to assume that alienation is “natural.” It is important that we recognize the extent to which acceptance of alienated power characterizes U.S. society in the late 20th century. In this society, any power that “pays” is that which we earn at the expense of others. Alienated power is not shared. It is a possession, not a resource; quantitative, not qualitative. Under modern capitalism, alienated power is symbolized by money, guns, missiles and penises; more and bigger is best.

We are turned on by the dynamics of domination and submission which are structured into the world we inhabit. As mirrors of the world, our bodies and psyches reflect the violence intrinsic to the dynamics of alienated power. What we know, what we feel, and what we believe is mediated by images, symbols, and acts of domination and violence.

We learn to associate survival itself with acts of power. Even children raised in homes in which tenderness and respect are demonstrated daily learn, through media and other forms of participation in dominant culture, that might does make right — or at least shows who is in charge.

## Heterosexism: an extension of sexism

In a sexist society, men take from women whatever they want and give to women whatever they choose. Sexism is a structure of alienated power. Sexism refers, specifically, to the historical complex of practices and attitudes which are essential to men’s control of women’s sexuality — and thereby, of women’s lives.

Heterosexism is a logical and necessary extension of sex-

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ism, for it is rooted in the doubly false assumption that 1) male gender superiority is good; i.e., natural and normal and 2) in order to secure sexism in our social order, men must be forced, if need be, to control women's sexual activity. If women are to stay on the bottom of the male-female relationship, men must stay on the top. Men must be willing to do their part in preserving the structure of sexism; otherwise, the patriarchy would not prevail.

Heterosexist ideology strives to convince us that normal women are sexually submissive to men; and real men sexually dominate women. When heterosexism is understood as the fundamental means of enforcing sexism and intrinsically bound up in the oppression of women, we can begin to understand why the gay/lesbian liberation movement, historically, has been linked with the women's liberation movement. We can also see why it is clear to feminists that the "women's issue" and "gay issue" cannot be politically effective as long as their proponents attempt to keep them separate. The National Organization of Women in the early 1970s and the mainline Protestant denominations made this mistake. In attempting not to confuse women's liberation with gay/lesbian liberation, we disregard the deep connection between gender and sexual politics.

Understanding the link between sexism and heterosexism also may help illuminate why so many openly gay, self-affirming men are feminists — and why so many frightened homosexual men are not. A gay man who understands the sexist character of his own oppression knows that those who govern the structures of patriarchal capitalism are determined to use his body to enforce the sexual control of women's lives. He is able to comprehend his homosexuality not simply as a private orientation or preference, but rather as a form of resistance to sexism, not necessarily chosen, but a form of resistance nonetheless.

On the other hand, men who experience their homosexuality as simply a private dimension of who they "happen to be" and what they "happen to like" fail generally to appreciate any sexual politics except those which help keep the cops out of the baths and bars and the public out of their business. Unable to make connections between their own hidden lives and the oppression of women, such homosexual men — frequently are not only indifferent to women's plight, but even hostile toward feminists and openly gay men for having made sexuality a matter of public interest.

Homosexual people, like everyone else in a heterosexist society, are homophobic. We are afraid of what our erotic involvement with members of the same sex may mean about us — that we are not quite "right" — and of what the consequences may be. (We may forfeit our job, marriage, children, ordination, respect, etc.) Many homosexual men and

women are so terrorized by the meaning and potential consequences of their "sexual orientation" that they cannot let themselves see the sexual politics of their lives. Moreover, they fail to imagine the creative power inherent in community building and solidarity on behalf of others oppressed.

### Ethics of duplicity

In a patriarchal society where women's lives are devalued, it is impossible for anyone to act entirely free of a long-standing ethical premise that it is simply right for women to be sexually-constrained and governed. Female sexual passion is considered to be in bad taste. A sexually excited woman, one who lusts after sex, is by patriarchal definition, a whore.

Thomas Jefferson took a mistress and Benjamin Franklin produced a so-called "illegitimate" son, and these men are revered as "fathers of our country." If it is known that a woman has a male or female lover, or a child outside of wedlock, she is disparaged as "trash." The church has played no small part in maintaining this double standard, in which Christian moralists are more concerned with women's sex lives than with men's. As John Boswell demonstrates, the church traditionally has tolerated male homosexuality, provided it has been practiced with discretion. It is my thesis that this same indifference to "boys being boys" — *whether gay or straight* — might even now characterize Christian sexual ethics if the gay issue had not been raised recently in the struggle to liberate women's sexuality from male domination.

Today most mainline churches flaunt a heterosexist ethic



of duplicity. In variously worded declarations, they declare that only homosexuals who hide, or refuse to practice, their sexuality can be ordained. Translated into an ethic for *all* Christian homosexuals, this means that only those who are willing to live split lives (one private/one public) are living sexually *moral* lives.

This ethic of sexual duplicity is a grandstand play, attempting to restore some decency and order to the church in this era of feminism. The ethic creates an illusion that the feminist tide of gender and sexual liberation is being curbed. It is a morally vacant ethic which fails to command the respect of gay and lesbian seminarians and of any ecclesiastical authorities who possess a modicum of moral or intellectual integrity. Like many unjust laws, the church's heterosexual ethic may exist in the book, but it is ultimately doomed because those whose relationships and vocations it is meant to alter refuse to grant it *moral* authority. It is a contemptuous policy which should be circumvented, challenged, or ignored.

This same ethic allows for the ordination of closeted homosexual persons — thousands of bishops, priests, and deacons have been, and are, closeted homosexual men. Such ethical allowance is made because homosexual persons who live hidden, double lives represent (whether or not they wish to) the church's deep, historic hostility toward women's liberation from male control. This misogyny is entirely in keeping with Christian tradition. So too is the duplicity — the call to live double lives — which compromises any claim church leaders might wish to make on behalf of such virtues as "honesty," "wholeness," or "integrity."

Christian sexual ethics historically have been grounded in a duplicitous definition of sexuality, in which our sexual selves are split in two. The church has not helped us experience ourselves as whole, well-integrated persons, regardless of whether we are primarily homoerotic or heteroerotic. The so-called natural, and thus moral, split between male domination and female submission is the bottom line of Christian sexual ethics. The split between essence and activity (for instance, between "being" homosexual and "practicing" homosexuality) has served, theologically, to explain the conflict between the "human condition," which is experienced as "sinful" and beyond our capacity to alter, and human *behavior*, which must be constrained if it is to be morally good. The double standard in sexual ethics between the tolerance of male sexual activity and the sanctioning of female sexual behavior has been the church's means of creating and sustaining male sexual hegemony. The split between public and private sexuality has given men sexual license to create a separate, private space of discretion or concealment in which women, sex, and sin can be controlled and enjoyed by men, without their suffering any public con-

sequences.

These splits, which render us broken people in broken community, are secured, and strengthened by the denials, silences, and lies which the church demands of those who are erotically involved with members of the same gender. In the context of a heterosexual society that kills dykes and fags, I believe that hiding in the closet is not, per se, morally wrong. What *is* morally wrong is for closeted homosexual persons to take potshots at feminists and openly gay/lesbian people. This horizontal violence must be stopped, and openly gay men and lesbians, together with our straight allies, must take steps together toward stopping it. We must be clear that the most misogynist, homophobic, duplicitous, closeted homosexual men in the church — often those who rant and rave vociferously about the absurdity of women priests and the sinfulness of homosexual activity — are themselves victims of the historic sinfulness of the church's teachings about gender and sexuality. Heterosexism is the church's great sexual sin, and all of us collude with it in one way or another, thereby perpetuating it. While no one individual can be blamed for the church's sexual sinfulness, no one can escape moral responsibility for participating in its sexual redemption.

In summary, the two fundamental aims of "Christian" (i.e., good or moral) sexual activity have been biological procreation and political control. Christians have been educated to embrace publicly that which the church has taught as essential to its own familial order: sex, if it is moral, is something that a man does privately to his wife. "Christian sex" means that he initiates, she responds. These are the parameters of "Christian sex" in all places, at all times, for all people who have to "do it." For the church to accept homosexuality as moral would be tantamount to a Christian proclamation that sexual activity need not be stimulated by sexist attitudes. Neither homosexual nor heterosexual sex is necessarily sexist. But Christian moralists traditionally have defined *moral* sex as sexist. In Christian thought and practice, non-sexist sex — in which man does not dominate woman — is un-Christian.

The gay/lesbian movement against heterosexism is a movement for a non-sexist moral order. Because in a non-sexist world and church, male superiority would be deemed morally wrong, men would not be forced to control women's sexualities and women's lives. In such a world and church, we would encourage one another to express our sexualities in relation to those with whom we were mutually empowering and empowered people. Unfortunately, most mainline churches have responded to this non-sexist, morally honest scenario with heterosexual, morally dishonest ethics and a lack of vision. ■



# Short Takes

## Pentagon on campuses

More than 230 state, private and religious colleges and universities, in nearly every state of the union, have Pentagon-sponsored contracts, according to *Uncle Sam Goes to School*, a report released Feb. 25 by NARMIC, a research unit of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC).

"Although many universities scaled back involvement in military-sponsored projects during the Vietnam war era, the Pentagon is buying its way back onto campus in a big way, mobilizing researchers for a quiet role in the arms race," said Thomas Conrad, an AFSC staff researcher.

Military spending for academic research topped \$1.06 billion in 1984, according to the NARMIC report. It also shows universities engaged in Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars) research and lists \$68.8 million in nuclear weapons-related contracts from the Department of Energy, which is responsible for the design and production of nuclear warheads.

Johns Hopkins University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) are the two largest recipients of Pentagon money. MIT projects include military-sponsored genetic research, support for nuclear testing facility in the Pacific and projects for the top secret National Security Agency.

**Kimberly Everett**  
**AFSC News Release**

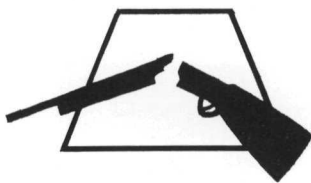
Nothing is really work unless you'd rather be doing something else.

**Sir James M. Barrie**

## Lotteries: tax on poor

Lotteries are a tax on the poor. Most tickets are bought by those living below the poverty level. It is the selling of an illusion to people who despair of being able, in any other way, to break out of the circumstances in which they are trapped. In most large state lotteries a person has three times as much chance of being struck dead by lightning as he has of winning the grand prize. Lotteries encourage crime, especially organized crime. In the long run they mean less money for the "good works" they are supposed to support. They encourage greed rather than social responsibility, a trust in fortune rather than hard work.

**The Rev. W. J. Lunney**  
**Forward Movement pamphlet**



## Hell no, didn't go

White House communications director Pat Buchanan, who first called the contras "the moral equivalent of the Founding Fathers," missed military service with a bad knee. Georgia congressman Newt Gingrich, columnist George Will, Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle, Secretary of the Navy John Lehman — all unabashed advocates of protecting our interests abroad with the blood of American boys — ducked service in Vietnam with college deferments...

Sylvester Stallone, who embodies American valor in his performance of an angry Vietnam vet in *Rambo*, spent the Vietnam era teaching gym at an exclusive girls' boarding school in Switzerland, studying acting at the University of Miami and shooting a porn movie called *A Party at Kitty and Stud's*.

Summing up, Rep. Andrew Jacobs of Indiana, an opponent of Reagan's military buildup, and a veteran of Korea who is eligible for disability benefits from a war wound: "I doubt there are more than 20 of us in Congress who have ever faced a man with a rifle who was actually trying to kill you... When I hear these men, who have never been in such a circumstance, casually contemplate sending teenagers off to places like Lebanon and other troubled places, my nerves go cold."

**Jack Newfield in the Village Voice**  
**quoted in Utne Reader**

## Society of the future

What is the society we seek? We seek a society that affirms the values of democratic participation, of the equal value of all persons as the basis for their civil equality and their equal access to the educational and work opportunities of the society... a society that dismantles sexist and class hierarchies.

**Rosemary Radford Ruether**  
**Sexism and God-Talk**

## Challenger and SDI scam

The explosion that consumed Challenger should also re-ignite the controversy over the Star Wars nuclear defense system. President Reagan and the hi-tech freaks and hacks who are pushing the program have almost convinced the "opinion leaders" in America that it is logically possible and mechanically feasible to laser and pulse our way into nuclear primacy and national security. But any school kid in New Hampshire can now see that with a misfire rate no worse than the shuttle's, the Strategic Defense Initiative would be a dud or, worse, an engine of national suicide... SDI is no more a miracle shield than the shuttle is a vehicle for space exploration. Sensors explore; astronauts tinker. One launch of the unmanned Voyager has produced more exploratory science than 24 shuttles. Both Star Wars and the manned shuttle programs are major military projects, lucrative corporate boondoggles and serious efforts in public relations and self-promotion for NASA. The tragedy is that it cost seven lives to reveal the scam.

**The Nation, 2/8/86**

## Power on behalf of

Inasmuch as (feminist) spirituality encompasses all, it has a word about power, relationships and oppression. That word is justice, right relations. Power, thereby, is not over-againstness, rather power on behalf of. One's power is not diminished as another's is enhanced. And women's power is affirmed rather than denied or negated.

This spirituality recognizes it is not enough to create a private functioning world view which sustains one personally while leaving untouched the oppressive and alienating realities which operate for most women in most parts of the world. "Sisterhood" becomes an emotional, intellectual, spiritual and political reality which unites women across racial, class, and national bounds.

**Patricia Broughton**  
**The Flyer 1/86**

## Quote of note

People in power do not generate serious literature. People in power send memos.

**Prof. Walter Bruggemann**  
**Circuit Rider**



## Nibbling at the elephant

**S**o often we Christians find much to lament and agonize over and too little to rejoice and celebrate. There is some heartening news, however, in the growing divestment movement within the Episcopal Church that has emerged in response to the legislative action voted by its General Convention at Anaheim last September.

The Anaheim mandate, for those unfamiliar with the Convention resolution, called upon the church, its institutions and agencies to divest stocks in companies doing business in South Africa.

At its February meeting, the national Executive Council, thankfully, voted to instruct the church's Committee on Trust Funds to divest all holdings in such companies by June 30, 1986, thus adding a "time certain" missing from the original resolution. That same day, the Vestry of Trinity Church, Wall Street, also voted in favor of divestment. The Trinity action affects about 20% of the parish's overall stock portfolio with an estimated value of \$10 million. In addition, the parish has committed itself to fund indigenous church groups in South Africa working against apartheid with an initial pledge of \$250,000 and up to \$1 million to be given over the next four years.

Similarly in the Diocese of Pennsylvania, St. Thomas' Church, Whitemarsh, near Philadelphia, agreed to divest the parish of its holdings, worth almost one-

half million, in companies doing business in South Africa and Namibia, expressing "moral condemnation of apartheid" and "unwillingness as Christians to be complicit with the system which we find to be immoral and inconsistent with the Gospel." Among other institutions which have approved divestment, in accord with the General Convention action, are the General Theological Seminary, New York, and a number of individual dioceses around the country.

The Convention resolution, while a clear mandate to the church's institutions and agencies, was somehow not binding upon the "granddaddy" of Episcopal investors, the Church Pension Fund, despite the fact that its trustees are elected by that same assembly. Thus the Pension Fund could only be *urged* to undertake divestment.

No steps in that direction could be discerned following the recent annual meeting of the Fund. Rather, emphasis seemed to center on "fiduciary responsibility" (which may soon become a four-letter word) that would preclude such action. Sensing reluctance on the part of the trustees to move toward divestment, the Diocese of Newark resolved at its recent annual convention to establish a voluntary escrow account into which clergy could direct regular pension payments if and when the Fund fails to comply with a specified timetable or if

and when Bishop Desmond Tutu issues a call for economic sanctions.

The Newark action could have severe financial consequences for clergy whose pension payments fall into arrears. With this clear understanding, the vote of the clergy in support of the resolution was overwhelming. The Episcopal Urban Caucus, at its recent Pittsburgh national assembly, endorsed the Newark plan and resolved that its members urge their dioceses, through Convention or Council, to set up similar escrow accounts.

The Executive Council also has affirmed the Harare Declaration, which was adopted by U.S. church leaders after consultation with a broad spectrum of South African church leadership, including Bishop Tutu. The declaration calls for international pressure, including comprehensive economic sanctions, on the minority government of South Africa.

Small efforts, true — and not without their detractors in the church who argue that South African Blacks would be hurt most by our economic withdrawal from that country and that American financial interests quickly would be replaced by those of other nations. At least three things are not arguable: South African Blacks could hardly hurt *much more*; other national financial interests are already in place; but more importantly, perhaps, the only way to eat an elephant is one bite at a time. ■

## The seminary chapel windows

I studied faces in windows  
kings and prophets  
angels, bishops, saints  
and all the people in the Jesus tales.

It struck me, first  
that most of the faces wear beards.  
Just here and there a veiled head  
in the lower panels  
women bowing, adoring.

Then  
it struck me that most of the faces  
are white. I searched  
the colored glass and found  
seven dark-skinned creatures.  
Two are turbanned slaves  
crouched before swords  
in Solomon's court.  
Two more have pointed ears, webbed feet  
offspring of Beelzebub's house.  
Two are the temptor  
offering bread and kingdoms  
spurned by Christ.  
The last is the leering head  
on the snake  
in the Garden.

I don't know  
what to do  
with these facts.  
Throwing stones does not change hearts.

I stammer and point  
and these images loom  
year after year  
above bowed heads  
learning priesthood, seeking  
the face  
of God.

— Pamela W. Darling

### Free AYH memberships

In celebration of its 50th anniversary, the American Youth Hostel (AYH) organization is offering free memberships to churches and other non-profit groups. The free membership pass normally costs \$50 per year. Church groups can save even more by making AYH's 300 low-cost hostels part of their travel and retreat programs. Hostels are inexpensive overnight lodging and meeting facilities located throughout the United States and internationally in cities, resorts, and rural areas. Church groups interested in more information should contact: Kava Schafer, Weisel Youth Hostel, R.D. #3, Quakertown, PA 18951.

### Letters . . . Continued from page 3

were quite meaningful at the time but are so no longer to modern ears. This has caused the dilemma: dissident priests and religious use a political frame of reference, mainstream persons use a moral frame of reference, and they cannot communicate.

The political view tends to trivialize sexuality, using terms like "preference" and "life-style" to explain something abstract called "rights;" the theological mainstream uses a vocabulary of morals and decency which, for better or for worse, says nothing to the average person. One reads this view in vain for any practical reason why one should behave one way or another in this important issue.

This is not to say that I know how to behave but to suggest that if we would drop labels like rights and morals and instead ask questions like, what is the relation of the life force to mankind's spiritual struggle? Where and how ought we try to master it?, there is a chance we could not only start talking to one another but work out together usable norms of modern behavior.

Prof. Michael N. Nagler  
UC Berkeley

### Church can reshape

I'm sorry not to have been at the Episcopal Church General Convention in Anaheim. The events there have moved me more than any other in my ministry save two: the ordination of women to the priesthood, and the General Convention Special Program.

When Bishop Browning's opening words were that he would care for Black people in South Africa, and the inclusion of women and gays in the life and ministry of the church, I thought I was dreaming. When I read that the convention nearly passed a canon outlawing discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, I thought I heard the trumpets of the second coming.

Surely, this is a church which can renew itself. It is a church which can be

reshaped for justice and mercy, and I rejoice in my association with it. The various crucifixions I've experienced within this ministry have, through God's love, yielded the gift of resurrection. Although I am not now "employed" by the church, I am employed in the priesthood of Christ. My healing work, particularly with people with AIDS is gaining power and will, eventually, contribute to the revolution in health care which is coming rapidly upon us. In any case, I want to share with THE WITNESS my profound joy, and, really, disbelief, that the Church of Denver could become the Church at Anaheim.

The Rev. Richard Kerr  
San Francisco, Cal.

### He found it!

The Rev. Ronald S. Winchell of Roanoke, Va. has identified—sort of—the anonymous piece we ran in the February issue called, "If God were process oriented." The article appeared in *The Episcopalian*, which had noted: "Actually this piece was anonymously written about the Lutherans, but since they have no corner on the amount of time committees can waste, we asked to reprint it. Copyright 1982 *The Lutheran*. Reprinted by permission from the Sept. 15, 1982, issue."

THE WITNESS made a hasty call of apology to *The Lutheran*, lest it be sued, and was assured by an editorial colleague, "not to worry." *The Lutheran* over all these years still has not turned up the author, who remains shrouded in anonymity. We are grateful to Ronald Winchell, who had the piece on his bulletin board at St. John's for the longest; to *The Episcopalian*, to *The Lutheran* and to Ping Ferry of New York who sent it to Abbie Jane Wells of Alaska who sent it to us—in this ecumenical tour de farce which brought smiles to so many.

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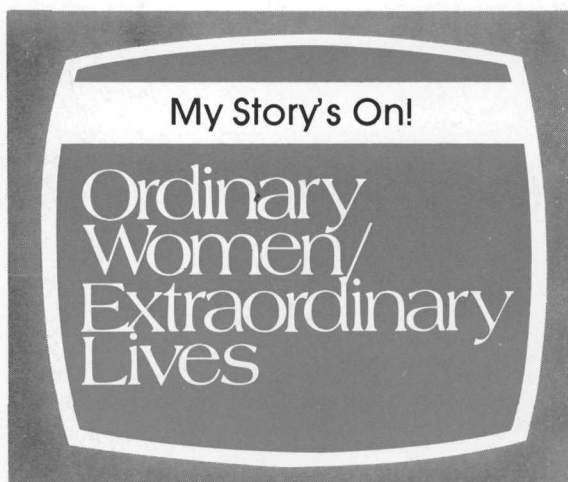
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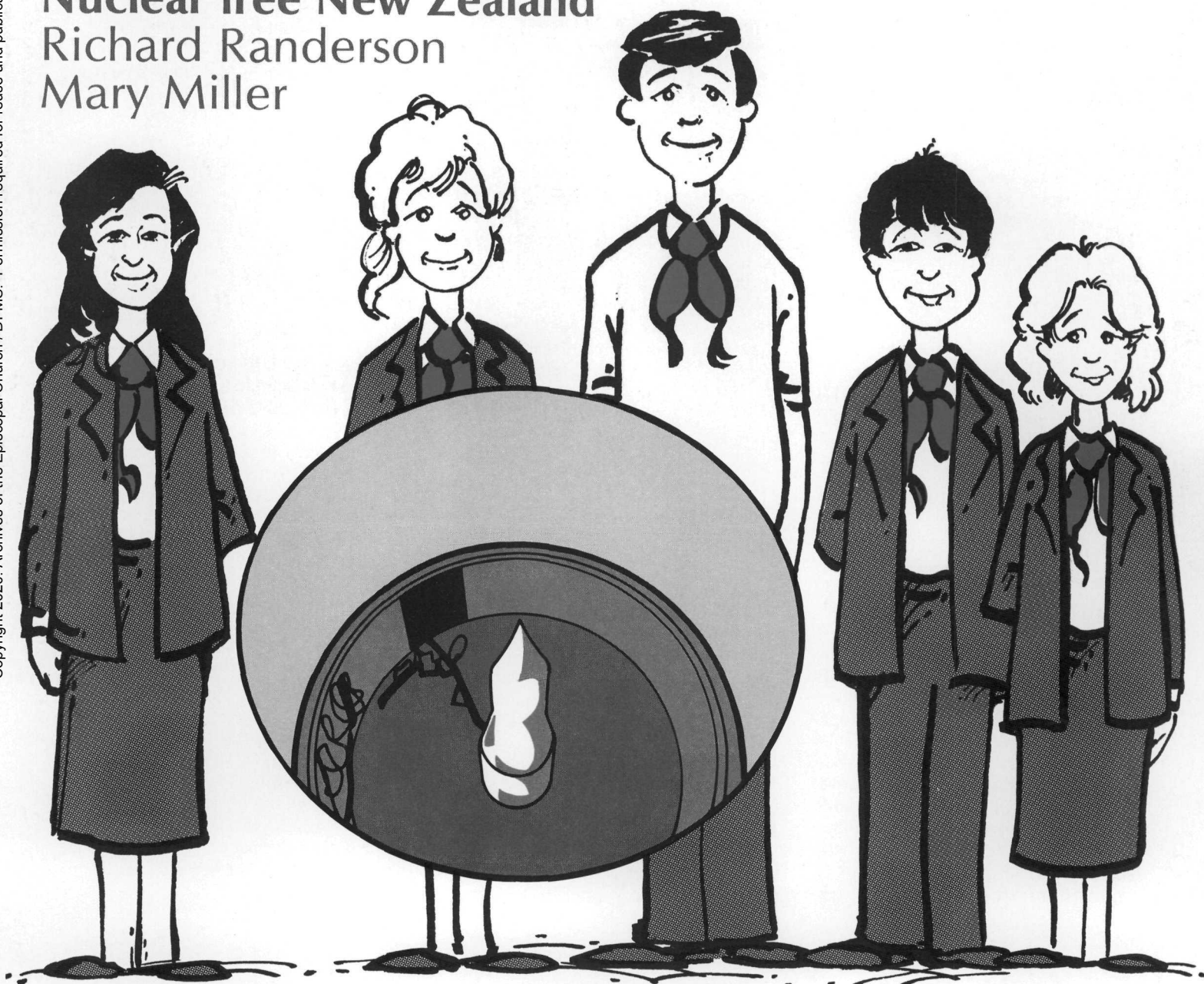
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# THE WITNESS

# Nuclear free New Zealand

Richard Randerson  
Mary Miller



# Letters

## Taking on bureaucracy

Andrea Canaan's "Bank of America Story" from the new feminist anthology *My Story's On* is a marvelous vignette, beautifully written! She dramatizes an experience many of us females know from the inside of our own stomachs: the ways bureaucratic procedures can be used to humiliate and infantilize those of us who are otherwise normal, intelligent, functioning adults.

I found particularly insightful the way she let the reader see under the surface of her loud, stubborn, public-nuisance-creating stand — what she had to do to get the bureaucrats to respond — and the terrible cost it exacted from *her*, the victim. It is the perfect illustration for a course lecture I'm giving this next week at Drew Theological School, on Women and Bureaucracy. Thanks to Andrea and the March WITNESS.

**Joanna B. Gillespie**  
**Drew Theological School**  
**Madison, N.J.**

## Not to throwaway

I have just become acquainted with THE WITNESS and am writing a simple throwaway note of appreciation for quality of content. I found particular delight in seeing the whole issue wrapped in "The powerlessness of Christ" and "A Bank of America story."

**James N. Studer, O.S.B.**  
**Minneapolis, Minn.**

## Kudos from Alaska

The March WITNESS is powerful — the red cover with Tracy Councill's stunning woodcut sets the pace for the entire issue — and puts Bruce Coggins' "Wayward WITNESS" letter in its proper place. And for that I will quote what John McKenzie writes about Thomas Aquinas' *Videtur mihi sicut palea*: "I paraphrase, I think with utter fidelity to what he meant: It looks to me like a pile of the stuff usually found on the floors of stables."

I was delighted to see Helen Woodson's "Random thoughts from the first year of prison," and I loved Barbara Harris' column with its stunning title, "Life, liberty and the pursuit of duplicity."

But I was especially taken with Bishop Spong's "The powerlessness of Jesus Christ," which I tried to get to every clergy person I know, hoping it might influence their Holy Week and Easter sermons. And I felt real close to Andrea Canaan's "Bank of America story." It reminded me of my attempt last year to get a document notarized at my bank without proper identification. I've been a customer of this bank since 1943 and I couldn't believe my own bank wouldn't accept my checkbook as identification.

The February issue was quality, too, but this time it was the poems that I've read and reread — especially Alla Bozarth-Campbell's "Christmas Resurrection," then Ruby Royal Quick's "Some of Georgia's best" and Ray Greenblatt's "The old lady down the block."

**Abbie Jane Wells**  
**Juneau, Alaska**

## Helen's father writes

Thanks so much for the March issue of THE WITNESS containing an article by my daughter — Helen Woodson — written with her usual verve. I have always admired her, but not as her equal, for she rather pleasantly humbles me.

It may seem to you gratuitous that I should add that I do not share my daughter's religious commitment. But that's quite all right, since we can't all go to heaven, and I personally prefer Nirvana. But what she does moves mountains. This is awfully cheeky of me, isn't it?

**Carl F. Strauch**  
**Bethlehem, Pa.**

## First nuclear free zone

I came into your ranks by way of a free parish subscription about a year ago. I

enjoy and am enlightened each month by your offerings.

I am involved with the Big Island Nuclear Free Zone Committee. This island was the first U.S. Nuclear Free-Zone. In 1984 our county council exempted the armed forces from the regulation. We along with three other peace-oriented groups are working on a November referendum to put the armed forces back into the regulation. Keep up your good work in articles and editorials.

**The Rev. Richard A. Kirchoffer**  
**Captain Cook, Hawaii**

## Disarmament dangerous

For 50 years as a Christian pastor I have worked and prayed for world peace. Now I find, strangely, that I am viewing talks on nuclear disarmament with little enthusiasm — in fact, I almost wish that they would fail!

How to account for this feeling? Firstly, I am aware that the two major antagonists, the United States and the USSR, possess unlimited bombing power. They are able to annihilate every living thing on earth seven times over! It seems perfectly clear that in the face of that tragic possibility no nation is going to initiate war except as a last desperate resort. Only a crazy person would unleash such destruction. There would be no winner in such a war. No one could escape. No island is so remote, no cave so deep, no armor so thick as to provide escape from the horrible devastation. It would be the end of the United States, the USSR, and all civilization.

On the other hand, suppose that disarmament talks succeed, resulting in an agreement to scrap all atomic-nuclear weaponry. Wouldn't we be back in the stage where resorting to war would be a temptation? At any offense by an alien power we would cry: "Foul! Unfair! Cruel! Barbaric! Dust off the tanks, the grenades, the flame-throwers, the battle-

ships, the bayonets! No red-blooded man will hesitate to arise to defend the honor of our nation and the very foundations of civilization. Let's go! Gung ho! Let's do it to them before they do it to us! And may God bless our cause and grant us certain victory."

**Eldred Johnston**  
Columbus, Ohio

### Finds issue courageous

I would like to congratulate you on the December issue of THE WITNESS which featured an article on the Rev. Zal Sherwood (relieved of his ministry because he is gay). Overall I found it to be a warm and refreshing discussion of an always sensitive topic. As a Catholic with experience in the area of gay and lesbian civil rights, I found your article to offer a thorough and insightful perspective for its readership.

The debate in Letters to the Editor (March) regarding homosexuality and the church is a long-awaited dialogue. Gay men and lesbians are daily victimized by an often violent form of discrimination that has its roots firmly in religious soil.

I believe further information should also be given on the issue of abortion. People refuse to grapple with a woman's right to control her own body. More on feminist theology would be welcome, and the real truth on the abusing of women. In my opinion we're much in need of a feminist awakening. It can't wait till the arms race is ended and Central America is at peace. The struggle for women's freedom is a basic part of the human longing for justice.

I pray that you will continue to expose your readership to the ignorance of homophobia and often petty conspiracies against gay men and lesbians. To me THE WITNESS is beautiful spiritually, mentally and ideologically and I applaud your courage.

**Charles J. Ash**  
Otisville, N.Y.

### Johnston to Congress

Would that William Johnston's "South African church stirs pot" and the Kairos Document might have shed their light into all the darkened places of our national administration! (See January WITNESS.) I did send the articles to five legislators: Sens. Bill Bradley and Frank Lautenberg of New Jersey and Chris Dodd of Connecticut, and Reps. Pete Kostmayer of Bucks County and Jim Florio of nearby Pine Hill.

Bill Johnston, whom I have known and admired for 25 years for his great work for African freedom, was most appreciative for this extension of his words and influence, as were the three legislators I have heard from — Kostmayer, whom I knew before he ran for Congress; Florio and Bradley.

Florio mentioned his sponsorship of the Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985, which passed both House and Senate but was sidetracked by the President's last-minute imposition of limited sanctions.

If there were something lacking, I would say it was my failure to send it to some others, instead of to proved liberals. I would hope that this effort might stir others to pursue the same tactics, sending WITNESS articles to Congress.

I would also urge THE WITNESS to follow up with an article on Bill Johnston himself, and the tremendous self-sacrificing work he has done as president of Episcopal Churchpeople for a Free Southern Africa.

**The Rev. John R. Chisholm**  
Lindenwold, N.J.

### Help in retirement

Just a note to say THE WITNESS is a great help in things I'm involved in during my retirement. Richard W. Gillett's "Church role vital for justice in new workplaces" was very good and its message badly needed in most churches I know about. (February issue).

**Dorothy Bingham**  
Ontario, Cal.

### Longtime admirer

My admiration for THE WITNESS extends back many years to the early days of Bill Spofford's editorship. Now that I am retired and my wife is an invalid I am very much on the sidelines but I rejoice to read what is happening and to have specific objects for prayer. I read each issue in full and I try to see that at least one other person sees each copy before it gets recycled.

**The Rev. Philip Humason Steinmetz**  
Greenfield, Mass.

### Imposing sexist drivelt

THE WITNESS in my perception, has tumbled into the bottomless and futile abyss of outdated and overworked social issues: i.e., Women's Lib (Liberation is not something *given* to anyone); the global North/South dynamic (How is freedom *won*, from whom and for what?); the feminist "Do" on politics ("Ode to Reagan"); the right of a woman to be a bishop (Yes, a woman's place is in the House of Bishops — *after* she is elected!).

These are issues of greater depth than just trivial social (read "sexist") ones and I'm tiring of your attitude and perspective! Other than guest editorials and articles, the majority of the magazine is written by women. The issues that confront us, many that we bring to ourselves, are issues for all of the church — male, female, youth, aged, and in between!

I have subscribed and enjoyed reading THE WITNESS regularly since the late '50s when I graduated from C.D.S.P. and began the ordained ministry. I am at age 54, probably perceived by some as a crotchety, narrow-minded and somewhat senile priest who is hung up on the issues of the past. My friends include women clergy, homosexuals, democrats, bishops, black, yellow, disenfranchised, downtrodden, agreeable and disagree-

*Continued on page 19*

## And a nuclear-free Pentecost to all . . .

A poster sent to the Interchurch Center, New York, from the Pacific Conference of Churches reads: *If it is safe: Dump it in Tokyo, Test it in Paris, Store it in Washington, BUT, keep my Pacific nuclear-free.* It is a graphic reminder that the peoples of the Pacific are organizing with vigor around a movement for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific.

Church people, especially the religious community in New Zealand, have played prominent roles in anti-nuclear protests in the area. Articles in this issue of THE WITNESS show New Zealand to be a significant linchpin in the movement, highlighted by its recent opposition to visits by nuclear warships. The gutsy island-nation has been active in this area for some time. In 1973, New Zealand dispatched a naval vessel with a cabinet minister on board to protest nuclear testing in the area by the French. Subsequently New Zealand took France to the World Court over this issue and won. New Zealand has also proposed a nuclear-free South Pacific zone at the United Nations. And to date, 15 congregations in New Zealand have “twinned” with religious nuclear free zones in the United States to make people-to-people connections.

At stake is whether the world is at the dawning of a “Pacific Age,” which U.S. policy makers define as increased trade and economic relations with countries in Asia and the Pacific (with the ominous rider that these nations be incorporated into U.S. military nuclear weapons strategies) — or whether we are on the eve of

a new Pentecost — an Age of Peace with Justice.

The military scenario was sketched recently by the Interchurch Center’s Task Force on Militarization in Asia and the Pacific as follows:

Hawaii, the headquarters of the U.S. Pacific Command, is the hub of an integrated U.S. military presence in the Pacific. The Pacific Command includes a southwestern basin structure extending from Guam to the Philippines and into the Indian Ocean. Micronesia in the Central Pacific provides a site for U.S. tests of guidance systems on ICBM missiles shot from California to Kwajalein in the Marshall Islands. A northeastern arm of the U.S. Pacific basin structure stretches from Guam through Okinawa, Japan, South Korea and to Alaska.

What is alarming is that the Pacific Command is becoming increasingly nuclearized. In this ambience, the Pacific Conference of Churches has taken a strong stand: “As Christian people committed to stewardship, justice and peace-making, we oppose and condemn the use of the Pacific for testing, storage, and transportation of nuclear weapons delivery systems; the disposal of radioactive wastes, and the passage of nuclear-powered ships.”

The uniting of the Pacific peoples to buck the tide of nuclear colonialism is one of many examples of increased frustration over the inability of the United States and the Soviet Union to curb their addiction to the ever growing stockpiles of nuclear weapons. And the United

States is not the only target. Rumania, a Soviet ally, has pressed the idea of a nuclear weapon-free zone in the Balkans, and the German Democratic Republic is experiencing a growing peace sentiment in the churches, according to the American Friends Service Committee.

There are also many hopeful signs in the United States. In March, Chicago’s City Council, in a rare display of unanimity, declared that city to be “the largest nuclear weapon-free zone in the country.” Chicago’s ordinance reads, “No person shall knowingly design, produce, deploy, launch, maintain or store nuclear weapons or components of nuclear weapons.” Nuclear Free America, a Baltimore group tracking local campaigns for such laws, reports that 109 other areas representing 11 million people in 22 states have declared themselves nuclear weapon-free zones. A legally binding statewide referendum is underway in Oregon, to be voted on this fall.

Some 130 *religious* nuclear-free zones have been established, including the Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York; several Roman Catholic communities and Protestant congregations, and the Unitarian Universalist headquarters in Boston.

The mushroom clouds of Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and nuclear testings recall for many Christians the biblical specter of “all creation groaning in agony even until now.” But the varied and growing peace movements worldwide would indicate that the Spirit of Pentecost is alive among many peoples, who are working to renew the face of the earth. ■



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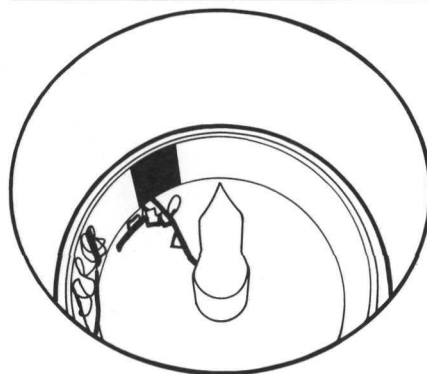
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# THE WITNESS



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# Pointing

As I was glancing through the photographs of a friend who had returned recently from the Soviet Union, something caught my eye in a picture taken in an elementary school in Moscow.

A group of students — bright-eyed, smiling, resplendent in their uniforms and red neckerchiefs — beamed at me from a classroom in far off Russia, much as school children anywhere might put their best foot forward for a visitor. One of their subjects of study, I could tell, was geography. From a wall behind them hung a large map bearing the readily recognizable outline of the United States.

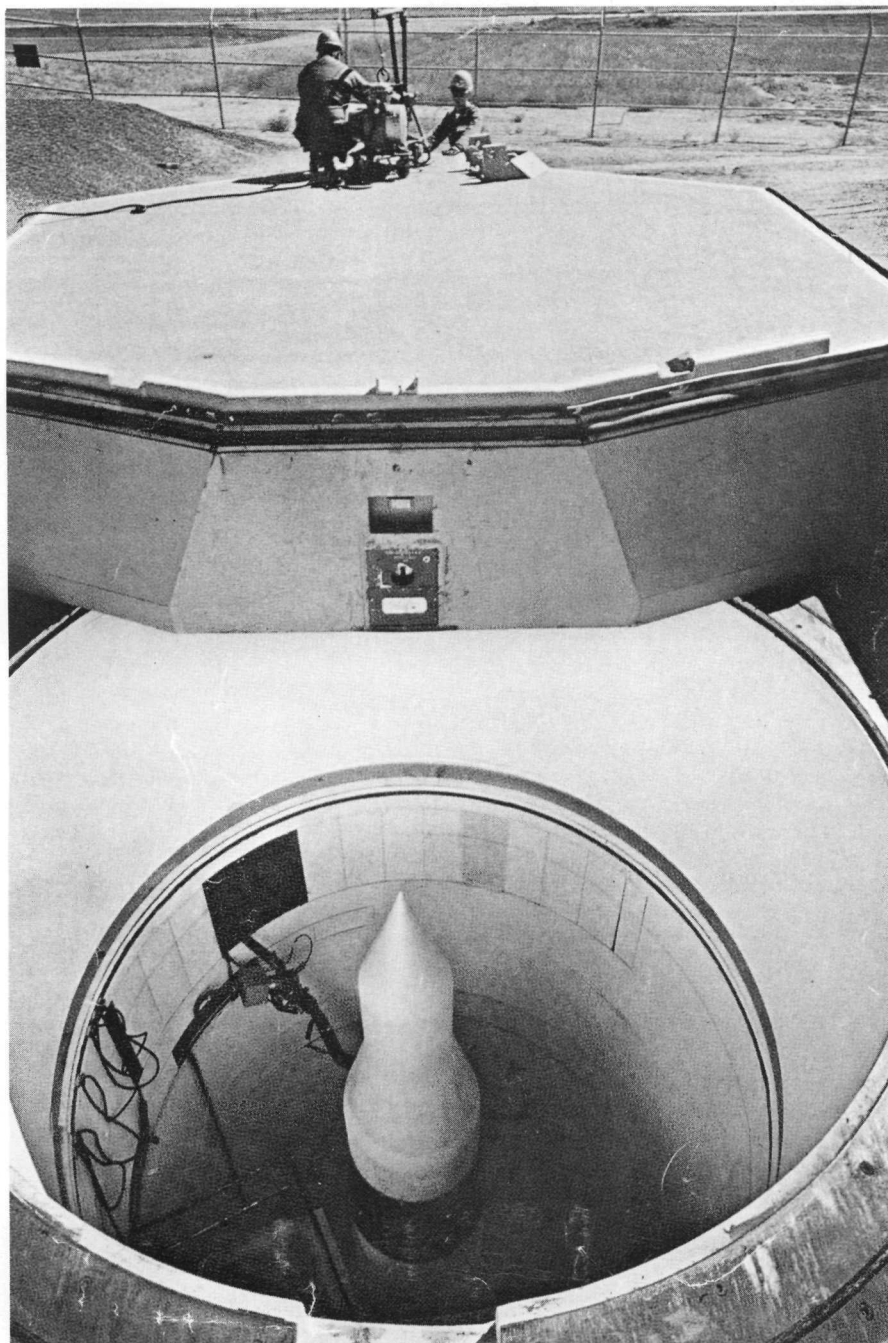
My eye picked out the Great Lakes, the long, winding blue ribbon of the Mississippi-Missouri Rivers, the borders of my home state of Wisconsin. It gave me a good feeling to see kids in Moscow learning about the Midwest and the Great Plains, and to think of places like Kansas City and Great Falls and Cheyenne as subjects of interest to young people a continent away.

As I mused about this juxtaposition of innocent Russian faces and familiar American places, my mind clicked back into a project that has been occupying me as an American peace activist.

Since last summer I have been helping other activists identify, locate, and map the 1,000 Minuteman intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) which dot the landscape of seven Midwestern and Great Plains states. It's called the Nuke-watch missile silo action project. Our purpose is to raise public consciousness

---

**Sam Day**, a free-lance writer based in Madison, Wisc. is an associate of Nuke-watch and a consultant to THE WITNESS on editorial and circulation matters.



Missile silo with concrete lid rolled back.

# missiles at school children

by Sam Day

about the nuclear arms race by calling attention to the deadly "Gods of metal" planted in the soil of mid-America.

By a macabre coincidence, the heads and shoulders of the children pictured in the Moscow classroom framed the unmarked, unseen fields where Minuteman is based.

The missiles, each fitted with a nuclear warhead more powerful than the one that destroyed Hiroshima, are poised in underground silos stretching from the foothills of the northern Rockies in Montana to the slopes of the Ozarks in Missouri. They are controlled from underground bunkers linked to the headquarters of the United States Air Force Strategic Air Command, which directs the targeting of all weapons in this nation's far-flung strategic nuclear arsenal.

As I traced the sectors of that Russian schoolroom map where the 1,000 Minuteman missiles are emplaced, each primed to take off on less than 30 seconds' notice, it dawned on me that at least one of them, beyond doubt, was targeted on those very children.

It could be the missile on Lindy Kirkbride's ranch in southeastern Wyoming, past which her children ride on the way to school each morning.

Or the missile that waits unseen at the end of a gravel road one and a half miles east and three miles north of the Poague Wildlife Refuge near Clinton, Mo.

Or either of the two missiles that stand a few miles astride a country church near Fargo, N.D.

Or any of the other 996 weapons of annihilation which a generation ago became part of the landscape amidst the farms and ranches of Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, Nebraska, Missouri, and North and South Dakota.



Moscow schoolchildren, right, pose before a map of the United States. Coincidentally, heads of students at left frame unmarked fields where the Minuteman missile is scattered, controlled from air force bases designated above.

The photograph served as a graphic reminder that our missiles are aimed at their children.

There was a time when the thought of that stirred passions in America. In August 1958, a Chicago pacifist, Ken-

neth Calkins, stood in front of a gravel truck and was run over while attempting to block construction of the first Atlas missile launch site near Cheyenne. The following year A. J. Muste and others were arrested and jailed for climbing

over the fence of a launch site in Nebraska.

But other causes — civil rights, Vietnam war resistance — shouldered nuclear disarmament aside in the 1960s. Few paid attention as one generation of ICBMs followed another into the fields and ranges of the West, becoming as ingrained in the landscape, commonplace and unremarked, as the innocuous-appearing electric utility substations they vaguely resemble.

“Yes, there’s one just down the road from my house, and I think you’ll find another on the other side of Pilot Rock,” a gas station attendant in central Missouri told me as nonchalantly as if I had been asking directions to the nearest grain elevator.

Public acceptance of the missiles enabled the Air Force to scatter them over thousands of square miles of prairie, unattended except for occasional visits by security and maintenance personnel, and protected only by the silo’s reinforced concrete lid and a fenced enclosure secured by a simple dime-store padlock. (The missiles are deployed in “flights” of ten, each at least four miles apart and connected by cable to an underground control center, where a launch crew waits for orders to send the missiles on their fiery way. Six air bases each control 150 to 200 missiles.)

Occasional prayer vigils were held here and there, and sometimes even an arrest for climbing over the fence (setting off an alarm in the control center several miles away). But by and large the missile silos drew little public attention into the early 1980s, even after the awakening of the freeze movement and other anti-nuclear weapons protests elsewhere in the country.

But in one state the long slumber was shattered on a November morning in 1984 by the roar of a jackhammer biting into the 110-ton lid of a Minuteman silo near Kansas City. The crime, trial, and punishment of the Silo Pruning Hooks —



Overhead view of a missile silo in Missouri.



A group of peace activists in vigil at Silo Pruning Hooks missile (N-5) near Kansas City include five of 11 children of Helen Woodson, currently serving in Alderson prison for jackhammering concrete lid at this site. The Minuteman missile can kill 9 million people in half an hour.

four deeply religious Catholic activists following the biblical call to beat spears into pruning hooks — struck a deep public response in the peace community in western Missouri.

Rallies and vigils were held at the damaged silo throughout the trial, which brought conviction and sentences of up to 18 years in prison — the stiffest penalty ever meted out for nonviolent civil

disobedience in America. Support for the Silo Pruning Hooks (Helen Woodson, Larry Cloud-Morgan, the Revs. Carl and Paul Kabat), and for a fifth activist, Martin Holladay, who attacked another missile on the day their trial opened (sentence: four years), crystallized in a campaign by about a dozen Missourians to strengthen and deepen public awareness of missile silos in Mis-



souri. Thus was born the missile silo action project.

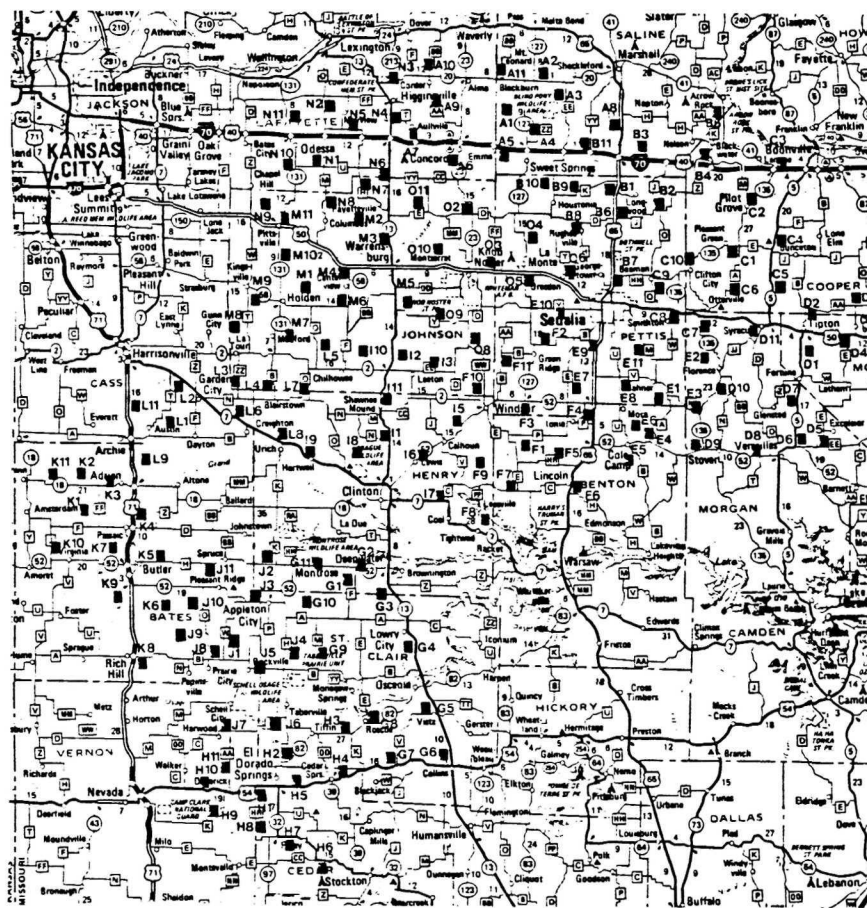
Assisted by Nukewatch, a public interest group based in Madison, Wisc., the Missourians scouted 10,000 square miles of countryside, looking for the tell-tale white gravel approach roads, fenced enclosures, surveillance instruments, and concrete slabs that identify a Minuteman missile silo. By late summer they had located all but a handful of the state's 150 missiles and 15 launch control centers.

Publication of a poster-size Missouri missile silo map last October, with each of the installations plainly marked in red, set the stage for the next round of missile consciousness-raising in the "Show Me" state. The map became the focus of a weekend rally organized in November by "Show Me Missiles," a coalition of four religious and lay peace groups in the Kansas City area.

The rally drew about 250 from Missouri and nearby areas to Knob Noster State Park, adjacent to Whiteman Air Force Base, which administers the Missouri missiles. Using the new map as their guide, the vigilers fanned out to about 40 missile silos — far more in one night than the peace movement had confronted in the previous 20 years. There the vigilers spent the night in groups of three or four to a dozen or more — praying, quietly talking, or wordlessly contemplating the proximity of a destructive force equal to a thousand Hiroshima-size atomic bombs.

Returning to the rally site the next morning, the vigilers shared their mixed feelings of dread and renewed commitment. One of them, Lois Navarro of Omaha, recorded these impressions:

"Sitting outside by myself along the silo perimeter, I was awed by the beauty of this earth — God's gifts to all the peoples of this world — and saddened by our misuse of them. Yet I experienced a sense of hope, because I am here as others are also, and there will be more to



**Black squares on Missouri map segment depict either missile silo stations or missile control centers.**

follow. It's my turn to share what I have learned and experienced — and some will understand."

Since that weekend of sadness and hope in Missouri, missile-mapping fever has spread to other silo states. Volunteers are at work in Montana, in the High Plains country of Wyoming, Colorado, and Nebraska, and in the Red River Valley of North Dakota. Missile silo rallies and vigils patterned on the Missouri experience are scheduled this summer in all three regions.

Through such measures, people in the missile silo country hope to sensitize themselves and other Americans to the reality of the death machine in their

midst. Their purpose is to translate the vague, faraway abstractions of the nuclear arms race into the tangible, flesh-and-blood existence of a piece of concrete no farther away than the next milepost down the road — the sheath of a deadly implement that can kill schoolkids on the next continent.

Putting America in touch with her missiles won't necessarily awaken the impulses that will bring the arms race to an end. It may not even slow the current mad momentum. But it's a start. ■

### Resource

Copies of "Show Me! — A Citizen's Action Guide to the Missile Silos of Missouri" are available for \$2 each from Nukewatch, 315 West Gorham St., Madison, WI 53703.

# Short Takes

## Jail new monastery

One way of seeing jail today is to regard it as the new monastery. In a society preparing for nuclear war and ignoring its poor, jail is an appropriate setting in which to give one's life to prayer. In a nation which has legalized preparations for the destruction of all life on earth, going to jail for peace — through nonviolent civil disobedience — can be seen as a prayer. In reflecting today on the Lord's Prayer, I think that going to jail as a way of saying "thy kingdom come, thy will be done" may be the most basic prayer we can offer in the nuclear security state. Because we have accepted the greatest evil conceivable as a substitute for divine security, we have become a nation of atheists and blasphemers. The nuclear security state, US or USSR, is blasphemous by definition. As members of such a nation, we need to pray for the freedom to do God's will by non-cooperating with the ultimate evil it is preparing. Civil disobedience done in a loving spirit is itself that kind of prayer.

Jim Douglass  
Fellowship 3/86

## Fighting fear

"We can learn to work and speak when we are afraid in the same way we have learned to work and speak when we are tired. For we have been socialized to respect fear . . . and while we wait in silence for the final luxury of fearlessness, the weight of that silence will choke us."

Audrey Lorde  
The Cancer Journals

## The lethal shuttle

Far more than seven people would have died if the explosion that destroyed Challenger had occurred during the next launch, which had been planned for May. NASA and the Department of Energy intended to use that mission to fire a space probe powered by 46.7 pounds of plutonium. The rocket was to explore the atmosphere of Jupiter.

Plutonium is regarded by most scientists as the most toxic substance in the universe. An ounce widely dispersed in tiny particles could cause millions of cases of lung cancer. An explosion like the one that disintegrated Challenger would have caused the maximum possible dispersion.

The Nation, 2/22/86



He Ping 和平

He Ping are the Chinese characters for Peace. He consists of the radical 禾 which pertains to grain, and 口 which means mouths. 平 Ping means even or level (as a balanced scale). Peace, therefore, is the even distribution of grain or sustenance among the people, or justice.

UPDATE Newsletter (NCC)  
Militarization in Asia & the Pacific

## Quote of note

The role of the educator is to present to the people in a challenging form the issues they themselves have raised in a confused form.

Mao Tse Tung

## Whither liberal thinking?

Both the Catholic bishops (letter on the economy) and *Habits of the Heart* (by Robert Bellah) urge that a necessary condition of meaningful participation in society requires access by all to a much more equitable distribution of resources. Do we agree? Do we believe that fundamental changes in the distribution of resources can be achieved following a tradition of reform — even if rehabilitated — which does not explicitly challenge the main institutions and operating assumptions of American capitalism? If so, what arguments — other than wishful thinking — sustain that belief?

Such questions I believe, cannot be avoided for much longer — and I view such works as *Habits of the Heart* and the pastoral letter as painful attempts somehow to hold on to the old assumption but to try, also, to begin hesitatingly to probe for an approach to new ones.

Gar Alperovitz  
Christianity and Crisis 3/3/86

## Smeal confronts hierarchy

The anti-abortion movement believes — as do many politicians — that it has the momentum. Week-in and week-out they picket and harass abortion clinics, patients, and personnel . . . And to add legitimacy to their crusade, the reactionary leaders like Jerry Falwell and Jesse Helms have been joined by the hierarchy of the Catholic Church.

Although the clear majority of Catholics support legal abortion and birth control, the hierarchy — the Pope and his representatives — lobby hard to outlaw abortion and limit access to birth control both here and abroad. As a Catholic, I find it appalling that given the church's inability to enforce its dogma it turns to the government for help.

Ellie Smeal, President  
National Organization for Women (NOW)

## Freedom to learn

Marvin Mairena Urbina of Matagalpa has received all of his formal education under the Nicaraguan revolutionary government. The skinny 13-year-old could not tell me who Karl Marx and Fidel Castro were; however, he did correctly identify President Ronald Reagan and singer Michael Jackson. Marvin told me he had studied Nicaraguan heroes such as Augusto Cesar Sandino but not North American revolutionary George Washington. He had forgotten that his Spanish grammar book contains a story about General Washington.

Among the accusations leveled at Nicaragua today is that the new education system is tantamount to Marxist indoctrination. Nicaragua, however, doesn't easily fit into stereotypes. The government subsidizes Catholic schools, sometimes up to 100 percent, and allows Mass and other church functions in public schools. Church sponsored schools freely teach religion.

The most revolutionary thing about education in Nicaragua is that so much has been accomplished in so little time. A literacy crusade in 1980 reduced the illiteracy rate among Nicaraguans of all ages from 50.3 to 12.9 percent.

Stephen DeMott, M.M.  
Maryknoll, 3/86

Cross the river in a crowd  
and the crocodile won't eat you.  
Madagascar proverb

## Browning assails Reagan's 'corrupt language', CA policy

NEW YORK (DPS) — Citing his recent trip to Central America and talks with the bishops and people of the Episcopal Church there, Presiding Bishop Edmond Lee Browning has written to President Ronald Reagan to express support for the Contadora peace process and to state his and the church's opposition to aid to "Contra" forces attempting to overthrow the government of Nicaragua. Text of the letter follows.

Mr. President:

I write regarding your proposed financial and moral support of the "Contra" forces against the government of Nicaragua.

The five Episcopal Dioceses of Central America are a part of the Episcopal Church. We are proud of the mission and ministry of our sisters and brothers in Central America and we support them and their leadership. I have just visited with the leadership of our Latin American dioceses and my estimation of their contribution to the spiritual and physical well being of the people in the region has been strengthened and expanded.

After a two-year process, including a series of extensive visitations, study reports and nationwide discussion on the local level, the General Convention of the Episcopal Church, meeting in Anaheim, Cal. in September 1985, passed two resolutions relating to U.S. policy and actions in Central America. The resolutions are enclosed for your information. In summary, they oppose *all* covert aid to the "Contras," oppose attempts to destabilize the government of Nicaragua, and support the Contadora process. As requested in the resolutions, it is my intention to share these actions with members of Congress and the other identified governments.

On a personal note, Mr. President, I must share with you that I have several disquieting questions about your policies and your characterizations of some of the governments in Central America, and political processes and conditions in the region; and, I must admit, some of your public statements about those in this

country who do not share your perceptions.

I do not think that I am alone in finding it less than helpful for our national leaders to coin or corrupt the language of our democracy in support of questionable foreign military forces. Identifying the "Contras" as "freedom fighters" obscures the issues in an attempt to attach the "Contras" to the historic memory of the United States.

To disregard the reports of reputable international human rights agencies or undermine their credibility and legitimacy by preemptive accusations of "a disinformation campaign" does not seem to serve the interests of our national decision-making process, serve the interests of those in legitimate need nor enhance the vital work of independent, international human rights agencies and advocates.

To ignore the advice and counsel of our historic allies and friends in Latin America, especially those who have initiated the Contadora process, strikes me as a short sighted approach to the common security of our hemisphere.

I question the public relations attempt to blunt or short circuit full citizens information, discussion and participation in the formulation of the policies of our great nation. I hope your office will stimulate public debate and quality discussion, not stifle it.

I am deeply troubled by these concerns, Mr. President. I must be honest in sharing with you that neither your public statements nor those of your administration have alleviated my discomfort — a discomfort I do not believe is mine alone.

Faithfully yours,  
Edmond L. Browning

# Toward a nuclear free Pacific

**F**or four decades the peoples of the Pacific have been victims of nuclear war. Usually we think of Hiroshima/Nagasaki as a one-time event and work in the hope of "never again." Not so, we have been reminded in the past year or two. An essential ingredient in the nuclear arms race is the testing of those weapons and the deployment of their carriers.

When the Greenpeace "Rainbow Warrior" was sunk and a photographer died as a result, we became aware of how desperate the nuclear powers are to run the race and win. And before that, if we were paying attention, we discovered that official U.S. attitudes toward New Zealand and others who challenge the imposition of our nuclear policies on them could be pretty heavy-handed. When New Zealand denied the request for a "visit" of one of our ships in January of last year, because the presence of nuclear capability would not be confirmed or denied, suddenly the ANZUS Treaty was up for grabs. (ANZUS is the mutual security pact signed by Australia, New Zealand and the U.S. in 1951.) Boycotts of New Zealand goods were threatened, and "nuclear colonialism" was made abundantly clear — at least to those with eyes to see.

The fact that *any* nation in the world has the short-sightedness, let alone the audacity, to refuse to run the nuclear race is incomprehensible to official Washington or Paris or London. This is probably



just as true in Moscow and Beijing as well, though we don't hear about it. It seems to be the nature of the nuclear beast in us that we seek to convert all the world to our apocalyptic vision. But there are people who want no part of it, and have declared their position in the matter pretty clearly. I for one regard Reagan's pressuring of Japan to "go nuclear" as the grossest obscenity; and it is with enormous sadness that I watch Japan caving in. This kind of interventionism must be countered by our active support of the brothers and sisters around the world who, exercising their rights to political, economic and moral self-determination, have decided against their own participation in the nuclear arms race.

A number of ways to do this are emerging. Richard Randerson suggests some specific things we can do at the end

of his article. There is, as always, the need to educate ourselves and there are an increasing number of resources. I'm finding the quarterly newsletter *UPDATE* from the Task Force on Militarization in Asia and the Pacific of the National Council of Churches to be a useful tool (The Interchurch Center, 475 Riverside Drive, Room 712, New York NY 10115). Boulder Action for Nuclear Disarmament (BAND, 3080 8th Street, Boulder CO 80302) has initiated a boycott of French products to protest the sinking of the Rainbow Warrior and continued French nuclear testing in the Pacific. With the revelation that France has banned the import of certain New Zealand products in an effort to force the release of French intelligence officers involved in the Rainbow Warrior tragedy, the BAND boycott takes on an added dimension. And we can Buy New Zealand, joining in a campaign which New Zealanders themselves have organized (New Zealand Spring Lamb is great!). As we learn of actions in other countries of the Pacific Basin, we can support them in the same ways.

Most especially, we can answer the call of our Anglican brothers and sisters who have asked for and welcome our support in their efforts to keep their part of this fragile earth nuclear free.

**Mary H. Miller**  
Episcopal Peace Fellowship



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# New Zealand confronts nuclear colonialism

by Richard Randerson

New Zealand does not believe that as a South Pacific nation, it is in its own interests, nor in the interests of the South Pacific as a region, and ultimately not in the interests of the whole world, to become locked into an international nuclear jigsaw.

That is at the heart of New Zealand's foreign policy, enunciated most clearly after the election of a Labour Government in July 1984, which captured worldwide attention and gave impetus and new hope to the peace movement.

It is a privilege to be invited by THE WITNESS to share with friends in the United States some of our objectives and strategies as New Zealanders in the cause of peace.

By way of background, in common with the United States and other countries, there has been a growing peace movement in New Zealand through the 1980s. It is comprised of a loose network of small groups — some local, some national; some secular, some Christian. There are familiar professional groupings such as doctors and engineers; and Christian groups, both denominational and ecumenical. Traditional methods such as parish study groups, synod resolutions, and government submissions are well established. A Palm Sunday peace pilgrimage, Hiroshima Day services and other special events are also part of the scene.

But it was the election of a Labour Government which saw a new phase in New Zealand foreign policy. Nine years of National Party rule prior to 1984 had seen regular visits from naval vessels, (mainly U.S.) each met by an armada of small craft in Auckland and Wellington harbors protesting nuclear weapons in New Zealand waters.

The new government under Prime Minister David Lange, is committed to a policy of peace-making that involved the exclusion of nuclear-armed, nuclear-capable, or nuclear-powered vessels of *any* nation, not just those of the United States. British naval vessels, which also make occasional

visits to New Zealand, are prohibited under the same policy if they fall in the above nuclear categories.

The U.S. government gave the new New Zealand government time to settle in before testing the policy with a request for a naval visit in January 1985. Because U.S. policy is "neither to confirm nor deny" the presence of nuclear weapons on its vessels, New Zealand was unable to determine whether or not the ship met its criteria and thus denied the request.

From that moment, things really "hit the fan." New Zealand was bombarded with reactions from the U.S. government and media that spanned the range from threats of economic sanction to sheer disbelief that anyone could disagree with U.S. policy. I find the latter reaction most alarming: Time and time again I have noted that official U.S. statements appear to be based on a taken-for-granted view that the whole world must be divided into two camps with every nation lining up in one or the other. So established does this understanding of "reality" seem that response to a different perception, such as that of New Zealand, appears one of genuine incredulity. Yet this is precisely the heart of the issue.

There is no need to rehearse here the nightmarish possibilities of a nuclear exchange, or the dangers of missiles being sent on their way through a systems failure. The unmitigated evil of a world which spends billions of dollars on armaments while millions of people lack the bare necessities of life — a reality which itself increases the potential for conflict — is likewise taken for granted.

What we are discussing here is the specific basis of New Zealand's policy, a policy which is neither isolationist, nor self-centered, nor anti-U.S. The essential features are these:

- As a sovereign nation, and like any other sovereign nation, New Zealand must determine its own foreign policy in the light of the circumstances specific to its own place in the world.
- The appalling danger and runaway cost of the nuclear arms race constitute a sickness in international affairs that must be flatly opposed.
- The South Pacific is not a region currently militarized or nuclearized and there is no need for it to be. For the South Pacific to become yet another arena for super-power confrontation is a dangerous and unnecessary escalation. (When

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**The Rev. Richard Randerson** is Vicar of St. Peter's Anglican Church in central Wellington, and New Zealand representative on the peace and justice network of the Anglican Consultative Council.



reference is made to Soviet build-up in the Pacific the word "North" should be inserted before "Pacific.")

- The Pacific peoples have already suffered too much from nuclear abuses by the Northern industrialized nations—British testing in Australia, the United States in Micronesia and the Tasman Sea, the French at Mururoa, Russia and China elsewhere in the Pacific, and the dumping of nuclear waste by the Japanese. A legacy of environmental waste and human deformity and death is the tragic result.

- There are currently no military conflicts in the South Pacific and, should any break out (e.g. in New Caledonia), there is no reason why conventional peace-keeping forces such as those of the United Nations could not contain them.

- Such being the regional situation, and being itself surrounded by hundreds of miles of water, New Zealand might be better equipped with more of a Coast Guard-type service that could protect not only its own coastline, economic zone and fisheries, but also those of the many tiny Pacific island states that lie to its north.

- The overall emphasis in such a foreign policy should be one of regional co-operation and the development of equitable policies of trade, aid, migration and tourism. Such a positive platform is the best form of defense.

- Over and beyond what constitutes an appropriate policy for New Zealand and the South Pacific, there is the hope that a non-nuclear policy of mutual co-operation among these Southern nations might be the prototype of what could develop in other parts of the global family.

Specific implications that follow in the wake of such an overall foreign policy include:

**Nuclear ships and weapons ban:** This already has been discussed, but it should be noted that in a public opinion survey in 1985, 71% of New Zealanders supported the ban. It has also been openly stated by the U.S. government that no strategic reason exists for U.S. naval visits but there is a strong political reason, *viz.* to demonstrate the solidarity of the Western bloc. The United States does not want other Western nations to "catch the New Zealand disease."

**Nuclear-free legislation:** It is the New Zealand government's intention to enact legislation this year that will prevent the visit to New Zealand of any ship or aircraft carrying nuclear weapons, as well as preventing the possession, testing, or stationing of nuclear weapons on New Zealand territory. The prospect of this legislation is provoking even stronger reactions outside New Zealand because it is seen as "setting the ships' ban in concrete." The legislation does not prevent the use of New Zealand's territorial waters for innocent passage in accordance with the international law of the sea.

**ANZUS:** The ANZUS treaty for mutual defense was established by the United States, New Zealand and Australia



**NEW ZEALAND** — situated at 45 degrees South latitude, and 180 degrees East of Greenwich, United Kingdom — is geographically slightly larger than the United Kingdom, but with a population of only 3 million. We are not Australians; 1300 miles of water separate us. The main population groupings are 87% of British origin (from the early 1800s), 9% indigenous Maori, and 4% Pacific Island migrants from Fiji, Tonga, Cook Islands and Western Samoa. Small numbers of other European and Indo-Chinese peoples are mixed in. — R.R.

in 1951, and requires the three nations to "consult" in the event of any threat to the region. No action is required by the treaty, but acting in the spirit of ANZUS, New Zealand fought with U. S. forces in Korea and Vietnam, and has shared in joint military exercises and intelligence exchange. Since the nuclear ships' ban, the U.S. government and to a lesser extent, Australia have regarded ANZUS as "inoperative" and have excluded New Zealand from the joint military exercises and intelligence exchange. The same public opinion survey mentioned earlier showed that 71% of New Zealanders support ANZUS, even though the same proportion want a non-nuclear New Zealand. This poses an area of difficult negotiation between three sovereign nations. New Zealand is clear that it wishes to stay within the Western alliance, but seeks to find a way of doing so that does not compromise its conviction that nuclear weapons should be excluded from its own territory and the South Pacific.

**Nuclear-free South Pacific:** The nations of the South Pacific, meeting in the Cook Islands last August, signed an agreement establishing a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific. The agreement prohibits the testing, manufacture, deployment and use of nuclear weapons in any South Pacific territory, although leaves it up to each nation to decide about naval ship visits. Several South Pacific nations still welcome

such visits even if the ships are nuclear-armed. Just recently a joint South Pacific governments' delegation toured the capitals of the USSR, United States, China, United Kingdom, and France to explain and seek support for the principles of the new zone. They met with a mixed response.

**Economic Sanctions:** Although there are occasional threats of economic reprisals against New Zealand from U.S. government representatives, to date nothing has transpired. However, the French government has just announced a ban on the import of some sheep-meats from New Zealand because New Zealand has refused to waive its 10-year prison sentence on the two French government agents who blew up the Greenpeace vessel, "Rainbow Warrior" in the Port of Auckland last year, destroying the vessel and killing one crew member.

Two other issues are worth mentioning. The first is that of the strong desire for independence and sovereignty on the part of the nations of this region. In some cases this presents itself as a desire for an end to colonial rule, such as that of the French in New Caledonia and Tahiti. In other cases it is a desire by indigenous minorities (e.g. the Maori people in New Zealand) for a greater degree of justice and power-sharing in their own country. In most cases it is also a desire for self-determination free from economic or military influences of Northern Hemisphere origin.

The other issue is that of the special significance that *land* holds for many indigenous peoples. For Westerners, land is often a commodity to be bought and sold for investment and profit, but many South Pacific peoples feel a close personal and tribal identity with their own land. The Most Rev. Paul Reeves, Archbishop of the Anglican Church in New Zealand until his appointment as Governor General of New Zealand last November, and himself of Maori descent, put it like this: "A Maori viewpoint is that the land is *Papa-tua-nuku* — our earth mother. When someone says 'the land is my mother' it means that in the land they dig down to the deep and basic things of life. To rob people who believe this about their land is to rob them of life. Land is their right to life, to power, and to eternity." It is this deeply entrenched attitude to land that makes the Maori and other Polynesian peoples of the Pacific so firmly resistant to the exploitation and abuse of their land and ocean by the nuclear adventures of other nations.

In conclusion may I express the hope that nothing I have said will be interpreted as being unfriendly to the American people as a whole, nor as creating an impression of moral self-righteousness on the part of New Zealand. Having made three visits to the United States, I have too many dear friends there with whom I share common commitments in Christ to ever run the risk of confusing government policy with the convictions of all its citizens.

The support of the Episcopal Church and many other

American individuals, churches, and groups for New Zealand's stand at this time is very deeply appreciated in this country, and we hope that we in our turn may support similar American initiatives. While we all have certain national loyalties, I believe this current age is teaching us of our greater loyalty to the well-being of the whole global family, and beyond that, as Christians, to the one God who "has made of one blood all nations upon earth." It is in that spirit that I write.

### How you can help:

Send letters and resolutions of support to the Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. David Lange, Parliament Buildings, Wellington, New Zealand.

Send letters to New Zealand newspapers: *New Zealand Herald*, Box 32, Auckland, N.Z.; *Evening Post*, Box 3740, Wellington, N.Z.; *The Press*, Box 1005, Christchurch, N.Z.; *The Listener*, Box 3140, Wellington, N.Z.

Write letters to the U.S. government supporting New Zealand policy.

Write letters to the U.S. media challenging misrepresentations of New Zealand policy.

Purchase or ask for, New Zealand products such as meat, fish, fruit, cheese, honey, wine and beer.

## Memorial Day

Oh Heaven! that sniffles or whimperings  
should betray childish fear or sadness!  
As they stood in their ill-fitting clothes,  
they suppressed both dread and sorrow —  
these bumpkins caught in fatal gears,  
that might have loved and might have lived,  
but were hustled soon to private beds  
and cheated of girlish glee.

There was a dearth in loving, then —  
politicians and businessmen made certain  
that honor should primly ascend, govern,  
wield sway over all common concerns.  
No time for the saving caress that binds  
soft boyish flesh to manly sinew,  
nor flattering fondling fashioning  
strength from tender touch and word.

But now the charcoal scent pervades  
the new and lush suburban grassiness —  
and fat veterans and their plump sweethearts  
drain foaming cups on fragrant sod.  
A day assigned for picnicking in memory  
of those sad boys suppressing grief;  
dry bones, beneath the springtime green,  
that danced so briefly to life's throb.

— William Dauenhauer

# 'Vision quest' highlights EUC meet

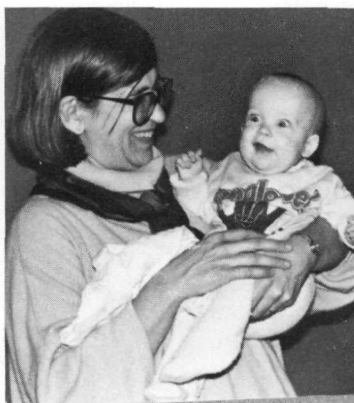
A two-hour "quest" during which 20 persons shared their vision for urban ministry highlighted the recent three-day assembly of the Episcopal Urban Caucus in Pittsburgh. The vision quest, with Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning in attendance, produced testimony reminiscent of the Urban Bishops Hearings in the cities in the late '70s. The event provided a dramatic backdrop as EUC gathered to review accomplishments since its founding in 1980, and to "celebrate the city."

One out of 10 participants rose to describe their particular concerns in work situations across the country, while Bishop Browning took notes. Speakers presented a broad range of issues, including ministry with Native Americans, Hispanics, AIDS victims, Blacks, the poor, the disabled.

Three Native Americans greeted the assembly in the Sioux language. Two priests among them wore crosses made of pipestone — "the color of our skin, of our blood." Noting that pipestone is used for sacred objects, including peace pipes, the Rev. Gary Cavender of St. Paul stressed the strong bond between Native Americans and the land. "We have always had the comfort of our land because our land supported us in all our needs. As the land disappears, so do we," he said. Sixty-five percent of all Indians in Minnesota now reside in urban areas.

The theme of people taking their stand on the land was also spelled out by the Rev. Kathy Mandeville, who works in the context of Hell's Kitchen, New York (See box.)

Parts of testimony by the Rev. Elyse



Testifiers during EUC's vision quest included, left to right, Ann Scheibner, whose son Nathaniel was undoubtedly the most popular participant in the meeting; and the Revs. Gary Cavender and Virgil Foote, and George Ross, who greeted the assembly in the Sioux language.

Bradt of Philadelphia and Ann Scheibner of Boston were picked up by the Presiding Bishop in his response. Bradt had spoken on behalf of low income people, asking the Presiding Bishop to "stand with us as we go through unemployment and stand in welfare lines. Include us in your church programs. Let us in on decision making before decisions are made. Don't walk in front of us, don't walk behind us, but walk beside us."

Scheibner's 5-month old son Nathaniel became the "mascot" of the assembly as his parents went about various duties. Scheibner said she had reflected on incarnational theology many times over the past months and expressed the hope that her "family" assembled could "turn this country around so that we can all love Nathaniel and experience his grace here, and be able to look him in the eye 18 years from now. I can't bear that alone," she said.

After the litany of urban concerns,

Bishop Browning responded by "affirming the ministry" of everyone in the room. "You've laid a lot on me, and now I am going to lay this on you. I will be the Presiding Bishop of the whole church, and get people talking to one another. Give me a little space. Be honest with me. Let's walk together side by side. And at the end of my 12 years, wherever Nathaniel may be, I want to be able to look him in the eye with all of you and say we've done our best."

In considering resolutions, the Caucus learned that the urban American Indian community suffers from an 80 to 90% unemployment rate, a high school drop-out rate of 60%, and a teenage suicide rate 10 times that of the white community. Further, 65% of all Indian families are headed by single parents. The Caucus resolved "to establish a direct relationship to urban Indian ministry" and urged "the recognition of the integral and parallel relationship between urban Appa-



# Gentrification in Hell's Kitchen

*Among the testifiers during EUC's "vision quest" was the Rev. Kathy Mandeville of New York who spoke to the issue of gentrification, as follows.*



Kathleen Mandeville

I am Kathleen Mandeville, Vicar of St. Clement's Church in the neighborhood of "Hell's Kitchen," New York City. The issue that gnaws at my insides, that invades my prayer life, that is gripping my neighborhood is urban gentrification — no less than displacement of poor people in the name of great greed.

My block, West 46th Street between 9th and 10th Avenues, is perhaps one of the last ethnically and economically integrated neighborhoods left in Manhattan. I love my block. Maybe I'm prejudiced because it's my block, but this block is extraordinary. Here is a block where approximately 3,000 people live: Black, White, Hispanic; gay, straight; rich, poor; yuppies, prostitutes, theatre producers, elderly, drunks, families, kids and lots of dogs. There are the Greeks who run the coffee shop; the kids that breakdance in the park; the Yemenites who own the corner grocery . . . like a small town, this block, the land on which we stand, all of us together.

And here, too, is the church, the altar, the space around and in which this neighborhood gathers to share and offer up its hopes, fears, tears, joys and struggles. The church — the safe vessel which bears it all, here for the duration, here on the land

— where a group of God-fearing albeit ragtag pilgrims gather, set down in this most urban of wildernesses.

On this block, we also have both a luxury condominium and a single room occupancy (SRO) hotel. When the SRO tenants were in danger of being harassed and bought out, the tenants of the condominium helped organize the tenants who live in the SRO. *That's* redemptive.

Another story: Cecilia is 15 years old and lives in that SRO which is across the street from St. Clement's. Cecilia is from Argentina, her parents are separated. She lives with her father who works as a pushcart peddler at night. She and her family are very dear to us. Cecilia was out of school for a year. Partly through the efforts and encouragement of a woman parishioner, Cecilia began to dance. Now Cecilia is back in school and goes to dance class every day. Last week Cecilia danced for the bishop who came for confirmation. When Cecilia dances, she is filled with God and in watching we are filled with God, too.

That's my block, this is the land on which we stand and we have a vision of urban ministry, but it is a vision which is in danger of being destroyed.

Bishop Desmond Tutu tells a parable

which is applicable here: When the White people went to Africa, they had the Bible and the Black people had the land. The White people said to the Black, let us close our eyes and pray. When the Black people opened their eyes, they had the Bible in their hands and the White people had the land.

When we open our eyes and look up and around us, we see our own neighborhood being encircled by large-scale urban redevelopment; the Times Square project to the east, Donald Trump and Lincoln West to the north, a major arts complex on the pier to the west and the Convention Center to the south. Land is being bought and sold at a fantastic rate; apartments are being warehoused. This is Times Square, and Hell's Kitchen is fast becoming the "filet mignon" of residential property. We are in danger of being devoured. This land on which we stand is some of the most valuable in the world. The moral of our story:

When we pray, we will pray with our eyes open and we will stand on our land. Bishop Browning, we ask that you stand with us on this land. And that all of us gathered in this room, in this time and in this place, let us pray with our eyes open and let us stand on our land.

lachian and urban American Indian concerns."

In other resolutions, EUC dealt with issues such as monitoring the Church Pension Fund's response to divestment; implementing the participation of handicapped persons in all aspects of church

life; and challenging the church on the need to repeal the Gramm-Rudman legislation.

The Caucus elected the Rt. Rev. Mellick Belshaw, Bishop of New Jersey, president; Diane Pollard of the Diocese of New York, vice president; and appointed

the Rt. Rev. Richard Trelease, Bishop of Rio Grande, treasurer, and Annmarie Marvel of Massachusetts, secretary. Newly elected Board Members are Jane Jackson of California; George Ross of Minnesota and the Rt. Rev. Lyman Ogilby, Bishop of Pennsylvania.

Other EUC events included the following:

- Keynote speaker Dr. Howard J. Stanback, deputy director of the Mayor's Office of Employment and Training in Chicago, highlighted what he sees as the contrast between the picture painted by the Reagan administration of the current economic situation and the reality experienced by the poor.

- An overview of Caucus history, outlining "where we have been and where we should be going," was given by its president, Byron Rushing of Massachusetts. Among accomplishments he noted were: the publication of *To Hear and To Heed*, a follow-up on the hearing held in the late 1970's by the Urban Bishops Coalition, and the publication of *Count-down to Disaster*, which raised up the connection between the nuclear arms race, with its economic demands, and the poverty of the city.

- Presentations giving an historical overview and update of current status were made on three areas of the Episcopal Church's ministry. The Rev. Barbara Harris, executive director of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, explained that the Consultation, which she convenes and of which the Urban Caucus is a member, had its genesis in Coalition E, a progressive caucus which "formed on sight at General Convention." It does not have its own agenda but reflects the concerns of the 11 constituent groups, who feel they are more effective working together.

- The Rev. Earl Neil, staff officer for the Coalition for Human Needs (CHN), explained the workings of that grant-making body, one of the three largest programs of the Church. It also administers Jubilee Ministry funding. The CHN funds both community-based and church-based programs dealing with social justice issues, while Jubilee funds only "Episcopal entities" to engage in outreach social ministry.

- The Rev. Peter Golden, staff officer

## What you should know about steel

*Jim Smith of the U.S. Steel Workers of America, right, distributed a study on steel by Locker/Abrecht Associates (New York) during a panel entitled "Stirring up in Pittsburgh" at the EUC assembly. The study is entitled, "Confronting the Crisis: The Challenge for Labor," and lists among its findings:*

- No party alone can "fix" the steel industry. Government, banks and management must join labor at the bargaining table and all must make equitable material sacrifices.

- Steelworkers have already made enormous sacrifices toward improving the viability of the industry; 72% of all operating cost reductions since 1982 have come from lowering employment costs.

- Contrary to what most people believe, steel usage, the total amount of steel used in the U.S. economy, has not significantly declined . . . The amount of steel consumed in the United States remains more than enough to sustain the domestic steel industry at its present size.

- Over the past 10 years, the domestic integrated industry has been more profitable than producers in West Germany, Britain and France, all of whom lost money on an operating basis. These foreign producers survived because of subsidies, protection or other forms of government support. The U.S. government refuses to recognize the importance of its integrated producers and their employees, thereby withholding subsidies or protection.

- Recent research done for the U.S. Steelworkers of America has revealed that the Reagan Administration has subverted implementation of the Voluntary Restraint Agreements by granting excessive quotas, thereby raising the penetration level to 24.5% from the promised 20.3%. In 1985, imports robbed the domestic producers of shipments equal to almost 4 million tons, further weakening job and income security.

- Overtime hours in the industry have steadily increased to the point where they presently constitute the equivalent of 13,900 full-time steelworkers.

- The decline in the steel industry has been devastating for labor. The total workforce has been cut from 452,000 employees in 1977, to 200,200 employees, a 56% drop. Locker/Abrecht forecast that employment levels will continue to decline but at a slower rate than over the last four years. It is projected that the total workforce will drop from its current level of 200,000 employees to about 172,000.

- Among the 219,000 primary metals workers who were displaced between 1979 and 1983, less than half were employed as of January, 1984. Close to 40% remained unemployed, meaning actively looking for work, and more than 15% of these workers either gave up an active job search or retired. In addition, 42% of the steelworkers who found full-time jobs now make less than 80% of the wages they earned in the mills.



for Jubilee Ministries, said that Jubilee is the Episcopal Church's ministry for the poor and oppressed. There are now 68 Jubilee centers, each of which has both a service and an advocacy component, and which can serve as models for the church.

- A panel, moderated by the Very Rev. George Werner, dean of Trinity Cathedral in Pittsburgh, focused on the crisis in area steel and related industries

and featured representatives of labor and management, as well as a social worker who told in graphic terms of the desperate plight of the area's unemployed.

The remainder of the Assembly time was occupied with 14 workshops (on such topics as blue collar ministries, community organization, AIDS and disinvestment), worship, small group sessions and items of business. ■

## Letters . . . Continued from page 3

able. But we are all the people of God; together we are called to love Him and we all deserve better than this sexist drivel that your editorial policies are imposing on us.

**The Rev. William R. Rees**  
Newburg, Ore.

*The Index of articles run in THE WITNESS over a year's period (see January issue) reveals the 1985 content of the magazine to be rather evenly distributed under the categories Central America, Economics, Ecumenism, Episcopal Church, Gays/Lesbians, International issues, Justice system, Peace/Disarmament, Racism, Social Action, South Africa, Theology, and Women. Editorial assignments were shared by contributing editors (see listing p. 3). And in fact, our 1985 authors roster shows that while 43 men wrote for THE WITNESS last year, only 29 women are listed. We will try to assure women a more equal place this year and are grateful to Reader Rees. Without his letter we might never have noticed that it was the women, not the men, who have been slighted. — Ed.*

## SPLC advocate

It was good to see mention of the Klanwatch Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center in Barbara C. Harris' column in a recent WITNESS. The work of SPLC should be more widely known.

A recent issue of their *Klanwatch Report* includes such headlines as "Klan Policeman Fired in Kentucky" and "Arson Probe in Mississippi House Burning." Both stories were a result of Klanwatch action.

In addition to the above named publication, educational programs are distributed to schools and civic groups including the Academy Award-nominated film, "The Klan; A Legacy of Hate in America."

As Harris indicated, State and Justice Depts. might well "shore up their lonely

efforts." SPLC could use encouragement and financial help from all of us. They must finance lengthy court battles, security for the new headquarters building replacing one destroyed by fire at the hands of hate-mongers, and protection for staff whose lives are being threatened. Their address is: Southern Poverty Law Center, 400 Washington St., Montgomery, Ala. 36104.

**Margaret L. Nelson**  
Salinas, Cal.

## Faith-motivated action

Thank you for THE WITNESS. I'm more and more convinced of the need for church-related publications that explore issues (and activism). Since I went to the women's conference in Nairobi I have assumed several leadership positions in the church and community. Repeatedly I have found that the people involved — from the leaders on a local Infant Mortality Task Force to those on the Fairness in Jobs Task Force are moved to action because of their faith. Justice and service are not Sunday-morning-worship words, but day to day commitments. It's not always easy, but reading of others also making difficult decisions in their communities nurtures and encourages the rest of us.

**Mary Jo Cartledge-Hayes**  
Spartanburg, S.C.

## 'Free South Africa' stamp

The Free South Africa Movement has initiated the "Free South Africa/Promote World Peace Stamp Campaign." The campaign hopes to inundate the mails with letters carrying this message of support for freedom in South Africa and peace in the world. The red/green/yellow stamp includes a reproduction of the red ribbon many wore to commemorate the shedding of blood which continues in the battle against apartheid the world over. It can be affixed the year round. Stamps come in sheets of 50 and the individual contribution for each sheet is \$5. For further information write AFSC, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102.

## Back Issues Available:

● **Central America:** Major stories on Nicaragua, Honduras and Costa Rica. Bishop Sturdie Downs of Nicaragua tells WITNESS readers, "If you only knew about the interventions by the United States, how your country created a National Guard and how the multinationals exploited us, you would be in the streets protesting" and analyzes the economic interests behind his statement. Jim Levinson adds a Jewish perspective on Nicaragua. Jim Lewis gives an eyewitness report on the militarization of Honduras. Anna Grant Sibley describes the de-neutralizing of Costa Rica. November 1985.

● **AIDS: The plague that lays waste at noon,** plus articles on the rights of gays and lesbians in church and society. Authors include John Fortunato, Zalmon Sherwood, Anne Gilson, Domenic Ciannella, Madeline Ligamare. September 1985.

● **Capital Punishment:** Articles by Mary Miller, Joe M. Doss, Marie Deans, Thomas Shepherd examining how the death penalty is symptomatic of a violent society; what it means when a prison chaplain loses a friend to the electric chair; the morality of capital punishment; a survivor's view of murder; and a model church ministry to prisoners. April 1985.

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## Reproducing Pentecost

**A** biblical scholar once wrote, "To remember Pentecost is to revive our hope and to reproduce Pentecost now would be to fulfill that hope." My scholarly source goes on to raise the question: "Is Pentecost reproducible?"

I would have to answer probably not in the sense of the original experience, and even the record and our understanding of that is flawed. But reflecting on the question, it occurs to me that if Christians in the United States really *believed* the Pentecost story for what it implies about empowerment, universality and unifying experience, the federal government of this country would be in serious trouble with most of its citizenry. Not only would the voices that mouth pious platitudes from pulpits be thundering in the tradition of Jeremiah, Amos and Nathan et al, cries of righteous indignation would be rising from hordes of the faithful outraged by the irresponsible conduct of the central government.

Simply put, the story of Pentecost is a story of forces drawing people together in a kind of unity that empowered them to resist the forces that were destroying them. Remembering Pentecost we celebrate the outpouring of God's spirit upon "all flesh." Somehow that Spirit does not seem to penetrate the dense fog of callousness and insensitivity that pervades and shrouds the shaping of this nation's foreign policy, and the forces that divide us and threaten to destroy us have been

unleashed to unprecedented degree by the Reagan administration.

Two things invariably bring people together — common danger and common devotion. Danger *drives* folk together and devotion *draws* them. In the absence of common devotion to the cause of Christ, it would seem that at least common danger would be a unifying force that would galvanize U.S. Christians into action. The Pentecost account tells us "they were all with one accord in one place." One does not have to be part of a group labeled "radical," "liberal" or "progressive" to actively oppose the things that go on in the name of the people of this nation.

If, for example, more Christians consciously withheld taxes that fuel the machinery of war and armed aggression and placed that money into a church-held "escrow account for peace," \$100 million in aid to the Nicaraguan Contras might not so easily be voted. If more "Christian soldiers," potential cannon fodder at best, said "hell no, I won't go" — willingly, at least — into another Vietnam transplanted to Central American soil, this government might be forced to give some credence to the Contadora process it so conveniently tends to dismiss as unfeasible. If more Christians sought alternative investments for the funds they now pour into lucrative instruments of return, there would be less available to support oppression and dis-

enfranchisement at home and abroad.

We also are told "And they were all filled with the Holy Spirit." The experience of that first Pentecost might not be reproducible in its original form, whatever that was, but it is possible to provide opportunities for the Spirit to break through. It probably will never work quite that way again, but the Christian Church has scant hope of being set on fire in any sense until all that is implied in the Pentecost message is expressed in some kind of common life in which we recognize that all we have comes from God, belongs to God and, as such, must be shared with all the members of God's family — and that includes freedom.

As a former public relations practitioner, I have often been distressed by the gross misuse of that term as it is applied to any and everything that people communicating on behalf of an institution or organization speak or write. The perjorative use of "PR" implies that it is all hype, snow-job, cover-up or, at best, puffery that seeks to mask the truth.

One of the basic tenets of authentic public relations is "planning and implementing the organization's efforts to influence or change public policy." It seems to this old PR hack that Holy Mother Church could use some PR planning and implementation right about now so that in some sense, the hope of Pentecost might be approximated, if not reproduced. ■



## About 'My Story's On': Find the feminist

*"Authors who appear in this feminist anthology are women from different races, cultures, classes — who write in the laundromat, in prison, in kitchens, in ghettos, in mental hospitals, on lunch hours. Hearing from these voices is central to understanding the dimensions of women's issues."*

— Chris Weiss  
Women and Employment  
Hurricane, W. Va.

**M**y Story's On: Ordinary Women, Extraordinary Lives — a unique feminist anthology made possible by a grant from the Episcopal Church Publishing Company — has made its debut after a three year search for materials from women who have often been excluded from mainstream feminism.

"My Story's On grew out of a belief that most women are not corporate vice-presidents or employed in non-traditional jobs," said Paula Ross, editor of the new publica-

tion. "We are not all members of that elite feminist club that requires you to be a young, white, urban, able-bodied, heterosexual, middle-class, childless, professional woman in order to be admitted. Women can't afford this false face of feminism. Not only does it exclude too many by holding up a mirror that reflects a single image, it also cuts off feminism itself from a source of tremendous power — the strength lodged in diversity," she said. Ross, a Black

editor who resides in Berkeley, grew up in Detroit.

"The New Right and the Moral Majority have produced dozens of books, selling their image of what it means to be a 'real woman,'" Ross said, "but we think that feminism belongs to any woman who claims it."

Below is a sample from the book. Who is the feminist in "Ruby shopping"? Ruby? The young woman? You, the reader? None or all of the above? Let us know what you think.

## Ruby shopping

by Carolyn Weathers

**R**uby was hungry. With effort, she lifted herself from her rocker. Grasping her cane, she padded across the room to the far wall, where she reached a two-burner stove and a wooden counter with a piece of fabric tacked across the front. On the wall above was a beige wooden cabinet with its paint chipped and peeling.

Bending over, Ruby pulled back the fabric and peered into an apple crate standing on its side under the counter. In it she saw a handful of raisins, two tea bags, a cup of old macaroni, and a half-empty jar of crunchy peanut butter. The peanut butter was her treat, one she savored, a tablespoonful at a time, once a week, until it was gone. If she could afford it, she bought another jar. Looking at the jar made her stomach groan, but Ruby set her lips and glanced away. She noticed a long cellophane wrapper behind the macaroni. Fumbling in the cellophane for a cracker, she winced and blew out her breath. Her arthritis was sharper and fishing for crackers was

harder. Her shaky hands didn't help. She finally clutched a cracker, eased it out of the wrapper, and nibbled.

Standing on tiptoe, Ruby leaned on her cane and opened the cabinet. She saw a biteful of crumbly cereal in a saucer, nothing more.

Ruby knew she would have to go shopping. She made her way to the bed, on the other side of the room. Beside it stood a cardboard chest of drawers, and she pulled the top drawer out, removed a cigar box and lifted its lid. Only fifty-three cents. No more food stamps, either.

Ruby put on her raveled, green sweater, her velveteen hat, and her black mesh gloves. She got her bent, worn umbrella from behind the bathroom door and lifted her long fabric purse off the door knob. Into this purse, she stuffed a piece of newspaper; into one of its pockets, she zipped a two-edged razor.

Feeling the good grip of her faded umbrella in her hand, she used it as a cane and stepped out the back door of the apartment building onto an alley. She had a set route, up the alley five blocks, then down the other side to home. More than that she could not do . . .

---

**Carolyn Weathers** is a free lance writer based in Los Angeles. A longer version of the above appears in *My Story's On: Ordinary Women, Extraordinary Lives*. (See ad back cover.)

The alley was dirt, dotted with rocks and clumps of dead grass. Ruby picked her way around these and walked slowly but steadily up the alley. No one around. It looked safe. Besides, she thought, she was a fixture here and entitled to go her way. And if it weren't safe, what then? She had to shop. Fences lined either side of the alley. It was the trash cans planted outside them that Ruby scrutinized. At a distance, objects looked blurred to her, but her eyes told her well enough it was a good day; all the cans were tumbling over with trash.

Ruby approached the first set of cans, six of them, curious about what she might uncover. Most of the trash was in plastic bags. Ruby smiled to see she had beaten the dogs to it. She grappled the razor out of her purse and sliced the bags open. Two cans were crammed with trash that had been dumped into them directly from wastebaskets. This Ruby considered dirty since it lacked plastic bags, but she did like that everything lay open to her fingers, to her view.

She stood over the cans and poked inside them with her unerring umbrella. She had developed a knack for spotting retrievable food.

Every can offered something: an inch of shampoo in a tube, frazzled SOS pads, one pineapple chunk in a jagged can, shreds of red plaid shorts, Cheetos, a barely touched can of Super Supper cat food. She took the cat food, Cheetos and, last, the shredded shorts. She could use them in sewing, which she did in spite of her arthritis. Sewing helped her pass the time.

Encouraged by her acquisitions, Ruby neared the next set of cans with anticipation. There were five of them. They always made her wonder; sometimes their gleanings were liberal, sometimes spare. She played a game with herself, trying to guess their contents by pretending she had x-ray vision. Today she was wrong. She pictured cheese and twine. Disappointed, Ruby clicked her tongue, discovering that most of the cans were stuffed with broken branches and

mowed grass.

As she turned to leave, she saw, further down in the can, a small bag with a few marshmallows in it. It was lodged between balled carbon paper and a crushed box of light bulbs, three feet down into the can and spattered with wet coffee grounds. Bracing herself with her umbrella, Ruby bent over and stretched. Her fingers touched the bag but could not grasp it. Breathing in, she choked on a sharp whiff of ammonia and straightened up quicker than she should have, causing pain to stab through her back. She rubbed her back, her aching hands and fingers. Glancing once more at the unobtainable bag of marshmallows, Ruby reluctantly turned away, pressing her hand to the gnawing inside her stomach . . .

At first, it had been hard to pick trash. She remembered how she cringed and felt that everyone was watching; how she imagined her sister and her husband watching down from heaven. Realizing that Marge and Bill would cry made her cry. She patted her eyes then and resolved never again to egg on her sentimental side.

Over the months, Ruby accustomed herself to this way of shopping. She shook her head, noting that it had been almost a year now. Shifting the weight of her purse, she prepared to move on, knowing that she was not entirely accustomed to it, for, sometimes, when she had that watched feeling, she whispered over and over to herself, "My name is Ruby Allen, and I didn't always pick trash."

Ruby stepped away from the garage door and plodded on up the alley, passing the rear of a cleaners, a beauty shop, and a hardware store. None had usable or edible trash today. She liked this stretch of alley that was fenceless, because she could see the backs of buildings. She never knew what might turn up. Nothing had, but she always hoped.

Ruby quickened her step. A good smell reached her. She was almost there. She could see McDonald's golden arches from the alley. Reaching its rear eating area, which was outside and back to back with the alley, Ruby smiled and fixed herself at a large, rectangular trash bin. Scattered across the eating area were tables with metal umbrellas; they looked to Ruby like concrete mushrooms.

As she sifted through the trash, Ruby prickled all over, feeling bare and exposed. Someone was watching her, hard. She looked up from her work and glanced toward the concrete tables, where she saw several blurred figures. Glancing from one to the other, her eyes landed on a young woman who was holding her hamburger halfway to her mouth as though she were frozen. Ruby knew she was the one.

She shuffled to the far side of the bin, away from the tables, and continued to prod at the debris with her umbrella. French fries, remains of a Quarter Pounder. All went into her hungry purse.

## SUSTENANCE

**Sustain:** 1. to give support or relief to; 2. to supply with sustenance; nourish; 3. to keep up; prolong.

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Just as Ruby was reaching for a wobbling cherry turnover that balanced precariously on an overturned cup, a shadow crossed her hand. Startled, she shot her eyes up and saw the young woman standing beside the bin. Abashed to have someone witness her scavenging up close, Ruby snatched her hand out of the bin. It hurt to relinquish the nearly whole turnover.

"Hello," said the young woman, courteously. Her brown hair lifted softly in the breeze.

The nearer she came, the less blurred she was. Ruby figured she was in her 20s and, with her yellow cotton jacket and appealing smile, she appeared shiny, wholesome.

Carefully, Ruby turned to her. She stepped away from the bin and the enticing, unsteady turnover. "Hello," she said. "I'm out walking today. Isn't it a lovely day for that?"

To Ruby, the stranger's expression fell into a glue smile.

"Yes, I . . . I guess," said the woman, stepping back.

Ruby watched warily and gripped her purse closer, increasing the ache in her hands. "I'm retired, so I have lots of time." Eyeing the Big Mac in the other woman's hand, she could almost taste it, feel its chewiness.

The young woman stared at her sandals and tugged nervously at the side of her jacket. "Uh, could I buy you a hamburger, a Big Mac?"

Ruby blanched inside. Her hands fluttered, and she smiled vaguely at the air. "Oh, what? What's that?"

"Would you like a hamburger . . . or . . . or something?"

Ruby stretched to her full height. She came only to the interloper's shoulder. A man in an orange T-shirt hurried to the bin, pitched in a sack of trash and hurried away. Ruby went cold to see the turnover waver on the overturned cup where it perched. One more throw like that and the turnover would slide down into the depths of the trash bin, forever irretrievable.

Frantically, Ruby sucked in her breath and held it, searching her brain for the right words, to wear the intruder down, speed her retreat. She blurted, "My husband takes a nap after lunch. I try not to disturb him, he's a hard worker. I walk." She cocked her head and waited for the reaction.

A piece of paper with ketchup smeared on it blew out of the bin and floated to the ground at their feet. Ruby's quick eye examined it for food, then she again turned her attention to the young woman, who shifted her feet but did not leave.

Ruby swallowed hard, feeling trapped. She wanted that turnover. This scrutiny, this benign interference, messed things up for her. She narrowed her eyes, studying the obstinate young woman and thought, Can't she see my hat, my gloves? Listen. She took a step closer and lied, remembering to smile. "Everyday he brings good food. And plenty of it."

"Well. Good." The young woman's voice squeaked, Ruby

thought, more than spoke.

Ruby watched this woman nibble her lips and squirm as though she hurt somewhere. Ruby leaned forward on her umbrella and peered more intently at her intruder, pinned by the woman's shy eyes, that begged for contact, a word, a sign. She understood now that the young woman was distressed and might not know how to leave. She squelched an impulse to reach out and pat the young woman's face. It was more important to get out of the way and get that turnover.

Ruby sickened to see a breeze blow the turnover, see the turnover wobble, farther off the cup. It was almost gone. Alarmed and reckless, she tore loose from the threatening gaze and said, emphatically, "I have everything I could wish for. Everything I have wished for."

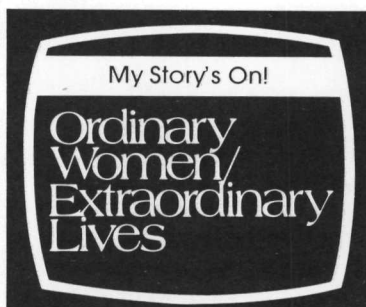
The young woman bowed her head and said, "Of course, yes." She backed off for two or three steps and turned away, lifting her hand to Ruby. "Well, goodbye," she said.

Ruby waved. "Goodbye." She watched the young woman retreat, all the way, back into dimness, back to the eating area, out of her life. Victorious, she stepped to the bin and plucked the turnover off the trash. She would not deny herself the turnover another minute and began eating it as she trudged up the alley.

Ruby had walked about forty feet when she heard a running sound, a sound of someone softly coughing, back behind her at McDonald's. Slowing pivoting, she saw that the young woman had returned to the trash bin. Though Ruby's view was blurred, she saw that the woman held in her hands a white sack, which she carefully placed on top of the trash, before she wheeled and strode away.

Ruby knew what it was. She could taste it, feel its chewiness.

She walked back to the bin to get it. ■



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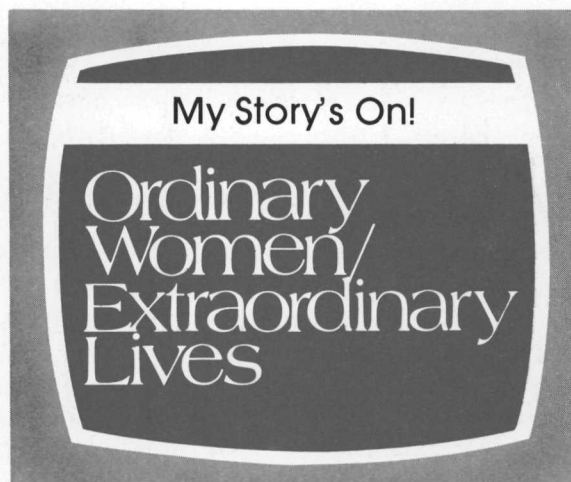
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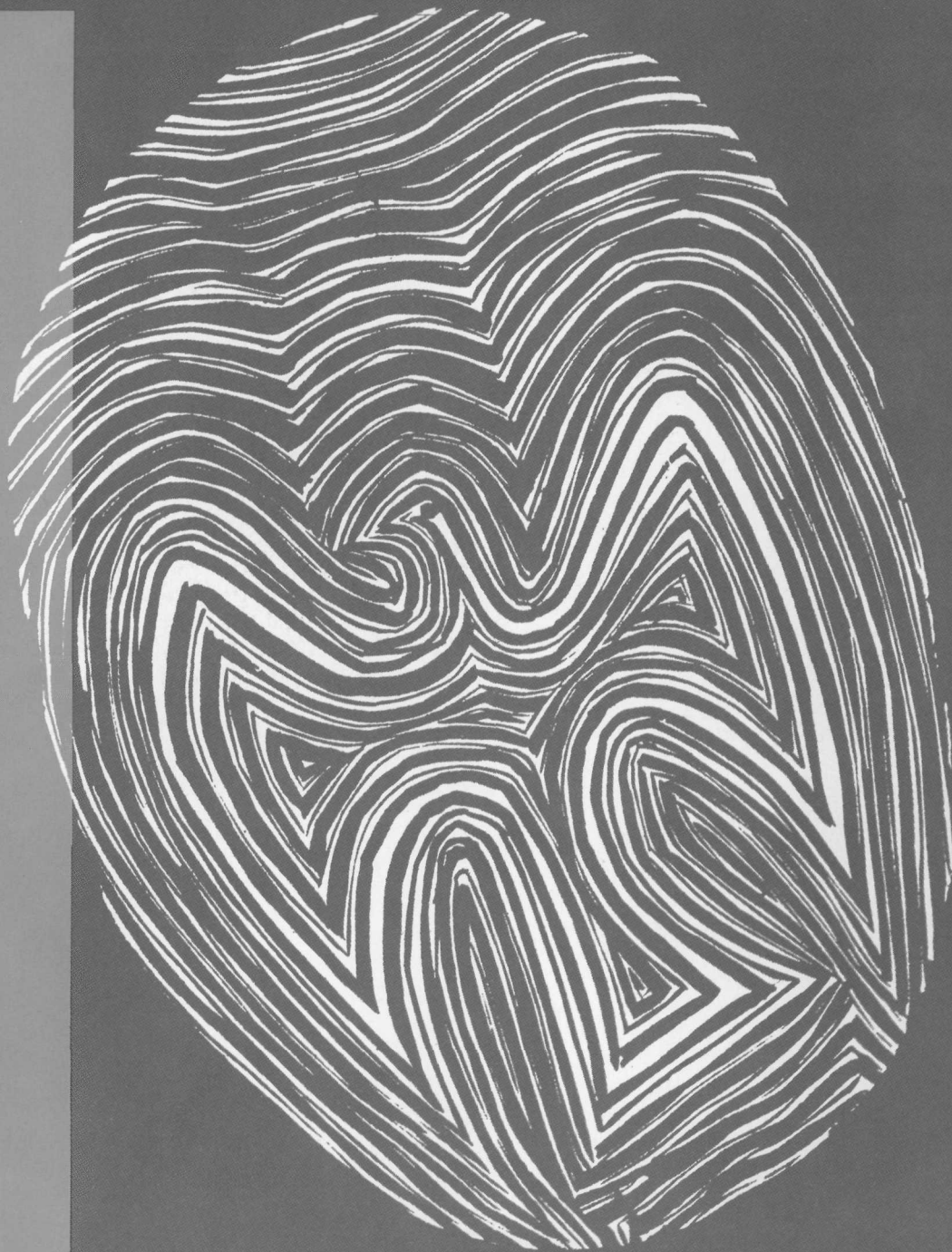
## **Sanctuary**

Jean Molesky

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Robert L. DeWitt



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# Letters

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## Defends embassy

I am disappointed in you for printing Norman Solomon's April article, "Sometimes there's just no reasoning with diplomats."

Perhaps Ambassador Hartman's silent rejoinder to that title would have been, "There's no reasoning ever with fools." Even a little knowledge of the purpose of diplomacy, or of the history and modus operandi of the Soviet Union, or of the structure of our own government would have been of benefit to Solomon.

He is quoted as telling the Ambassador, "We have come to the U.S. Embassy here in hopes of supplementing its activities on behalf of nuclear escalation with activities for nuclear disarmament." Since when is our State Department (let alone a mere embassy) responsible for nuclear escalation? I thought we had a huge Defense Department and a Congress to deal with military matters of that nature. If I wanted to voice my very real opposition to nuclear armaments, I would go to Washington, not to a single embassy. Of course, taking on an embassy in Moscow affords one instant notoriety.

Embassies worldwide are planned and operated to be secure against invaders, whether disgruntled natives, dissenters, freaks or what-have-you. You don't just walk in and plan to stay!

Finally, Solomon expresses no gratitude for the fact that he was carried out of the building. Being carried, he ran no risk of contamination from carcinogenic powder such as the Soviets had been making a practice of sprinkling on the inside doors of the American Embassy.

Solomon's article did little to enhance the case against nuclear escalation; it seemed more like a smear sheet against an ambassador who has a fine record and against an embassy staff doing an incredibly good job in an extremely difficult situation.

**Jane Clarke**  
Asheville, N.C.

## Fatuous grandstanding

THE WITNESS showed poor editorial judgment in celebrating the caper of Solomon and Guarisco in the American Embassy in Moscow. I am sure that they — and, one hopes, THE WITNESS — know full well that Ambassador Hartman has no role in making U.S. arms control policy. So why spotlight this bit of fatuous grandstanding? It looks like just one more cheap shot at American diplomats, scorned by the right as spineless wimps selling the country down the river and reviled by the left as pea-brained apparatchiks subservient to the establishment.

If this country's arms control policies are to be turned around, it will be through citizen action in the U.S. political arena — votes, in other words. Stunts like this do the cause more harm than good. If Solomon and Guarisco are serious about working for disarmament, let them roll up their sleeves and help those organizations that are doing admirable work in this field, such as Common Cause and SANE. Or, if they really want to promote communication and understanding between the two countries, let them work for an expansion of citizen exchanges. Despite the rather narrow limits imposed by the Soviet government and the U.S. lackadaisical attitude, there is much that ordinary citizens can do in this field, working through such organizations as Sister Cities International and the Citizen Exchange Council.

That won't get them any media exposure, however, and it isn't nearly as much fun as harassing American diplomats.

**Frederick Hartley**  
Bethesda, Md.

## Solomon responds

It would be comforting to trust in established political channels for opposing the nuclear arms race. But the past 40 years have provided a tragic history of how

citizen reliance on government institutions has actually assisted U.S. nuclear escalation. The sad truth is that lobbying and voting are woefully insufficient for any realistic movement that hopes to end the thermonuclear spiral.

After many years of interviewing radiation victims, reading declassified government documents, and working as a disarmament activist, I am convinced that relying on traditional avenues of political expression cannot halt the logical consequence of U.S. policies — nuclear war. While we might easily confine our efforts to doing as civics textbooks instruct, remaining "respectable" and avoiding aspersions like the ones cast by Clarke and Hartley in their letters, such caution seems quite likely to be suicidal in the long run. In terms of preventing worldwide annihilation, legal channels offer us wide and varied "freedoms" — to be ineffective.

More than ever, with a nuclear test ban repeatedly put forward by the Soviet Union and rejected by the United States, the main problem is here at home. Realizing that one's house is ablaze, one is ill-advised to depend on writing letters to the fire department.

The issue is human survival, which requires going beyond circumspect niceties. As human beings it is essential that we actively develop capacities to non-violently and emphatically resist holocaust-planning. The sanctity of deferring to the rights of property where death-dealing policies are being executed — whether an embassy suite or a missile site — should be disregarded when we more fully realize what is at stake. As theologian Dorothee Solle writes: "We shall be free only when we join forces with life against production for death and the ongoing preparation for murder . . . We shall become free when we learn to work for peace actively, deliberately, militantly."

**Norman Solomon**  
Portland, Ore.

## Big brother, again

I was saddened but not surprised by Vickie Miller's April Letter to the Editor in which she registered her "disgust, outrage and shock" at the content of THE WITNESS.

My psychological credentials are nil, but I sense a kind of transference of anger and frustration from a pesky, won't-go-away-situation to a pesky, won't-go-away publication. As a vestryperson, Ms. Miller is well acquainted with the hopeless, festering slums of Belle Glade, Fla. (16,000 souls packed into a four-block area of substandard housing). She too has seen the Establishment stand silent, indignant, polarized.

Thankfully, Howard Quander of the Episcopal Church Center drew up and presented the vestry with a proposal for low cost retirement housing. It would have involved HUD monies and interaction with NOAH (Neighbors Organized for Adequate Housing), a secular agency. Paranoia replaced paralysis within the vestry!

How long before we see His wounds? Will we ever dare to touch them? I gave each vestry member a year's subscription to THE WITNESS. But "Big Brother" was watching me. I left town before the tar and feathers — coward that I am.

**The Rev. Charles B. Farrar**  
Tequesta, Fla.

## Appreciates policy

The dam letter from Vickie Miller not only made me mad as hell but increased my appreciation for your great publication. Don't change your policy.

**Fred E. Luchs**  
Athens, Ohio

## Dissent & 'Superpowers'

I can't help feeling a bit of sympathy with those rightwingers who read THE WITNESS, personified in the April letter from Vickie Miller. I hope she doesn't

have a stroke when she opens the magazine only to find a page from *Izvestia* reproduced in the center fold! She might give up writing letters and redouble her efforts to sic Big Brother on you.

I used to read rightwing publications, just to see what those who would exile, silence, kill or, at least, round me up into a camp were up to. I no longer find it useful or productive. I can get quite enough of the official line by a cursory glance at the papers, or by lending half an ear and eye to TV "news." The country has veered so far to the right that I don't need to inflict extremist views on myself to keep track of what those who declare themselves my enemies are doing. The mass media more than adequately represents them.

Every time I hit the streets for one of my causes (Central America in the last few years, Disarmament since the late 50s) I feel that I am representing at least one citizen of a country where such is not tolerated as well as myself, a citizen and native of a land where dissent is allowed as long as the establishment doesn't feel too threatened by it. I have a dent in my head from one of the times (1968) when they really tried to sweep the streets of us.

It is the nature of the two beasts — the "Superpowers" — that they give a lot of attention to each other's dissenters. Perhaps it's a bit naive of me, but I somehow don't think that the average Soviet citizen is quite as far from reality as John Q. Public is.

Thank God for your continuing efforts to rectify that situation. I really enjoyed and learned from all the April articles, especially Carter Heyward's and Charles Meyer's. Am still tittering over the Don Wright cartoon as well. Last, but not least, the letter "In streets with bishop" and your editorial, "The case of the missing canon" were gratefully received and "amen'd" to.

**Donald McEvoy-Albert**  
San Diego, Cal.

## Preached on article

In addition to other fine articles in the March 1986 WITNESS I would say that I wish all clergy of the church would read the article by Bishop John Spong, "The powerlessness of Christ."

It is a cogent article, very germane to the date in which we find ourselves as the church in the 20th century and speaks well of our uselessness and powerlessness as a voice in the world.

Indeed it was of such articulate interest that I felt impelled to preach not only the contents but the spirit of the article in my sermon on Good Friday. Thank you for this article and indeed for the magazine, THE WITNESS.

**The Rev. Robert L. Leather**  
Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

## Christ not powerless

I'm concerned about the March article by Bishop John Spong about the powerlessness of Jesus Christ. Bishop Spong seems to forget Jesus Christ was not powerless. His acceptance of the cross was entirely voluntary. God would have removed the cup from Him had He asked. He also reminded St. Peter that legions of angels were at His disposal. He reproaches Pilate when Pilate cavalierly tells Him he has power to crucify or release Him, that Pilate has no power except that given him from above.

Jesus Christ accepts the cross for a specific purpose, the redemption of the world. If He meant for us to renounce power in every form, it is hard to see why He established His church on earth as an institution. Through its long history, the church and its leadership have, of course, abused power, as all institutions do. But it has also used power for good. I think, for instance, of the Middle Ages when the Truce of God and the Peace of God were proclaimed to try to reduce the violence of the times. Churches and church people have frequently and ap-

*Continued on page 23*



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# THE WITNESS



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## Confronting the 70% solution

**A** national poll taken immediately after the bombing of Libya revealed that more than 70% of U.S. citizens were in favor of the action and supportive of the president. That was one of the most abhorrent facts surrounding the event, and, if true, is cause for a national examination of conscience.

Third World countries have typically distinguished between an oppressive U.S. administration and the *people* of the United States, whom they view as victims of that administration as well. But now, were people and president speaking as one? Did Americans really back this president who plays world bully and ordered a strike that amounted to an act of war? Surely the remaining 30% of us sank lower and lower into our chairs, as reports of civilian casualties reminiscent of My Lai filtered through: "And women . . . and children, too."

For Christians who were aghast at the immoral killing, inflicted, as the president would have it, in a "moral" cause, the following reactions by world and national figures from faith communities may prove helpful:

- The British Council of Churches has always believed that adherence to international law is a necessary moral basis for the maintenance of world order. On this and other grounds, this council totally and unequivocally condemns terrorism . . . The issue of Libyan responsibility for international terrorism is at present before the UN Security Council. The failure of the U.S. government to await the Council's judgment before resorting to military action is a clear breach of the charter. Furthermore, such an attack on targets in a city, inevitably involving civilian loss of life, was disproportionate in scale. It has not only

undermined respect for international law but has done nothing to discourage further terrorist acts in retaliation. Her Majesty's government owes it to the British people to explain fully why, in contrast to its partners in the European community, it has given support to a form of American action which undermines rather than strengthens international security. **Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie.**

- The U.S. military action against the Republic of Libya is a serious unilateral action with grave consequences . . . Terrorism is a growing cancer within the body of our global community. It is a reaction on the part of those convinced that without violent measures, their grievances will not be addressed. Clearly, no responsible government can make peace with terrorism, terrorists or those who support them. At the same time, it is the height of irresponsibility not to address these underlying causes, thereby showing moderate elements in the Middle East that avenues to the resolution of long standing grievances other than terrorism exist. By making terrorism unnecessary, we cut terrorists off from their support base and their reason for being. Although one can and does abhor terrorism and seeks its eradication, the quality of the response must witness to the maturity of the policy and decision-making process. Before using force, has every alternate avenue of response been explored? Is the response proportionate? Is the action to be effective rather than efficient or expeditious? Does the action produce international trust and cooperation? **The Most Rev. Edmond L. Browning, Presiding Bishop of the United States.**

- The U.S. Administration has frequently used military engagement against a comparatively weak "adversary" to deflect attention from the negative consequences of its policies in one part of the world, or to gain support for a military approach to conflicts in another.

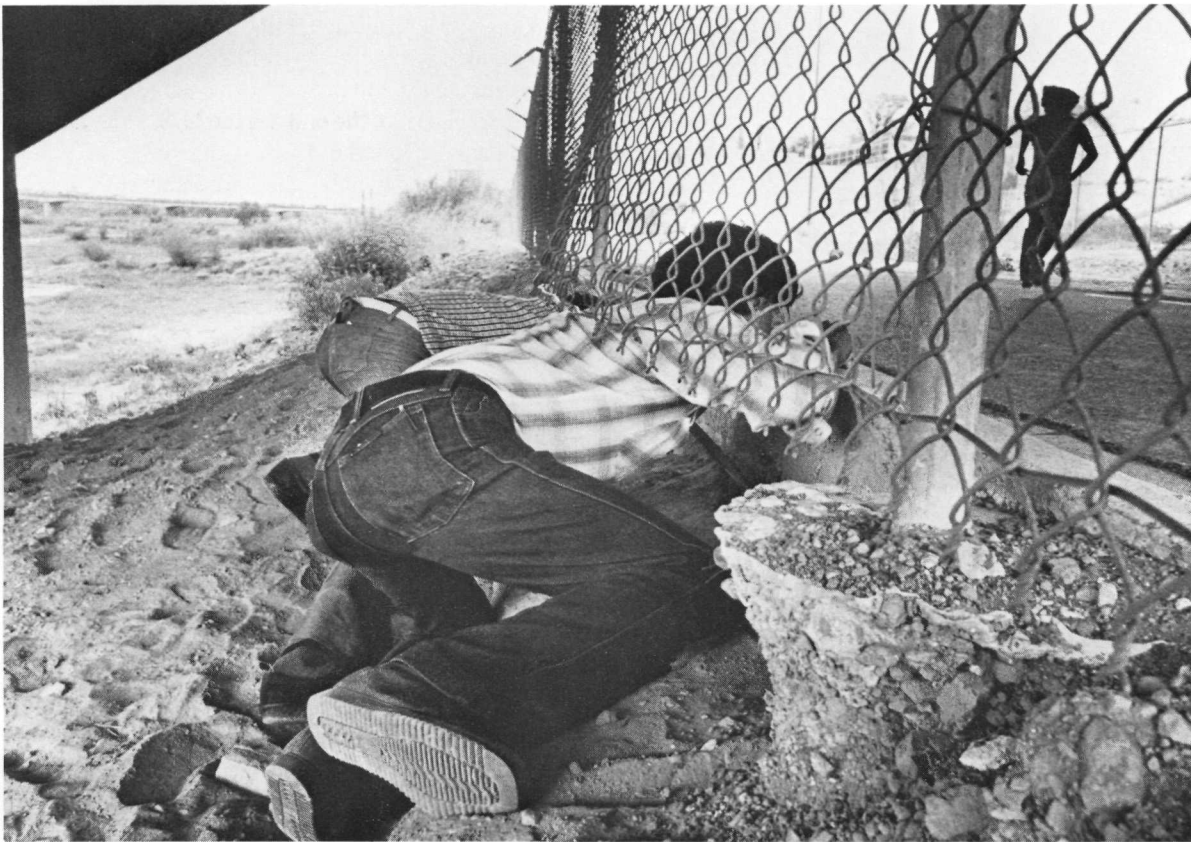
We therefore cannot separate this action from the current heated debate over your policy of support for the Nicaraguan Contras and your renewed verbal attacks on the USSR. **Arie Brouwer, General Secretary, National Council of Churches in telegram to President Reagan.**

- The American Friends Service Committee strongly opposes your Administration's military attacks against Libya. This action was wrong, reckless and has already escalated the cycle of violence. U.S. attacks on Libya provide terrorists with new grievances. U.S. strikes inevitably kill civilians. Our response to terrorism becomes increasingly indistinguishable from terrorism itself . . . We call upon your Administration to address itself to the broader Arab-Israeli-Palestinian conflict which provides the context for terrorism in the Middle East. **Asia A. Bennett, AFSC Executive Secretary, in communique to President Reagan.**

- As Christians we affirm that all of humanity is one family, that all people are made in God's image, and that the life of a Libyan child is indescribably precious, even as is the life of an American child. Attitudes which view the Libyan people as outside the human community, speaking of them in sub-human terms, make it appear possible to bomb them with impunity . . . What is happening to our own souls in the killing of our brothers and sisters? **Statement by Bishop John S. Spong and signators from the Diocese of Newark.**

What, indeed, is happening to the soul of America? People of peace must stand fast and faithful, even if 70% of those around us wave the flag and cry for blood. ■

© Bobby Sanchez



More for appearance than deterrence, a fence along a U.S. Customs Service inspection lot offers some undocumented youth a path of entry into Laredo.

# Border now war zone, sanctuary

by Jean Molesky

**T**he Rio Grande Valley today is both war zone and sanctuary. It is a delicate ecosystem of large landholders, of the U.S. Border Patrol, of refugees, farmworkers, and religious and humanitarian persons. Indeed, it is a small but powerful arena where one of the most controversial battles over immigration is being waged.

Those are impressions gathered recently from a trip to South Texas where I interviewed U.S. officials, refugees, and churchworkers in an area where thousands of refugees from Mexico and Central America pass through each month.

Between Rio Grande City and Brownsville, Tex., a stretch some 120 miles long, the battle over immigration rights is intensifying. Yet the area, dotted with small communities,

ranches and *colonias* of farmworkers, is only a small section of the 2,000-mile-long U.S.-Mexico border where 1 million have been apprehended annually over the last four years, trying to cross illegally into the United States. It is estimated that for every one caught, five to eight make it across the border, safely to the north.

On one side of the battle are the Border Patrol and the INS. Infra-red sensors, like those used in Vietnam which can detect human beings, are planted at frequent sights along the Rio Grande. Helicopters fly overhead, and green Border Patrol trucks cruise up and down highways and backroads searching for "illegal aliens." Last year 60,000 refugees were arrested by the INS in McAllen, Tex. alone; most of them were deported.

At the same time, a highly organized and covert network reminiscent of the Civil War's Underground Railway for slaves, has been transporting Central American refugees out

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**Jean Molesky** is an instructor in Contemporary Immigrants and Refugees at the University of California, Berkeley.

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**T**he recent six-month trial of Sanctuary Movement workers revealed the U.S. Government's determination to engage those who are working for asylum for political refugees in a battle of historic proportion. In this article, Jean Molesky presents a background on illegal border crossings in the Rio Grande Valley; in the accompanying box, Henry Atkins analyzes the theological choices now remaining for the faith community involved in sanctuary.

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of South Texas. Lawyers offer legal services; sanctuary and churchworkers provide shelter, social services and bond money. Ecumenical groups educate church members to the refugee problems while volunteers from out of state contribute their services to these groups. But the battle has escalated as churchworkers have been arrested and charged with the crime of assisting refugees to reach safe haven.

Throughout the history of the valley, whose population is 15% Anglo and 85% Hispanic, the "alien" was a Mexican seeking better economic possibilities north of the border. But in the last five years, a new population treks north to the Rio Grande, seeking asylum from war-torn countries — El Salvador, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Honduras. They constitute 15% of the total entries.

The majority of the refugees come from El Salvador, where estimates are that some 40,000 have been killed in the last three years alone. In the course of repression, some 25% of the Salvadoran population has been uprooted. Thousands are teenage boys, fleeing the military draft. Other refugees are from Guatemala, a country of 7 million, where 1 million are displaced — 500,000 in their own country and more than that number in the exterior. Their relatives have been kidnapped, tortured, murdered; their homes and fields burned. Still others are peasants and workers fleeing the Nicaraguan countryside where Contras are raiding the borders.

The status of refugee is no respecter of age: infants to old women and men trek hundreds of miles to the United States hoping for a new life.

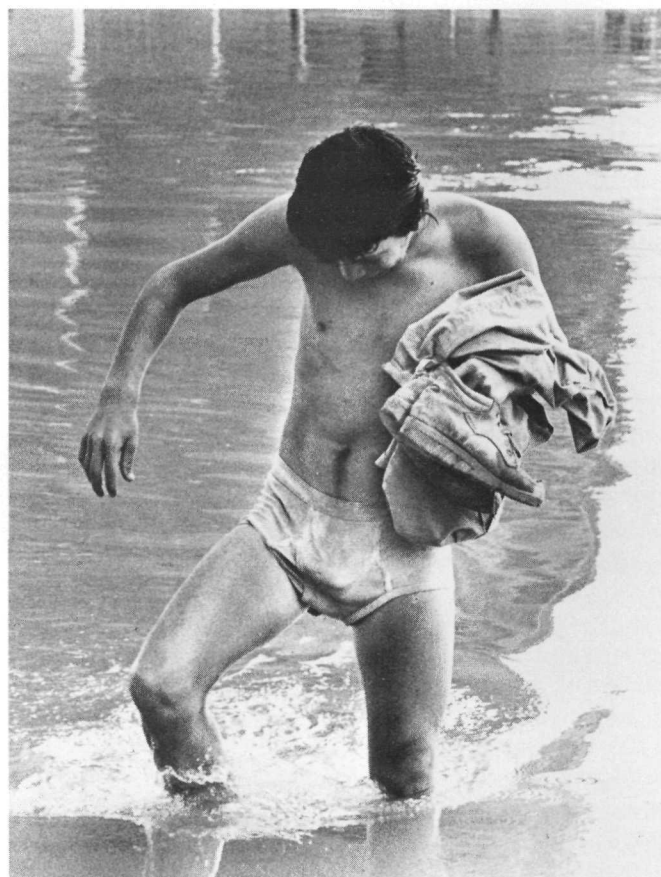
"Thank God, I am alive," said a Salvadoran woman I met who had just arrived in Texas. "But I am tired. I have not eaten, my muscles are aching. If I had known what was going to face me, only God knows if I would have said, 'Yes.' And the journey is still long."

She and nine others had walked for almost a month from the

Guatemalan-Mexico border through hills, mountains and brush in order to remain undetected. Nonetheless, two of the children with them were abducted in Southern Mexico; all of the women were violated and, in the end, on the U.S. side, all the men were caught and detained in El Corralon (the corral in Spanish), the INS detention center near Port Isabel, Tex.

As wars intensify in Central America, arrests, incarcerations and deportations continue not only in the Rio Grande Valley, but along the borderlands and in most large urban areas.

A number of large cities have refugees. Los Angeles has 300,000 Salvadorans; Houston has 150,000, according to Sister Tess Browne, a Franciscan who has been a long-time valley worker. "It's closer and \$100 cheaper for a Salvadoran to come through Texas than California," she pointed out. Some estimate that there are half a million Salvadorans in the



Bobby Sanchez

Clutching his life's possessions, this undocumented refugee finds a shallow crossing point on the Rio Grande into Laredo. Some 15% of those who cross the border illegally are now classified by the Border Patrol as "OTMs" — Other Than Mexicans, or Central American refugees.

# Options narrow for sanctuary

by Henry L. Atkins

**S**entencing for eight of 11 church workers convicted because of their participation in the Sanctuary Movement has been set for July 1 in Tucson. Their trial, which had gone on for almost six months, has been a test of the Sanctuary Movement by the U.S. government.

Federal prosecutor Don Reno stated that this was an alien smuggling conspiracy and charged the defendants with conspiring to violate U.S. immigration laws. Judge Earl H. Carroll forbade the defendants to speak about their moral, spiritual or religious motivation or of existing conditions in El Salvador and Guatemala.

The 1980 Refugee Act which is the law of this land states that if people are fleeing their country because of political persecution they can be granted political asylum. But 98% of the Guatemalans and 97% of Salvadorans who have applied for such asylum have been denied. Judge Carroll also would not allow defendants to talk about the 1980 Refugee Act and its lack of enforcement.

Subsequently, on May 1 a Federal Jury convicted six defendants of conspiring to smuggle Salvadorans and Guatemalans into the United States. They are the Rev. John M. Fife III, of Tucson; Sister Darlene Nicgorski, of Phoenix; Margaret J. Hutchison, of

Tucson; the Rev. Ramon Dagoberto Quinones of Nogales, Mexico; and Philip Willis-Conger of Tucson. All six face maximum sentence of five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine. Convicted on lesser charges were the Rev. Anthony Clark of Nogales, Ariz., and Wendy Lewin of Phoenix, who face maximum sentences of five years and \$2,000 each.

"Conspiracy" on the part of the sanctuary workers in this case seemed to be to get the U.S. government to obey its own Refugee Act, a task which gets harder each day with a President who funds Contras to illegally attack Nicaragua and who states that he doesn't care what the World Court thinks, he will not obey it. On April 10, Judge Carroll stated in the Tucson courtroom in the presence of the jury, "Acting lawfully is not a defense."

The issues of the trial were set forth by the Ramon Flores family, Salvadorans living in sanctuary at St. Michael's Chapel at Rutgers University, months before the trial. Ramon, Victoria and Roberto Flores had been called as witnesses by the prosecution. They stated that the government sought three objectives in this trial:

"First," said Ramon and Victoria, "the U.S. government wants to destroy the Sanctuary Movement in this country. Second, the government knows that involving movements and organizations in long, costly legal cases can be an effective way of demoralizing a movement and using up its resources. Thirdly, the government does not want us living here. They want us back in prison in El Salvador. They want to deport us, and if

they win in the courts, they believe this will be easier." With the verdict, the Flores family now believes that the price of justice in the United States has gone way up, not only for Central American refugees living in this country, but for all justice-loving people of Central America.

I think they are right.

Before he was killed, Archbishop Oscar Romero stated "Christ invites us not to fear persecution, because those who are committed to the poor must risk the same fate as the poor, and in El Salvador we know what the fate of the poor signifies: to disappear, to be tortured, to be captive, and to be found dead." The major test the Sanctuary Movement has faced during this trial in Tucson is a test of its theology of solidarity. People of faith in some 300 temples and churches across this land have said yes to the oppressed by opening their doors to take in the tortured, the prisoner, the beaten child and the homeless — the exile. The Sanctuary Movement has also allowed the suffering people of Guatemala and El Salvador to speak about their own reality. Their story is greatly different from what we hear coming out of Washington. Hearing the word spoken by our sisters and brothers from Central America has brought transformation to those of us in the Sanctuary Movement. We have also stated that we will struggle with our oppressed sisters and brothers for justice so that all of us may know liberation not as a concept but as a historical reality. This trial in Tucson has called us to another realization:

*Continued on page 14*

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**The Rev. Henry L. Atkins, Jr.**, is Episcopal Chaplain to Rutgers University at New Brunswick, N.J., one of four Episcopal sites offering sanctuary. Others are St. Francis House, Madison, Wisc.; St. Mark's Berkeley, and All Saints Church, Pasadena.



United States. (A 1980 study revealed that 86% of the dishwashers and busboys in Los Angeles were undocumented Hispanics, while 62% of the garment workers were thought to be undocumented.)

The fierce debate unleashed over immigration rights is argued in the fields, work places, courtrooms and Congress. It centers over the definition of who are refugees and what their rights are. Sanctuary workers claim that Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees meet the requirements of the Refugee Act of 1980 which accords refugee or asylum status to persons who cannot return to their country of origin because of persecution or fear of persecution due to race, religion, nationality, social status or political opinion.

But the U.S. government does not recognize many Central Americans as political refugees, preferring to label them "economic refugees." The United States consistently grants political asylum to fewer than 3% of the Salvadorans, less than 1% of the Guatemalans, lower than that for almost every other country. And restrictions against refugees are tightening across the border.

"The INS increases apprehensions by 15% a year," stated Sister Marian Strohmeier, who works with refugees in the Catholic diocese of Brownsville. "The Border Patrol is inconsistent, though. If El Corralon is full, they let other refugees slip through. But at the end of the month, there are quotas to meet so pickups intensify."

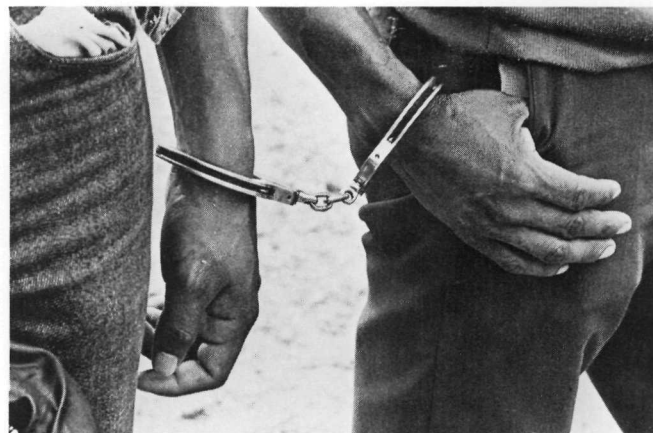
Evidence of military action, too, is heightening. Several months ago, tanks were temporarily set up at precarious points along the river to frighten off entries.

Last summer, members of the Border Patrol equipped with gas masks, riot helmets, service revolvers and bullet-proof vests could be seen not only at the National Guard Armory but on the front page of the McAllen newspaper and television news. They were anticipating violence related to the Mexican federal elections at Tamaulipas, across the river, according to Border Patrol Chief Silvestre Reyes.

What can a Central American refugee expect if arrested by the Border Patrol?

Once apprehended, the detainee is sent to El Corralon, the INS detention camp for OTMs (other than Mexicans). Located miles from any settlement, it is installed with tight security: double barbed wire fences, armed guards and an alarm system. Detainees outfitted in bright orange jumpsuits mill around all day under the hot Texas sun idly awaiting their hearings with an immigration judge.

The staff of El Corralon, however, is proud of its site as a "model camp." Originally a border patrol school from 1967-76, it was converted into a detention camp in 1981. "We have two full-time nurses, a contract doctor, and seven full-time



Bolby Sanchez

#### Males are handcuffed to make escape difficult

cooks. The detainees have access to visiting rooms, phones, washing machines and a recreation room. We have a library of some 5,000 books, though most are in English, and a recreation specialist who organizes soccer, baseball and volleyball games to keep them occupied.

"We don't keep women with children here, and we don't keep pregnant women. We don't want them to give birth while in custody. That would be inhuman."

The immigration officer pointed out the well-staffed kitchen, large mess hall, four barracks, the courtroom on the grounds and four cement supported roofs which shade small sections of the dusty yard. El Corralon can accommodate 500 men and women.

"You know we take good care of them while they're here," the officer stated. "We spend \$30-35,000 a month on groceries. We serve them nutritious meals but they really don't appreciate it. When we serve them roast beef, they call it 'horsemeat.' But they're not used to eating food like that. They only know black beans, rice and chicken — not even Kentucky Fried chicken — just plain old boiled chicken."

While the refugees are told of their legal right to counsel at the time of their apprehension, most fail to understand the significance of this right, and no explanations are given. Coming from countries where legal systems are quite different and because of cultural barriers, the refugees spend most of their stay in the detention center in ignorance and confusion about the U.S. legal system, bonding procedures and their rights as protected by the Constitution. Most are deported to their country of origin. Last year \$7.8 million was spent in air fare.

Church and foundation-supported organizations have been formed by persons whose ethics and religious convictions do not tolerate persecution of the refugees within the U.S. bor-

ders. Despite immense poverty in the valley (two of its four counties are rated the poorest in the United States), food, shelter, assistance in finding relatives and friends, and spiritual support have been offered to thousands of men, women and children over the past four years.

In 1982, Bishop John Fitzgerald of Brownsville diocese founded Casa Oscar Romero, named for the Archbishop of El Salvador, who was assassinated in 1980. It has offered temporary refuge to more than 3,000 Central Americans seeking sanctuary in the United States.

Testimony to the refugees' sense of welcome at Casa Oscar Romero could be seen in the large mural on one side of the building: bold and colorful scenes of Bishop Romero's life, his words, "If I am killed, I will rise among the people."

While the Casa can adequately accommodate 40 persons, as many as 140 have swelled its walls recently. Those who stay do so for only a week, maybe 10 days, before moving on to relatives or to look for work and a new life.

"We welcome every refugee. We want them to feel like it's their home while in the valley," said Sister Ninfa Garza, director of Casa. "I have set down only two rules: Respect each person and keep the place clean." She led me through the kitchen, where refugees were chopping lettuce, making tortillas and washing dishes.

Walking through the three dormitories lined with bunk beds, I saw the transitoriness of their lives: a few personal belongings, a suitcase, a photo or memento of home. Some napped trying to recover from the long journey; an elderly woman knelt in the dark corner before a crucifix.

"All of these refugees come from Central America," continued Sr. Ninfa. "Many come in poor physical and emotional health. See that young boy over there," pointing to a boy of 14 years. "He arrived yesterday from El Salvador. Whenever a plane goes overhead, he is terrified and hides under the closest table or bed. Several have suffered such trauma due to war."

Operating on a small budget, Sister Ninfa has coordinated neighboring parishioners to help donate food, clothing, construction expertise. New toilets, a wash house and patio testify to the generosity of many. "We need food, money, blankets. And, yes, we need toothbrushes. Such a simple thing, but hundreds of people pass through here . . ."

Staff members at Casa Oscar Romero have been arrested and found guilty for their work with refugees. Jack Elder, Lorry Thomas, former directors, and Stacey Lynn Merkt, a former volunteer, have all been convicted and sentenced in the last year on charges of aiding and transporting illegal aliens.

"The refugees have really evangelized us," explained Rosemary Miranda of the Valley Inter-Religious Task Force

on Central America (VITCA). "Our concern for their plight has drawn church members of many denominations in the valley together. While VITCA educates church members on refugee problems, the independent ecumenical Border Association for Refugees for Central America (BARCA) provides legal services to hundreds of refugees, as well as food, clothing, health services and transportation to thousands. It has grown out of the concerns of many church people: Catholics, Lutherans, Methodists, Presbyterians and Mormon volunteers."

The Border Witness, modeled on Witness for Peace in Central American countries, encourages volunteers from various parts of the country to join them for two weeks. During that period the volunteers provide direct services to refugees as necessitated by further arrests/trials of refugee workers in the valley, and monitor and record activities of government representatives which violate the rights of refugees. It is hoped that when the volunteers return to their home communities they will communicate the plight of refugees, particularly in South Texas.

Projecto Libertad, a non-profit corporation funded by foundations, churches and private contributors, has a staff of lawyers who have given legal assistance to more than 3,000 refugees.

Bishop Fitzpatrick who has ministered to the refugees doesn't believe the cycle will slow down or end in South Texas or in the country until the U.S. government changes its foreign policy in Central America.

"We need to change the stance of the government and thus create a more benevolent attitude toward refugees from these countries. As long as we continue to support a civil war in El Salvador, more refugees will continue to seek refuge in our country."

The morning I left South Texas, a new group of refugees had arrived. Each had paid \$1,000 (for many a life's savings) to a coyote, a professional smuggler, who would help them into the United States. As they crossed the Rio Grande and saw the one skyscraper of six stories in McAllen in the distance, the coyote pointed out, "There's New York! I'll leave you now." There they stood in wet feet.

Easily identified by their timidity, out-of-style dress, non-local accent in Spanish and eyes filled with fear and anxiety, they were easy prey. ■

### July, August issues to be combined

In an effort to cut publishing costs, the July and August issues of THE WITNESS will be combined. Two hikes in postal rates this year alone have ravaged our budget. Remember, look for the July-August edition to be mailed in late summer, not separate issues. Many thanks!

# Short Takes

## From whence comes power?

When, in the New Testament, Christ goes into the desert at the start of his public life, it is the Devil who takes him to a high place and offers him "all this power and the glory" of earthly kingdoms, saying, "It has been committed to me, and I give it to anyone I choose. Worship me, then, and it shall be yours."

There are more reassuring passages in scripture. We, in North America and the rich countries of Europe, are those to whom the power and glory of earthly kingdoms has presently been given.

The significance of Easter is indeed that of human redemption and renewal, but of a renewal that comes by way of apparent failure and humiliation, by the vindication of the poor and outcast over the complacent and powerful. It is a thought worth pausing over, if only once a year.

William Pfaff  
*L.A. Times Syndicate*

## Unnatural selection

As technodocs decide which women's genes are superior and which are inferior, who may reproduce and who is not "healthy" enough to, they distance women still further from our bodies, our selves. Future generations of women, growing up in a world of male-run reproductive industries, will have no sense of themselves as beings capable of procreating. They will know that women provide only the raw materials from which men manufacture people to desired specifications . . . If successful on a grand scale, this could intensify the class system: Poor women here and in the Third World would serve primarily to carry the embryos of the upper class, and males would far outnumber females . . .

Sex predetermination techniques may also translate sexual prejudice (a preference for male children) into a sexist reality. Previctimization has already become a lucrative practice in India, according to Mona Daswani, a social worker in Bombay. Doctors there have set up businesses to detect female fetuses through amniocentesis. When a female fetus is found, it is aborted, she says. Daswani estimates that 78,000 female fetuses were aborted this way between 1978 and 1983.

Gena Corea  
*The Progressive* 1/86



## Protest U.S. policy, pledge aid to Nicaragua

More than 200 Catholic, Protestant and Jewish leaders demonstrated on the steps of the Capitol in March to proclaim that U.S. policy about Nicaragua is based on "exaggerating misinformation and outright falsehood." In the group were 20 bishops, including Episcopal Bishop Paul Moore of New York, above, left, and Catholic Bishop Thomas Gumbleton, Detroit, right. At center is Rabbi Marshall Meyer, New York.

Bishops Moore and Gumbleton also joined a coalition of religious leaders in April to announce a nationwide campaign to match any funds Congress appropriates in Contra aid with the same amount in true humanitarian aid for the people of Nicaragua. This massive effort, called *Quest for Peace*, pledged to match in one year Congress' previous vote of \$27 million in Contra aid and has already delivered \$20 million in aid to Nicaragua. *Quest* hopes to reach the \$27 million goal by the end of June.

WITNESS readers wishing to join the campaign can make checks payable to *Quest for Peace* and send to: Quixote Center, P.O. Box 5206, Hyattsville, MD 20782. The Center is initiator of the project, which now includes a coalition of 240 groups plus 850 individual co-sponsors from 41 states and the District of Columbia.

"If Congress votes \$100 million more, we'll match the \$100 million," Gumbleton said.

## Truth in diplomacy?

We come, then, to the normal means used in international politics by one country, to impose its will upon other countries. The first and the normal means is diplomacy; the regard in which this skill is held is attested by the commonplace that a diplomat is one who is sent abroad to lie for his country. I have read enough newspapers in the last 70 years to know that it is not true, as another commonplace has it, that truth is the first casualty in war; in diplomacy truth was never alive to be a casualty . . .

John McKenzie  
*The Civilization of Christianity*

## Re sanctuary verdicts

"With that evidence, if this had been a bank robbery, there would have been an acquittal," said defense attorney Robert Hirsh, who was noticeably shaken by the verdict (against his Sanctuary defendants.) "If it had been a murder, I'd have gotten an acquittal. But these people defied the system, and the jury didn't like that."

*Philadelphia Inquirer* 5/4/86

## Recommended viewing

"So here we are 15 years later — a man who came from a military family and had nothing but the highest military ideals has come full circle. From sitting in the cockpit flying aircraft in Vietnam, he's ended up with a backpack down in the jungle of El Salvador being bombed by the same airplanes he used to fly. It is just the most incredible transition a man can go through."

Thus does Air Force Captain Terry Savery speak about Charlie Clements in *Witness to War*, a film describing the U.S. doctor's medical experiences in El Salvador. The 29-minute film, now viewing on PBS stations, took the Oscar for best short documentary at the recent Academy Awards ceremony. Produced by David Goodman of the American Friends Service Committee, it describes one person's odyssey of conscience and the impact made on him by the Salvadoran people's struggle to survive the violence of war.

## Quote of note

One must always try to live life forward and understand it backward.

Sören Kierkegaard



## In memoriam: Charles Radford Lawrence II



Charles Radford Lawrence, II was born May 2, 1915 in Boston and raised in Utica, Miss., where his parents were teachers at the Utica Normal and Industrial Institute. He received his bachelors degree from Morehouse College in 1936, a masters degree from Atlanta University in 1938 and a doctorate in Sociology from Columbia University in 1952. Following in the tradition of his mentors at Atlanta University, W.E.B. Dubois and Ira D.A. Reid, Charles was both a scholar and an activist.

From 1943 to 1947, he taught sociology at Fisk University in Nashville, and was a research associate at the Institute for Race Relations. From 1948 until his retirement in 1977 he was Professor of Sociology at Brooklyn College, City University of New York, and from 1966 to 1977 was Chair of the Sociology Department.

In 1977, he was elected President of the House of Deputies of the General Convention of the Episcopal Church. He was a member of both the Anglican Consultative Council and the church's Joint Commission on Ecumenical Relations.

Charles Lawrence's many honors included: The Kent Fellowship, The Julien Rosenwald Fellowship, election to Phi Beta Kappa, The Bishop's Cross for Distinguished Lay Service to the Diocese of New York, and Honorary Doctorates from: Morehouse College, General Theological Seminary, Seabury Western Theological Seminary, Virginia Theological Seminary, St. Paul's College and Berkeley Divinity School.

Lawrence is survived by his wife Margaret; his three children, Charles III, Sara Lightfoot, and Paula Wehmiller; his five grandchildren, John, Maia, Abram, Tolani and Martin; and two sisters, Lois Moses and Ann Weathers.

THE WITNESS mourns the loss of Dr. Lawrence, whose pervasive sense of social justice guided his career. He was presiding at General Convention in 1985 when the church voted to divest itself of stock in firms continuing to work in South Africa, a cause for which he campaigned.

We celebrate his life by presenting, below, the eulogy delivered by his son during the funeral Eucharist April 7 at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York.

## A son's tribute to his father

by Charles Radford Lawrence III

I sit at my father's desk. He has told my mother and sisters that he would like me to give the eulogy at his funeral. This is a final message of love, respect, and pride that he has left for his son. He has entrusted to me the task of bidding you, his friends and loved ones, farewell — of capturing an image or recollection in which his spirit can briefly reside so that

he can thank you for your presence in his life.

I feel inadequate before this task. My anxiety is betrayed by the growls in my stomach. But even in my sense of inadequacy, I know that I am my father's son. He would have had the same upset stomach, the same self-doubt; though no one of us would have doubted him. He

would have asked the Lord's assistance and I find myself, once again, following his example.

The evidence of his love and work are all around me — the pictures of his grandboys, John, Abram, and Martin smiling down on him from a shelf high above his desk; the grandgirls, Maia and Tolani, nearer to his desk; his beautiful



Margaret closest to him.

On the shelves above his desk, hundreds of volumes attest to his life's work as a scholar and activist, as do a dozen diplomas, citations and honorary degrees on the wall across the room; the prayer books and Bibles, the journals, and directories of the Episcopal Church. His desk calendar is filled with commitments in his own hand: Skyview meeting, ACC Standing Committee (Toronto), NAACP seminar (Tappan Zee), St. Luke's Germantown, the Morehouse Reunion. His work continued. Charles Lawrence's life was full to the end. He had no intention of slowing down or stopping.

The images have been with me constantly these past two days. His strong and beautiful hands, his warm bear-like embrace, his robust melodious laughter (as kids my sisters and I used to find my father in a crowd by following the sound of his laughter), his eyes beneath unruly eyebrows — passionate, intelligent eyes that betrayed the true Charles Lawrence even when he presented his most formal self; eyes that were alternately intense and mirthful; eyes that occasionally flashed anger at stupidity or bullying, and increasingly in recent years, were moist with joyful tears. A handsome man in both his youth and older age.

But the physical images only call to mind what we loved and admired most in this man — and what remains with us — *his spirit*.

At first these images come to me in sharp contrasts:

- The public figure — outgoing, gregarious, presiding at General Convention, delivering a sermon or commencement address.

- The private man — shy beneath his outgoing exterior, happiest in the intimacy of his family, most content with the *Sunday Times* beside a roaring fire. Few people knew as much about my father as he knew about them.

- The academician and scholar —

intrigued by facts and data and theory.

- The passionate yet pragmatic activist — concerned above all with leaving the world a better place than he found it.

- A man of absolute principle and immaculate standards who expected much of himself and others but loved us all without condition, without judgment.

Charles was proud — proud of his race, proud of his family, proud of his church and his community. Almost everything he touched was well-done and turned out well. People thought him an important man, and he was. And yet there was not in him a shred of self-importance; not an ounce of pridefulness. If asked about his success, he'd say, "I'm blessed," and mean it.

He was a man who worked on serious things: peace and civil rights, raising kids, and spreading the word of God. There was little that he did for fun, and yet he found fun in almost everything he did. He laughed with others and at himself. The place that Dad loved most to reside was at the dining room table. It was there that we learned about language and politics and the fun and importance of gathering one's friends about one. But mostly we told stories and laughed.

I do not experience these contrasting images as in conflict or contention. There was a wholeness, a solidness about my father that could not be missed. He knew who he was and where he stood. The contrasts — public/private, scholar/activist, judge without judgment, proud without pride — are more dialectic than dichotomy. The opposing forces form a circle to make a whole. It was Charles' integrity that made him what he was.

I think about his capacity for leadership. Responsibility was thrust upon him early. His family's eldest child, he drove his mother and siblings from Utica, Miss. to Boston in a Model A Ford at the age of 14. His father died when he was 35 and Dad became the extended family's head.

Brother, sisters, nephews and cousins looked to him for counsel, guidance and advice. Yesterday his youngest sister, Ann, said to me "Even as a boy, Charles always knew the answer to everything."

Charles had a natural air of authority about him. He commanded respect without ever asking for it. In high school, my rowdiest friends, the guys who stole hubcaps and crashed parties, were perfect gentlemen in my father's presence. They'd stand and say, "Yes sir, Dr. Lawrence," and answer his many questions about school and home and where their parents and grandparents were from. It was much later that I realized Dad's secret. He gained respect by giving it. He talked and listened to the fourth grade kid in Spring Valley who shined shoes the same way he talked and listened to a bishop or college president. He was seriously interested in who you were and what you had to say. And although he had the intellectual and physical tools to outmuscle a smaller person or mind, he never bullied. He gained your allegiance by offering you his strength, not by threatening to overpower you.

This is not to say that his son did not know his capacity for anger. I didn't tell my father about the sixth grade teacher who slapped me around until I was grown. I wasn't sure that I could count on my father's pacifism in the face of his anger at a man who would repeatedly hit a child in the face. And I didn't want to be responsible for my father going to jail.

The most precious thing in Charles's life was Margaret; the gorgeous, brilliant priest's daughter he courted in Vicksburg. And he kept courting her until he drew his final breath. He'd call from General Convention and say, "You should have seen your Mother, Buddy Boy. She was more beautiful than ever." And I knew he'd told her so a dozen times that evening.

Long before Women's Liberation was in vogue, Dad was a liberated man; shar-

ing in cooking and cleaning and child-raising with Mom; not made insecure by her independence, or her status, or her professional accomplishments, but basking in the light that she reflected; taking pride in her strength and competence and in the fact that this extraordinary woman adored him.

He took pride in his daughters' accomplishments too — in Sara's prolific and brilliant scholarship in *his* field and in her MacArthur prize; in Paula's genius as a teacher and administrator and in her work in the church; in the artistry of Carol's films. And he was not afraid to show affection for his sons. It was not surprising when he became a champion for the ordination of women in the church. It is not surprising that his son married a woman like his mother or that his daughters, like their mother, married strong and gentle men.

During these last two years Charles' body seemed to desert his great and wonderful soul. He struggled mightily to live, not because he feared death. He told me he'd made his peace with death during his bout with cancer. He struggled to live because Margaret insisted upon it — he'd do anything for her — and because there was still work to do. But most of all, because he loved being with us.

As I stand here I know that his spirit is with us still . . . ■

*Continued from page 8*

We who are in solidarity with the oppressed may be called to the same fate as the poor — to be captive.

Prosecutor Reno said after the trial that "The Justice Department will continue to prosecute these alien-smuggling cases. I think this jury verdict is going to have a significant impact on those persons who were well-intended but misguided." Alan C. Nelson, INS Commissioner in Washington, stated, "Perhaps now that this verdict is behind us, those of the

'Sanctuary' Movement can redirect their energies in a manner that is within the law." Clearly, the State has its own theology and is willing to use the courts and the threat of prison to impose it on U.S. faith communities.

John Fife also made a statement immediately after the verdict: "I plan for as long as possible to be the pastor of a congregation that has committed itself to providing sanctuary." Sanctuary churches and temples from New Jersey to California have echoed Fife's statement. The Sanctuary con-

gregations will not abandon refugees from Central America nor the prophetic theology of solidarity, even if it means that various members may have to suffer "the same fate as the poor."

This trial has made one thing clear. In this society one has at least two theological options, the option for a state theology or an option for a prophetic theology of solidarity. Let us hope and pray that more and more good people of this land will opt for the latter. ■

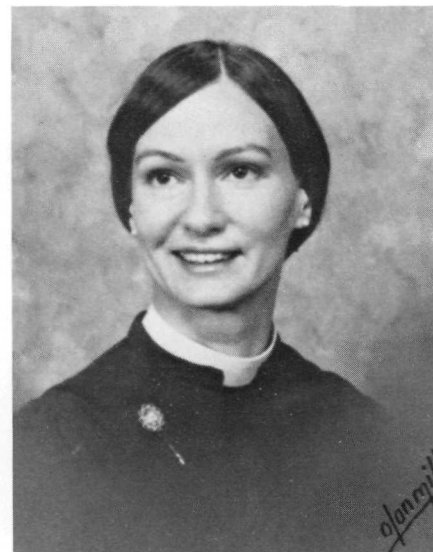
## Nominated for bishop

**T**he Rev. Mary Chotard Doll had been named one of four nominees for suffragan bishop for the Diocese of Washington as *THE WITNESS* went to press. With election slated for May 31, there is a possibility that Doll could be the first woman bishop in the Episcopal Church by the time readers receive this issue.

Nominated with Doll were the Rev. Lawrence Harris, the Rev. John Chamblin, and the Rev. Ronald Haines.

Contacted by *THE WITNESS*, May 3, Doll said, "I am very happy about the nomination for myself and for the church. I think the church is ready for this. But whatever happens, it will be good for the church, the parish, and me." She has served as rector of Calvary Episcopal Church, Cincinnati, for the past six years.

The nominee is daughter of the former Bishop of Maryland, Harry Lee Doll, who died in 1984. She was born in the capital city and worked there for five years for the National Security Agency as an intelligence research analyst. "Junior high school students are usually very impressed when I say that, but it was a



Chotard Doll

title that applied to all. I was not a spy," she laughed. "I dealt with language research."

Her family has been "very supportive," but "we haven't started to pack yet!" Her husband, Bernard Fenik, is a classics professor at the University of Cincinnati. They have two children, Kirsten, 19 and Matthew, 16. ■



## Canterbury tales of 1986

**I**t all came flooding back — high school English Lit and Geoffrey Chaucer's impossible to read, Middle English *Canterbury Tales* — stories told by a group of people making a pilgrimage to the shrine of Thomas a Becket at Canterbury Cathedral. Chaucer got the idea for the stories when he himself went on such a holy trip and noticed how many different kinds of people there were in the party.

The old bard again would have found rich material for his quill in the stories of Kate, Alison, Mary, Ruth, Emily, Carmen and several others among the more than 300 women (and a respectable scattering of men) gathered at Canterbury in late "Aprille" for a "Pilgrimage and Joining Hands Conference" sponsored by the London-based Movement for the Ordination of Women (MOW). The stories were shared in plenary, in small groups and in random conversations following a majestic Eucharist in the Cathedral, a thanksgiving for the ministry of women in the Church of England and in the Anglican Communion.

The service, a dramatic high point of the pilgrimage, began with a lengthy and colorful women's procession — deaconesses, religious, lay readers and lay workers from the Church of England, followed by lay readers, deacons and priests from abroad. We "pilgrims" wound our way across Lady Wooten's Green, through the Quenin Gate and past a gnarled mulberry tree planted by Henry VIII, to be joined by other women bearing hand-made banners that hailed female saints from the Blessed Virgin to Winnie Mandela. At the Cathedral's

West Door we linked up with 16 bishops and other male clergy from the Church of England who support women's ordination, while inside an enthusiastic throng of some 2,500 waited. In all we represented 22 provinces of the Church, with about 50 persons from the United States.

Underlying the mood of celebration was the divided opinion of MOW members themselves on the question of women's ordination, lending me a sense of *deja vu*. There was also the spectre of legislation to be submitted for final approval at the upcoming July General Synod of the Church in England, which raised for some of us echoes of the "conscience clause" adopted by U.S. bishops. The measure, to which the Bishop of London seems to be devoting an inordinate amount of time and energy, would allow women ordained abroad to officiate under highly restrictive licenses limited to six months in any one year and two weeks in any one parish. The convoluted Anglo-Saxon reasoning behind this defies comment here, but is seductive enough for some British women to count it as a victory.

The meeting was far from conclusive and perhaps was not meant to be. Americans in particular were somewhat frustrated by the culturally different approach of many British women and had to keep reminding themselves that our role there was purely one of support, not leadership. This, if anything, was the outcome of the gathering, a pledge of support by women from abroad if and when MOW determines how others can be helpful.

More important, however, were the stories told by "pilgrims" — ordained

and lay — from Brazil, Kowloon, Massachusetts, London, South India, Uganda, Kenya, New Zealand, Canada and many other places: The tale of the deaconess whose ministry dates back to the end of the World War II when she began "pastoring" a congregation no male clergy person would take, only to have candidates she had prepared for Confirmation rejected on the presumption that they had been insufficiently instructed by a woman; the tale of the bishop's wife who struggles for her own sense of identity as she fulfills the demands of her supporting role to a man who, for the sake of collegiality, opposes ordination of women; the tale of the priest who ministers in the Yukon under circumstances of sheer deprivation; and the tales of others laboring in loneliness and isolation with little or no outside support. The common thread of the stories is faithfulness, calling, commitment and firm resolve.

Picking my way carefully around the spot where Becket, unshaken in his conviction, met his demise I wondered what effect the pilgrimage might have on the present Archbishop of Canterbury, who actively opposes women's ordination, and who had been visited two days prior by 16 of the "pilgrims." As gray rain clouds swept overhead, I mused that on some not too far distant day "whan Aprille shoures soote, the droghte of March hath perced to the roote," the new tales from Canterbury will be of women celebrating the Eucharist, some of whom may even be in pontifical vesture. ■



One pilgrim's progress:

# Probing the mystery of uniqueness

by Robert L. DeWitt

One day in my early teens I made a Copernican discovery. It was the sudden and astounding awareness that behind and beneath the infinite data and impressions and experiences that had marked my life was a deeper fact. It was the awareness of the mystery that I was a unique being. A unique being, suspended in the midst of facts and family and history, partly obscured by them, sometimes enhanced by them. That self-discovery was as of a piece of bedrock, the foundation of all else in my existence. The thought was so staggering, so numinous, that I distinctly recall backing away from it as from a hot wire, and thinking that I must consider this again, but not then. I have been considering it ever since.

Some years later I matriculated at Episcopal Divinity School, (EDS) bearing with me quite a bit of vocational ambivalence; but by the time a few weeks had passed, I knew that this was a place which, if not aware of my secret, was at least congenial to it. Since then, as I have sat at the banquet of life, howsoever rich or meager the fare, howsoever peaceful or contentious the table conversation, I have always been able quietly to lift the corner of my placemat and take a reassuring peek at this fundamental fact of my existence.

I attended EDS during one of its many golden ages. The faculty, — Washburn, Dun, Muller, Hatch, Emrich and Addison — were an impressive group. There was, however, an air of the slightly heretical about the seminary. *Creeds and Loyalty* was a slender volume which had been brought out a few years prior to my arrival. It consisted of essays by the faculty responding to charges of heretical teaching at the school. In my time there were a number of bishops across the church who would not allow their postulants to attend this seminary because of that reputation. The concern was caused by a lingering literalism about theology on the part of the critics, a literalism which still lurks here and there in various

estuaries and lagoons and backwaters of the Episcopal Church.

That EDS faculty, in the words of an old prayer, did not think themselves wiser than their fathers, but neither were they blind to new manifestations of truth. A statement of Peruvian theologian Gustavo Gutierrez, has often come to mind in this regard: "The history and traditions of the church are our heritage, not our boundaries." Are we only passive recipients of the grace of God, or are we sentient, thinking co-creators with God? And if not the latter, then what is the significance of our consciousness of self, that mysterious uniqueness which has marked us for eternity? Perhaps my most grateful recollection of those EDS years is the realization that I was taught nothing which I had later to unlearn. There was much I was not taught. There was much more I was not yet ready to learn. But what I did learn was sound coinage, and, invested, has continued to bear interest.

My consciousness of self I assumed, and still do, to be my most personal and precious patrimony. But it did not spring forth fully informed on ethical matters. Consequently, theological education has had to be a continuing concern. New experiences and problems demanded a new and deeper understanding. So it was, for example, when in both parochial and diocesan roles I encountered in virulent form the problem of racism. Beginning in the '40s with Gunnar Myrdal's landmark work, *An American Dilemma*, a study of racism in America, I found I had much to learn. But what I learned was congruent with what I felt about selfhood.

What, then, would this fact of human existence have to do with the question of racial subordination? One option is to recognize that this mystery of personhood is a gift which attaches to each and every other person, as to oneself. The other choice is to clutch this value as belonging solely to oneself, and risk — or indeed demonstrate — a mental aberration which is delusional. The God of all has no only child. The problem of racism is compounded of our personal prejudices, and the labyrinth of institutional forms and structures and practices in which they are embedded and perpetuated. A solution to racism must include a true evaluation of what it means to be a person — any person.

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**The Rt. Rev. Robert L. Dewitt**, retired Bishop of Pennsylvania, is senior contributing editor of THE WITNESS and winner of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company's William Scarlett Award in 1985. The above article is excerpted from an address delivered as part of the Kellogg Lectures at Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge.



The Vietnam war was another great learning experience for me. It taught me the danger that can come from unquestioned assumptions. In that instance the assumption was that government can be trusted to know what it is doing, and counted on to communicate the truth about what it is doing. It was a revelation to realize that across this nation there were hordes of beatniks, draft dodgers, draft card burners, drop-outs, who were closer to the truth of what was going on in Southeast Asia than were the official government communiques, and the media which published them.

John Milton said, "Who ever knew Truth bested in free and open encounter?" But I also learned from the Vietnam experience how bitter and costly that encounter can sometimes be. As I became clearer as to where truth lay in that struggle, and began to express myself publicly, I was astonished at the outrage that resulted — vestry petitions, Diocesan Council and Standing Committee debates, anonymous letters, an unfriendly press. But what is one to do when it is discovered that acting out the truth, consistent with one's sense of integrity, an act of being true to oneself, proves costly? This question has only one response — it is worth the price.

If Vietnam for many people was learning the power and influence of an established government, there are many others who have had a parallel experience with the powers of business and industry. I recall a meeting of the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church in the early '60s. The issue of investments in South Africa had come up, and before us was a resolution calling for the removal of the Council's accounts from banks which were doing business with South Africa.

Bank officers came before the meeting to explain that we did not understand the complexities of the business, and that our proposed action would be counter-productive. They assured us that our hearts were in the right place, but that we were confused by matters we did not understand. Probably we did not know much about the intricacies of the banking industry. Certainly we were confused after the bank's explanation. The Council finally voted for disinvestment, but more from raw nerve-end morality than from a fully informed conscience. Many crucial ethical decisions will continue to be made before all the evidence is in, because the urgency of the issue cannot wait.

Back in the '40s I read a book entitled *Why Women Cry*, by Elizabeth Hawes. Paraphrased, the first sentence says, "This book is written for all the women who feel that if once more they have to wash that dish, do that laundry, clean that house, or kiss that husband, they will scream." My interest in women's liberation goes back a long way, but I am a slow learner. In fairness, it must be said that men have a lot to learn on that subject. Our socialization is such that it takes a lot of

wrestling to impute to others — in this case women — the same weight of value of selfhood which one ascribes to himself as a man. But it is fundamental to his own selfhood to do so. Else, again, he risks a demented consciousness of self which comes perilously close to mental delusion. Basically, God has children. Secondly, they may be sons, or daughters. But all are children of God, none with the bar sinister on their escutcheons.

At root, this matter of the meaning of selfhood is a theological question. It would be hard to find a more honest and authentic reason for studying theology, than to wonder about the connection between the Christian religion and one's own life. Kierkegaard once wrote: "A thinker erects an immense building, a system, a system which embraces the whole of existence and world history — and if we contemplate his personal life, we discover to our astonishment this terrible and ludicrous fact, that he himself personally does not live in this immense, high-vaulted palace, but in a barn alongside it, or in a dog kennel. . . ." It is so easy for us, in our devaluation of our selfhood, to go about the work of theology as though it were "over there." We are the poorer when we deal with things of incalculable worth which we do not appropriate for ourselves — to live in the dog kennel — because we know not our own worth. To what end do we venerate the mighty acts of God if we do not see the "for us" implications of those acts? The Incarnation, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection can draw from us a deeply-felt awe and astonishment. But so can Doug Flutie's last pass of the game. Doing theology is not a spectator sport.

Gutierrez, again, says: "Theology is reflection, a critical attitude. Theology *follows*; it is the second step. What Hegel used to say about philosophy can likewise be applied to theology: it rises only at sundown." Theology is reflection on action. It is a reflecting on what we have thought, said, done; a reflecting on the meaning of our involvements with and for others; a reflecting on the meaning of this self which thinks,



speaks, acts, gets involved. Without action, theology is specious. Without theology, action is directionless, or wrongly directed.

My theological reading since seminary has made vivid for me this principle of theology as reflection. Kierkegaard spoke to me, as he does to many, with an electric impact. He seemed to know that hidden secret inside each of us, that transcendent yet pathetic and vulnerable self without which we are lost, yet which we are always in danger of losing. "Only that man's life is wasted," he wrote, "who lived on, so deceived by the joys of life or by its sorrows that he never became eternally and decisively conscious of himself as spirit, as self . . ."

Then, too, I encountered Rudolf Bultmann. One of the ranking New Testament scholars of his time, he did not treat scripture as a compendium of things which were said long ago and far away. Rather, he pressed constantly the linkage between scripture and selfhood. He saw the Incarnation and its sequel not as an alien invasion, a "Close Encounter of the Third Kind." Instead, he saw God's coming to mankind as inseparable from mankind's coming to itself. The authenticity of God's coming to God's own is inseparable from a person's coming to claim his or her own God-given heritage.

Let me attempt to open the scriptures and to divide the Word. We are told in the Bible that "God fashioned mankind of dust from the soil. Then God breathed into their nostrils a breath of life, and thus mankind became a living being . . . God created mankind in the image of God, in the image of God they were created, male and female God created them."

Can you imagine yourself in God's image, as creator of your world? Not easily. God, we feel, is the potter, we are the clay. We are one more artifact placed with the collection on God's shelf. But there is more to it than that. That is not the whole story of our creation. We are made in the image of God — a whole population of little gods!

Think of this for a moment. You, a little god? You didn't create your world. Or did you? Did you not create *your* world? What you make of the world is *your* creation. What you see is what *you* see. What you feel is what *you* feel. What you think is what *you* think. What you do is what *you* do. And what you see, feel, think and do, is different from anyone and everyone else. Your world is your world. You created it, you continue to create it, day by day, year by year.

What you make of the world is the world you have made, your creation. The whole thing. Good and bad. The things that are a joy, and the things that are a mess. Your joy, your mess. Those who are your friends, and those you choose to think are your enemies. Your friends, your enemies. You made them. You are the creator-Lord of all you survey. Made in the image of God who created the world, you are therefore the little god of what-you-make-of-the-world.

But even being a little god is a heavy assignment. You can't just sit back and contemplate the world you have made, because some of it is not working out right. And so it is that the Bible tells us that God is not just the creator, but also the redeemer. God made the world, but also feels responsible for it, because God loves it. Have you ever tried to make over something which did not come out right? Untangling a quarrel with a friend? Facing ridicule? Being let down by a person on whom you depended? God has. And so, made in the image of God, you are not only the creator of what-you-make-of-the-world, but also are the redeemer of what is amiss in it. This, too, is your divine assignment. These "hard to live with" parts of your world are yours. And though at times some of these hard-to-live-with things seem too much to bear, and though you, too, like God would sometimes like to expunge what you cannot correct, nevertheless you are the image of God. You, too, are the creator and redeemer of *your* world.

Think of the social issues of your time — racism, sexism, classism, imperialism. They are the things that are demeaning people, others who like you are made in the image of God.

These issues are for you not optional. They are not only for those who happen to have an interest in that kind of thing. They are devaluations of you, blasphemies against the divine. The particular political judgments you make on these issues will result from your own insights. Your response will be a function of your own gifts for prayer, or speaking, or writing, or action with others. But you feign indifference or disinterest only at the peril of rejecting your own selfhood, because when we speak of these issues we are speaking not of some world out there, but of your world.

Do you think that too small a world, if it is incarnated in your consciousness? It is the only world there is, for you. And small? It includes all of your others, all of this world, and extends to the farthest reaches of the galaxies.

I have earlier referred to my most valuable possession, an awareness of the mysterious quality of my selfhood, the most stark and absolute fact of my existence. My life, ever since the birth of that awareness, has been a process of trying to get it into sharper focus, clarifying its identity, understanding its meaning. In that process Christian doctrine has been a means of grace for me. It has provided answers for the questions with which it seems I was born. Yet in attempting to realize the fulness of what it means to be the person I am, I am constantly falling short. Again and again I am discovering repressed parts of my being which I call "others" — other people, other places, other things. It is reassuring to me that in the church I find a fellowship of people similarly afflicted with unrealized potential. It is a veritable homecoming to be received into a church which is a Fellowship of the Incomplete, a Community of the Not Yet. I belong. And I am above all grateful

for the coming of Christ, who traces for me the authentic shape and destiny of my selfhood. This critical pilgrimage, yours and mine, is difficult enough as it is. Without that One, it would be a stumbling in the dark.

This is, indeed, a critical pilgrimage on which we have embarked. Where does it lead? There is one given, which seems unalterable. And that is the fact that you are the person you are, and one hopes you are conscious of your uniqueness, aware through that selfhood of your claim on eternity. A second given is that you have been situated in this place, in this time, with all the uncertainties and problems, as well as the excitements and novelties which mark this era as the swiftest-changing of any in history. A third given is that your culture, your nation, your church, and all your created universe are integrally related to you. One could say embodied in you — in your thinking, feeling, hoping, living. And perhaps finally one can say that your well-being, even your health, depends upon how carefully, how conscientiously, how caringly, you tend these inter-related parts of your existence. A theologian once said that if God had a body, it would be the universe. You are made in the image of God, and you do have a body.

I know myself too well to expect perfection of all the billions of my others who make up this human family, a perfection of which I am by no means capable myself. And yet, must we assume and believe that there is no way in which the structures of society can be arranged, or re-arranged, so that gross poverty, hunger, inequality, and the threat of war will no longer hang over us as a sword of Damocles? Old Testament scholars, and particularly Norman Gottwald in his volume *The Tribes of Yahweh*, tell us that the biblical Israel which produced the Old Testament was an amalgam of many disparate groups who came together with a common concern. Their stories were all the same, though the particulars differed. One group, which came out of Egypt from slavery joined with other groups of outcasts whom they encountered in Canaan. Banding together, they all adopted the name, and the story, and the god, of the group from Egypt, because they all had been in slavery, they all were looking for release and relief. And from that bonding came one of the most — if not the most — striking and stunning human experiments human history has ever known. It produced a people who produced the Bible. It changed the course of human history.

Think of those who make up the underside of our current history — Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, women, gays, the poor, the unemployed, the destitute, the addicts, the hungry. Is it too much to hope that they can find the commonality which will enable them, as was the case with the ancient Israelites, to band together and write a new chapter in

history? Can they create a chapter which will see the abolition of at least the grossest abuses of our societal order, and usher in a new era of relative justice, of reasonable equality, of at least an approximation of genuinely human existence on this planet? I am not willing to relinquish this hope.

The Bible leaves no doubt that a great reversal is in the mind of God. Our God has put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree. For the sake of *your* world, *your* culture, *your* nation, *your* church, may you be an instrument of that great reversal. But if that kingdom delay its coming, for God's sake, for your own sake, watch for signs of its coming, and be faithful. ■

## The healing of a blind man

*He asked him, "Do you see anything?" He said, "I see men, for I am seeing them like trees walking about."*  
Mark 8:23-24

Maybe he was worse off  
than other blind men, like a demolished jalopy  
compared to a Cadillac with a dent.

Maybe before he became blind  
he was nearsighted. Jesus  
corrected that problem  
with the second shot of power.

Maybe he had less faith than the average,  
only enough to get to midsize.

Maybe miracles occasionally need fine tuning,  
like a tv or a camera or a carburetor.

Maybe the people the healed man  
happened to see were thin, haggard,  
twiglike.

Maybe he was crying and the tears  
blurred his vision. Or maybe he got carried  
away and started to black out. Or maybe  
a speck of dust was in his eye.

Maybe Jesus wasn't feeling well.  
His power, like a much used battery,  
had gotten low.  
(But, of course, this is impossible).

Frankly, I can't figure it out.  
When I get to heaven, I think I'll ask Him.  
Question number three thousand,  
four hundred sixty-eight.

— Mark R. Littleton



# The lessons of

**C**ampus protests across the United States escalated in March and April, urging colleges and universities to oppose apartheid by divesting in corporations doing business in South Africa. One such site was Yale University, reported to have between \$350 and \$400 million invested in such corporations. By the end of April, some 300 people had been arrested in connection with anti-apartheid protests on the Ivy League campus. They included students, members of Yale's clerical workers union Local 34, public officials, ministers, and labor union leaders. In addition to criminal charges, approximately 100 students faced university disciplinary procedures as well.

The scenario unfolded like this: In early April, students erected a shantytown, "Winnie Mandela City," opposite the Yale Administration Building. On April 15 at 5:30 a.m., police arrived to dismantle Winnie Mandela City with sledgehammers. Seventy-nine protestors who were camped there refused to leave, and were arrested. The next day, the Yale Office of Investments, which has overseen the steady expansion of investments in South Africa, was the focal point of arrests, with 22 students apprehended. The following morning, 61 students who had camped in front of the Investment Office were arrested for trespassing and suspended from the university without a hearing.

In response to continued pressure, the Yale Administration has given permission for Winnie Mandela City to be rebuilt on its original location and to remain there through commencement. Yale also scheduled a special meeting of the trustees to discuss the issue of divestment, and finally, the Administration announced that it would send a two-week factfinding group to South Africa in June.

The accompanying article by Joseph H. Summers, a seminarian from the Diocese of Michigan, who participated in the demonstrations, reveals his reflections the day following his arrest.

**A**t a time when so many Americans seem enamored by its mystique, it seems appropriate to reflect on the degree to which counterterrorism can help to preserve peace and civilized society. My own reflections come out of participating in a recent sit-in against Yale's support of apartheid in South Africa, and the response it met on the part of the New Haven police department.

First, let me say that although I am only 30 years old I have definite memories of segregation. I remember segregation as a kind of murder: the murder of the identity and culture of a people; the murder of the souls of White people who closed their hearts to avoid the fate of those who cared. I remember watching a Black youth in my parish bleed to death because a White hospital across the street from my church refused to give him medical care, or provide an ambulance to take him to the colored hospital 14 miles away.

Just as brutal military dictatorships are necessary to maintain order in Third World countries where people are starving to death because of payments these countries must make to the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, so too the systemic violence we call segregation

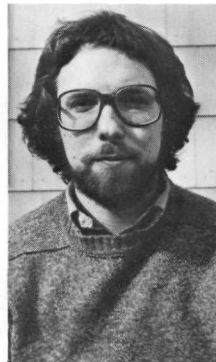
was necessary to keep Black people in subhuman conditions.

This brings us to South Africa, where many of the very same people — like Ronald Reagan, who supported and defended segregation to the very end, and called those who challenged it communist or communist-manipulated — are now supporting apartheid. As a Christian, the moral imperative I feel in opposing apartheid is clear. A nation of people are being murdered culturally, psychically and physically.

Though it is incredible that slavery of the kind found in South Africa could exist in the 20th century, it is only slightly less incredible that those who consider themselves heirs to a legacy that is opposed to slavery should not see it in their interest to overthrow it. Instead, U.S. corporations and universities whose endowments are invested in them, have for years profited by the wages they can pay people who have no basic legal or human rights and have in the process played a vital role in the maintenance and development of this system.

Several other factors led me to challenge the Yale Corporation's support of apartheid. One had to do with coming home after having helped to break up a fight between youths threatening each other with an assortment of weapons, only to watch an old film called "Angels with Dirty Faces." In this film, a priest who is working with similar youth realizes that as long as those at the top continue to profit from violence and injustice, there is no way he is going to be able to convince such youth that there is a better way. This seems especially true when the only economy open to them is the underground economy of crime. This priest's realization that he had to go after

**Joseph H. Summers** is a second year Master of Divinity student at Yale-Berkeley Divinity School. He is a seminarian-assistant at the Church of the Ascension, in a predominantly Hispanic section of New Haven.





# counterterrorism

by Joseph H. Summers

the people at the top if the people at the bottom were going to be able to create any decent life for themselves reminded me of something I knew, but which is easy to forget when you're in the midst of a community which seems so cut off from those at the top. It also helped to wake up that morning and read that Bishop Desmond Tutu had been named head of the Anglican church in South Africa. I felt that if this bishop of my church could risk his life for his people, the least I could do to support him in this struggle was to suffer the loss of study time.

Despite all this, it was still difficult to sit down yesterday. The idea of being arrested and going to jail is frightening for me. Those who think that people are just having fun should realize there is no better way to overcome fear than to sing, clap, and shout. And yet it became clear that it was, and is, a moral imperative for me to do all in my power to get Yale to divest.

Having said this I would like to speak to the counterterrorism which is used in this country, as I experienced but a tiny portion of it in my arrest; and to raise the issue of where the use of counterterrorism is leading us as a nation.

First, let me say plainly that my arrest reminded me of the degree to which our criminal justice system is a form of counterterrorism which operates on the notion that terrorizing those who have broken the law will keep them from doing it again. Those who have been subject to the terror of criminal violence, may think that this response is appropriate; but I would like to directly challenge its effectiveness. Having been through this minor arrest and jail experience, it is not surprising to me that while ever increasingly large sectors of our population are arrested and put in jail, our society con-



Student protestor being carried off by New Haven police.

tinues to become less safe.

The philosophy which appears to guide the New Haven jail seems to be based on the belief that through rendering people totally powerless and therefore absolutely dependent, you will foster obedience and cooperation. (I do not mean to suggest New Haven is unique in this.) This philosophy can be seen in the refusal to let prisoners know what is going to happen to them next, and in not giving definite responses to questions. Prisoners cannot go to the bathroom or flush the toilet without asking someone for help, because toilet paper is not in the cells and the toilets can only be flushed from outside the jail cells. (This latter point becomes more of an issue when you understand that nine people are crammed into cells the length and breadth of a bed.) There probably is a practical explanation for all these things (understaffing, not wanting to mislead people, fear that people will break the toilets) but I suspect that such mechanisms and rules

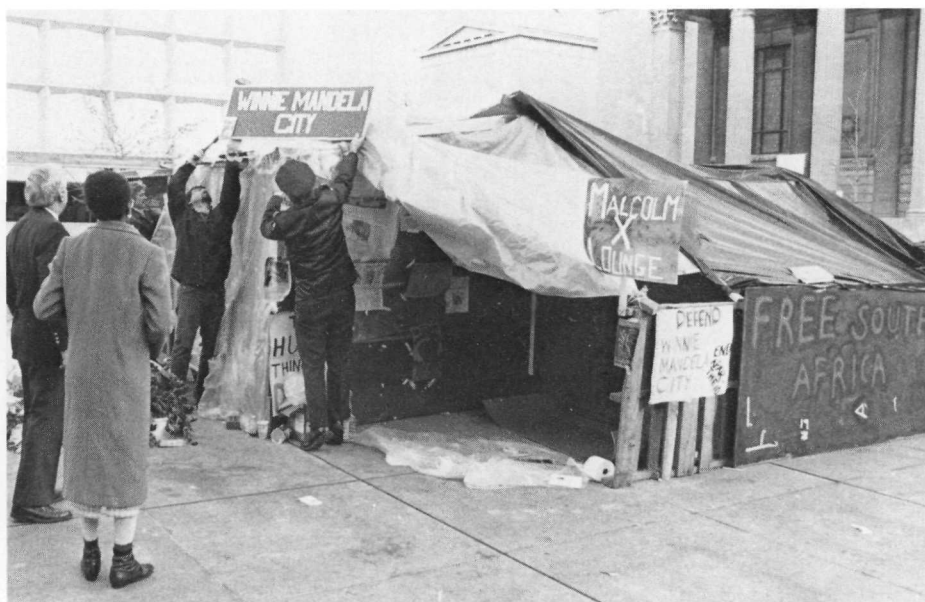
are created in the belief that the more powerless a person is, the more pliable he or she will become.

Perhaps they do make people temporarily more acquiescent, but it's hard to imagine anyone not hating those responsible for stripping them of their human dignity in this fundamental way. I am afraid that individually the police bear the brunt of this anger and hatred. It is important to say that although there were some indications that police were going out of their way to intimidate us, I am sure that it was less than the average prisoner experiences. It seems clear to me that for this reason anyone working in the jails should go through a regular re-sensitization program through experiencing what life is like on the other side.

The essence of the terror I experienced in my arrest is best represented not by the memory of being one of nine held in a six by six foot cell with nothing in it but a bunk bed and a combination toilet drinking fountain for over six and a half

hours at the mercy of people who either actively resented our presence there or for whom we were at least a nuisance. It is best represented by the trucks the New Haven Police Department used for our arrest. They are essentially mini-moving vans in which prisoners are put in a metal box which has no windows, no grating, no light, no ventilation and no way of communicating with the driver. These were the containers we were put in after we were arrested for our orderly and non-violent demonstration, and within which we were taken to the police station. These were the containers we were left in after we arrived at the police station, presumably as they processed the first group of 12 non-violent demonstrators arrested before us. As the eight of us sat in this dark, hot, airless van which is perhaps five feet long and three feet across, with no way to communicate with anyone outside, I could not help but think of Elie Wiesel's descriptions of the freight cars that Jews were loaded into, the cars that helped to drive so many people insane before they even got to the concentration camps. I found the 40 or so minutes in this van far more frightening than when I put myself between two outraged teenagers with knives. It came as close to what the Hebrew Scriptures portray as the dominion of death, the place where one is totally isolated, where there is no light, no air, no space, as anything I have ever experienced.

One of those arrested mentioned that if they ever put his mother in one of these vans, given her age and heart condition, it would kill her. I was left wondering how many have died in such vans because their cries were unheard or unheeded. I can easily see the youth I work with who have experienced such a trip either attacking the police, or running away despite police orders to stop, for fear of being put in such a van. The New Haven Police department may argue that similar vans are used elsewhere, but



**New Haven police dismantle original shantytown. Yale union workers refused to participate.**

I would like to see what medical studies have been done on how these vans affect people in terms of the stress that they create. I suspect that it might be somewhat comparable to being locked in the trunk of a car.

The only possible excuse for such vans is as an instrument of counterterrorism, something the police can use to terrorize those they have arrested, either to punish them, or to make them more compliant. The lesson I learned was that I would do everything in my power to keep anyone I loved from being put in such a van, even if they did not have heart problems. As with the experience in jail, feeling but a tiny bit of what Blacks experience all the time in South Africa, feeling what large sections of our population regularly undergo, helped me experience all the more strongly the need to challenge the process.

My final point: From all I can see, counterterrorism does not stop those who are suffering from real injustice and it dehumanizes those who exercise it. We saw how easily terror became an accepted fact of life in World War II.

When Mussolini and Franco first bombed civilian populations it was considered the act of total barbarism, and yet by the end of the war most of the Western powers had come to use this kind of terrorism as a basic part of their military strategy.

Currently we see counterterrorism more and more widely used by our government both domestically and internationally. Internationally, the latest incident is the raid on Libya with its civilian casualties; but it is perhaps better illustrated by the administration's mercenary army, the Contras, who are known throughout the world for their willingness to murder Nicaraguan civilians, including women and children. That Britain and Israel are being held up as models for how to deal with terrorism should cause people to think twice about how effective this strategy has been with the Irish or with the Arabs.

At home we see this counterterrorism most graphically in the willingness to expand the powers of the police and incarcerate larger and larger sectors of the population, and also in the attempts to

silence political dissent. Nowhere is this latter issue more graphically illustrated than in the increasing use of conspiracy laws as a way of multiplying penalties infinitely. Recently, in response to non-violent sit-ins in front of the manufacturers of the engines for the cruise missiles, the Michigan Supreme Court unanimously upheld a judge's right to hold people indefinitely in prison unless they promise not to protest there any more. Some have already been imprisoned for months as a result. What would the United States look like today if we had had laws that would have allowed the courts to keep people in the labor movement or the civil rights movement in jail until they agreed not to protest anymore.

The lessons of history are clear. Terror can rule for a day but its reign will not last. Temporarily, it forces people into the same kind of despair that is reflected in the meaningless attacks on American citizens, attacks which can accomplish no political goal save to satisfy a thirst for revenge. But eventually, partly because some have learned to withstand its blows and others are simply unable to stand them any longer, people rise up and demand their place in the sun. Ideally this takes the form of a nonviolent movement such as the civil rights movement.

It can also take the form of a mutually destructive war. If nonviolent change is possible people will inevitably prefer it, but if, as we have seen in South Africa, nonviolent movements meet no response and/or are violently crushed, they will just as inevitably be pushed towards war. Terrorism, whether in the form of bombings abroad, or violent crime at home, will only be ended if the United States uses its power to do something about the conditions which force people into the kind of hopelessness that fosters such insane actions. The Yale University administration can only avoid the confrontations it claims to be appalled by, if it begins to show a willingness to let non-violent protests be heard. ■

### Letters . . . Continued from page 3

appropriately been involved in lobbying democratic governments for the use of national resources for humane purposes.

When the issue has to do with drugs, or pornography, or child abuse, or abortion, frequently church people will try to organize to express power for their view of the good in society. But when the issues are more important, war and peace, the overthrow of governments (Nicaragua), or the holding up of corrupt ones (El Salvador), church people somehow are strangely silent. We have just as much power on these issues as others, and we are called to use it. God in His grace gives us the courage to fail as well as to succeed. He nowhere gives us the vocation to do nothing and to resent power as though power in itself were of the Devil.

The glory of the Christian gospel is that God's goodness is not only better but ultimately more powerful than all forms of darkness. Our vocation is not to renounce power, but to use our intelligence in the power of the Holy Spirit to perceive where God is at work in all creation, and in all human institutions, and help.

**The Rev. Frederick F. Johnson**  
Spring Valley, N.Y.

### Needs deeper argument

I have enjoyed reading Jack Spong. He is always out there in the front lines. Most of the time one is in agreement, but at the same time the argument needs somehow to be driven deeper. He is right when he says it is okay for us in the church to have lost power in our own time. (This refers, of course, to mainline churches; the evidence is something else for the religious right.) Many have felt for years that a lot of lay people let themselves be gulled by terribly inept and incompetent clergy out of a false sense of loyalty to an imagined piety. In America in particular one ought to view clergy privilege and titles with the deepest of suspicion and disrespect. We have deserved, even begged, to be pulled down from our pedestals, and it is hard to mourn that it has happened.

There is in that a kind of holy and wonderful irony which is that pulled down we are better off, more Christ-like, than we were before. No one is giving way for us any longer.

Yet something more ought to be said. Of course, power is profoundly seductive, and the best way of getting one's way is by applying power. Power always convinces its user of her or his moral righteousness, and of the need to get power in order to get the good done. Fernando Marcos, Baby Doc, and every president of the United States has steadfastly proven this simple truth.

So, one may march up and down in front of the White House with a sign in favor of this or that, but if you want to win, getting on TV and into congressional office is the way to go. We may be able to give theological and intellectual assent to the idea of a powerless Christ, but we *believe* that we cannot get the good done unless we adopt power as our best hope.

What that means is that all of us are entangled in a kind of blasphemy (the presumption, in this case, of knowing the mind of God). This is the great dilemma of Christian ministry. To do good we must adopt the tools of evil.

It seems there is not much which can be done about that. But, perchance, we could be a touch less self-righteous that our own convictions are the convictions of God, a touch more willing to confess our inordinate love of power (which we nearly all exercise in our personal affairs as much as the public ones), and a willingness to 'fess finally that the power trip of humans is not the power trip of God.

Only in powerlessness can God's will finally be done. The mark of our frailty and sinfulness is that we will nearly always settle for the short gain, rather than the Kingdom itself. We cannot bear the truth that to give up power would mean, in fact, to be crucified, and others, far more innocent with us. But the day we do it is the very day the Kingdom of God will come in.

**Douglas Evett**  
Ann Arbor, Mich.



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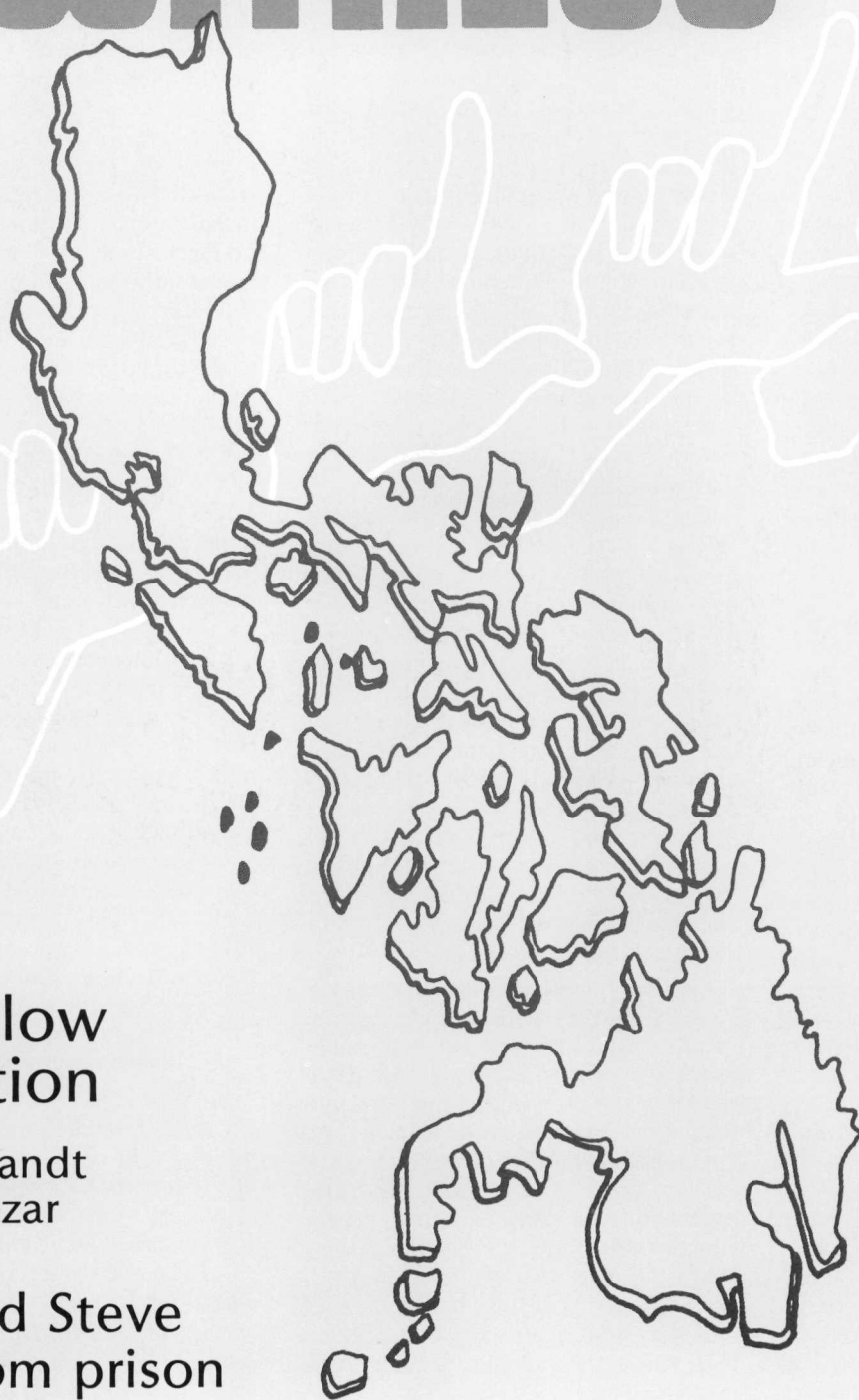


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JULY/AUGUST 1986

# THE WITNESS



## The Yellow Revolution

Jane Van Zandt  
Alvaro Alcazar

Maria and Steve  
home from prison

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# Letters

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## Culprit not electronics

I read with interest your April editorial concerning legislation brought to General Convention in 1985 expanding the so-called "Civil Rights canon." As you correctly reported, this was "the convention's most hotly debated resolution," and, although it was adopted in some form by both the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies, it never received concurrence, and so it failed to pass.

The amendment adopted by the deputies had to be approved by the bishops for the legislation to pass. The bishops, however, never received a message from the House of Deputies reporting the action, and so they could not concur in adopting resolution C-007. The culprit? If anything, it was the avalanche of paperwork produced during the seventh and eighth days as the end of convention neared.

The General Convention of 1985 was fully computerized. All the actions on resolutions brought to the 1985 convention were tracked through a database, minutes were recorded on the platform on a word processor, electronic mail and communications software and hardware were in place, and all systems were integrated in a highly sophisticated micro-environment that exactly duplicated the system used by the Republican Party at their national convention. Further, the convention was staffed by highly trained data entry and word processing operators, programmers, systems analysts, database administrators, word processing supervisors and information systems managers from the Church Center, to input data and produce printouts on site. Due to the shortened length of convention, computer personnel worked through the night, every night, often working double shifts.

Your editorial suggests that an electronic voting system would be more efficient and accurate, as if the system of tabulating the votes were somehow the culprit in the failure of the resolution to

pass through the legislative process.

Besides the fact that votes in 1985 were electronically tabulated, other factors must be weighed in deciding whether a showy electronic voting system, complete with buttons at each deputation and a video screen behind the platform, would be cost efficient. First, it is doubtful, due to the complex way in which votes must be tabulated, that the convention would gain more than a few minutes' savings in time on each vote. But instead of having an official bring the results to the platform from the computer room a few steps away, deputies would see numbers flash in a giant image before them. For this, the church would pay dearly.

Equipment used for button/screen voting is so specialized that it isn't used for anything else. If the church bought its own system, the theft, damage and liability insurance on it, plus the shipping costs, would total more than the purchase price. And it would be outdated before the next convention. Costs for an electronic voting service would include salaries for numerous technical staff to program and run the system, their travel, hotel and food expenses for about two weeks, plus a lease on the equipment. We have researched this service before and found the costs to violate the principles of good stewardship.

Certainly, there is room for improvement. At the recent computer trade show in Atlanta, I shopped for high speed printers to be used in Detroit, as well as scanners that will be able to read new resolutions being submitted on site and automatically convert them into texts on the word processor, without keyboarding by an operator! Any computer professional knows how rapidly technology evolves. Budget requests for state-of-the-art computer products, however, must pass a rigorous analysis by our treasurer and others, before purchases can be made.

Your editorial voices suggestions and frustrations that we have heard from other sources as well. Some of them express a lack of awareness about what is already computerized, such as "instant voting results . . . an updated file of resolutions by subject and with current status." These programs were operating in Anaheim. A Status of Legislation is produced daily at convention, both by me and my staff and by the Dispatch of Business office, to remind committees what legislation still needs to be brought to the floor. We should have posted the printouts in a public place. It will be done in 1988.

Other suggestions are absolutely valid, and we thank you for highlighting them. We will set up electronic communications between the computer room and the platform and between the two Houses. And a new procedure must be devised to provide revised texts of resolutions as they are amended.

The Episcopal Church has moved into the computer age decisively yet economically. Thousands of actions on 491 resolutions were tracked by computer during the Anaheim convention, and this record will appear, along with the minutes of the two Houses, in *The Journal of General Convention* in early July 1986. This is the only official record of the actions of the convention, and our feeling is that it is the most accurate *Journal* to date. We hope you agree.

**Diana Morris**  
**Information Systems Manager**  
**Episcopal Church Center**

*We appreciate the work and long hours put in by the information systems staff of 815 and the 491 resolutions they had to process — far more than the data the Republican Convention had to deal with! We did not envision anything so elaborate or costly as an electronic voting system with giant screens. More modestly, our hope would be that in 1988, a system might be set up to insure*

*that resolutions not be lost and that the public be given full access to their status. This would require competent data entry persons and a verification system, but more importantly, the networking of information. Minimally we would hope for seven terminals: on the floor of the House of Deputies and the House of Bishops; on each platform; one in each secretariate, and one in the visitors' gallery (equipped with Blue Book and numbers assigned to resolutions in committee). Each would receive simultaneous programming and each would maintain an updated status line on every resolution. — Ed.*

### Prayer by grandfather

In the March "Short Takes," I was very pleased to see an adaption of a lovely prayer by David Hardman, called "Let Us Pray."

While it's stirring and moving, the prayer is not by David Hardman, and Canon Minifie must have gotten his attribution wrong. They prayer under the title, "Disturb Us, O Lord," was written by my grandfather, the Rev. Addison H. Groff, D.D., in 1945.

**David Groff**  
New York, N.Y.

### Actions impulsive

Perhaps Carter Heyward developed her article on "Enforcing male supremacy" without having read that the young man thrown into Kenduskeag Stream in Bangor had made what the boys who threw him in perceived as an improper advance to one of them. And they assumed that he could swim.

Without knowing any of the individuals involved any better than Heyward, my assessment of the scenario — as a minister as well as a grandmother — is that one of the boys was uptight because of his perception of the approach of the gay as a threat to his person. He called on a couple of friends to come to his aid. The

three took typically adolescent and primitive means to let the gay know he couldn't mess around with any of them that way — all perfectly understandable in a world where Christ is not Lord. Now our Lord has come into the situation, with healing for four families, in an unintended tragedy similar to what too often happens when drunk driving is involved — or any of a variety of impulsive actions or reactions on the part of characteristically irresponsible youth.

Our Lord expects His ministers who are close enough to the tragedy to be there with His healing. I would not seek out a pastor whose ministry was focused on sexual orientation, whatever hers or his might happen to be. On the basis of a lifetime of experience, 50 years of it with a spouse who shares my views on this aspect of ministry, may I suggest that those who serve the Lord in ministry do it from within their own closets. In Christ's Kingdom, sexual orientation will be that big a deal only to those whose business it is.

**The Rev. Gretchen H. Hall**  
Peaks Island, Me.

### Article dogmatic

Having been married for 40 years, I thought I knew everything about heterosexism until I read Carter Heyward's "Enforcing male supremacy" (April WITNESS). Turns out I was wrong. I thought love had something to do with sex. Or maybe she's wrong. Or just plain angry. The subjects are too important to be treated in such an angry, dogmatic way.

**The Rev. Richard R. Baker, III**  
Wicomico Church, Va.

### Homosexuality banned

I will not be subscribing to your magazine again. I did not expect to agree with you on most issues. I wanted, however, to see another point of view, to understand the Christian basis of your more

liberal opinions. What disturbed me was the lack of any attempt to justify those liberal positions by the Bible.

When controversial issues such as abortion and homosexuality are discussed, opposing views are merely insulted. For example, the only reason given for the presence of opposing views to practicing homosexuality is that of homophobia. Be serious! The Bible clearly condemns homosexuality. This smugness is annoying and pervasive. I will look elsewhere for someone who defends liberal positions, not merely states them as self-evident.

**Allen Hairston**  
Arlington, Mass.

### In strong tradition

Thanks for being such a good witness. The magazine reminds me that Episcopalians (Anglicans) do have a strong social justice tradition in spite of the stereotypes and some of the realities of "frozen chosen" suburban churches. I especially appreciate coverage of issues of women, people of color and gay men and lesbians in the church.

**Allison Moore**  
Jamaica Plain, Mass.

### Mistaken identity

I wish to correct an item in your May issue. In your article on the Episcopal Urban Caucus "Vision Quest" you credited the Rev. Elyse Bradt with the quote which the Presiding Bishop picked up on: "Stand with us as we go through unemployment and stand in welfare lines. Include us in your church programs. Let us in on decision-making before decisions are made. Don't walk in front of us, don't walk behind us, but walk beside us." This statement was part of the remarks of Eddie Mae Binion, Chairperson of South Side Welfare Rights in St. Louis.

This has been Eddie Mae's theme

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## THE WITNESS

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# THE WITNESS



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## A Yellow Revolution parable

**P**erhaps the best description of the Yellow Revolution in the Philippines was offered by the Rev. Edicio de la Torre, a Catholic priest who had been imprisoned for nine years by the Marcos regime for his revolutionary views.

The Revolution, he said, delivered to the Filipinos a premature baby with unusual features. The baby has a good head, but its right arm is strong and big beyond proportion. Its left arm is weak and tiny, and so is its body.

“The problem is whether this baby is viable,” de la Torre said, “and whether we will be able to reduce the size of the right arm and strengthen the left to make the body robust. The trouble is that the baby has a rich and doting uncle who keeps feeding only the right arm, while the head is trying to make the body grow strong.”

In the parable the head of course, is Cory Aquino, a new sober president, eager to save the Philippines from the chaos left by

Marcos. The right arm is the “reformed military,” headed by the former and present Minister of Defense, Juan Ponce Enrile, and Armed Forces Chief of Staff Fidel Ramos, former head of the Philippine Constabulary who implemented martial law decrees. How they will function in the future is still debatable.

The left arm refers to the New People’s Army, the Communist Party of the Philippines, the Christians for National Liberation, the National Democratic Front, etc. — those who tend toward a socialist economy rather than capitalism. The body is the neglected, malnourished masses of the people.

Uncle Sam’s nurturing of the right arm only, through its multinational corporations and its Subic and Clark bases are a barrier to Philippine sovereignty, now only potentially evident in a frail body. As articles in this issue reveal, the bases have fostered corruption,

dependence and prostitution. Arguments that the bases mean employment for many Filipinos are vitiated by the fact that Subic occupies more than 62,000 acres of Philippine land and water, and Clark robs the people of 158,277 acres of land that could be devoted to production.

Moreover, the perception of these bases as springboards for military intervention in the Pacific makes the Philippines a target for attack. Subic Naval base is a port for U.S. nuclear-capable ships and submarines; Clark Air Force Base for U.S. nuclear-capable planes. These facilities make the Philippines a prime target for nuclear retaliation should there be a conflict between the two super-powers.

Withdrawal of the United States, then, is key to Philippine sovereignty and whether that premature baby delivered by the Revolution will be allowed to grow in wisdom and age and grace. ■

# Close-up: Cory's legacy

by Jane Van Zandt

*The Rev. Jane Van Zandt, assistant at All Saints Church, Brookline, Mass., spent two weeks overseas with the Church Coalition for Human Rights in the Philippines in March. The program was coordinated on the other side by the Ecumenical Partnership for International Concerns. In the accompanying article, she describes her experiences for THE WITNESS.*

**D**espite a great deal of reading on the Philippines and a thorough orientation program, we could hardly be prepared for a country which had just been through a rigged election, a “snap” revolution, a dictator fleeing in the wake of “people power,” and a capable though politically unexperienced woman having been elected president. There was joy; there was unrest. Prisoners were not yet free; killing and torture had not stopped.

Those loved ones we had left behind, and some of our group as well, felt some fear at our going at such a time of change. I felt no fear. Perhaps it was because I was numb from 20-plus hours in planes or airports.

Upon our arrival, our hosts took us on a quick tour of Metro Manila. We were too tired to retain much, but were aware particularly of excessive air pollution and crowded living conditions. Along busy main streets were gutters with dirty water being used for bathing, washing clothes, and cooking. Evident also were the tiny shacks made of scraps, with dirt floors and little if any furniture.

After lunch we went by public bus, then new light rail train to UN station. When we emerged, we looked out on literally hundreds of men, women and children all wearing yellow — Cory Aquino's color — shirts, dresses, and hats. There were all ages from newborn to the very old and bent over — jubilant, smiling, laughing, and talking to everyone. “Welcome to a free Philippines,” one woman with a little girl in tow said to us. They glowingly shared the triumph of their bloodless revolution with us.

T-shirts showed a lot of imagination, though all were yellow. One said, “I stood as a human barricade Feb. 22-25” (adults and children who wore this had stood their ground against armed soldiers and military tanks). From babies and teens to the elderly; priests and nuns, teachers and laborers, they had been armed only with prayers, songs and rosaries. They had offered the soldiers sandwiches, cookies, and

flowers. And they showed that the love and peace which Jesus taught can change the destiny of an entire country.

Two million people attended the Victory Mass at Luneta Park that sunny afternoon. Cory arrived in a white vehicle with no guards visible. Marcos would have needed an entourage of armed protectors. Fireworks, yellow confetti, balloons, and streamers abounded. We all bought something yellow to wear, to show solidarity.

The Mass itself was chaotic at times. Pepsi, hotdogs and cigarettes were sold throughout. Singing was in English and the native Tagalog — both the Mass music which even the children knew, and songs one might hear at a folk Mass in any country. Lessons were in Tagalog but there was enough English and Spanish interspersed that we could get the gist. I couldn't hold back the tears when we recited the Creed together in English — 2 million Roman Catholic Filipinos and a handful of us U.S. citizens. Cardinal Sin celebrated the Mass and preached in English. He talked about the miracle of Marcos' exile the previous week. A Filipino youth, about 20, was sitting on a pushcart near me. During the solidarity hymn, he and I reached for each other's hands at the same time. I felt so at one with the people.

We had to find our way back to the train during distribution of communion and before Cory's speech. We congratulated everyone, and they hugged us and shook our hands. One nun kissed my cheeks. It felt wonderful to be alive.

From then on, it was back to reality. In a few days, Cory Aquino could not possibly have changed all the wrongs present in a corrupt political and economic system. Yet in many sectors the people were already beginning to grow impatient.

Our trip to Central Luzon helped us see *why*. A tour of Angeles City showed us some of the bars and prostitutes patronized by the men from Clark Air Base. Without the

U.S. servicemen and the businessmen from transnational corporations, prostitution would disappear. It is not part of the family-oriented Filipino culture. Outsiders have made it a thriving business.

Later that day we walked through the fishing village at Mariveles. I remember thinking that neither words nor pictures could describe the living conditions. Malnourished dogs and dirty, naked children, many with the appearance of some skin disease, followed us everywhere. We learned that the number of children in a family ranged from two to 11, the average being seven. Their houses were cardboard cartons with bits of corrugated tin for roofs. These are built off the ground because of the mud and water from the river and the raw sewage, since there are no toilets in the village. We carefully picked our way on narrow wooden planks balanced on rocks, hoping not to miss our footing.

Almost everyone living in the fishing village had malaria. I was aware of every subsequent mosquito bite, knowing that one cannot be immunized against the disease. One little boy wore a stick and scraps of cloth as a splint for his broken arm. There are no drugs or medical supplies and no money for care at the tiny clinic. The people buy water for drinking and cooking. Food is scarce. But despite illness and poverty, the people smiled and welcomed us. Some of our group spent the night with these families, sharing what little there was.

Others of us stayed with workers from BEPZ (Bataan Export Processing Zone). This has been in existence since 1969 and is part of Mariveles on the Bataan peninsula. Basically how it works is this. A foreign company (most are from the United States) decides to locate in Mariveles. The town, near Manila, has a harbor which can accommodate ocean-going vessels. The foreigner is offered land, housing, factories, electricity, low rents, no taxes and cheap skilled labor. Raw materials are imported, which are then processed, as-

sembled, or used in the manufacture of something else. The finished product is exported. The cost to the Filipinos has been great — lost land and houses with little or no compensation; more than 5,000 people forced to relocate, some a great distance from the sea where fishing had been their living.

In the beginning there were 57 companies and about 28,000 workers; when we were there the numbers had dwindled to 30 companies employing about 14,000. About half of the workers were on strike or had been laid off. It is risky to be active in the union or speak out against management; it can mean disappearance, torture, death, or at the very least, job loss. Many Filipinos are waiting for each job, so management has nothing to lose. Some 80% of the workers are women, aged 15 to 24. Women are hired because they are less likely to complain and because they can be forced to sleep with the boss — “Lay down or lay off.” Few factories pay even the minimum wage. Although 15% of the workers have tuberculosis or other respiratory disease, nothing is done about ventilation. Other workers display skin diseases from chemicals. If a worker is laid off, there is little or no separation pay.

Commodities cost about 35% more than in Manila, and workers are forced to borrow from loan sharks. Delayed payment of wages is common, as is forced overtime. There seems to be little hope for these exploited people.

In contrast, at the top of the hill stands a luxury hotel which is almost empty. The hospital, too expensive for the workers, is also nearly empty. A large shopping center, built in 1980 looks like something from “The Day After” — a deserted shell with broken windows. The structure will be torn down so that even squatters can’t use it. BEPZ seems doomed, thanks to the fighting spirit of the workers and their determination to be treated as human beings. We were all appalled at the familiar names of the corporations there who are guilty of human rights violations — makers of running shoes, toys, designer clothes, cars, electronic equipment. We each owned something made by one of them.

We were not at all prepared for what happened next in our travels. Told we were going to talk with some urban poor, in Olongapo, I got my notebook and camera and climbed out of the van. We were on the edge of the dump for all of Olongapo. It took a few minutes to realize that people live *on* the dump. Not *near* it; *on* it. The community has a name — Pagasa. It means *hope*. No matter where I stood on the garbage, there were flies and rank smells. Trash blew around. Small boys were going through piles of new garbage looking for salvageable pieces of plastic. A skinny cat meowed inside a junked car. A baby being bathed sat in a square metal tin. He cried when I took his picture. Toothless pregnant women





Olongapo children playing on garbage dump

posed for more pictures. "God bless our home" was painted on one lean-to. A UNICEF health care worker told us that the mayor (background — United States) would like to demolish the shacks so the government can convert the site to a tourist area. She said that four times in 24 hours six trucks dump trash there. A person can make 30 pesos per day (about \$1.50) going through garbage. Half the income is spent on water, for cooking and washing clothes.

The people have pride and they and their homes are as clean as they *can* be. The community is especially wary about rusty nails and rats because they can't afford rabies and tetanus prophylaxis. The health care worker said, "People come here all the time. They take pictures and they hear our story. But there is no response." No one should live like that in a potentially rich country. It reminded me of Elie Wiesel's *Night* in which he speaks of the silence of God in the midst of the Holocaust. "Where *is* God in the dump?" I kept asking myself.

That evening we spent 2½ hours in the bars and walking along the strip in Olongapo talking with prostitutes, their pimps and the American servicemen from Subic Naval Base who have supported this business for the past 15-20 years. One quarter million people depend on sex-for-sale income. Roughly 7,000 men are stationed here; another 7,500 come in with the Seventh Fleet. Prostitution is legal within the nightclubs; not on the street. Some 16,000 to 20,000 women, children and some men earn their living this way. We were told that the U.S. Navy and the government ignore the problem.

They deny the presence of AIDS, yet 42 cases in the Navy were traceable to the Subic, according to one reliable source. Related to this is the presence of heroin and cocaine, deterioration of Filipino family life, botched abortions and the overall negative impact on the self-image of the Filipino. Lawyers and doctors make money on sex-for-sale also.

Why does the United States maintain military bases there? First, the irreplaceable land area is a subtropical jungle. The underground bunkers, testing facilities, and storage areas for who-knows-what are completely covered by jungle. Second, the bases can hire highly skilled, hard-working Filipinos and pay them sub-standard wages. Third, the strategic location of the Philippines means that the United States has had a complete encirclement of the Soviet Union since 1945. The bases also protect an estimated \$4 billion in U.S. investments. The objections of the Filipinos to the presence of the bases are the exploitation, prostitution and its resultant negative effect on the stability of family and the constant threat of being made a direct target for a first strike in the event of nuclear war.

There was a lot to find depressing in the cities. Land is at a premium, rents even in the garbage dumps are high, jobs are few and wages low, health care poor, sewerage systems and clean water don't exist. In the past the government hasn't cared and in fact has been the cause of most of the problems of the urban poor.

The rural poor too have much to struggle against. Some of us flew south to Davao City in Mindanao. Then a four-hour ride on a rickety bus at high speed on narrow mountain roads took us past pretty countryside and exquisite views of the mountains and seacoast. We stayed in Polomolak in South Cotabato at Our Lady of Lourdes parish house. Our contact people, Mindanao Interfaith Pastoral Conference, took us in the back of a pickup truck through the huge pineapple plantation owned by a well-known transnational corporation. I was given a copy of the Collective Bargaining Agreement, then some neighbors joined the family at the home where I was staying and told me what the conditions are really like.

On paper it sounds good. There is transportation to and from the fields and factory, the CBA says. In fact, this means two trucks which make several trips to pick up hundreds of workers who are crammed standing with no protection from the elements. There is no provision for shade during lunch break; workers wear heavy protective clothing in the hot sun all day. In the factory there is no protection from toxic chemicals (my host's hands and arms were raw and weeping, despite gloves and long sleeves). There is a company co-op, but if a family runs up a bill, or has someone in the hospital, or is trying to pay a loan with interest, they will get a zero amount paycheck until they have worked off the debt. The workers are



seeking humane working conditions, protection from toxins, decent wages and benefits, respect of their rights and attention to ecology and preservation of land.

The legal acquisition of the farmers' land is done in an ingenious though dishonest manner. The company's land doesn't hold water well when it rains; by changing the contour of the land, the company channels water to the peasant's land and his crops are washed away. We were shown several instances of this by farmers who had been forced to sell. The water from the company land also contains chemicals from high-tech fertilizers and pesticides — fine for growing pineapples, but too acidic for rice and corn. Sometimes a company rents land from the farmer for a period of years; upon return, the soil is too acidic and he is forced to sell. Another ploy is "If you sell your land to us, you and your family will be given jobs." They may or may not get jobs; if they do, they are subject to the usual exploitation.

A plus to the rural living is that there is a feeling of more space. Though the homes aren't much bigger, there at least is more land. Fresh air does something for one's spirit and outlook. And the mountains and sunsets are beautiful. One morning my two interpreter/companions and I were walking along a country road just about sunrise. There was a mist across the fields and shadows on the mountains. The air was crisp and clean and I could smell damp soil and the presence of animals. I was still haunted by memories of people living in the garbage dump, and as I walked I was aware of the contrast between the urban poor and the rural poor. I commented to my companions about the beauty and peace surrounding us and one of them replied. "I will lift up my eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help . . ." "*That's* where the hope comes from," I said. "Beyond the garbage dump there are the mountains!" Cory certainly has her work cut out for her.

Back in Davao City we went through a barrio to visit and talk with more urban poor. Again we balanced on planks, hoping not to fall in the open sewer (tiny fish swimming in this one). We went to the wake of a 27-year old Catholic lay worker who had been killed four days before. He had been shot twice in the side and three times in the mouth by a paramilitary death squad. His open casket was in his home so we were able to pay our respects to his mother, brother and sisters. No one seemed to know *why* he had been shot; often there doesn't have to be a reason. Anyone who does anything to try to bring about change was a threat to the Marcos government.

Somehow I felt that however indirectly, I had to take some responsibility for his death. I felt responsible for a lot of the negative things I saw on our trip. Not just a feeling that the United States seems to have a knack for supporting the wrong causes in other countries (as well as our own) with my tax

money, but rather that as part of the larger human family I must now act on everything I've learned.

The church — Roman Catholic and the denominations that are part of the National Council of Churches in the Philippines, is a strong force in creating change. Groups such as the Task Force Detainees (prisoners) have nuns, priests and laity documenting human rights abuses as well as providing education and support groups to families of victims. Religious workers were a strong presence in the human barricade. Since the church has spoken on behalf of the poor, the poor will listen. People tend to look to the church for guidance; when a statement was issued by the church before the election to vote, the people voted. It appears that the institutional church's role is to "be with." The people themselves need to make the changes. In Olongapo, two nuns, a priest and Mennonite lay missionaries work with the prostitutes. There are countless other examples of individual church workers doing work no one else wants to do, or risking their lives for others.

The Basic Christian Communities, which are more prevalent in Mindanao, give people an opportunity to read and study the Bible together, and then as a community, to live the Gospel. They are a powerful force. The Rev. Edicio de la Torre, a priest recently released from prison, posed some provocative questions for us: Though most Filipinos are Roman Catholic, and this church has been in the Philippines for about 420 years, how Filipino is it? Is it simply *in* the Philippines? What is Filipino theology? Does it import someone else's and adapt it?

Whatever its origins, it is no good unless it speaks to the *Filipinos* and answers questions close to *their* hearts. We know it is a theology of struggle; it must be a constantly growing and changing force. Father Ed said that in the growth there will be dying — the death of concepts — as transformation occurs. At some point symbols, realities, people leave one cold as we outgrow them. What we look forward to is the resurrection — there is hope, joy and celebration in the midst of struggle.

Beyond the garbage dump there are the mountains. The health care worker at Pagasa made me squirm. We church people take pictures and interview and write in our notebooks, but where do we go from there? Especially now, with the hope and impatience and needs of the Filipino people so much in our thoughts? We must pray with and for them, write position papers, lecture and use the U.S. media to tell their story. The American people need to know the harm the U.S. bases and transnational corporations are doing. It is not then enough just to know and to tell. The church and human rights advocates need our *active* support or the Philippines will never truly be free. ■

Historical perspective:

# The Yellow Revolution

by Alvaro Alcazar

**L**ittle recorded history of the Philippines exists prior to the arrival of Spanish explorers in 1521. The inhabitants of the over 7,000 islands that comprise the Philippines had no feeling of nationality and spoke over 80 dialects. They lived in small communities and had little contact with each other.

When the Spanish colonized the islands, they demanded the local chiefs swear fealty to Spain and made them local administrators. The natives, or *indios*, were moved into municipal settlements to better organize them for labor purposes. Local leaders became functionaries of the Spanish government. This position was made hereditary and the family was rewarded with vast tracts of land. They were also exempted from paying taxes.

These *principalia*, or principal citizens, developed into a native aristocracy that would then become an economic elite. They learned well from the colonial rulers the arts of graft and corruption. A Filipino nationalist movement began to grow and culminated with a declaration of independence from Spain. The Republic of the Philippines was proclaimed on Jan. 21, 1899. The infant nation was snuffed out of existence when the islands were annexed by the U.S. from Spain

following the Spanish-American War 11 months later.

Amid protest from anti-imperialist groups, the U.S. government bargained with the *illustrados* (intellectuals representing the economic elite) to insure protection of their properties in exchange for a peaceful colonization of the islands. Because of their favored status, the *illustrados* soon monopolized political power in the country.

The U.S. administration attempted to create a democratic government for the Philippines. Political parties were formed. The Partido Federalista was composed of wealthy Filipinos who advocated statehood for the islands. Its major opposition was the Partido Nacionalista, also made up of *illustrados*, which expressed the popular will toward eventual independence. (It should be noted that advocating immediate independence was outlawed by the 1901 Sedition Act.) The Nationalists won nearly every election held during the U.S. regime.

The colonial era was interrupted by the Japanese occupation during World War II. Independence was granted by the United States as promised in 1946 and elections were held with regularity. The Nationalists were opposed by a new splinter group, the Liberal Party, which won the first presidential election of 1946, as well as those of 1949 and 1961. The Nationalists won in 1953 and 1957. For the most part, the government was controlled by the wealthy, land-owning politicians.

There was one exciting exception. In 1953, a revolutionary event occurred in Philippine politics: Ramon Magsaysay

became the only president who did not belong to the political elite. He ran against Elpidio Quirino whose administration was so corrupt and inefficient that the Hukbalahap (the precursors of the New People's Army) gained almost total support of the rural population and was in a strong position to seize control of the government. Its power was greatest in the last year of Quirino's administration.

This was the problem that greeted Magsaysay's administration. Magsaysay, as Secretary of Defense during the previous administration realized that the success of the communists had been largely due to the ordinary citizen's loss of confidence in the government. The Hukbalahap leadership, as well as their supplies came from the farmers in the barrios with occasional help from city workers. As president, Magsaysay undercut this support through successful rural development programs. He personally directed the armed forces to engage in projects to help farm folks in constructing rural centers, digging wells, building bridges and rural roads, giving first aid treatments, and providing transportation for the seriously ill to the hospital in town. Above all, he mingled with the barrio people and made them a vital part of national policy.

Before 1953, the barrio masses lived outside of the decision-making processes of national politics. Decisions were made for them in Manila or in the provincial capitals even when these decisions regulated relationships to their landlords, the division of their crops, the interest on their debt, and the schooling of their

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**Alvaro Alcazar** is director of the Loyola University Community Action Program, New Orleans, and Justice and Peace Coordinator for the University's Campus Ministry. A native of the Philippines, he came to the United States in 1972 and holds degrees from Santo Tomas, Manila; Notre Dame Seminary; and Loyola.

children. The barrio masses were outsiders, virtual foreigners, in the political community of their own nation. Magsaysay changed all that and began to create a government truly reflective of the people. When he died in a plane crash a little over halfway through his term, the Philippines lost a hero and democracy took a heavy blow.

There was an attempt by Magsaysay's followers to create a new party loyal to his political ideals. This was unsuccessful and the presidential politics returned to the "business as usual" of conflicts within the elite. Then, there seemed to be a new hero on the scene. His name was Ferdinand Marcos.

In his 1965 campaign, Marcos promised to create a government based on a radical redistribution of wealth and political power. He was elected by a landslide. Four years later his administration only showed palliative reforms. Marcos had led a crackdown on crime in Manila and averted a crisis in the nation's educational system by reforming its administration. However, he was nowhere near his goal of dismantling the political dynasties which had plagued the Philippines for years. His experience in power proved intoxicating and drove him to join the very enemy he promised to destroy. He won reelection in 1969, but by a much less comfortable margin.

Dissatisfaction with the Marcos Administration began to build as Marcos became less accessible to the public. In September 1969, thousands of university students gathered in front of the Malacañang Palace. They were protesting the government's indifference to the plight of tenant farm workers whose families were starving due to unfair crop sharing. When the students pressed close to the palace gate hoping to get the president's attention, the soldiers fired upon them and many students died.

Twice again, in January and February 1970, students rallied to protest the government's harsh treatment of the poor.



Bulldozers were destroying the homes of farmers on behalf of mining companies or because the poor had squatted on government property. No provisions were made for those who became homeless. Again, the students approached the palace. Again, the soldiers fired and many students died.

It should also have been clear to the government that the usually uninvolved, indifferent college students had awakened politically. They had taken the side of the abused and the exploited. Instead of listening and responding to the grievances expressed in the street, the government only saw "social unrest and violence planned to sow terror in the streets by communist student sympathizers." Communism was not the rallying cause of the students. The young were fed up with the ongoing plundering of oligarchs. The government responded by declaring that military intelligence uncovered a plot by the New People's Army to foment terror in Manila and neighboring cities and that student members of the NPA had infiltrated the universities.

On Aug. 21, 1971, Marcos suspended the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus*, pumped iron and cash into the military and began the process of silencing those who were critical of his administration through arrests and detention in the name of "ridding the nation of communist radicals." Many students were arrested and detained. They were questioned and accused of being communist sympathizers. They were also offered rewards for giving the names of co-conspirators in the so-called communist plot to overthrow the government.

A calm settled over the nation. Marcos saw it as the result of successfully eliminating communist agitators. Marcos claimed to have "dismantled the communist apparatus." He was wrong. In February 1972, the students returned to the streets. This time they were joined by the homeless, workers and farmers. Since the communists were supposed to have been locked up, the only other people to blame were the members of the opposition party of which Benigno Aquino was a most formidable leader.

The government did not waste time "discovering" evidence linking Aquino with the communists. Pictures of Aquino with farmers in the remotest areas of his home province appeared in the papers with the captions implying ties with the New People's Army. It was indeed true that Benigno Aquino went to the remotest barrios and villages of Pampanga and the neighboring provinces. It was also true that he had meetings with the farmers, some of whom may have been NPA sympathizers. But truest of all, he was bringing to the barrio masses in the 70s what Magsaysay did in the 50s. He ignored Marcos' charges that he was a communist. Everyone knew that he was a deeply religious man; everyone knew he was an honest leader; everyone knew he was a devoted husband and father; and everyone except Marcos' followers knew that he would be the next president

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# Guerra, Cueto home from prison

by Mary Lou Suhor

**M**aria Cueto and Steven Guerra returned home to warm welcomes by Episcopal Church bodies recently after serving three year sentences in federal prisons as Grand Jury resisters.

Cueto, Guerra and three other Hispanics — Andres and Julio Rosado and Ricardo Romero — were released over the months of April, May and June with time off for good behavior. All had refused in conscience to testify before a Grand Jury investigating the FALN, an alleged Puerto Rican terrorist group. The five protested that the Grand Jury was being used to intimidate persons and groups engaged in legitimate dissent. The Episcopal Church passed a resolution at its General Convention in Anaheim supporting their position.

The Church of the Epiphany, East Los Angeles, welcomed Cueto home on Pentecost with a Eucharist celebrated by the Rev. Patricia O'Reilly, rector, and four concelebrants: Bryan Jones, Roger Wood, Noble Owings and Richard Gillett. Letters of salutation were read from Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning

and the Rt. Rev. Robert Rusack of the Diocese of Los Angeles. More than 100 well-wishers gathered afterward for hugs and tears, and a gala reunion, some having traveled from as far as Texas and the East Coast. Margaritas, Mexican food, and a huge cake contributed to the festivity, in a colorfully-decorated parish hall.

Guerra was warmly greeted with tears and *abrazos* at the June meeting of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company in New York. Guerra, a member of the Board of Directors, had been awarded the William Stringfellow award in absentia at the ECPC dinner at General Convention.

Looking trim after losing 20 pounds in prison, Guerra said he felt he had conquered jail after experiencing "The Hole," the jail within jail. While there he did push-ups, slept, timed his days by delivery of meals, and "fantasized about everything," he said. "When they've hit you with their best punch and it doesn't phase you, then you can survive anything." His philosophy was, "The hole is only a place, and I've got to be someplace," he said. Guerra, who wrote a number of poems while in prison (see May '85 and March '86 WITNESS) is currently working on a series of articles on repression.

In his sermon at the Church of the Epiphany, Richard Gillett, Cueto's pastor while she was in prison, commended Maria for her courage, serenity and steadfast Christian commitment to her beliefs. "We can but dimly fathom what it must have been like these past years — the loneliness in the night, the playing with one's psyche, the psychological pressures, the doubts as to whether this was all worth the principle of refusing to talk," he said.

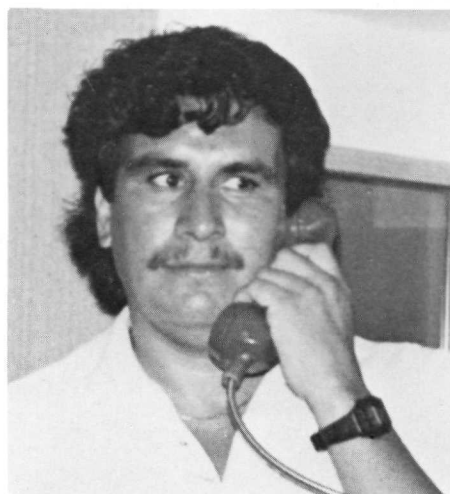


Maria Cueto

All the Hispanics except Guerra had served previous sentences for refusing to testify before a Grand Jury. Cueto's position of non-cooperation was first invoked in 1977, when the FBI approached her in New York for information about members of the Episcopal Church's National Hispanic Commission. Cueto, who was director, and her secretary, Raisa Nemikin, spent 10 months in prison after refusing to testify before a Grand Jury investigating bombings attributed to the FALN. They held that responding would betray the relationship of confidentiality necessary to the ministry carried on through the Commission and that testifying would have a chilling effect on their work. The court rejected that position, claiming that the two women were not lay ministers but "social workers" because they were not ordained.

While the National Council of Churches supported the women's stand, then Presiding Bishop John Allin of the Episcopal Church did not. Instead, the FBI

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Steven Guerra



# 'Grand Jury abuse to continue'

— Maria Cueto

*After her release from prison, Maria Cueto was interviewed in Los Angeles by the Rev. Richard W. Gillett, contributing editor of THE WITNESS magazine, as follows:*

**Question:** Maria, you've been out of prison about two months. How has it felt?

**Answer:** My May 18 welcome from Epiphany parish in Los Angeles was very exciting for me. So many people seemed happy about my return. But it also appeared to be the end of something: of a prison term for me, but the beginning of lots of work. It was heartening to know that many people understood so much about the issue and why I was there in the first place.

**Q:** How was your treatment in Pleasanton (Federal prison near Oakland) in general?

**A:** My entry into Pleasanton was not pleasant! It was obvious that I was going to be treated differently because of my political beliefs. At one point, for example, I had an exchange with the guard captain. I said, "I happen to believe in certain things which you do not understand." He said, "Well, that makes you a member of the FALN" (Puerto Rican alleged terrorist group). I said, "It doesn't make me a member of anything; it makes me a person with convictions about certain political beliefs." Mainly this debate took place because of a high security risk card that I had to carry.

**Q:** What was that card?

**A:** It required me to report to the guards my every movement from one point to another, so that they knew exactly where I was at any given moment. And I challenged that policy, because there was nothing in my history that would require that kind of vigilance.

**Q:** What was the origin of the requirement that you and the others carry that card?

**A:** When the five of us were arrested in September, 1982, we were labeled by the FBI in a press release as the last of the leadership of the FALN. The prisons were advised by the FBI and the U.S. Attorney that we were "dangerous people." But I also think they felt that I had a lot to say, and that I might be a bad influence on the prison population.

**Q:** So your access to other prisoners was limited at first.

**A:** At first, yes. Carrying the card made the other prisoners

think that I was a "dangerous" person, that I must have done something really terrible for them to give me the card. Only one other person, who was also a political prisoner, and I carried a card out of a population of maybe 600.

**Q:** The government charge that you were members of the FALN — did they ever present evidence in court to that effect with any of you five?

**A:** They attempted to present what they called evidence in our trial. But if it really was credible evidence I'm sure we'd have been indicted on totally different charges. As you know, the only thing we were jailed for was refusing to testify. And my refusal to testify is still based on what I said in 1977. It all stems from the work that I did back in 1977, and the contacts that I had.

**Q:** What was the government's motive in trying to impute to you and the others the FALN connection?

**A:** The government had launched a campaign against terrorism. I think they had to show some results. I think they wanted to intimidate us, too. They also wanted, I believe, to check out what kind of support there was for us. But the question of terrorism was major. It was an attempt to begin to "criminalize" certain political views — particularly supporters of independence for Puerto Rico. With our arrest, they saw an opportunity to turn the tide. I think that was key. That was the purpose of our widely reported "grand scale" arrests — in public places, some of us at gun point, all of it highly visible.

**Q:** How could the FBI label you all as dangerous terrorists and yet be so unprepared that it couldn't convince a Federal judge to hold you?

**A:** It was a grandstand play intended to have impact on the community. When I was arrested and the FALN press release was issued, the government asked for \$1 million bail on me. The judge couldn't deal with that. She simply let me out on my own recognizance.

**Q:** About the Grand Jury process itself: People still don't

**understand that the Grand Jury can get around the protection of the Fifth Amendment right to remain silent in order not to incriminate oneself. What do people need to understand about the Grand Jury?**

**A:** I think the Grand Jury system doesn't belong in a democratic society. It isn't a democratic process. It is staged with a few individuals who I suppose have been instructed by higher-ups. The jury members themselves have in actuality very little to say. In my first trial (for civil contempt in 1977) it was only the U.S. attorney who asked questions, even though the jury members had a right to do so. It's a rubber-stamp process. I doubt seriously that any of the jurors understood what was going on.

**Q: In light of what's happening now, in 1986, what significance does the Grand Jury have? For instance, the new proposed Supreme Court justice, Antonin Scalia, is said to have very restrictive views on individual rights as expressed in the First and Fifth Amendments. How does this reflect the current political climate?**

**A:** I think the new Supreme Court justice fits right into the political climate. He's responding to the policies of the Reagan administration. For instance, it's all right to give aid to the Contras and to do all these other things on a global scale because in their view U.S. society has come to have too many rights. It's reached the point of contradiction, I think. More and more, only a few people sit in judgment of those rights. That is wrong. The Bill of Rights was meant to protect certain things within society. What we are seeing is a conscious and deliberate effort by the administration and by conservatives to keep people from focusing on the real issues. There is a large scale effort to nip in the bud the voices who are protesting events in Central America, South Africa, etc.

**Q: There was a much more disruptive part of your prison experience. Last August you and the other four prisoners of conscience were transferred to the East Coast by a Federal judge in anticipation that you would be released. He issued a court order in response to a lawsuit filed by your lawyers against the government for denying you five parole at the earliest opportunity. What happened during that period?**

**A:** I want to say first a little bit about that suit. The U.S. Parole Commission had rejected our parole request, saying that the guidelines that normally could have let all of us out sometime last year did not apply to us.

**Q: Why not?**

**A:** They said that since we were in for criminal contempt of a Grand Jury investigating the FALN, even though we were never tried for any crime connected to the FALN, their

criteria for parole in this case required that we serve our full sentences.

**Q: In other words, though there was no proof ever established in your trial of any connection with the FALN, the Parole Commission denied parole because it had decided on its own that there was a connection?**

**A:** Yes. That was the basis of our lawsuit. And we won it! The Federal judge decided that the government's parole action was unconstitutional, and that should have meant our release right then. But we were not released, because the government immediately appealed. We eventually lost the appeal.

**Q: Back to your prison experience during those weeks. What happened?**

**A:** The way I was transferred was unlike the other four — the men — had been transferred, in one respect at least. It was a real test of my mental and physical strength. I think it was deliberate. I think they wanted me to understand how they treat people like me — "terrorists."

**Q: How did you travel?**

**A:** When we got to the Washington, D.C. area I traveled in a van. Most of the time I was by myself, with two male marshalls, which is against regulations. So consequently they totally ignored my personal needs. I had heard this sort of treatment could happen in other countries, but I was experiencing it here. I was going for 15 hours without using a restroom, or without any water. I was in the van the entire time, with no idea where I was going. At 2 in the morning I was still on the road. It didn't make sense. They only had to drive me 100 miles, from D.C. to Richmond, Va., where the prison was. I would arrive and then be picked up at 5 a.m. just three hours later, for another van trip.

So I went for a long time without sleep, with nothing to eat, with no restroom stops, and with no baths, of course. And I traveled with handcuffs and leg irons on, all the time. In isolation at the prison I was handcuffed any time I was moved.

**Q: How long did this "in transit" situation go on?**

**A:** About 14 days, until it became clear that we were not going to be released. Eventually I went back to Pleasanton. Comparatively speaking, it was like home!

**Q: At your trial, was the testimony of four Episcopal Bishops (Paul Moore, Robert DeWitt, Roger Blanchard and Coleman McGehee) on your behalf effective in gaining a sentence of three years instead of the 15 the government asked for?**

**A:** That had a lot to do with it. At one point I think the

government asked the judge to clear the courtroom because there were too many clergy and church supporters, and that might influence the jury. He declined.

**Q: On the charge of “criminal contempt,” I understand that that category, as opposed to “civil contempt,” is rarely used in Grand Jury cases other than those involving racketeering and Mafia-type figures, and that your case was one of the first in which this more severe category applied.**

**A:** That’s right. It was a “political” application of the criminal contempt category. But another thing was that from the beginning very few people — not even the arresting FBI agents themselves — knew what criminal contempt was. They confused it with criminal conspiracy! They never seemed to grasp the vast difference.

**Q: You made a brief reference earlier to Puerto Rican independence. Why is the United States so afraid that Puerto Rico might become independent?**

**A:** Puerto Rico is run as a colony, a U.S. possession. The United States wants to use it militarily and for its natural resources, particularly its minerals, for military purposes. So it is very key. It occupies a strategic position for the United States in the Caribbean.

**Q: Maria, you’ve been subpoenaed twice now before a Grand Jury, and spent two prison terms for refusal to testify. Do you anticipate that the government might subpoena you a third time?**



Maria Cueto, center, is pictured at her coming home party at Church of the Epiphany, Los Angeles, with her aunt, Virginia Ram, left, and the Rev. Roger Wood, her former pastor.

**A:** I think that now the government has had to change its strategy. I think the chance of calling me before a Grand Jury again is perhaps down to nothing. I’ve run the route on contempt. I think the government will now try to propagandize the population against Puerto Rican independence.

**Q: What should the church do now in your case to continue to support you? What should it do to support others whose political and human rights are being violated?**

**A:** I think the question is rather what should the church do to protect *itself*. It needs to educate people about what is happening, about the use of the Grand Jury, because eventually repression will affect more people than we would like to think. I don’t mean to be an alarmist, but that something so minimal as what we were doing through the Episcopal Church has been blown up to such great proportions, and changed and threatened so many lives points to the fact that it’s coming, this repression.

**Q: Would you say that’s been proved true with the Sanctuary movement?**

**A:** I think that’s very true. In the Sanctuary movement, in the recent trial in Tucson, before anybody could be indicted for any reason, somebody had to go before a Grand Jury. And the fact that the Sanctuary leaders don’t speak about that makes me wonder if they themselves understood how they got indicted. Somewhere along the way, somebody had to be called before a Grand Jury for an indictment to take place.

**Q: You said that the church should protect itself. Are you suggesting that the church’s mission to impoverished and oppressed peoples is increasingly going to be in jeopardy?**

**A:** I think the church’s mission is going to be challenged more and more by both the community and by the government.

**Q: So the church must think of how the government is going to try to intimidate it?**

**A:** I think it has to look at how the government is *already* attempting to intimidate it. Back in 1977, the National Council of Churches learned positive things from our jailing, even if the Episcopal Church at that time did not, at least at the top level. The National Council gave us open support at the time. In our church, a big chill came down, and a lot of the programs were put on hold. “See if this blows over,” was the attitude in our church. I hope that’s not true any more.

**Q: How might things have been different, particularly in your own life, if the Presiding Bishop at that time had prevented the FBI from entry into Episcopal Church headquarters, and backed you in your refusal to talk to them?**

A: As I look back, I think it was a question of ignorance. If the leadership had understood that what was happening in our communities was also happening in the life of the church, I don't think it would've taken the position that it did. But it allowed something — part of the church's work — to be completely destroyed.

**Q: What difference did it make to you that our church's General Convention finally passed a resolution in support and solidarity with the five of you "prisoners of conscience" in your right of refusal to testify?**

A: When they passed that resolution at Convention I was in isolation at Alderson in West Virginia. One of my lawyers got a call through to me and told me. I was all alone there, but it was very refreshing news for me, like a reviving wave of cold water washing over me.

**Q: Do you think it meant an educational process was beginning to take place?**

A: I think it meant that people couldn't ignore any longer what was happening. I don't believe church people passed that resolution just because it came up. I think it was passed because people like yourself and so many others helped bring

it about.

**Q: How willing do you think the church is to face up now to being intimidated by the government?**

A: I think the big challenges are yet to come. Right now we are giving ourselves too much leeway. We say "This is all right, but that isn't." But increasingly the options are narrowing. We're either for the whole fabric of justice or we're not. Central America, South Africa, Mexico, the works. None of the issues I've mentioned are isolated issues; I don't think that *I'm* an isolated issue. Political repression is very key in all these, and is going to become a term that we will use on a regular basis. Our commitment to issues that we know are going to be unpopular will lead us to be persecuted in one way or another.

**Q: What's ahead for you now?**

A: I'll stay in Los Angeles. I started working here at Epiphany Church in the 1960s. It's ironic that I should come full circle. I'll continue my work in whatever Epiphany Church is involved in, and to involve Epiphany in other things if possible. And go on from there. Personally, I need to find a job and get settled. ■

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*Continued from page 12*

was invited by church leadership after office hours to search through its files, an act which emboldened the government to challenge the women's contention that this was an invasion of the church's mission.

Commenting on the action of Episcopal Church leaders in 1977, Bishop Francisco Reus-Froylan of Puerto Rico lamented that they had been "too eager to help in turning over what amounted to free access to records of the Hispanic and other ministries. It made me wonder if they had been reading the same papers I have been reading for the last 25 years."

The arrests of the five Hispanics in 1982 were interpreted by many as a replay of the effort of the FBI during its 1977 investigations to harass supporters of Puerto Rican independence. The added political dimension, absent in the first round, was the government's citation of

criminal contempt instead of civil contempt against the five to elicit a longer jail sentence. (The government sought a 15-year prison term; the court decision was for three.) Further, while the government never indicted the five on charges that they belonged to the FALN, it "leaked" a story to the press before the trial that they were the "unincarcerated leadership" of that group. The media label was to work against them throughout their trial and imprisonment.

In his recent message to Maria Cueto upon her release from jail, current Presiding Bishop Edmond Browning of the Episcopal Church said, "I know that you have faced many dark times when you felt alone and unsupported. You have overcome many adversities at great personal expense. May God continue to bless you as you witness to and help bear the burden of the oppressed."

Release of the Hispanics still leaves unanswered questions for the church.

Gillett outlined some of these:

- What are the rights of privacy for the church's increasing numbers of lay ministers who deal with sensitive pastoral matters?

- What is the church's responsibility to its employees arrested when they claim the right to remain silent as a matter of conscience?

- What are the ramifications of abuses of the Grand Jury system, currently under review by Congress? For example, how many times can one be charged for the same offense?

- What are the rights of a group which dissents from the government's position, such as those who seek independence for Puerto Rico or those in the Sanctuary movement?

"Maria Cueto, Steve Guerra and the other Grand Jury resisters have focused attention on these issues," Gillett said, "and as Christians committed to social justice we must seek the answers." ■



# Short Takes

## Reagan gets it right

Let's hear it for the President! Amid all of his misrepresentations about events in Central America, we can at least give him credit for the accuracy of his characterization of the brutish Contras as "freedom fighters." They are, indeed, freedom fighters, just as physicians are disease fighters and police are crime fighters.

**Rudy Simons**  
*The Progressive*, 6/86

## Whose church?

Churches are firmly rooted in the material existence of their particular society, and while this might seem a perfectly commonplace observation, it is a reality that is acknowledged far more often than it is explored. Any consideration of a particular church must always start with the question of whose church it is...

Who staffs the church? From which groups in society does it recruit its personnel? Who are its congregation? Which social groups participate regularly and actively in its rites? How and by whom is it financed? Is it financed by ownership of huge landed estates, by massive investments in private business, by the state, by voluntary contributions? And if by voluntary contributions, from which social groups? What is its relation to the state? Answering these questions is of crucial importance if the politics, and developments in the politics, of the church are to be understood.

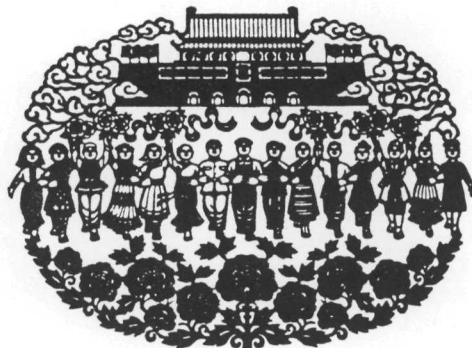
**John Newsinger**  
*Monthly Review* 1/86

## Quotes about AIDS

"Aids is God indicating his displeasure and his attitude toward that form of lifestyle, which we in this country are about to accept." (Rev. Charles Stanley, president of the Southern Baptist Convention)

"The idea of a loving God rooting for a virus that is killing people is absurd. And to picture a just God waging germ warfare on sinners without going to warmakers, polluters, slum landlords and drug dealers... that's not distorting the faith; that's deserting the faith." (Rev. William Sloane Coffin, pastor of Riverside Church, New York City)

**Quoted in *Inside the American Religion Scene* (RNS Newsletter)**



## Add 50 million Chinese

China's family planning leaders have recently noted prospects for staying within a 1.2 billion population target by the year 2000 are highly unlikely. In fact they now predict 50 million additional births beyond previous estimates.

While the rural Responsibility Systems have engendered much-needed improvements in living standards for many Chinese peasants, they have also fueled increases in the rural population. As peasant families directly contract with local units for crop production quotas, more farm hands enable increased profits which in turn encourage peasants to have more children.

**Ewing W. Carroll, Jr., Editor**  
*China Talk* 12/85

## Toxic injustice

Cigarette smoking inflicts disproportionately high health damage on Black Americans, according to a study by two Chicago cardiologists. They state that the death rate from lung cancer for black men is 40% higher than for white men. In addition to a higher smoking rate, they cite greater exposure to occupational hazards and various consequences of poverty as contributing factors. Cigarette companies advertise intensively among blacks and make well-publicized donations of funds to black organizations, while few anti-smoking campaigns are directed toward this population group. The World Health Organization says that a million persons die prematurely each year from tobacco-related diseases, with growing numbers in the Third World.

**MFSA Social Questions Bulletin**  
March/April 1986

## Haines first, Doll second

The Diocese of Washington elected the Rev. Ronald H. Haines of the Diocese of Western North Carolina as suffragan bishop May 30. The Rev. Mary Chotard Doll of the Diocese of Southern Ohio ran second in an election which took six ballots. Doll ran in first place with clergy votes on the first four ballots. Tallies for the last ballot showed Haines with 80 clergy votes and 101 lay votes. Doll had 60 clergy, 53 lay. They were followed by the Rev. Christopher Sherrill with 10 clergy, 4 lay and the Rev. William Baxter with 3 clergy and 2 lay. The Rev. William Wendt had withdrawn prior to the first ballot and the Revs. Chamblin and Larry Harris withdrew after the fourth ballot.

Haines, 51, is presently bishop's deputy to the Rt. Rev. William G. Weinbauer, a post he has held since 1981.

**Diocesan Press Service**

## Gem by GBS

To every complex problem there is a simple solution, and it's always the wrong one.

**George Bernard Shaw**

## Pauperization of women

Women are half the world's adult population; they comprise one-third of the paid labor force and they perform two-thirds of the world's work hours. For this they earn one-tenth of the world's income, and they only own 1% of the world's property.

**UN Commission on the Status of Women**

**My heart is moved by all I cannot save:  
so much has been destroyed  
I have to cast my lot with those  
who age after age, perversely  
with no extraordinary power  
reconstitute the world.**

**Adrienne Rich**  
*The Dream of a Common Language*

## Quote of note

A policy of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth will leave the whole world blind and toothless.

**Jesse Jackson**

# A conversation with Ben Bagdikian

Ben Bagdikian, dean of the graduate school of journalism at the University of California, Berkeley, has been called "the Joe DiMaggio of American journalism." Former ombudsman of The Washington Post, he is author of numerous books including *The Media Monopoly* and *The Effete Conspiracy and Other Crimes by the Press*. Recently while on the West Coast, Mary Lou Suhor, editor of THE WITNESS, sought his views concerning today's students, the Reagan administration's style vis a vis the press, and stories most neglected by the mainstream media.



**Question:** You teach at Berkeley, which was a hotbed of student unrest during the Vietnam War. We hear today that students across the country are conservative. Judging from your experience at Berkeley, have students really changed that much?

**Answer:** I don't think there's much question that Berkeley students seem to be, in general, more conservative than they were 15 years ago. It certainly showed up in the usual attitude surveys during the last presidential election. There was actually a Reagan for President club here. However, the most persistent and activist demonstrations against apartheid in South Africa were here at Berkeley. So I think there's still a hunger among the student body to do something about compelling problems in society and within the campus itself.

This swing towards conservatism is something I don't see, however, in our students in the journalism school. They seem, as a whole, interested in social problems and angry about the national passive attitudes toward finding solutions.

**Q:** What percentage of your students are women?

**A:** The majority of our students are women, which is also true for journalism

schools nationally — women are 60 to 70% of the student body. And feminism is a very strong strain among both our men and women students. There are strong feelings here about women's rights, and minority rights, around which our school does not have a very good record. Neither do most journalism schools, or for that matter, American journalism in general.

**Q:** Will the presence of women reporters affect the reporting of news?

**A:** Women reporters have already had an affect. Approximately 60% of all reporters hired last year were women. What remains to be seen is what happens when there are enough women high up in power roles. Will they be socialized by their power positions and act like men did? Or will they bring a basically different point of view? I don't think we know that in any clear way yet.

**Q:** What is the overall ethnic mix in the journalism student body?

**A:** We have a two-year master's program with 70 to 75 students in all. Last year we had five U.S. ethnic minorities in the program. Hispanics, Blacks and Asians, mostly apply — but not in great numbers — and now and then, a Native

American. That's not nearly enough. I'm going to start a program to actively recruit minorities.

**Q:** Why, do you suppose, aren't there more applications?

**A:** One of the reasons may be that for those ethnic minorities serious about journalism, the immediate rewards are not very high. It could be that a high-performing college senior of ethnic background may have other more lucrative opportunities. It may also be that newspapers and broadcasting stations don't have the minority representation that any way realistically reflects the population at large. The representation is really pretty low — only 4 to 5% for major ethnic groups.

It is a serious problem. Affirmative action is not a high priority in our society right now. What's given priority is urging people to go out and make a lot of money and not worry about anybody else. Maybe members of ethnic groups then feel that their first priority ought to be to make money. I don't think that's so different from anybody else, especially in this generation.

Still, it's frustrating that members of ethnic minorities who want to work as

journalists because they want to see a better society are not pounding down the doors to get into graduate school.

Even though we give full scholarships to any ethnic person admitted to the graduate school, we see more and more students of all kinds who come to us with huge loan debts — \$10,000 to \$20,000 — and who then have to acquire more money to get through graduate school. That's a formidable burden and can have very bad consequences for society.

Given the economic status of ethnic minorities in this country, that's a barrier to those students and has its repercussions here in the graduate school. No question, there's a crying need for more minority representation in American journalism, and the schools are one place to start.

**Q: You've mentioned your students' sense of social justice. When your graduates find jobs, can they carry this sense of social justice with them?**

**A:** There is some evidence that the younger generation of journalists as a whole are less political and more career-advancement oriented than the generation that came out of the '30s and World War II. I see some impressionistic evidence of that push to get ahead into powerful, high-paying jobs, and less social consciousness than there was, say, 10 or 15 years ago. But even so, I think there's still a significant contingent of journalists who are eager to eliminate some of the injustices of society.

I think that's because in journalism, you're much more likely to see the disparities between the cliches of society and the realities. You will see what happens in the court system, or to people who lose their jobs, and so on, to a greater degree than if you were an ordinary citizen. It's frequently said that journalists are radicals and somehow unable to report fairly on anything. I don't think that's true at all. I think there's a justified skepticism with the official version of

things, because journalists are frequently in a position to see the realities behind the official version.

**Q: By "official," do you mean the views of the White House?**

**A:** Yes, the views of the Administration. Initial news of new developments in foreign affairs and national security always tends to be from the standpoint of officialdom — that's more or less inevitable. But thereafter, the reporting of the news is conditioned by the same kind of framework, and that's partly because so much reporting is concentrated in Washington and reflects Washington's point of view. But part of the country is on the other side of the Potomac, too. That tends to get lost when you're in Washington or New York, in the power centers where policy is an abstraction. There's not enough reporting of where the people are.

**Q: How would you characterize the style of this Administration in dealing with the press?**

**A:** Like all administrations, it puts the most self-serving face on everything. Every intelligent politician and administration wants to do that.

But some administrations have been more sensitive to history, the lessons of history, and their obligations to the public. This Administration is minimally so.

It seems not only ignorant of history and its lessons, but also seems to have an obligation to making good theater that goes beyond any of my experiences with previous administrations. It's good theater linked to right-wing ideology.

There is enormous cynicism and less of a sense of obligation to give the public information. Other administrations wanted to put their best foot forward, but this administration does it to the point of disregarding even nominal requirements that they be honest with the public. They want to stage manage everything, and

they go to greater lengths to do it than anyone in the past. And the media has not been very persistent in going behind the facade. It's not enough to do it just once — for example, to come out with one story saying that the official version of the Grenada invasion was untrue in many important respects. You have to do it emphatically and continually in order to make an impression on the public similar to the one that the Administration makes every day with its official releases. Otherwise you just make a little dent, and then it disappears. The media have not been good at being persistent.

Nor have they been very good at pursuing the implementation of programs. For example, there are programs to protect people from toxic wastes and hazards in the work place, and it was discovered that those programs were practically immobilized by the Administration, even though they were on paper and funds were appropriated. The media didn't pay sufficient attention until adversarial groups — unions, church and political groups — forced them to address the problems the Administration had concealed. But the media shouldn't depend on outsiders. Revealing stories like that should be part of normal reporting.

**Q: Speaking of stage managing — after the bombing of Libya, there was a poll saying that more than 70% of the people supported the President's decision. Are the people and the President really speaking with one voice?**

**A:** I think the result of polls have to be looked at very cautiously, because they tend to catch the feeling of the moment. I think that the people tend to be supportive when they're told that something is absolutely necessary to do for the country's security, especially when that's *all* they're told, and by the highest authority.

I don't think the American public is stupid or insensitive. But most people



have all kinds of problems and responsibilities, and they can't become foreign policy analysts. They depend on authority figures to be somewhat truthful with them.

**Q: Are people being manipulated, then?**

**A:** They're manipulated. The power of authorities combined with the power of television get first crack at the public and tend to condition the people's initial and even subsequent reactions to a story. But, as we learn more about who's responsible for terrorism, what the underlying causes are and what the response ought to be — when the more complete picture is given, my guess is that opinion polls would show other results. I would trust people's reactions once they are given the information in an effective way.

**Q: Given the lack of information about vital issues, do we have freedom of the press in the United States today?**

**A:** We probably have more real freedom of the press than any other country. The First Amendment is more effective here than similar press laws anywhere else. It's not that the media lacks the freedom to publish. It's that the mainstream media have multiple goals and some of them interfere with the process of selecting what to emphasize.

The newspaper and broadcast industries are enormously effective money-makers. They make almost scandalous profits. Because their major revenue comes from advertising, they don't want news content that will harm them as advertising carriers. They don't want to anger or upset people. That makes the news content more bland than it would otherwise be. It means that their range of political and ideological content is very narrow.

**Q: What role do you see for advocacy and church journalism?**

**A:** I think advocacy journalism is ab-

solutely essential, especially in our society where the mainstream media are so stringently neutralist in their approach — to a degree that I think is quite unnecessary. It's necessary to be fair, to tell the truth and to present an honest picture of important issues. But the mainstream media takes such a bland, neutral position that journalists frequently don't make clear what's most important, and we are always in danger of falling into "on the one hand, this and on the other hand, that," when, as a matter of fact, the "hands" may not be at all equal in evidence or in importance.

Now, church journalism varies enormously. I think a lot of church journalism is absolutely horrid. I don't like the big TV evangelist publications. Jerry Falwell's literature is an advocate kind of journalism and it's not the kind I like, but he has a right to do it. I think the numbers of those on the other side of the political spectrum are very small compared to the power of the Right, so it is incumbent on people who have strong opposing values and opinions to speak out. I think magazines of commentary, of causes, are where the liveliest and sometimes most useful opinions, values and perceptions come out. I think the mainstream media is more heavily conditioned by the official views than is justified in a society that is as varied and has as many problems, differences and needs as does ours.

**Q: What are some of the stories most neglected by the mainstream press?**

**A:** The lack of news about the continued bombing in El Salvador is one. Another is the continuing silence on what's happening in East Timor, Indonesia. The wiping out of hundreds of thousands of dissidents has been going on for quite some time and we've looked the other way, the same way we looked the other way for a long time with Marcos. The East Timor killings go largely unreported, even though they were massive and easily verified. We know from

scholars and others that these dissidents were wiped out because the Indonesian regime claimed they were Communists. Using that as an excuse to wipe out the dissidents wholesale doesn't hide the fact that it's really genocide, genocide which is still largely unreported in any substantial way in the United States, although it's been going on for years. We look away because of our support for the Indonesian government. But these stories have no powerful effect on policy until they get picked up by the mainstream media.

**Q: What social issues, then, might church journals help their readers to interpret?**

**A:** I think that depends on what part of the population you're thinking of trying to reach. People basically tend to judge the need for social change from the perspective of how they see their own lives proceeding. If the middle class is doing well, that doesn't mean they aren't open to paying attention to a social problem; it means instead that they will react to a social need only if it doesn't seriously go against their own interests. That's generally speaking, but there are always, thank God, individuals who are different.

So once the average American looks, for example, at the plight of the Salvadoran trying to get political asylum, or trying to cease American-aided bombing of El Salvador, there would be a large-scale sympathetic response. But average Americans don't get to see much of the story. I think that the public can be reached, but their information aside from the official line is very meager. Look at the issue of aid to the Nicaraguan Contras. Public opinion polls show that most of the public really has serious doubts about the aid despite all the official propaganda. We do not get much *consistent* reporting on what's going on in Nicaragua or El Salvador. So I don't really blame the public — I blame inadequate and unbalanced reporting in the media. ■





## Trading Places (around Pretoria)

A couple, three years ago Black comedian Eddie Murphy and White comedian Dan Ackroyd starred in a hilarious farce called "Trading Places." Murphy, an impoverished ghetto hustler gets transformed into a tailored, manicured Philadelphia stock broker with all the accoutrement of such a position. Meanwhile, preppie brokerage scion Ackroyd is forced to live by his wits on the streets. Their eventual pairing to beat the establishment at its own game, while sidesplitting, had a sobering undertone.

With the realization that the current South African regime may be losing its grip, bankers, international business interests, the educational community and even Western governments seem to be jockeying into position to prepare for "South Africa beyond apartheid." Were it not for the fact that we are talking about the lives and empowerment of millions of Black South Africans, the "round dance" in which these interests are now engaged would be as laughable as the Murphy-Ackroyd film. Instead, it's downright scary!

A recent *New York Times* report describes the fear of both government and free enterprise as "apprehension that change could produce a radical Black-led government hostile to the United States" and their programs are focused chiefly to win the minds of young Black South Africa.

The Reagan administration, which recently ordered a high-level reassessment of U.S. policy toward South Africa for a "shift in emphasis," has a purported \$45 million educational scheme. Episcopal Churchpeople for a Free Southern Af-

rica (ECSA) reports that Mobil Oil has set up two programs of \$10 million each — one for Black education, the other for rural development and small Black businesses — while colleges and universities have created or drastically increased scholarship grants, and foundations are expanding or instituting South African- and Namibia-centered funds. Earlier this year, IBM announced a sophisticated multi-million dollar computerized learning program.

It is believed that at one level these crash programs are aimed at countering the pressure for divestment and sanctions with the deeper intent to shape the future South Africa in a North American/Western European mold. But warns ECSA, "no hasty manipulations from abroad can prevail in the face of a well-rooted popular movement" which Black South Africans have been fashioning for many years, particularly in the decade since the Soweto uprising. Let's hope that assessment is correct.

One corporate program that would seem to have elements of sensibility and sensitivity is the Coca-Cola Company's establishment of a group of foundations called the Equal Opportunity Funds to support Black education, housing and business development as an accompaniment to political equality. The funds, an initial amount of \$10 million, will be controlled by a board of independent trustees, prominent South Africans, most of whom are Black. They include Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev. Allan Boesak, Sebolelo Mhanjane, chair of the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee; university professors P.F. Mo-

hanoe, A.J. Thembela and Jakes Gerwel and the only White member thus far, Arthur Chaslalon, director of the Legal Resources Centre.

Before agreeing to serve as trustees, Bishop Tutu, Rev. Boesak and professor Gerwel wisely wrote Coca-Cola describing the parameters of their participation. Two key conditions were that no homeland officials or persons with homeland links could be involved and recognition of the African National Congress as an important participant in the movement for change in South Africa. In addition, they said "We would desire that it be abundantly clear that we are not lending support to any effort aimed at relieving pressure for change on the South African government."

A third condition called for Coca-Cola to publicly inform the South African government that it will reconsider continued involvement in that country unless significant steps toward dismantling apartheid are taken within a prescribed time. These include lifting the state of emergency; abolishing pass laws and influx control; release of all political prisoners; repeal of all discriminating legislation; establishment of a single ministry for education; and officially ending the homeland policy.

Coca-Cola's acceptance of this conditional involvement suggests that some other American interests would do well to watch a re-run of the Murphy-Ackroyd film. ■

**Revolution . . . Cont. from page 11**  
of the Philippines.

Marcos' obsession with the imaginary communist threat was his justification for the *modus operandi* that would enable him to eliminate not just "communist agitators" but respected political opponents as well. While his second term was drawing to a close, Marcos' claims of a communist threat grew louder.

On Sept. 22, 1972 someone tossed a bomb at the limousine of the Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile who just happened to be riding in another vehicle. No one was hurt. Many believed the event was staged by Marcos. A few hours after the incident, Marcos declared martial law. Benigno Aquino and other prominent leaders of the opposition were arrested along with thousands of students, farmers, workers and community organizers including members of the clergy. General Order Number 1 permitted Marcos to assume all powers of government. He dissolved the Congress and placed other government agencies at his beck and call. Military tribunals were established; peaceful assembly was prohibited; free speech and free press were totally circumscribed.

In a televised speech a week later Marcos would announce that the declaration of martial law was simply "crisis management." Having eliminated or jailed dissenting political leaders under charges of subversion, he was now ready to resume the building of the New Society. He criticized the Philippine version of democracy as wasteful and licentious, corrupt and paralyzing. He reiterated his inaugural promise in 1969 to continue "to free the Philippines from a politics of cronyism and anomaly, from corruption and oligarchy even if I have to do it alone."

Marcos had several times in the past made public his preference for what he called "constitutional authoritarianism." To those who disagreed he was quick to point out that the economic progress of

modern Japan was the result of its previous governments' insistence on a political policy based not on participation but on regimentation, not on freedom but on discipline, not on flexibility but rigidity. He compared his martial law regime to the times when Filipinos were forming a new government after the collapse of Spanish colonial regime. Marcos also seemed thoroughly convinced that the political structure of 19th century Japan under Emperor Meiji and the decisions of the Filipino revolutionary leaders fighting foreign domination in 1896 were the models of government best suited for the Philippines in the 1970s.

From his solitary confinement cell Benigno Aquino would warn the dictator: "Without criticism, no democracy can survive and without dissent, no government can effectively govern."

What did Marcos accomplish under 10 years of martial law? No one disputes the fact that a few hundred farmers, especially those in his home province of Ilocos Norte and its neighboring provinces, became owners of the land they have been farming for generations. Mrs. Marcos' nutrition programs fed hungry children in metropolitan Manila and the Green Revolution resulted in backyard vegetable gardening and in the planting of trees in the balding mountains. It was mostly during the martial law years that a national highway was built connecting the major islands of the Philippines.

A closer look will reveal also that Marcos and his cronies were building a giant financial octopus with tentacles reaching the United States and Switzerland. According to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 70% of Filipino school children still suffer protein and caloric deficiencies; the Food and Nutrition Research Institute of the Philippines points to malnutrition as the cause of 45% of all deaths; 65% of the rural population live below the poverty line of \$190; in 1980 the World Bank reported that real wages

dropped 25% between 1972 and 1980; the top 5% of the population get 70% of the national income while the bottom 30% must share only 6% of that income; only 9% out of the labor force of 20 million have regular jobs.

It was with solid foundation then that the Wall Street firm of Frost and Sullivan predicted in 1980 that "it is very unlikely that the Marcos regime will survive the next five years." They missed by only six weeks.

Martial law was "lifted" in 1981. Two years later, a pastoral was issued by the Catholic Bishop's Conference of the Philippines. The bishops recognized some progress of the Marcos regime, but also stated, "a number of its key development priorities, like the heavy reliance upon multinational corporations and its favoring of their needs over the needs of our people; its attention to tourist facilities and services, like lavish film festivals, over services it can and should provide rural areas, do not appear to lessen the number of our poor which is growing daily — their destitution more acute . . . Economic corruption both in the area of public administration and in the area of private business is major, though not the only, cause of the growing poverty of our people, because such corruption not only deprives the poor of benefits due them but also heightens their already much battered sense of justice."

This joint pastoral letter represented a major turning point in the attitude of the majority of Catholic bishops toward the martial law government of Marcos. Pre-

### **Fund-raising update**

We are heartened by the number of subscribers who have put us within \$1,000 of the goal by contributing to THE WITNESS' 1986 fund-raising effort. You have our deep appreciation!

And to those who have not yet donated, won't you please help us to reach our goal? Many thanks!

viously, the church had been, to Marcos' absolute comfort, divided between the majority who aligned themselves with the political-economic elite and the minority who stood in solidarity with the poor. The pastoral signaled a coming together of the church as a whole standing with the dispossessed and the dis-powered. Furthermore, it went one step farther; instead of just speaking for the victims, it also spoke in clear language against the monster.

The church also refused to sit idly by and watch the presidential election be stolen from the people. The bishops called on every Christian to act in the name of democracy: "We are not going to effect the change we seek by doing nothing, by sheer apathy. If we did nothing, we would be a party to our own destruction as a people. We would be jointly guilty with the perpetrators of the wrong we want righted." In an outpouring of support the people responded and faced the tanks with nothing but their hearts and God. Corazon Aquino became our president.

February 1986 saw not only the birth of a new government conceived by and dedicated to the cause of the depressed and marginalized citizens. It saw also the birth of a renewed church, a church standing steadfastly on the side of the poor, on the side of justice.

For President Aquino, the challenges ahead are herculean, but already she has shown in her young administration a tremendous capacity for uniting opposing factions. The people she has chosen to hold key positions in her administration, like former senators Jovito Salonga and Raul Manglapus, offer much hope for an effective leadership. In the provinces, it must be remembered that there are hundreds of Marcos' political clones and there simply is no room for all of them in Hawaii. It must be made clear to these provincial leaders that they too are directly accountable to their people, the same people that gave Mrs. Aquino the

presidency.

Land reform must be implemented on a full scale. This has been a persistent problem in the Philippines. Previous attempts have only remained on paper. Implementing them would mean a radical rethinking and restructuring of land-ownership based on the mind of colonial Spain. The failure of land reform programs has been due to the fact that the political leaders called upon to legislate them are either landowners themselves, like the Marcoses, or are supported by rice, coconut and sugar warlords. . .

The new government will also have to reconcile the military and the barrio people. The rural population has suffered much from the government's efforts to rid the country of subversive elements, subversive taken in its broadest sense including legitimate dissent. Magsaysay in the 1950s made the military and barrio people partners in the implementation of rural development programs: they built rural roads together, dug artesian wells together, constructed school buildings together and celebrated fiestas together.

The hundreds of squatters in the area of metropolitan Manila is a constant reminder to the leaders in Malacañang Palace of the poor people in the nation. Immediate attention to the subhuman conditions in which they live by the President whose office is practically next door to their cardboard box houses will be a powerful sign of hope for a better future for them.

Finally, the church has only one challenge: to continue to show herself decidedly and unambiguously on the side of the poor. There can be no doubt that an army of believers, clad in any color, cannot only stop armies, but they can also move mountains of spiritual and physical poverty off the shoulders of the oppressed. *(The above article is excerpted from a longer version which appeared in **Blueprint for Social Justice**, April 1986, published by Loyola's Institute of Human Relations.)*

**Letters . . . Continued from page 3**

throughout her 20-year history of struggle for the rights of poor people. She organized and chaired the meeting of low income persons with the Presiding Bishop, and has been a longtime member of the Urban Caucus Board.

As another member of that Board, I wish to thank you for the coverage and support you have given to caucus activities, from the Rev. Barbara Harris's excellent editorial to this current piece. It has increased our visibility in the church at large. Keep on keepin' on!

**Mary S. Webber**  
St. Louis, Mo.

## Wants balanced issues

I feel that the current **WITNESS** is too "heavy" with the injustice in a suffering world. I'd like a more balanced and readable magazine.

More Episcopal church news would be welcome. More articles on the new Presiding Bishop, the new hymnal, changes in the dioceses and parishes and what these mean would interest me.

I've had it with whole issues on nuclear missiles, overcrowded prisons, feminist grumbling, Central American and South African politics, etc. If you can't publish a balanced magazine, I'll look elsewhere next year.

**The Rev. Sumner Walters**  
Foster City, Cal.

## Witness to Zululand

We've really enjoyed **THE WITNESS** these last three years we've been in Southern Africa. We pass it on to others, for whom it reveals a new reality. Thanks for presenting a strong voice. I'm a minister serving (co-pastoring with my husband) 12 rural and township Zulu parishes of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa. It's been quite an experience. We live in a "Black area" (we're White) which has been a blessing to us in our ministry. Keep up the good work.

**Ana Gobledale**  
Zululand, RSA



# WITNESS takes 7 press awards

THE WITNESS took five first places and two honorable mentions this year in two prestigious press competitions — the Associated Church Press (ecumenical) awards and the Episcopal Communicators' Polly Bond awards.

Four ACP first place merit awards went to THE WITNESS for:

- Best theological reflection: The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Jr.'s "Meditation for a nuclear age" (January 1985);

- Best poetry: The Rev. Alla Bozarth-Campbell's "Water women" (September '85);

- Best in-depth series of a current issue: AIDS (August, September '85 — The Rt. Rev. H. Coleman McGehee, Jr., John Fortunato, the Rev. Dom Ciannella, etc.);

- Best news story: Mary Lou Suhor's "WITNESS author loses North Carolina post" (December '85).

In the Polly Bond competition, the magazine took first place for best photograph (The Rev. Jane Van Zandt holding Nicaraguan orphan, by Anne Gilson, February '85); and two honorable mentions — for commentary, the Rev. Charles Meyer's "In vitro fertilization," and cover, by Beth Seka — (both March '85).

A record number of 575 entries were submitted by 71 publications in the ACP annual competition. THE WITNESS took the largest number of awards in the "magazine under 10,000 circulation" category. Another Episcopal publication, *The Communicant*, monthly newspaper for the Diocese of North Carolina, swept the field taking a general excellence award and five merit awards.

Following are the judges' comments about THE WITNESS four first places:

Theological reflection by Moore: "This is a plea for a revisiting of the cruder, more primitive and stark Christian words and symbols to assist us in dealing with the crude and primitive realities of evil in our world. It is comprehensive without wandering, it is infused again and again with fresh language and metaphor. It keeps attention and makes clear its pleas."

Poetry by Bozarth-Campbell: "This poem is characterized by its lyrical language and sharpness of imagery as well as its wit and sense of irony."

In-depth coverage by various authors: "This coverage described the scope of the AIDS epidemic without losing sight of the individual victim. It also linked the church's homophobia and its difficulty in

dealing with the crisis."

News story by Suhor: "This article, of the forced resignation of a gay Episcopal priest, succeeds in 1) relating the story with clarity, 2) conveying the pain of the decision to each of the major parties, and 3) communicating the reality of the dilemma, even for a loving congregation, when faced with the open declaration of a priest of his or her homosexuality. At the same time, it communicates by implication a sense of the author's hope that the Christian community will ultimately allow its love to overcome its ambivalence on this issue. It is a sensitive dealing with how difficult this societal issue becomes when it gets enfolded in a person of winsome and apparently authentic faith."

The Associated Church Press numbers 162 Protestant and Catholic publications reporting a combined circulation of 11.2 million. Awards were presented at the group's 70th anniversary banquet in San Francisco May 12-15.

The Episcopal Communicators competition is in its seventh year. Awards are named for one of the most gifted women in the field of Episcopal communications, Polly Bond, who died of cancer in 1979. ■

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# THE WITNESS

Toward abolishing torture

Way of the cross  
for persons with AIDS

Nuclear camaraderie

Edmond L. Browning  
on homosexuality



# Letters

## Missile article naive

Sometimes I wonder which is more dangerous: the Russian missiles aimed at my former Sunday School kids in the outskirts of the Black Hills or someone like Sam Day of Nukewatch.

If he could print maps of Russian missile sites as he does of those in the United States (May WITNESS) one might have more hope that his Nukewatch group might be doing some good. Undoubtedly Russian spy satellites have probably identified U.S. missile sites, but the map of Missouri could identify control centers that might not be identifiable to such a satellite. Do let us hope that he has not made it easier for Missouri school kids to be aimed at!

Perhaps the most frightening aspect of the likes of a Sam Day is the fatal naivete demonstrated. Unfortunately, while American school children may be able to influence and change the course of their government, the same cannot be said of the Russian children. Something far worse than Nazi Germany has now existed for 70 years.

Russian society is a totally new historical phenomenon, a stratocracy — a government directed entirely by military goals and whose only option is ultimately expansion by martial means (witness Afghanistan). The question to be pondered by THE WITNESS is not “if” but “when” the Russians will think they can win World War III.

**The Rev. Winston F. Jensen  
Superior, Wisc.**

## Day responds

Like missile launch sites, U.S. launch control centers are readily identifiable by Soviet satellites and presumably have been targeted for destruction in the event of nuclear war. The same may be said of missile launch sites and control centers in the Soviet Union. Ordinary Americans (and Soviet residents) are the ones in the dark. Those who stand to lose the most from not knowing the whereabouts

of missiles are the people who live closest to them — including the former Sunday School kids whom the Rev. Winston F. Jensen left behind in the Black Hills.

**Sam Day  
Madison, Wisc.**

## Quotas not the answer

The sidebar “What you should know about steel” in the May WITNESS suggests that import restrictions should be used to save the U.S. steel industry (“imports robbed the domestic producers . . . further weakening job and income security.”) It is my impression that such restrictions ultimately hurt workers.

For example, they served to raise the price of Japanese subcompact cars by 40% while lining the pockets of Chrysler executives. Quotas also serve to bring our problems back home to workers in other American export industries that suffer retaliatory restrictions.

Don’t quotas ultimately protect a system that is, at its heart, inequitable, often grossly corrupt (as the nearby General Dynamics has recently demonstrated), and blatantly colonial in its exploitation of overseas labor? To me quotas, like the Department of Defense’s decision to continue business as usual with General Dynamics, seem like chauvinistic manipulations of America’s working people.

Instead of quotas shouldn’t we be pushing for things like tax abatements to industries that convert to worker ownership and that shift from economically draining military business to production that is socially and fiscally beneficial to America and the world?

**V. Powell Woodward  
Cambridge, Mass.**

*(Michael Locker of Locker Associates told THE WITNESS that he could not agree more with the suggestions offered by Powell Woodward in the last paragraph of his letter. But import quotas*

*have been enforced because the steel industry has to deal with present realities, caused by the glut of steel on the world market:*

*1) Foreign countries can offer steel at reduced prices because of the low wages they pay to their non-unionized workers. Further, the built-in excess capacity in their plants allows them to export, which in turn helps them to pay for loans they made for the very plants they have built. The world banks have collaborated in this situation, hoping to collect on the loans.*

*2) The United States is the only steel industry without basic subsidies from its government (Japanese and European markets are subsidized).*

*3) Since the U.S. market is the highest priced market in the world, steel is “dumped” here. Imports are also favored in currency transactions by the devaluation of the dollar.*

*Therefore, while import quotas may not be the best way to deal with these problems, the programs suggested by Woodward are difficult to implement in today’s political climate. Meanwhile the U.S. steel industry is collapsing, and quotas supply an immediate remedy. The problem will only be resolved when government, banks, management, consumer and vendors join labor at the bargaining table, where all must make equitable material sacrifices. —Ed.)*

## New Zealand witness

Thanks for the copy of the request from Richard Peck to print my May WITNESS article in the International Christian Digest.

Thank you too for arranging for copies of THE WITNESS to be available for me at the Episcopal Church Center during my June visit to New York. I duly collected them and places where I have circulated them in New Zealand have commented favorably on the article, the layout and THE WITNESS generally. I even sent a copy to our Prime Minister

who needs all the support he can get with the continuing pressure from the U.S. government.

My time away convinced me of how important our stand is, especially when I heard just how locked in to the nuclear system the Northern Hemisphere is, and I was gratified to learn more of the high level of commitment to peace within church and community groups, of which THE WITNESS is an important part.

**The Rev. Richard Randerson**  
Wellington, N.Z.

### Seeks articles for study

I am writing to ask permission to photocopy the articles, "View from a Gay Person's Pew" by Louie Crew and "Enforcing Male Supremacy" by Carter Heyward, both of which appeared in recent editions of THE WITNESS.

I would like to distribute these articles to our National Coordinating Group for background reading and possibly also for more general distribution as an educational resource in the study/dialogue currently happening throughout the United Church of Canada on issues related to sexual orientations, lifestyles and ministry.

**David Ewart**  
Toronto, Canada

### Distrusts polls

Betsi Hollants with whom I work on problems of the aged in Mexico has generously shared her copies of THE WITNESS with me. Your magazine has been a great surprise. I used to think of the Episcopal Church in the United States as the one people went to because they would meet the "right" people. I never dreamed Episcopalians would concern themselves with the vital problems of the world, like poverty, racism, sexism, militarism, the economic system!

About that 70% of Americans being for Reagan's bombing expedition of Libya (June editorial) — I don't believe it. Ever since Reagan produced a poll in

Central America just before Congress was to vote on the \$100 million for the Contras, stating that without exception the Central American countries around Nicaragua supported the idea of the Contras and wanted them there, I have become even more skeptical about polls. At the same time I was reading in the papers here that Honduras and Costa Rica were both fed up with the Contra presence and wishing they could get rid of them. Even Guatemala was complaining that they were an unsettling force in the area and why couldn't we get on with the Contadora Peace process.

**Heidi Brandt**  
Tepoztlan, Mexico

### Flag day reflections

Today is Flag Day, and I sit here looking at my flag and thinking back to the May WITNESS. I am not surprised that 70% of the citizens of this country supported the bombing of Libya. This administration promotes the use of violence to solve problems. This regime embraces nuclear and conventional weapons with all of the lust of a wino grasping the first drink of the day.

Washington condemns the efforts of the people and government of New Zealand to create a nuclear-free South Pacific and condemns their ban on nuclear weapon-carrying ships in their waters. I can only say, thank you, New Zealand for your nuclear-free position. Yours is a voice of sanity for the United States, whose coat of arms should be the dollar sign and the mushroom cloud.

**Jerry A. Boyd**  
Houston, Tex.

### Kudos for DeWitt

Congratulations on Robert L. DeWitt's masterful piece "One pilgrim's progress" in the June WITNESS. In my opinion, it is one of the finest, soundest articles that has appeared in the magazine.

**The Rev. William S. Hill**  
Dexter, Mich.

### For women bishops

I am writing in response to the article in the April WITNESS concerning the election of women bishops in the Episcopal Church. I am the daughter of a priest who is a woman. I feel that if we in the United States are willing to ordain women, there is no reason why we should withhold the duties of the episcopate from them. The United States has been a leader in many things throughout our history in which we have set an example for the rest of the world. We should again take the lead in allowing women to become bishops.

**Elizabeth Merriam**  
Austin, Tex.

### For simple vestments

When one of our bishops came recently to All Saints parish, Pasadena, for Confirmation, it was refreshing to see him vested in classical Anglican rochet and red convocation gown instead of the ubiquitous cope and mitre.

With few exceptions, elaborate copes, and especially mitres, look somewhat awkward on most of our bishops. Mitres worn at the eyebrows or in a jaunty way at the back of the head present mixed images, particularly if several bishops are lined up side-by-side. The mitre is intended to represent the tongues of flame of Pentecost, but too often it takes on the aspect of an uncomfortable and ill-fitting crown.

If servanthood is to be the chief stance of the Anglican episcopate, then parading in gold and rich cloth projects something quite different: it suggests "upstairs" instead of "downstairs." At a consecration which I attended, the line of consecrating bishops, viewed from the distant location of my seat, looked for all the world like a scene from *The King and I*. If we mean servanthood, let us have our chief leaders in something at least faintly indicative of a servant's garb.

**The Rev. Canon Noble L. Owings**  
Pasadena, Cal.



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# THE WITNESS



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## Nuclear war greatest polluter

by H. Coleman McGehee, Jr.

*(Our guest editorial this month is by the Rt. Rev. H. Coleman McGehee, Jr., Bishop of Michigan and former Chair of the Board of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.)*

**O**n September 19, 1980, a worker dropped a monkey wrench in a silo containing a nuclear weapon located near Damascus, producing a large explosion. The nuclear weapon was an American one, a Titan II. This Damascus was not in Syria, but in Arkansas, U.S.A.

The citizens living nearby were anxious to find out whether any radiation had been released, and if so, what kind of health hazard it represented. The military arm of our government, you may remember, took the incredible position that it would neither confirm nor deny the reports that a nuclear explosion had occurred, nor that there was any danger of radiation fallout. Shades of the recent Chernobyl incident in the Soviet Union.

Richard A. Falk, a Professor of International Law at Princeton University, has stated the following thesis many times in the last five years. We should take note. "The

existence of nuclear weapons even without any occurrence of nuclear war, interferes with democratic governance in fundamental ways . . . we do not have to wait for Armageddon to begin paying the price . . . for a system of international security constructed around the central imagery of nuclear deterrence."

In other words, the United States with respect to our nuclear weaponry has established national security which threatens our democratic ways. This national security system has eroded the role of the judiciary and impaired the role of Congress. The basic constitutional doctrine of separation of power between the executive on the one hand and Congress and the judiciary on the other ("checks and balances"), has less force today in this regard than it did prior to the end of World War II.

Professor Falk has issued a warning when he writes: "The

insistence of our government that our national security dictates the necessity of secrecy about our nuclear weaponry is underscored by its equal insistence that no patriotic citizen should challenge the authority of government to engage fully in the (escalating) weapons race."

The present administration has asserted a governmental right of official secrecy and surveillance likened unto a "state of war" in order to protect our national security. Making a "permanent" state of war an institution of our government is nothing less than shredding democratic governance, and tearing the fabric of democratic institutions in a manner never before contemplated.

In a real sense it comes down to this. We should be as concerned with the existence of nuclear weaponry as we are with the possibility of nuclear war or a nuclear incident. ■

## Connecticut: Arsenal of U.S.

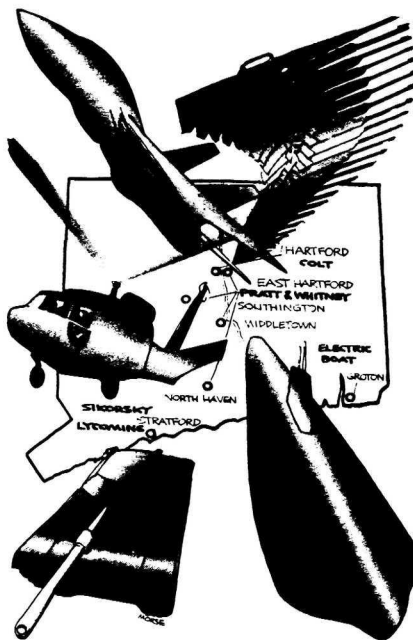
Connecticut — dubbed “the arsenal of the United States” — has been the most defense-dependent state in the country for some time now, as measured in defense contract dollars spent per state resident. Approximately \$1,730 for each person living in the state was spent for prime defense contracts in 1984. This figure is three times higher than the national average of per capita defense spending. The accompanying case study shows that this is no accident.

Connecticut weapons purchased by Pentagon dollars buy three basic types of weapons: 1) nuclear weapons systems, including production of Trident submarines, nuclear warhead components, parts of the B-1 B bomber; 2) dual capable aircraft and submarines, including production of the SSN-688 fast attack subs and engines and parts for F-16, F-15, F-14 aircraft; 3) non-nuclear conventional weapons, including helicopters, tank engines, aircraft engines and parts, half for the U.S. and half for foreign governments.

Many citizens believe that military spending has been and continues to be good for jobs and economy. The reality is that thousands of defense workers have lost their jobs in recent years despite the increase in military contracts.

Capital intense military production is more and more dependent on high technology, with less need for manpower. Even if Connecticut military contractors get all the increased awards included in President Reagan's proposed 1986 budget, they do not expect to hire a substantial number of new workers. Military spending creates work for the highly skilled but not for the unskilled and poor in the cities, one-industry towns, and rural areas. Hartford, New Haven and Bridgeport are the fourth, seventh, and 25th poorest cities in the nation, measured by the percentage of their population who live at or below the Federal poverty line.

Further, manufacturers of consumer and producer goods who need both skilled and unskilled workers are discouraged from locating near defense plants — often near Connecticut's largest and poorest cities — because they cannot compete for talent with weapons manufacturers who pay top dollar, but hire only skilled workers.



Actually, military spending costs jobs. A recent report by the Congressional Budget office showed that for every \$1 billion of military spending, at least 4,000 more jobs could be created by the same investment in civilian sector production.

Connecticut — as well as other states in the nation — needs a planning process for developing alternative uses of workforces and facilities in advance of changes in policies which may shut or slow down work at particular work sites. A number of people have already become involved in such a planning process — called alternative use planning. It is a method for retaining old and creating new jobs, as well as creating new uses for industrial plants.

Further information about economic conversion and developing industrial alternatives is available from Economic Conversion Task Force, Box 3128, Darien, CT 06820.

(Data quoted from *More Jobs, More Security*, a peace education pamphlet by Marta Daniels and Kevin Bean, available at address above for \$1.)

## Cozy nuclear

*“We’re merely doing what our customers ask us. If you don’t like that, change the government. Don’t bring it up at the annual meeting.”*

— Harry J. Gray, Chairman  
United Technologies Corporation  
Annual Board Meeting 4/28/86

Harry Gray's recent response to shareholders who proposed a resolution seeking a detailed report of United Technologies Corporation's work on the Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars) is a prime example of the artful dodging of moral responsibility going on around the arms race.

UTC cedes to the government the moral responsibility concerning the type of economic activity in which UTC will engage — as do other corporations. Surely, UTC has made no critical effort to condemn the arms race. And it claims to make no effort to influence fundamental U.S. defense or foreign policy.

In fact, however, some of its paid ads have touted the “Peace Through Strength” message which so distorts the present equivalence of U.S. and Soviet forces, and neglects the de-stabilizing reality of new warfighting techniques such as the SDI. Yet in Harry Gray's words, it is not the duty of a company like UTC to consider the government's policy.

This highlights the issue of complicity in the arms race, and the need for exercising moral responsibility both at the individual and the corporate level, as well as at the national level.

**The Rev. Kevin Bean** is associate rector of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Darien, Conn., and chair of the Economic Conversion Task Force of the Connecticut Campaign for a US-USSR Nuclear Arms Freeze.

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by Kevin Bean

UTC's willing abdication of its corporate moral responsibility is perhaps better understood when its relationship with the government and the Pentagon in the military-industrial complex is more closely scrutinized. Not only did UTC receive government procured after-tax profits of approximately \$800 million from 1981-85 while serving the public interest as one of the eight largest military contractors, it has also maintained a cozy, even incestuous relationship with the government and Pentagon — a relationship which has been sustained even through the spare parts pricing controversy, the “great engine wars” with General Electric, engine faults controversies and others.

UTC is among the top six corporate Political Action Committees (PAC) favoring with its contributions congressional members of Armed Services, Defense Appropriations, and Science and Technology committees and subcommittees. In 1979-80 the PAC gave \$140,000; in 1981-82 it gave \$204,000; in 1982-83, \$285,280; and in the first two months of this year alone, \$123,500 to congressional candidates, according to the Federal Election Commission. UTC has favored Republican candidates three to two over Democrats, and almost 40% of its total PAC giving has been to voting members of defense committees.

As Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole (R/Kans.) observed, "When these Policy Action Committees give money, they expect something in return other than good government."

UTC's Washington office is considered to be one of the most effective and sophisticated corporate lobbying centers. Headed by Clark MacGregor, the office

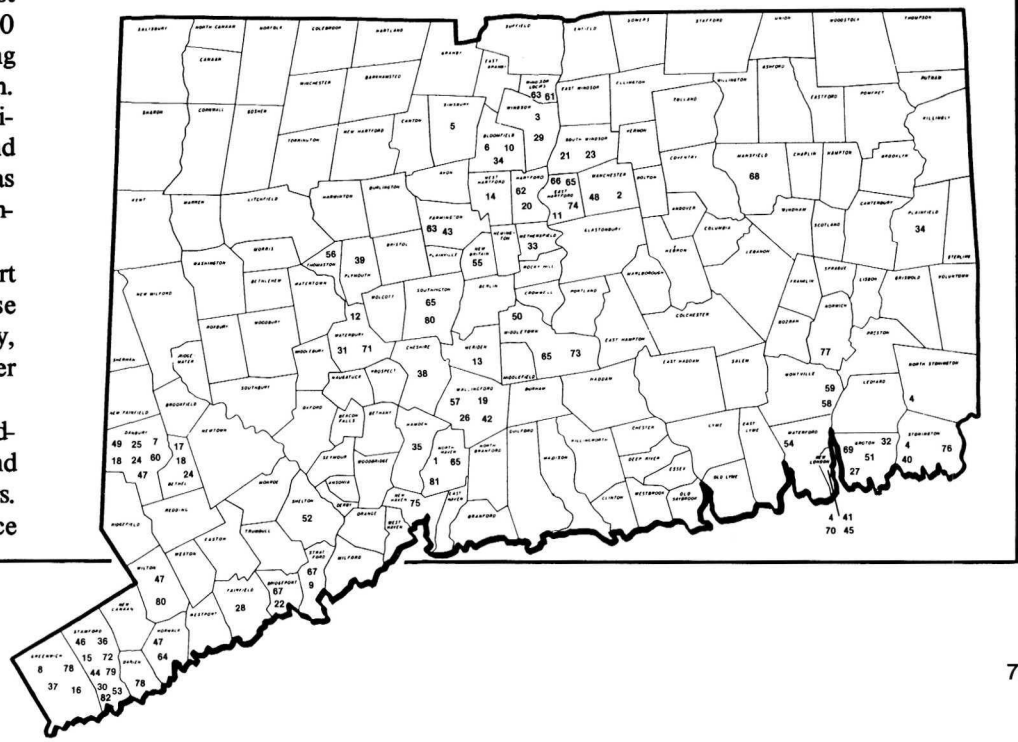
employs 41 professionals. MacGregor, a former Republican representative from Minnesota, was Richard Nixon's 1972 re-election campaign chairman, and has been described as "the prototypical Washington insider" by the *Wall Street Journal*. MacGregor directs the firm's PAC and is the principal adviser for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce PAC as well. His assistant, Hugh Witt, spent 18 years in the Defense Department before founding the Office of Federal Procurement Policy at the Office of Management and Budget. UTC also employs three outside lobbying firms to assist in its Washington efforts, two of which are

run by former members of Congress who were among UTC's major recipients of PAC money, according to the Investor Responsibility Research Center.

UTC has had several significant victories in recent Congresses as a result of these lobbying resources — such as the Army and Navy heavy-life helicopter programs in 1978, the Awacs sale to Saudi Arabia in 1981, and the engine cooperation with General Electric in 1984. UTC, has provided policymakers with information that the company believes is important; and even more so, it has fought hard in Washington for using its products in military systems, once the

# Nuclear Connecticut

**Numbers designate companies involved in nuclear weapons systems research, development, testing, evaluation, production, deployment, operations, maintenance, and corporate headquarters of nuclear weapons manufacturers. UTC is designated by numbers 62-67. Full code available from Peace Education Inc.; 55 Van Dyke Ave., Hartford, CT 06106. Also available: Space weapons and conventional weapons maps of Connecticut.**



broader decision to produce these systems has been made.

UTC's PAC contributions and lobbying efforts have gone proportionately in the direction of key members of defense committees as well as to members of the Connecticut and California districts where it operates large plants. Many more members of Congress have been influenced by other intentional contracting and subcontracting which has gone to the company's plants in Maine and Florida and vendors in other locations — along with PAC donations and direct lobbying — according to former UTC President Robert Carlson.

Finally, interchange of personnel has been significant. UTC hired 68 mid- to high-level Defense Department employees, and three UTC employees moved to mid- to high-level positions in the Pentagon in the period 1977-81. A comparable interchange occurred in the years 1982-86.

The most famous beneficiary of the revolving door between the government and defense industry is Alexander Haig. Haig became President and Chief Executive Officer of UTC in 1980, after serving as Deputy Assistant to President Nixon for National Security Affairs, White House Chief of Staff, and Supreme Allied Commander in Europe. In 1981, he left UTC to become Secretary of State, only to return after his exit from the government in 1982 to become a consultant to UTC on domestic and foreign business policies.

Other noted former military officials now at UTC include Vice President William J. Evans, formerly Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Air Force in Europe, and Eugene V. McAuliffe, previously an Assistant Secretary of Defense and now president of UTC-Europe.

So when UTC cedes its corporate moral responsibility to the government, it might be considered to be yielding to its former self.

UTC is not alone in this cozy camaraderie; hundreds of other firms have similar relationships.

Individual citizens are not without blame. Those who choose to work for UTC abdicate moral responsibility to the corporation. Yet, in Connecticut, where UTC is the largest employer, there are few visible job alternatives for people whose bread and butter come from Pentagon dollars. That will remain a problem which all citizens must address as we seek arms control and feasible economic alternatives for defense-dependent firms, workforces and communities.

William Winpisinger refers to the vice-like grip in which the military-industrial complex holds workers as "job blackmail." He says: "Each time the military budget, or weapon system such as the MX missile, B-1 bomber or Star Wars comes before Congress — the Secretary of Defense, military contractors and affected members of congress and senators — all are certain to argue that we must spend the money or build the weapon because it means jobs, jobs, jobs. We call it job blackmail. We're treated as if we are interested only in our own economic existence, incapable of contributing to the dialogue of disarmament, ending the arms race, and to peace . . . I've never met a worker making weapons to kill and overkill who wouldn't rather be making implements of peace and prosperity."

And Douglas Fraser, former president of the United Auto Workers, has stated "it is not mere rhetoric to say that the very survival of our planet may depend on this nation's ability to reach judgments about arms limitation proposals on their own merit, apart from considerations of economic impact and self-interest. A meaningful and effective conversion program is a vital step toward creation of such a climate in the United States."

Beyond that, however, is the fact that

there are no "pure" commodities in an interdependent economy such as ours, so that no one can claim a moral purity above and against others whose direct incomes come from the military-industrial complex. We are all complicit and responsible, and these are basic starting points.

Mark Levy has written a poem to all the rest of us who do not work for, or invest directly in, United Technologies:

## Who builds the H-bomb?

"Not I," says the miner. "I work underground. I really don't see where the ore is all bound."

"Not I," says the foreman at the enrichment plant. "We build no bombs here. We don't. We can't."

"Not I," says the metallurgist inside his shop. "We build the triggers, but that's where we stop."

"Not I," says the worker at the assembly line. "I weld and I solder. The blame is not mine."

"Not I," says the sergeant in charge of maneuvers. "They're already made when we test them. Disprove us."

"Not I," says the bombardier. "Not up in the air. My job is to fly and then drop them with care."

"Not I," says the taxpayer. "Don't look at me! I've no choice but to pay. Now don't you agree?"

"Not I," says the senator. "That you can quote! I'm only elected because of your vote."

"Not I," says the banker. "And I cannot stop it. So what is so wrong about making a profit?"

"Not I," says the physicist. "I just do research. Science is objective. I belong to a church."

"Not I," says the preacher. "It's all in God's hands. It's one of those things only He understands."

"Not I," says the Lord. "I gave you free will. Destroy my Creation, yourselves you will kill!"

Who builds the H-bomb?  
It must be someone, and I have a feeling  
it's everyone. All of us build it.  
Yes all of us do. If you stop for me, then  
I'll stop for you.



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# Toward abolishing torture

by Bernard Quick

**I**t was the end of a hot, dusty day on Oct. 12, 1976. The screams of two women pierced the early evening stillness of Ribeirão Bonito, a small village in the rural outback of Mato Grosso province in Brazil. They were being tortured in the small jail so they would reveal the whereabouts of Jovino Barbosa, their brother and father-in-law. He had killed a policeman, a known torturer, who had arrested his two sons. The women had been chained to the wall without food or water. The torturers jabbed needles under Margarida Barbosa's fingernails and breasts while forcing her to kneel on soda bottle caps with arms outstretched, a pistol at each ear. The daughter-in-law, who had delivered a baby two weeks before, had been repeatedly raped by three policemen and two ranch foremen.

Hearing the cries of the women, a young teacher rushed to the parish house where the diocesan bishop Dom Pedro Casaldaliga, was staying having come to the village to conduct a baptismal service. The young man implored the bishop to intervene on behalf of these innocent victims. Bishop Casaldaliga knew

of the suffering the people had experienced from 1972 to 1976. Over 500 Indians and families with small farms in the area were deprived by wealthy landowners of lands they had cleared and villages they had built, with the military looking the other way. When the victims protested to the authorities, they were arrested, their homes were burned and many were tortured. Across the years Bishop Casaldaliga had been an outspoken advocate for their human rights, and he felt called to intervene.

"Dom Pedro," the young teacher insisted, "let me go with you!" The bishop declined, realizing that the young man would be a target of the police after the incident was over.

A Jesuit, the Rev. João Bosco Burnier, was accompanying the bishop on his way back to his parish where he had seen dehumanization of the Indians in his area many times. When he heard the plight of the women, he stepped forward and said, "I will go with you." For many years he had lived in solidarity with the Indians in their struggle to survive the brutal power of the big landowners. Surely Father Burnier would be safe, thought Bishop Casaldaliga. He isn't a part of the parish team. And two voices will have more effect than one.

In the dim light of dusk the two men walked the short distance in the dusty road to the small, stucco jail. When they

arrived they were unable to get an answer to their "hello." But in a few minutes a truck drove up with three policemen in it. The two men walked through the gate and were confronted by the police, who obviously resented the intrusion of their jurisdiction by two clergymen. The air was explosive. The bishop tried to speak calmly in behalf of the two women who were being tortured. The police insulted and abused the two clerics calling them "commies." The bishop pleaded, "What you are doing to those women is not worthy of the uniform you wear. I protest in their name and in the name of the Gospel." One of the men raised his pistol and told the two men to get out.

Father Burnier stepped forward and said, "We are going to report you to your superiors!" The policeman sneered, "Our superiors are miles away, commie!" "I will be going through Cuiabá on my way home." Father Burnier answered, "I guarantee you that I will report your arbitrary actions to your superiors." In an instant the officer slapped the priest on the face and then, as he moved back, hit him on the right cheek with the butt of his pistol. The gun went off and Father Burnier slumped to the ground, blood gushing from under his right ear.

They were able to get him to a hospital by plane the next day but he died on the operating table. His last words were Jesus's words from the cross: "Consum-

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**The Rev. Bernard E. Quick**, a former United Presbyterian minister in Egypt, recently returned from travel in Costa Rica and Nicaragua under the auspices of EPICA's North/South dialogue program.



**Inset:** Joao Bosco Burnier, a Jesuit priest killed by police when he protested the torturing of two jailed Brazilian women. **Large photo** shows the jail after it was destroyed by natives of the area with their bare hands, sticks and axes. They had planted a memorial cross, left, where the priest had been murdered.

matum est" . . . "It is finished." He offered his life as a sacrifice for the Indians he had come to serve.

According to the local tradition of the people, a cross is erected on the spot where someone has died a violent death. After a mass was celebrated in honor of Father Burnier, the people marched in procession to the police station.

When they reached the courtyard, they planted a cross on the spot where the murder occurred. In the intense fervor of the moment they rushed to the building and literally demolished it with their bare hands, sticks, and axes which some had retrieved from their homes. One year later the people held a festival in his honor and dedicated a new church which they had built themselves.

The experience of the Ribeirão Bonito community is not an isolated event. In Brazil and throughout Central and South

America, people have been suffering the violence of landowners and multinationals for decades. Violence is a growing reality among the nations of the world, including the socialist states. Torture is usually a strategy employed by those in power as a brutal form of intimidating the weak and powerless. According to Amnesty International, it is practiced in over one third of all nations.

This was certainly true in Brazil under military rule in the years between 1964-79. It has been documented by a book published in Brazil in 1985. *Brasil: Nunca Mais* (*Brazil: Never again*). This is a comprehensive documentary on institutionalized torture committed by the military and local police when the military was in control of Brazil. It was the best selling non-fiction book in Brazilian publishing history. An English version, titled *Torture in Brazil*, is scheduled to

appear Sept. 26 (Vintage Books).

*Brasil: Nunca Mais* is the result of a clandestine work carried out by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Sao Paulo with the cooperation and support of the World Council of Churches over a period of nearly six years, beginning in 1979.

Jaime Wright, Brazilian Presbyterian minister and a coordinator of the project which produced the book, said that "the military establishment had been using the accusation of *revanchismo* or revenge to intimidate civilian efforts to bring those responsible for the 1964-79 repression to justice, as happened in Argentina. The irrefutable objective documentation of the book has virtually buried this accusation, making it clear that seeking justice for those who committed crimes against humanity is a far cry from *revanchismo* — a desire to torture the torturers."

The period of repression, Wright pointed out, marked the first time in Brazil's 486-year-old history that documentation from a given repressive period was not only not destroyed, but also made available to the general public. Historians say they know of no parallel in any country where repression has taken place at the initiative of a dictatorial government.

Similar projects in other countries have no access at all to official military documents and have to rely entirely on testimonies from victims, their friends and relatives and human rights organizations.

*Brasil: Nunca Mais* released a list of 444 torturers. 234 were members of the civilian police. The remaining 210 were military men of various ranks, including General Octavio de Aguiar Medeiros, chief of the National Intelligence Service from 1979-85.

In the transition from military rule to a civilian government, Brazil's politicians agreed with the military not to mention the human rights violations of the former

regime during the elections. After the inauguration of a new civilian government in 1979, an amnesty law was passed for those who had engaged in torture and other human rights abuses. In contrast with Argentina where a former president and an admiral were given life imprisonment for their part in the "dirty war" disappearances and killings between 1976-1982, the military in Brazil are being exonerated. This doesn't bode well for the success of democracy in Brazil if such injustice and the abuse of human rights can be dismissed with a wink.

Because of the amnesty law there is little chance that torturers in the military will be removed from their posts and many civilian police are still engaged in the practice.

The human rights issue remains unsolved in Brazil. This, in turn, raises the fundamental question of whether the military will be controlled by the civilian government or not. If the elected administration of this government cannot impose controls on the military to curtail human rights abuses, it will be very difficult for democracy to co-exist with the most powerful arm of the government beyond the control of its citizens.

Torture in any form is one of the most serious human rights abuses practiced in the world today. It is even more heinous when it is the policy of a government to maintain control over its citizenry by intimidation or fear.

On Dec. 10, 1984 the United Nations Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment was passed by a unanimous vote. The United States indicated its support for this convention by voting for it yet when 21 nations came together to sign the convention on Feb. 4, 1985, the United States was not among them. Nor have we been among the 23 countries which have signed it since then — including Brazil.

As the church throughout the world becomes the champion of the poor, the

marginalized and those who are victims of torture, it will be persecuted.

The church in the United States, where these kinds of human rights abuses are relatively rare, can be in solidarity with the victims of torture in Latin America and other parts of the Third World. As the World Council of Churches put it, "Torture breeds in the dark, in silence. We call upon the churches . . . to break the silence."

In order to urge our government to act on its vote for the UN Convention against Torture . . . leaders of 11 churches, including the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, Edmond Lee Browning, signed an Open Letter to President Ronald Reagan and sent it to him on Good Friday, 1986.

Among other things, this letter said, "On this day we as Christians feel an awesome responsibility to speak out against torture. By his willingness to submit to death by a particularly heinous form of torture, our Lord entered into solidarity with all those who in any age are tortured. When they suffer, he continues to suffer. As his followers, we cannot be silent when we confront this loathsome inhumanity, for the torture of one is the suffering of all. In seeking to be faithful to the Crucified One, we know ourselves summoned to a continuing defense of human dignity by affirming in word and action that those created in God's image may not be treated with such malice."

On April 10 the State Department answered the Open Letter saying, in part, "The Open Letter points out that the United States was not among the 21 nations which came together to sign the convention on Feb. 4, 1985, nor is it among the 25 which have signed the convention since then. We have tried to learn from the problems we encountered trying to obtain Senate advice and consent to the Genocide Convention . . . We anticipate moving forward on this

issue in the near future, and we welcome the support and encouragement of organizations and individuals concerned about eliminating the occurrence of torture."

On Oct. 12, the organization called *American Christians for the Abolition of Torture*, is commemorating the 10th anniversary of the martyrdom of João Bosco Burnier in Ribeirão Bonito, Brazil.

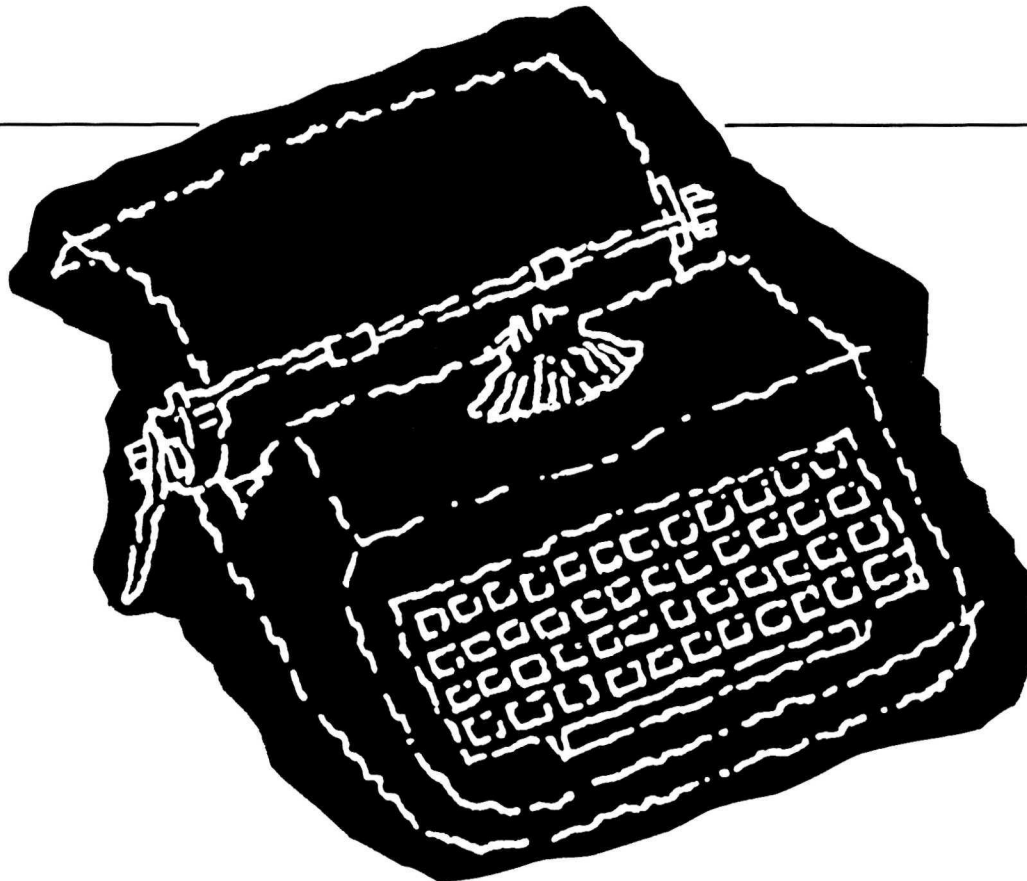
It is calling all Christians and churches to join the fight against torture and to defend human dignity, seek laws against arbitrary government behavior, minister to those who are the victims of torture, endeavor to remove the root causes of torture, and intercede, as Father Burnier did, before governments on behalf of those being maltreated. Let us "break the silence" of the churches.

### Resources

*Amnesty International USA*, 322 8th Avenue, New York, NY 10001. About 50,000 people belong to the Urgent Action Network worldwide, 5,000 of whom are Americans. Surveys show that 40 to 45% of prisoners are either released or treated better when the Network is mobilized on their behalf. Amnesty membership, \$15.

*American Christians for the Abolition of Torture*, 6117 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19144 (215-849-7450). An ecumenical movement for human rights. Preparing bulletin inserts, background literature and sermon notes on the martyrdom of Joao Bosco Burnier, asking Christians to commit themselves to fight the growing use of torture throughout the world. Packet \$5.

*Torture in Brazil*, English translation of the best selling Brazil publication, *Brasil: Nunca Mais*, the most comprehensive account of torture in the period of military rule ever made public in Brazil. Raises the question of what should happen to the torturers who played a key part in the repressive machinery designed by the military to protect "national security." Vintage Books/Random House \$9.95. Available Sept. 26.



## Open letter to the Presiding Bishop

**C**ontinuing concern for the rights of gay men and lesbians in the Episcopal Church motivated the Editorial Board of THE WITNESS to write to Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning recently, urging him "to encourage bishops to accept, ordain and employ persons who are qualified, irrespective of their sexual preference."

THE WITNESS pointed out that "sexual preference, be it heterosexual or homosexual, can lead to expressions of fear and faithlessness or of love and faithfulness. The difference

lies not in sexual orientation, but in the moral commitments of the individuals involved. Over the centuries, up to and including today, countless ordained homosexual persons have served God faithfully and honorably. The church is greatly in their debt."

Bishop Browning's pastoral response included an explanation of his vote opposing legislation at the 1979 General Convention which prohibits ordination of practicing homosexuals. He cited the duties of the Diocesan Commission on

Ministry as outlined in Title III of the church Canons as the rationale behind his vote. Bishop Browning said, "I believe that these Canons give ample guidance to an ordination process that encourages all parties to seek God's call and will, and that should not be encumbered. I continue to hold that position."

The exchange of correspondence follows.

THE WITNESS urges readers to enter the dialogue as the Presiding Bishop suggests. Please let us hear from you.



# THE WITNESS

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## An Open Letter to the Presiding Bishop

The Most Rev. Edmond L. Browning  
Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church  
815 Second Ave.  
New York, N.Y. 10017

Dear Bishop Browning,

As you may be aware, the Rev. Zal Sherwood, a parish priest, and Anne Gilson, a postulant for Holy Orders, recently have been stripped of their ecclesiastical standings in the Episcopal Church because they revealed in THE WITNESS that they are gay/lesbian. This is only the latest evidence of a type of ecclesiastical discrimination which is eroding the Episcopal Church's pastoral integrity.

The current stance of many church bodies, including the Episcopal Church -- that it is "forgivable" to be gay provided one does not "practice" one's sexuality -- is both duplicitous and ignorant. Sexual preference, be it heterosexual or homosexual, can lead to expressions of fear and faithlessness, or of love and faithfulness. The difference lies not in sexual orientation, but in the moral commitments of the individuals involved. Over the centuries, up to and including today, countless ordained homosexual persons have served God faithfully and honorably. The Church is greatly in their debt.

The Episcopal Church is again in danger of continuing too long on the wrong side of a fundamental moral issue. For example, Absalom Jones, a Black man, was ordained a priest in the Diocese of Pennsylvania in 1804, but only with the accompanying proviso that his Black church not send a clergyman or deputies to the Convention. Again, a decade ago, women were ordained priests in the Episcopal Church, but their ordination was not recognized by the Church for several years. Indeed, women's ordination still is not recognized as valid and legitimate by some Anglicans. In the cases of both Black and female priests, the Episcopal Church has recognized, only over time, the rightness of such ordained vocations. In both cases, a Spirit-filled reading of the will of God prepared the way for a more faithful position on the part of the Church at large.

It is not the Episcopal Church alone but the Church Ecumenical whose confusion over this moral scandal cries out for leadership. That leadership the Episcopal Church is peculiarly qualified to provide. The House of Bishops at the 1985 General Convention supported a more just resolution concerning the role of homosexual persons in the Church, even though the House of Deputies by a narrow margin failed to concur. This is the repetition of a pattern seen in the issue of the ordination of women, where favorable votes in the House of Bishops anticipated by some years the positive position the Church finally took.

For these reasons, we, the Editorial Board and Staff of THE WITNESS, call upon you, as the Presiding Bishop and Chief Pastor of the Church, to lead the way

in correcting this pastoral scandal. Pursuant to that, we urge you to communicate to all Bishops of the Church the immediate need for a just and humane dealing with gays in the Church, and to encourage the Bishops to accept, ordain and deploy persons who are qualified, irrespective of their sexual preference.

Sincerely,

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THE WITNESS

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## Bishop Browning's response

### My Dear Friends:

I am happy to respond to your Open Letter and hope that the publication of our correspondence will lead members of the Episcopal Church into intentional prayer and careful consideration of homosexuality and the attendant issue of the ordination and deployment of homosexuals.

Your letter points to a number of specific instances with which I am not familiar, and about which I know no details. My public comment on them might detract from the larger question you have asked me to address. I will assume that the persons you mention have established pastoral relationships with their bishops, and that all parties are being led into an understanding of God's will for both their individual ministries and that of the

whole church.

It is my experience that little is really understood about homosexuality. There is diverse professional opinion about its genesis, and there are historic myths about the homosexual condition. The persistent lack of real communion on this human condition has fostered mutual distrust between heterosexuals and homosexuals. This distrust has caused separate communities and created walls of misunderstanding. No ghetto is spiritually healthy, and that includes the sexual ghetto.

We cannot ignore nor treat lightly the fact that the church has understood and taught that marriage is the norm of sexual expression. Roger Shinn, the noted Protestant theologian, has stated it suc-

cinctly: "The Christian tradition over the centuries has affirmed the heterosexual, monogamous, faithful marital union as normative for the divinely given meaning of the intimate sexual relationship." In the New Testament selected passages seem to pass judgment on homosexual actions and relationships. I am well aware of those who are ready and armed with these proof texts when discussing this subject. There are many within our Anglican tradition, as well as the other Christian traditions, who can speak with authority on the biblical and theological aspects of homosexuality. There are many exegetical approaches and conclusions about the total witness of Holy Scripture on this subject. I hear you asking me for a pastoral response.

First, I believe that no one should stand between a person and our Lord Jesus. I have tried to establish a pastoral ministry which brings people to Jesus. It is in relationship to Jesus that we find our true selves and know God's will for us. The Christian must be careful not to call into question another's faith by prejudicial harshness. It is our apostolic ministry of compassion which fosters relationship with God through the love and forgiveness of Jesus.

Second, I believe that the church must foster reconciliation. Through word and sacrament, the church can be a loving and reconciling force in the world. Every human being needs love and reconciliation. We must never assume that any one of us is without sin or above the need for penance and reconciliation.

Third, I believe that Jesus' sacrifice for our sins put our guilt and self-rejection

within the healing presence of hope and grace. My vision of our church is that of a community where love and grace abound.

The church is well aware of my participation in the statement of conscience in response to the resolution concerning the ordination of homosexuals which was passed at the 1979 General Convention. Few, however, have heard all my reasons for opposing the legislation adopted. I have been consistently on record in the House of Bishops opposing those attempts to constrict the established canonical processes granted to the dioceses. In the matter before the General Convention in 1979, I believed that the freedom of the Diocesan Commissions on Ministry was being circumscribed. The duties of the Diocesan Commission and the Bishop are clearly outlined in Title III of the Canons. I believe that these canons give ample guidance to an

ordination process that encourages all parties to seek God's call and will, and that should not be encumbered. I continue to hold to that position.

I look forward to growing more conversant with this issue, and I encourage the Episcopal Church to gain a greater perspective on homosexuality and to explode and transcend the myths and phobias which impede our common life.

I welcome this opportunity to share these thoughts with you. I hope that they will contribute to a reasoned reflection and discussion within our church. I do not believe the issue will be resolved quickly, but I pray that the process ahead will be conducted with the awareness that it is done in the presence of our blessed Lord.

**Faithfully yours,  
Edmond Lee Browning  
Presiding Bishop**

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## Care and prayer

**The Supreme Court's recent decision affirming the right of states to criminalize private homosexual acts now leaves gay men and lesbians especially vulnerable in a hostile political climate. Twenty-five states carry anti-sodomy laws carrying prison sentences, some as high as 20 years. The following prayer, published by the Gay Christian Movement of England, is especially significant today as it calls its members to pray for homosexual persons "throughout the world, especially those facing hatred, injustice or imprisonment."**

God, whose love and compassion extends to all  
without distinction of sex or sexuality  
We offer you our lives and experiences  
as gay men and lesbian women

Help us to play our special part in your work  
of redeeming love for all people

Give us strength to carry your love into a world  
that may reject or ignore us

May we journey with Christ in faith and truth and justice  
trusting in your eternal love

We remember in prayer—

The church—that your concern for love, justice and freedom  
may be honoured by the community of faith

Lesbians and gay men throughout the world, especially  
those facing hatred, injustice or imprisonment  
the lonely, isolated and confused  
the poor and hungry  
the elderly, the sick and the bereaved

that they may know themselves to be acceptable and accepted

Those we love, especially our partners, our parents  
our families and friends that our love may  
be a reflection of yours

Those who seek to hurt us, that their hearts may be changed

Ourselves—that we may be ready to respond in love to the  
needs of our gay brothers and sisters and all your creation

Lord in your mercy  
Hear our prayer.



Station IX/Robert F. McGovern

# The Way of the Cross for persons with AIDS

by Claudia Windal

**The Rev. Claudia Windal** is rector of Emmanuel Episcopal Church, Alexandria, Minn. and a member of the Bishop's Advisory Commission on AIDS. She wrote this piece after attending the National Episcopal Church Conference on AIDS earlier this year.

***J**esus, I look at you as you move through this time of trial and I realize the similarity of our situations. I will accompany you on this journey and I ask you to be with me and help me learn your way that I may make it mine as well.*



# I

## *Jesus is condemned to die*

Jesus, in deepest humiliation you remained silent. Help me to so bear my humiliation of derogatory name calling, of my failing body, mind, and spirit, and of my need for assistance with the most simple and private tasks. In silence let me know strength.

# II

## *Jesus takes up the cross*

You calmly opened your arms to embrace the cross. Help me put aside the angry words and the questions of "Why me?" and "But I'm too young to die," and in so doing utter, "Your will be done" and embrace my cross.

# III

## *Jesus falls the first time*

Jesus, you stumbled under the weight of the cross, yet regained your composure and without complaint continued the journey. How I feel the weight of this cross causing me to stop often to rest or to sleep for a while. I often wish this could be the end and yet I struggle to get up to resume my journey. Jesus be with me — your example always before me.

# IV

## *Jesus meets his mother*

When it seemed that no one along the way cared, your eyes met those of your mother. Let this remind me not to lose hope . . . that my eyes too will meet those who care and give their love and concern to relieve the suffering, to halt this disease, to educate others; whose eyes say, "I care."

# V

## *Simon takes up the cross of Jesus*

Despite his protests, you were filled with love as Simon assisted you in carrying the cross. Fill me with love as doctors and nurses grumble, as social workers become impatient, as friends, lovers, families, show the stress of their efforts to assist me.

# VI

## *Veronica wipes the face of Jesus*

Veronica's selfless compassion was rewarded by an imprint of your face on her towel. Help me also to make a lasting imprint on society; not of bitterness and anger, but of calmness and fortitude in these times of peril.

# VII

## *Jesus falls the second time*

A second fall and once again you resumed your journey. It's difficult for me to falter, for when I do I enter into increased dependency; I move from self-ambulation, to cane, to walker, to wheelchair, and eventually to total dependence with confinement to bed. Be my example to continue no matter how difficult the way becomes.

# VIII

## *Jesus meets the women of Jerusalem*

Jesus, here in your greatest tribulation and suffering, you looked beyond your needs to those of others. I know that I will not be cured but that this disease is preventable. Help me speak to others, Jesus, not so much to tell them my story but to focus on prevention and reduction of the spread of this disease.

# IX

## *Jesus falls the third time*

Another fall . . . and so near the end of this long and painful journey. Jesus, keep me from despair as I become aware of further losses; especially my memory. The journey has been long, the end is in sight, and I must not give up here.

# X

## *Jesus is stripped of his garments*

Your destination reached, you were cruelly stripped of your clothing. I too, have few possessions left. I have been evicted from my apartment, the hospital wants nothing here that can't be sterilized. I am relegated to a hospital gown that scantily covers me. Help me understand that these possessions are not essential to my salvation; that in your love I have everything.

# XI

## *Jesus is nailed to the cross*

Jesus, you were placed on the cross and nailed to it, and still you spoke no harsh words and you uttered no complaints. I feel so helpless. I want to escape and yet I am bound. How easy it is for me to strike out at those nearby; to shout, "How dare you? . . . Why me?" Be my example of silent endurance. Let me ventilate my anger, my fears and anxieties to you, and to one or two close friends as I am certain you did to Almighty God.

# XII

## *Jesus dies on the cross*

Even with your last breath you were forgiving, "Forgive them for they know not what they do." Let those be my words also when I hear AIDS jokes which reflect prejudice and lack of concern; as my lover and my friends are kept from my bedside when I need them the most; as I overhear comments about "those" people, and as I wonder if my parents can dismiss their anger and see me one last time. "Forgive them for they know not what they do."

# XIII

## *Jesus is taken down from the cross*

Your sacrifice had ended Jesus, and your lifeless body placed in the arms of your mother. Strengthen me with the knowledge that I will not be alone; that I will be placed in your outstretched arms and welcomed.

# XIV

## *Jesus is laid in the tomb*

At last, your suffering ended and in three days you rose triumphantly from death promising eternal life to each of us. I am frightened of death, Jesus. There is so much that I had hoped to accomplish and to experience, yet I am comforted in the knowledge that my pain and suffering will come to an end and that I will enter eternal life where sickness, suffering, discrimination, and prejudice will be no more.

# America is losing its European friends

by John Harriott

*John Harriott, based in London, is a regular columnist for the Canadian Churchman, national newspaper of the Anglican Church of Canada. The following appeared in the June-July issue, and is reproduced with permission.*

No event has driven such a sharp wedge between American and European opinion as the bombing of Libya.

In America, it appears, the public greeted the action with enthusiasm and applauded Mr. Reagan en masse. In Europe it aroused widespread anger, bitterness and shame.

As for Mr. Reagan, whose reputation has always been low outside his own country, he is now regarded even by people who previously gave him the benefit of the doubt as the ignorant and dangerous mountebank his critics have always claimed.

No president since the war has been held in such poor esteem. It has been his singular achievement to drain the capital of pro-American sympathy even in the United Kingdom, and to project America as rivalling Soviet Russia in the threat it presents to world peace.

It is a feat which historians will regard with wonderment.

Not all this anti-American sentiment has noble motives. Some stems from an endemic and rather patronizing distaste for American popular culture, some from the same kind of pouter-pigeonish national pride that offends European feelings in its American version.

Immediately, a good deal stems from simple fear that Europe, which has suffered the worst effects of international terrorism, will now suffer much more.

Among what are known locally as the chattering classes, that is people who read and talk about serious matters, there is a more sophisticated anxiety; namely that the American bases and weapons in Europe are to all practical purposes outside the control of the host countries.

A good deal of propaganda in recent years has encouraged the contrary view.

But even Mrs. Thatcher's Conservative diehards are now beginning to look at the American military presence in a less friendly light.

These precise anxieties apart, there is a deeper and more general disquiet about certain characteristics of American society, at least as it is perceived from abroad, which have been high-lighted in a political form during the Reagan administration.

The first is the obsession with military power and weaponry. More and more people begin to doubt whether this has anything to do with Western security, and to wonder whether its real motive is to keep the armaments manufacturers and their scientific and technical back-up operations in business.

To outsiders the insistence on arming far beyond the point of rational necessity is inexplicable.

Or is it, they wonder, a political reflection of the endless TV series where everyone is gun-happy, and shooting 'em up is the answer to every problem. Do American politicians begin to believe their own fictions?

Deeper still is a growing anxiety about the evident ignorance of American politicians and public alike about the outside world.

Mr. Reagan's personal inability to distinguish between countries and continents, and his dim historical sense even for recent events like the Second World War, used to be treated as a joke.

Now they look not funny but alarming, and not just a personal foible but all too typical of American society as a whole.

More Europeans travel to America; and most return shocked by the staggering ignorance of the outside world among the American public, and the equally staggering failure of the Ameri-

can media, with some rare honorable exceptions, to report that world.

They are not alone.

A Canadian broadcaster recently told me that travelling through the Midwest down to Florida and California she repeatedly had to tell the Americans she met where Canada was.

It is a bad business for any populace in a democratic country to be as ignorant as that. When they are the populace of a superpower the implications are hair-raising.

Small wonder that ordinary Americans are so easy to gull, so vulnerable to Mr. Reagan's weird nonsense when he talks of foreign affairs.

Finally, and worst, Mr. Reagan's philosophy of "my country first and last" is seen not only as destructive of the already frail apparatus of international law and of international institutions working for better co-operation and mutual help between states, but destructive of the moral foundations on which the democratic world rests.

Threatening to slap the rest of the world into line may inflate American egos but it reduces international morality to "might is right."

Grossly dishonest propaganda is the trademark not of democracies but of totalitarian states. Callous disregard for the world's poor, hungry and oppressed not only dishonors America but blurs the democracies' sense of moral purpose.

The Reaganites' nastiest legacy has been to cheapen words like freedom, justice, peace and democracy which are the soul of the free world. In the narcissistic world of Reaganite Washington such European perceptions may be thought not to matter. But America needs friends. And it is losing them fast. ■



## Reagan's spacey drug solution

**W**hen I reflect on some of the vocations I might have tried in life, I guess I'm thankful most of all that I never sought to be a school teacher. I hold great respect, but even greater sympathy, for any stalwart soul in that field who has the temerity to try leading youngsters, or oldsters for that matter, in a classroom discussion of current events, especially on the domestic scene.

Even a cursory glance at any major daily newspaper or a few minutes in front of the TV during the 6 p.m. "news" is enough to boggle the mind.

Case in point: A recent news story with the headline "Reagan joins fight against drugs." Terming drug smugglers and pushers "as dangerous to our national security as any terrorist or foreign dictatorship," the President called for "community-based solutions" to the drug problem. In a speech to a group of service organizations, he declared: "We must make it clear that we are no longer willing to tolerate illegal drugs or the sellers or the users."

White House spokesman Larry Speakes said Reagan was getting more involved in the issue because he believed there was "a major change in (the public) attitude that we must do something about drugs and we must do it now." Where has the President been? Some folks have been crying for a long time for the government to help rid their communities of drugs, but it seems that it is not until someone prominent dies or something like "crack" hits the middle class that those in authority get sufficiently exercised to respond.

If drug smugglers and pushers are a

threat to our national security — which, along with other things, they are — then it would seem that a major responsibility to protect that security lies with the federal government, not with "community-based programs." The President, however, convinced that the best way to eradicate the problem "is to reduce the demand side of the drug equation," proposes to take the "potential user away from drugs in schools, the workplace and athletics." I'm for taking the potential user away from drugs, but I'm more for taking the purveyors of drugs away from the schools, the workplace, etc.

The administration is looking at the possibilities of expanding drug testing through such options as urging private employers to adopt mandatory testing; requiring tests as a condition for sensitive government jobs or all federal employment and requiring military contractors to test employees involved in critical jobs.

Legal and constitutional arguments aside for the moment, mandatory testing would indeed show drug use, but perhaps would be about as effective in reducing drug demand as sex education has been in curbing teen-age pregnancy. Why not make it harder for those on the supply side of the equation to do business as openly and flagrantly as they do — turning poor neighborhoods into virtual war zones as dealers, pushers and others involved in the deathly transactions fight for turf, customers and free access for trade? How about some tougher federal statutes with teeth that carry some stiff mandatory sentences like those meted out to political dissenters? How about

the same kinds of federal sweeps that net thousands of undocumented workers, who are, at least, trying to make an honest living, and haul them off to those remote detention centers to which the INS quickly and quietly whisks innocent political refugees?

Sure their places would be taken by other foot soldiers in the vast drug army, but the replacements should be rounded up as well. This is war! In addition to knocking out the infantry, go after the supply lines and the fat generals who command these troops. But "Ah," as old Will Shakespeare said, "there's the rub." The drug trade could not flourish without the tacit approval and support of law enforcement agencies and other highly placed individuals who stand to benefit financially from the misery drug use and addiction generate.

White House officials indicate that the President's recommendations would not require additional federal spending. Now, I could get excited about the government spending some funds to eliminate this menace to our society as opposed to appropriating my tax money to subsidize killing in Central America or to manufacture unnecessary weapons of war.

Community-based solutions might have more chance of succeeding if community people felt they had some meaningful support from their government and not just lip service as the President joins his wife in a high profile campaign that factors in only one side of the drug equation. ■

# Does the church need Black liturgy?

**D**oes the church need Black liturgy? That question, much probed in our inner city parishes, surfaced again recently in *Urban Vision*, a new publication launched by Matthew Lawrence, midwest executive secretary of the Episcopal Urban Caucus.

My response is that we do need Black liturgy — but not just for our Black members. We need some of the principles of Black traditional worship to be incorporated into the liturgical renewal of the whole church.

In the years that I've been attending meetings of the Association of Diocesan Liturgical and Music Commissions, I have seen only one or two Black musicians, and no Black clerics. Apparently few Blacks serve on such commissions except in token membership. In a few of our parishes, choirs have attempted "soul" or "gospel" offerings. The Church Hymnal Corporation in 1981 published *Lift Every Voice and Sing*, subtitled "a collection of Afro-American spirituals and other songs," but it was generously fleshed out with gospel songs from non-Black 19th century Protestant evangelical and social gospel hymns.

The spirituals and Black gospel songs, furthermore, require a special style for their rendition, which cannot be captured in notation in the same way that the more sterile and hackneyed gospel songs of Fanny Crosby, for instance, can be frozen into print, and recognizably reproduced on a piano by almost anyone. Some "oral tradition" may be needed to catch the spirit of Black song. Those who attended

the Episcopal Church Publishing Company's banquet at General Convention heard a rather astonishing illustration of this when Black musicians Deborah Harmon Hines and Dana Rose sang the 18th century music for the 19th century hymn, "Come ye disconsolate." It was "soul," not in source, but in style! This suggests also that there may be considerations of "style" in responding to, "Does the church need Black liturgy?"

Many North American Christians have wondered about another question: How do we apply liberation theology in our situation? One of the ways is to liberate our Sunday mornings from the baroque court ceremonial of another age. Such ritual style does not image for us "the beloved community," but an obsolescent patriarchy and class society.

Baroque and Gothic aren't the only styles of church architecture, nor of ceremonial structure. To retire them is not to abandon structure for slapdash. Remember the difference between extemporaneous and impromptu? Extemporaneous means appropriate to the time and place, but it does not mean unplanned and unprepared. That's impromptu. Black worship, like most organized worship, is planned and prepared, but it is not straitjacketed. The Prayer Book does not intend straitjacketed worship anyway. It's just that some folks find straitjackets easier — especially for maintaining control — than planning and preparation. So straitjackets are enlisted to freeze up the participants and make them manageable. Some people apparently like wearing them, as well, and do so, sometimes under their chasubles.

Black worship may be impromptu, but it rarely is so during scheduled times of

worship. Impromptu worship does indeed have its place — in a street, around a South African consulate or a red-lining realtor's office, in a courtroom or board room — when without prompting, the resources of the community are called into witness and worship. But the Sunday morning event is normally, as the universal notice boards outside ghetto churches announce, an Order of Worship. The order is simply not a straitened or rigid one. Our Prayer Book rubrics are notorious for their own permissiveness, as they should be. The fact that many Episcopalians have opted for some small beer imitations of British court ceremony (for some, Italian basilica ritual) in their interpretation of the rubrics does not make that the only legal way, or even the best way. It's probably the worst way, given the circumstances of our contemporary American urban life, and our current political drift into the imperialism of the British and Roman past.

American Black worship has the heritage of Africa, but it also has the heritage of indigenous American worship. As has been many times remarked, since Dvorak, Black music is the chief gift in the treasury which American music has to share with the world. And there are natural congruences with liturgical worship in the very style of African religion. Its call and response and repetition motifs are similar to those of our Prayer Book worship which demands leader/people dialogue in litanies and suffrages and versicles with their responses (so loathsome to the Puritans who likened them to tennis games!).

There is no need whatever for people to be bound to reading from books in order to participate. Good liturgists do not throw curves at participants, but use

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## by Grant Gallup

thoroughly familiar elements — at least, for the peoples' parts — so that everyone is free to celebrate, and not bungle and faffle through the service. Every Episcopalian knows how to respond to "The Lord be with you," just as every Black chorister knows the reply to "Didn't my Lord deliver Daniel?"

Surely one of the central principles of Black worship is the indispensable role of *song*. It is integral to Black religion to *sing*, not only at church services, but in all occasions of prayer, and even in social witness. Worship and witness without song are abnormal in the Black church. "Low mass" is an anomaly. Chicago's retired Suffragan Bishop, Quintin E. Primo Jr. taught thousands of us to sing the table grace at diocesan banquets and breakfasts and to sing a doxology at councils and commission meetings. "Lift ev'ry voice and sing" is the bidding of the Black Christian experience to all of us. We have too long thought it better to lower every voice and mutter, as being more pious.

Mahalia Jackson echoed the words of St. Paul when she said that the yearnings of her people were often expressed in the *moan*, because, she said, the often un-

lettered people had no words for their prayers. Their moan became a song — a spiritual song.

Worship for Black people needs to be as freed up as it should be for everybody else. There needs to be a place for the people's responses: not expecting Black people (or anybody else) to respond as if they were British gentry of 19th century England. All good liturgy — needs to have a preferential option for music: familiar music. This does not mean that nothing new can be used, it means that the music needs planning and practice, and it needs to honor not only what the people know but what they can do, and what they can be challenged to learn, not simply what someone "likes." Choirs have a tendency in all churches to become performers instead of the leaders of the church's musical offering. Preachers have become performers, too.

Another principle of Black worship that needs to be shared more fully with the whole community is its option for inclusiveness. There should be a place for lay people to read the Bible in church, to pray in church, to "deacon" in church, to report to the church on their social justice ministries — to have all their work honored in the community gathering which is "church meeting." Carrying a Bible to church is still a custom amongst many Black churchgoers, as it once was for most Protestants. Everyone needs to be encouraged, and why not encourage Bible-toters to stand up and read the lessons at the ministry of the Word.

It is unfortunate that the clergy co-opt the reading of Bible lessons. (Even the Gospel lesson was stolen from the laity, early on in church history, and ought to be given back.) But it is especially out-

rageous that the clergy co-opt the Prayers of the People, or have them recited by altar assistants, or leave no room for the peoples' prayers. The Prayer Book rubrics do not insist upon the use of set forms. This could be a place for the kind of extemporaneity that encourages the people to pray aloud, for the rubric allows that so long as the bases are covered (prayers for church, nation, world, community, etc.) you've got a ball game.

The prayer leader's task is to move the peoples' prayers gently so that the bases are touched, not to do all their praying for them.

I have never been in a Black church of any variety — from little missionary Baptist storefronts to large and prosperous A.M.E. congregations in great stone edifices, where I was not noticed in my clericals and invited to the pulpit to give greetings, remark upon a Scripture, or to offer prayer. The ecumenical style of Black churches is grassy and rooty. Black churches have been sharing across denominational lines for a long time, and do so easily and comfortably.

Surely another element of a Black liturgical style is that it is somewhat more "laid back" than the militaristic sharp corner punctuality of court ceremony. Why start at 10:30 a.m. and 10 seconds exactly if only half the congregation has arrived? Mussolini made the train runs on time, we are told. As we say on the West Side, "So?" Worship that starts when the people get there is likely to be saying to them, "This is your event," and does not treat them as latecomers to a theater piece, with seating at intermissions only.

Extemporaneity, relaxed style, familiar content, inclusiveness and responsibility spread around, an easy ecumenical flavor, music as the essential vehicle of worship — it is these principles of Black liturgical life that we need to incorporate, and be careful not merely to substitute foot-tapping for genuflecting — and exchange one stereotype for another. ■



# Short Takes

## SALT position unsavory

We are deeply disturbed by the Reagan administration's announcement that it no longer feels bound by the SALT framework, and that later this fall it intends to exceed the nuclear weapons' limits established by SALT II. This decision reverses a commitment and policy of four previous presidents, and it promises to have a substantially adverse affect on our national security, on relations with our NATO allies, on the stability of the nuclear balance, on relations with the Soviet Union, and on any prospect for future accords with the Soviets on strategic arms.

Why does the President expect that the Soviets will stop their arms control buildup because we increase ours? And how does our rejection of arms control, implicit in this decision, induce the Soviets to negotiate seriously on arms control?

**The Rt. Rev. John T. Walker**  
Bishop of Washington

## Quote of note

Love as a substitute for justice is odious, but love as a supplement to justice is an absolute necessity.

**Reinhold Niebuhr**

## Disobedient daughters

Many of us remember the heroines of Exodus 2, when by canny smuggling, the baby Moses became a basket case and the revolution was on. But do you remember the heroines of Exodus 1? Here's the story. The Egyptian king, fearing a slave revolution, ordered the Hebrew midwives Puah and Shiprah to kill all male babies at birth. "But the midwives feared God and did not do as the king of Egypt commanded them, but let the male children live" (Ex. 1:17). When confronted by the king, they explained that the Hebrew women were so vigorous in birthing that they and the babies were gone before the midwives could get there! What we have here is civil disobedience/divine disobedience by women who appeared to be powerless. Their yes to God's command required no to the king's command. They embodied and engender in us today, a spirituality of resistance. A spirituality with biblical integrity must include resistance.

**Robert A. Raines**  
In *The Ridgeleaf* (Kirkridge)



**M. Elizabeth Kilbourn**

## Next shot at bishop

A Canadian woman may be the first female bishop in the Anglican Communion if she wins the election in the Diocese of Toronto Sept. 11. She is the Rev. Elizabeth Kilbourn, above, coordinator of chaplaincy services for the diocese.

Canadian bishops declared recently that "there is no legal or theological impediment to the consecration of women as bishops." U.S. bishops have declared by a 112-31 majority their intention not to withhold consent from a woman priest properly elected to the episcopal office. The Rev. M. Chotard Doll narrowly missed being named a bishop in the Diocese of Washington, D.C. in recent elections.

The Rt. Rev. John S. Spong of the Diocese of Newark said in August that "the full recognition of women as deacons, priests and bishops in all branches of the Episcopal Communion is inevitable. The only question is when, not if."

In a related matter, correspondence between the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury made public recently expressed the Pope's opposition to the ordination of women and suggested that this would create a major barrier to ecumenical relations.

"The record of the Roman Catholic Church on the issue of women in many areas including ordination is not positive," Spong said. "Part of our ecumenical responsibility is to challenge them and expose the stereotypes in which so often they seek to define women."

## For prisoner exchange

The American hostages in Lebanon are being held hostage not only by their captors but by a rigid policy. The policy under President Reagan has been no negotiations, no concessions. If the administration were consistent, I could accept that, but it's only being rigid in the case of this particular group of hostages. In the TWA Flight 847 hijacking we quietly worked out an exchange of those hostages for the Lebanese detainees in Israel. Moreover, Israel negotiates and makes deals — exchanges — for its civilians held hostage. Our hawks like to say we're in a war against terrorism. Well, in a war, you exchange prisoners.

**Jerry Levin, ex-hostage**  
Quoted in *ADC Times*

## 42% of victims children

Especially shocking to me as a pediatrician is this heartrending fact: Nearly half the Contras' victims — 42% — have been children.

The Reagan administration conjures up scary pictures of "Cuban-Soviet expansionism" — when the military intervenor in the region is the U.S. government itself. They never mention the 6200 Nicaraguan children who have been orphaned.

**Dr. Benjamin Spock**



GUINDON

"Let's divide the earth up into little squares and sell them."

Rochester Patriot/Opf

# Order versus Orders

by J. Antonio Ramos

**T**welve years ago, on the Feast of Martha and Mary, I traveled from San Jose, Costa Rica to Philadelphia to join three other bishops, 11 women and many other hundreds in that historic event at the Church of the Advocate — the ordination of the first Episcopal women priests.

For the past dozen years I have reflected repeatedly on that event. Why did I go? Why was I led there? Did we serve God's purposes in obeying our own consciences? Was it proper to give primacy to Grace over Law, to the Orders of the church over the Order of the church?

One thing is now clear in my own mind and in my own conscience. I responded to Bob DeWitt's call and invitation without much hesitation and without much questioning and reasoning. I went there, moved by the Spirit of God, because it was the *right* thing to do in spite of the pain suffered by all of the participants and the church at large.

In spite of the anxiety that the ordinations in Philadelphia unleashed; in spite of the turmoil created in our church and the worldwide Christian community, I am grateful that I went and that we shared in an event whose significance and prophetic nature God and history will judge. For, as Christians we are children of the promise and "for freedom Christ has set us free, not to submit again to a yoke of slavery" (*Gal. 4:1*).

As I reflect again on that event and as I anticipate the next logical step, the ordination of women to the Episcopate, I

am the more convinced that what was then and is at stake now is the primacy of Grace over Law, of Orders over Order.

On July 29, 1974, I disobeyed the established Order of our church for the sake of the Orders of the church. In that sense, those of us who chose to participate in the Philadelphia ordinations, chose to be "children of the promise," chose to be in the company of Jesus, who gave primacy to the person over the Sabbath; in the company of St. Paul in his stubborn actions and deeds as an apostle to the Gentiles; of Martin Luther King, in his day, and Bishop Desmond Tutu, in our day, in their struggle against racism. "For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female" (*Gal. 3:27-29*).

When one takes a hard look at the Gospel narratives, it is quite clear that, in his Messianic vocation, Jesus gave primacy to the person over the established traditions of his days, over the laws and the customs which he inherited. And in so doing he gave us an example for our own actions. Because he acted on the principle that "the Sabbath was made for the person and not the person for the Sabbath" (*Mark 3:27*), Jesus was an iconoclast in his own time. He broke down the walls of discrimination and segregation, and inveighed against the insensitivity which denied persons their dignity. Those of us who are baptized in Christ are called upon to do the same.

Is not that the message of the dream which Peter had regarding Cornelius in *Acts 10*, when he later acclaimed: "Truly I perceive that God shows no partiality, but in every nation anyone who fears God and does is acceptable". And that is the fundamental issue in Paul's arguments in the letter to the Romans and

Galatians regarding the requirement of circumcision for the Gentiles.

The question before us is: Is maleness a precondition for full ministry in the life of the church? We said *no* then and we say *no* today. Neither is race, nor ethnic considerations, nor social status, for we are children of the promise, and the "Sabbath was made for the person," not vice versa. The law of the land, or the law or canons of the church which become "Sabbaths" and deny persons their inheritance as children of the promise, must be disobeyed in Christ's name. And the Christian community has the moral responsibility to be in the forefront of such struggles. It must be, in its own life, a sign and parable of the kingdom of God.

The issues of race and of "social requirements" are not yet settled in our own days. South Africa clearly speaks to that. The issues of sexuality and maleness are still very much with us even after Philadelphia, in our own Episcopal Church. Gender remains a problem in other parts of the Anglican Communion (for example, in the Church of England which refuses to ordain women or allow women ordained in other member churches to celebrate the Eucharist in England); and in other Christian bodies.

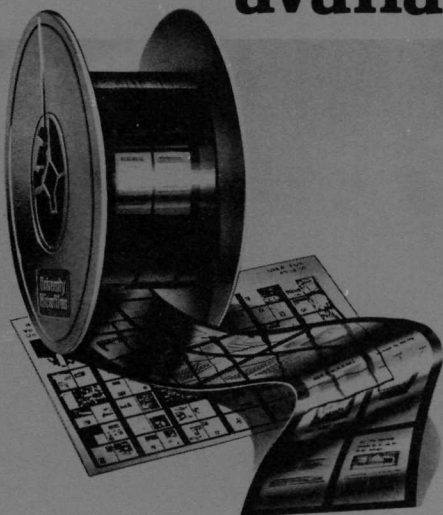
Will a head-on confrontation ensue when the first woman is elected bishop by one of our dioceses? Will maleness be the criterion for the constitutional and canonical consents required? Will that person be denied Episcopacy because of her femaleness? If that be the case, we will be confronted with a "Sabbath" and once again we will be faced with the choice of Order versus Orders in the life of the church. The first woman bishop-elect merits our enthusiastic support. Philadelphia was a traumatic experience. There is no need for another one. ■

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**The Rt. Rev. J. Antonio Ramos** is associate director of the Caribbean and Latin America for the National Council of Churches, former Bishop of Costa Rica, and a contributing editor of *THE WITNESS* magazine.



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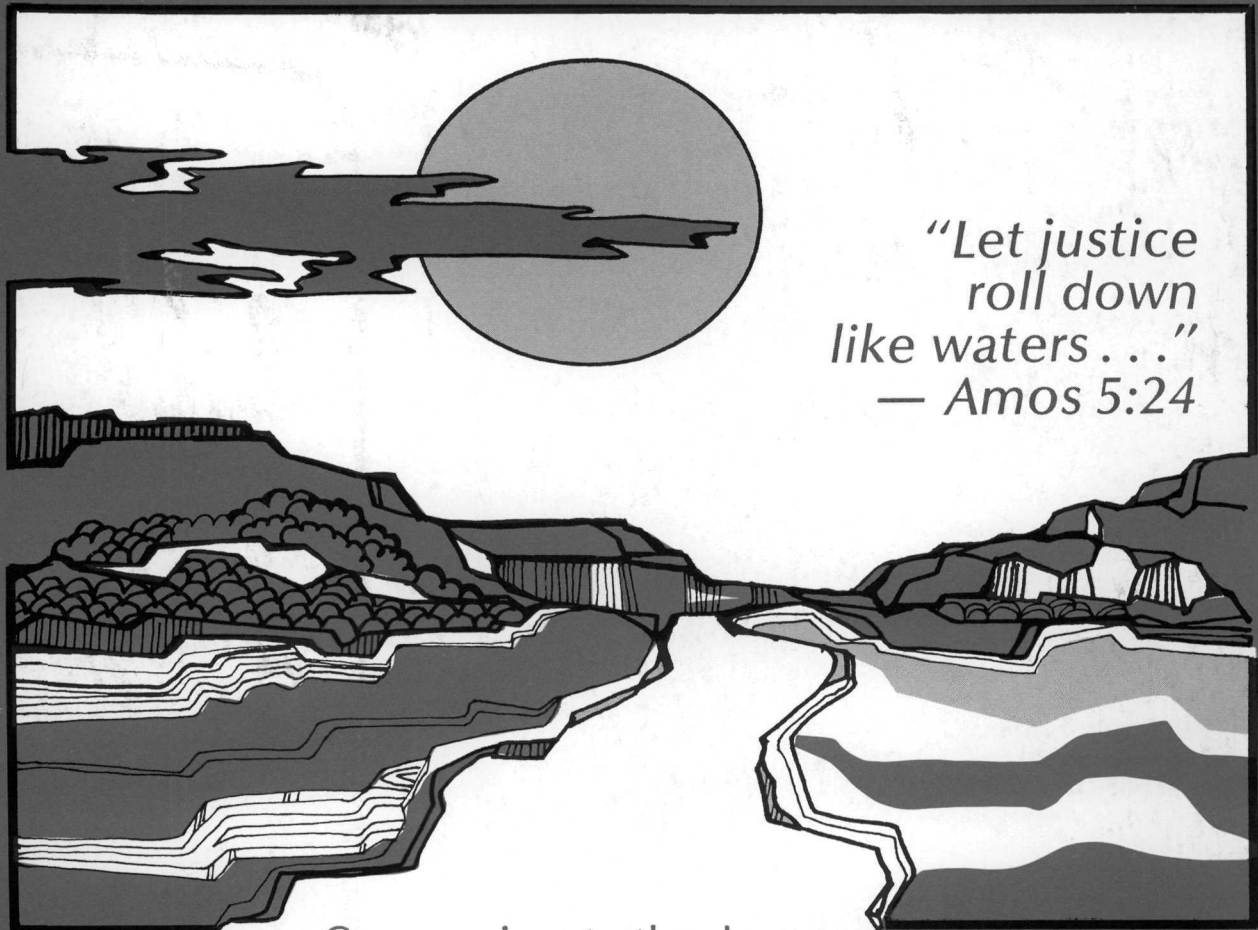


VOLUME . 69

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OCTOBER 1986

# THE WITNESS



*"Let justice  
roll down  
like waters..."*  
— Amos 5:24

Compassionate theology  
Paul Moore, Jr.

Contemplation:  
not for mystics only  
Glenda Hope

Apocalypticism & the Right  
Peter Stiglin

Black township theology  
Buti Tlhagle

MICHAEL

# Letters

## Errs about Magsaysay

Alvaro Alcazar's article, "Historical Perspective: The Yellow Revolution," errs in reproducing the old hullabaloo and myths about Ramon Magsaysay, who had all the makings of a Paul Bunyan but who in reality was the direct creation of the CIA.

Filipino historians today rank him as one of the greatest U.S. puppets. He may have been sincere, but his reforms did not really benefit the people — except for the Central Luzon landowners, whose problem was temporarily solved by the exodus to Mindanao of some of the rebels in Huklandia. A subsequent deleterious effect on Mindanao was the displacement of Muslim and indigenous peasants from their land by the "Christian" settlers. Another scandal was that the wells Magsaysay built dried up sooner than it took to build them.

Alcazar's assessment of the church is also simplistic. For the church in the Philippines, as elsewhere, is "divided." Part of it is pro-people; another part is pro-vested interests, pro-U.S., pro-church; and another segment is executing a balancing act on a tight rope.

When I compare the Philippine hierarchy with that of Brazil or El Salvador, I blush with shame. For it is wishy-washy about the poor, and even the pro-people bishops are too diplomatic to risk any danger from the military. All of them could qualify for top positions in the diplomatic corps. This does not mean, however, that they do not accomplish some good deeds for the people. Perhaps I expect too much of them. A few have suffered in the struggle, among them Bishops Escaler, Purugganan, and Fortich.

**A Filipino nun  
Name withheld upon request  
New York, N.Y.**

## Alcazar responds

I knew a priest in my Philippine barrio who dug wells in every village he visited

for the annual barrio fiesta Masses. When he died the barrio folks who walked for miles to town for his funeral called him "Padre Burabod" (the priest who finds spring water). Like Magsaysay's wells, his have dried up too. Yet the image and memory of a priest and a president digging wells for the usually ignored barrio people were at the time as revolutionary as the recent image and memory of soldiers laying down their rifles to accept Cory Aquino's yellow flowers. There have been times in history when symbols more than reforms bring about revolutions. In bread and wine "Remember me," a Galilean said 2000 years ago.

I will refrain from comparing the Philippine hierarchy to that of Brazil and El Salvador. We belong together in the task of liberation and St. Paul has some blunt words to say to those who are ashamed of even the ailing parts of "the Body." I remain joyfully hopeful because there are men, women, and children inspired by the examples of priests like Padre Burabod and Ed de la Torre, and bishops like Fortich and Claver.

**Alvaro Alcazar  
Loyola University  
New Orleans, La.**

## Give Mom a chance

I read with interest Joseph Summer's account of his arrest for a civil disobedience action protesting Yale's investment policy (June WITNESS). In that article he expresses understandable concern over the way our society treats and processes those recently arrested.

However, in case any readers who have been considering engaging in civil disobedience were daunted by his description of conditions in a paddy wagon or holding cell, we should remember that the power of active nonviolence is transforming, and so such inconveniences need not be dreadful. If the risk of arrest is undertaken voluntarily and with love, then the state loses much of its power to

humiliate.

Summers expresses anxiety over the thought of anyone's mother having to undergo transportation in a police van. As someone who has often watched, with pride, his mother being handcuffed and taken to a paddy wagon, I would say that such an occurrence might be an opportunity for rejoicing rather than anxiety. Give your Mom a chance. She might do all right.

**Martin Holladay  
Danbury Federal Prison**

## Healthy skepticism

I simply want to echo and affirm Joseph H. Summers' comments on our "criminal justice" system being a form of counter-terrorism.

His description — down to the last detail of the "combination toilet/drinking fountain" — could be a description of my own experience of spending a night in jail, as a result of having called a police officer a name while he was terrorizing a gay party about three years ago in Dallas.

My jail experience, too, was a learning experience, and I am grateful for it — it gave me a renewed commitment to fighting gay harassment and oppression, and it gave me another lesson to help me unlearn my Sunday School lessons ("policemen are your friends"), in favor of a healthy skepticism about our police state.

**Robert Williams  
Cambridge, Mass.**

## Letters remarkable

Surprisingly, in your July/August issue most remarkable were your letters to the editor. It's a compliment that WITNESS can stimulate individuals to think on things theological.

The two letters by Gretchen Hall and Richard Baker noted a need for compassion and deliberation in the application of theology to contemporary concerns.

And then I read the letter by Diana Morris discussing the concern for efficiency on voting at General Convention. I wondered, why not put a weather vane to the roof of the delegates' center to record current winds of thought? This could then be connected directly to the computers and give almost instantaneous count of current thought without digression.

Seriously, of more concern to me is the thorough study of topics being discussed. What efforts are made by our church bodies to be certain, in the sense of Aquinas' *et altera pars*, all information worth serious consideration is viewed before a decision is reached? From what Hall and Baker wrote, and observations I have made, it seems to me our interest in having a dialogue on topics is less than it was in medieval universities?

**Douglas H. Schewe**  
Madison, Wisc.

## On closeting lifestyles

Re the Rev. Gretchen Hall's letter in July/August WITNESS about Carter Heyward's article, "Enforcing male supremacy":

I did not read Carter's article — not because I didn't want to but because someone in my building occasionally swipes my WITNESS. I hope they are converted enough to return it to me. Maybe I'm masochistic, but I like you!

Ms. Hall comes across as a right-wing version of what some have called a knee-jerk liberal. Only in her case it sounds conservative: She simpers for the families of the boys (who threw Charlie Howard off a bridge).

Arizona had cases of five Black men who were hanged for killing White gays. And, a case of a few White kids who were slapped on the wrist for the same. As the judge phrased it: "They don't even smoke pot."

I've had half a dozen friends murdered. Never — to my knowledge — has anyone been prosecuted for their deaths.

Ms. Hall counsels the closet for us. But in her next sentence she assures us that her husband of 50 years agrees with her. That is hardly "closeting" her own lifestyle.

**John L. Kavanaugh**  
Detroit, Mich.

## Seeks 'inclusive liturgy'

I am a woman ordained in the Church of England, waiting (not very patiently) to be ordained priest.

To fill the time of waiting profitably, for myself and, hopefully, for the church, I am undertaking a research degree with the general title of "Women, Theology and Language."

Part of this study involves looking at living liturgies which are not part of the formal worship of the church. I hope to find out how they tackle the thorny problem of inclusive language, especially non-sexist language — how they find positive and creative ways of speaking about God and humanity within worship.

I would be interested to hear from groups who have devised their own liturgies, and would be especially grateful for copies. I will gladly refund the cost of any such, and the postage, if necessary; and any copyrights will be respected if the material is used in a thesis.

My address is 387 Wakefield Road, Heyrod, Stalybridge, Cheshire, England SK15 3BL.

**Anna-Katrine Sorensen**  
Cheshire, England

## Browning letter gutsy

I write because I have written Bishop Browning citing his guts as evidenced in the letter you printed in the May WITNESS (in which he wrote President Reagan, assailing his "corrupt language" and Central American policy). I was surprised to notice, on about the third reading of his letter, to see that he was complying with General Convention resolu-

tions. But it was still gutsy. I reflect that Caspar Weinberger and George Bush are among us Episcopalians, and that I would be troubled to be censured by my rector. On the other hand, some of my church friends say, "So what?"

I wondered if other Episcopal publications could print the letter as easily, given the facts of life of advertising. I remember the dismay among Episcopalians years ago when the rector of Bruton Parish (Williamsburg, Va.), more gently chided President Johnson to his face. I was told we sure had a strong union!

Bishop Browning's stance reminds me of William Temple's prayer practice during World War II. Anyway, I hope for more help in shaping my prayers and votes, and generally use THE WITNESS as part of it.

**The Rev. William Taylor**  
Lansdale, Pa.

## Sanctuary revisited

Just finished your two articles on sanctuary in the June issue and feel that I must comment. The existence of "illegal aliens" is not new. It is simply that their numbers have grown.

Twenty years ago, when I lived in Paterson, N.J., *The New York Times* was carrying articles on "illegal aliens" and how they were being taken advantage of by unscrupulous landlords, employers, and yes, their own "legal" compatriots. One evening some Puerto Rican neighbors of mine came to my home to tell me about the plight of a woman who had fled from a particularly repressive regime in South America. The landlord, whom I had known from my childhood, wanted to take advantage of her. He told her that if she wouldn't comply, he would denounce her to Immigration. I went over and told him that if I found out that he had informed on her, I would personally

*Continued on page 19*

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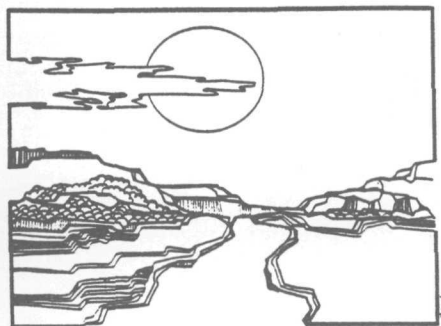
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# THE WITNESS



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# A STUDY PACKET

## THE CASE FOR DIVESTMENT

Prepared by  
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**“W**e face a catastrophe in this land and only the action of the international community by applying pressure can save us.”

Those were Bishop Desmond Tutu's words earlier this year, and his public statements during his recent enthronement as first Black Anglican Archbishop of Capetown reiterated his earlier message to the world: Apartheid is a sacrilege and the Church can be a tremendous power in destroying it.

To a congregation which reflected the multiracial, multinational character of the Anglican communion, Archbishop Tutu's moral challenge rang out: God demands that the faithful help “crush the oppressor,” he said.

The primary course of action taken by churches responding seriously to the Nobel prizewinner's words has been to divest in firms doing business in South Africa — to renounce their complicity in “the abomination that is apartheid.”

South Africa's economy has been described by William Teska, an Episcopal priest, as “a system of slavery held in place by terror.” It might be argued, then, that divestiture has been urged by the General Convention of the Episcopal Church in order to escape the judgment of God upon our profiting from sin — before it is too late.

Thus far, the Episcopal Church Pension Fund has balked at this resolution, providing lukewarm responses. Many dioceses have ignored it. Others appear confused.

For those who would engage in serious study about whether some investments are morally intolerable, the Episcopal Church Publishing Company has prepared a study packet entitled *The Case for Divestment*.

Its contents supply a wealth of testimony to pray and think about, including a

summary of the South African Kairos document, by William Johnston; a status report on apartheid and an article on “The Case for Divestment” by Manning Marable; the exchange of correspondence between a reluctant Church Pension Fund and the Diocese of Newark, committed to divestment; backgrounders on the situation in South Africa, and a rich supply of resources. The packet was designed for study and *action*. Our spiritual health is imperiled by investments in South Africa. ■

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# Apocalyptic theology and the Right

**T**he manifold dissatisfaction with contemporary American society and the need for an immediate, radical solution has led leaders of American fundamentalist Christian groups to embrace a theology, commonly used in similar circumstances throughout history, by which they effect a transference of reality from the temporal to the cosmic. They have done this by rediscovery of the apocalyptic literature contained in the Judeo-Christian biblical tradition.

Although there is most certainly a social aspect to the current of apocalypticism infecting our society, I attempt here to examine it only in the light of scriptural and political reality. The definition of the word “apocalyptic,” as well as related terms, has been a source of controversy. As I can neither find fault with it nor improve upon it, I offer for the purpose of clarification a definition given by Paul Hanson in his comprehensive study of the subject, *The Dawn of Apocalyptic*:

*Apocalypticism (is) the system of concepts and symbols in which an apocalyptic movement codifies its identity and gives expression to its interpretation of reality. The symbolic universe . . . will be determined by complex factors including the past traditions of the group developing into an apocalyptic movement, the particular socio-political conditions within which it lives, materials with which it comes into contact from surrounding cultures, the beliefs and atti-*

*tudes of rival parties, etc. . . . At the point where the disappointments of history lead a group to embrace that perspective (of apocalyptic eschatology) as an ideology, using it moreover to resolve the contradictions between traditional hopes and frustrating historical realities and to establish the identity of that group vis-a-vis other groups as well as the Deity, we can speak of the birth of an apocalyptic movement (apocalypticism).*

Essential to understanding the recent advent of apocalypticism in America is a look at the historical context in which it has been formed. Central to the “end of the world” beliefs of the New Right telepreachers is their insistence that this will come to pass in an inevitable nuclear exchange between the two superpowers.

At the close of World War II, the Soviet government moved swiftly and decisively to gain political and military control over those areas on its borders which could conceivably present a future threat to the homeland. Although the subjugation of any people is lamentable and beyond justification, it is at least understandable in view of the fact that Russia had just lost 20 million people and suffered incalculable damages as well as years of deprivation and the most severe hardship throughout the Nazi invasion. It is also significant that this invasion was the third in half a century by foreign troops.

It was Gen. Douglas MacArthur, a right-wing general whose career ended with the termination of hostilities in Europe, who first perceived the Soviet action as the work of an “evil monolithic force” opposed to freedom (in principle)

and bent on world domination. MacArthur advocated the immediate and total annihilation of the Soviet military in an attempt to roll back the evil tide. Fortunately neither Congress nor the American people viewed the Soviet Union as an immediate threat. We had “the bomb” and they didn’t. There was only so far they could go. But a seed was planted. The atmosphere of fear and suspicion, later culminating in the Cold War, gave rise to the insanity of McCarthyism which in turn further fueled the fear of Communism both within and without.

With the accession of the Soviet Union to nuclear class status, the “communist threat” was whipped into an acute fever with the help of people like Dean Acheson and Paul Nitze and their lobbying for long-range massive arms spending. They were only held in check, I believe, by virtue of the fact that the U.S. still had in its favor a vastly superior nuclear arsenal. When the Soviets really began to improve their nuclear capability in the early ’70s, claims that they were trying to achieve nuclear superiority by Nitze, Sen. Henry Jackson and Ronald Reagan, all names linked with the U.S. military/industrial complex, were made to broaden a propaganda campaign aimed at gaining popular support for increased military spending. Those who had most to gain from a military build-up (i.e. the U.S. Department of Defense) began publicizing reports of comparative Soviet military spending in an attempt to convince the public that the threat of invasion was not only real but imminent. This campaign had the desired effect of sending “commie fever” into the realm of paranoia.

In 1980, the Reagan campaign shrewdly capitalized on the rising para-

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**Peter Stiglin** is Administrative Assistant to the Bishop of New York and a lay preacher in the diocese. He is also a teacher of the Japanese language.

## by Peter Stiglin

noia with a military build-up platform, depicting the U.S. as virtually defenseless. The President took advantage of the impotence experienced by many Americans during the Iranian hostage crisis and the aggressive mood it generated to help set the eschatological stage vis-a-vis the Soviets with his now legendary "Star Wars" speech and gain bi-partisan support for his militaristic worldview. By characterizing the Soviet Union as an "evil empire" and "the concentration of evil in the world," Reagan simultaneously ascribed to the U.S., at least implicitly, the virtue of a "holy nation" while absolving himself and the American people of being the cause of any evil in the world. He added that we are "enjoined by scripture and the Lord Jesus to oppose it with all our might."

Such enemy creation is not new. It is the single most effective means of cementing a group "by fomenting the group's hatred of an external enemy." Moreover, the group can be distracted from the defects in its own character, system or beliefs by focusing attention on the deficiencies, or "sins" of the enemy. By interpreting the policies of the Soviet Union in religious terms and implying innocence on the part of the holy nation, the Reagan imagemakers have created a patsy for all that ails the world: the carnage in Central America is a result of the imperialistic goals set by the Soviet Union there rather than attempts to overthrow legal governments by covert operations of the C.I.A.; the nuclear arms race is a result of the unlimited resources expended by the Soviets in their determination to achieve superiority and ultimately annex the West rather than the greed and power madness of the American military/industrial complex;

poverty in Africa is viewed as a result of communist adventurism and not five decades of American capitalism's pilaging of natural resources of these nations.

However, to give authority to a religious interpretation of world policy requires official religious sanction and this was not forthcoming from the mainline church community. In 1983, the Conference of Catholic Bishops issued a pastoral letter on war and peace calling the contemplated use of nuclear weapons immoral and deplorable. The World Council of Churches, a body made up of representatives from over 300 denominations in more than 100 countries, adopted a resolution at its 1983 assembly declaring "unequivocally that the

production and deployment, as well as the use, of nuclear weapons are a crime against humanity and must be condemned on ethical and theological grounds," and went further to urge, "that Christians should give witness to their refusal to participate in any conflict involving weapons of mass destruction or indiscriminate effect." The consensus of the mainline Christian communities, along with similar condemnations from American Judaism, is that America's foreign policy is unacceptable on religious grounds.

Enter the court prophets.

The Bible has been used throughout history to justify and defend crusades and inquisitions, slavery, the Holocaust and, more recently, sexism and apart-



heid. Of current concern to Christian fundamentalists, however, is the perpetuation of a state of "holy war" against the godless communists. They preach the imminent second coming of Christ and the destruction of the forces of evil in this world by the people of God, siding with the Almighty in the final battle, Armageddon. Very specifically they state that this battle will take place in Israel, that it will be precipitated by an attack on Israel by the combined forces of Russia, Iran, Libya, Ethiopia and South Africa and will culminate in the destruction of the horde by American nuclear forces.

They insist that it is the will of God and cannot be prevented. They base their belief on an allegorical interpretation of several small sections of the Old Testament — particularly Ezekiel 38 and 39 — first advanced by Hal Lindsey in his book, *The Late Great Planet Earth*, which makes perfect sense to anyone who has not the slightest knowledge of the Bible or biblical history. Jerry Falwell, leader of the Moral Majority, says:

*There are some very recent developments in Russia predicted by the prophet Ezekiel in chapters 38 and 39 of his book which point up the soon return of our Lord! These communists are god-haters; they're Christ rejectors and their ultimate goal is conquest. Some 2,600 years ago, the Hebrew prophet Ezekiel prophesized that such a nation would rise to the north of Palestine just prior to the second coming of Christ.*

*Also, Ezekiel wrote that the land would be anti-God (Ezekiel 38:3) and therefore God would be against it.*

Falwell goes on to predict the invasion:

*In 38:15 of Ezekiel, the prophet describes the major part of horses in this invasion; that horses will play a very dominant role. The Cossacks, of course, have always*

*owned and bred the largest and finest herd of horses in history.*

The connections that Falwell makes here are at best flimsy and they get flimsier:

*The purpose of this invasion, Ezekiel said, was to take a "spoil" (38:12). If one but removes the first two letters from this word "spoil," he soon sees what Russia will really be after — obviously, oil.*

Giving Falwell the benefit of the doubt, and assuming that he knows that the Old Testament was not written in English, we must also assume that he doesn't care much for the fact that in Hebrew the words spoil and oil do not rhyme. For his theology does not depend for authority on what the Bible says but what *he* needs it to say. This is a "hunt and pick," or selective, theology. It can no more give an overview of the Bible as the word of God to take a chapter or a passage out of context than it can to use just a single word. Yet, consider the following:

*You know, I turn back to your ancient prophets in the Old Testament and the signs foretelling Armageddon, and . . . they certainly describe the times we're going through. (Ronald Reagan)*

*Almost all Bible teachers I know are anticipating the Lord's imminent return. And I do believe that we are a part of that terminal generation that shall not pass until our Lord comes. (Jerry Falwell)*

*We are that generation! (Hal Lindsey)*

*Now if ever a generation had a right to be moved by fear and get right with God, it's our generation. The headlines are screaming it at us, they're preaching it to us every day. (Billy Graham)*



*There'll be no peace until Jesus comes . . . Any teaching of peace prior to his return is heresy! It's against the word of God! It's anti-Christ! (James Robison)*

Evangelical fundamentalists both in and out of government have publicly coupled Christianity with the nation. Jimmy Swaggart, whose electronic telechurch show raised over \$80,500,000 in 1983 and, at least according to Swaggart, has been viewed by 5 billion people in 38 countries, put it this way: ". . . this nation is a nation under God, of God and by God Almighty, and this is the Constitution of the United States — the word of Almighty God!" In a political speech just three days before his re-election to the Senate, Jesse Helms said, "Christianity is not only true, it's much higher than religion. *It is the meaning of America* as far as I am concerned."

Is this alliance a result merely of self-interest on the part of the fundamentalists? I think not, although it can reasonably be argued that such a marriage would benefit their efforts to see their



peculiar brand of morality become law.

In the Judeo-Christian tradition, the employment of a "state religion" goes back to ancient Israel and the prophets and priests of the court whose function it was to bless the schemes and ambitions of the king and nation. In turn they were allowed power and authority in the religious sector. Indications are that this is the case here. The fundamentalists, in their unflagging support of Reagan policies, in the face of the most obvious and overwhelming evidence of the blatant immorality of such policies as support of apartheid, nuclear deployment, the CIA's "Christian" guerilla war in Nicaragua, cutbacks in social welfare programs, etc., lend them the needed sanction of an institutionalized religion. In turn, Reagan's pulpit, the most powerful and influential in the world, gives the Falwellians the recognition and authority as a world-class religion they have so long desired. Inscripting each other's "rightness" in blood, they mutually *remain steadfast in their refusal to see the world situation as it really is*. It is this, we see, which is the key to understanding the apocalyptic beliefs of the fundamentalists.

Through 40 years of Cold War rhetoric mixed with rural patriotism, the pattern of hatred, fear and suspicion has acquired the force of religious belief. As the Pentagon and the White House continue to fuel enmity out of self-interest, as the power of the "evil empire" burgeons, as the hope for peace or even survival grows dimmer, is it any wonder that the fundamentalists finally abandon this world, jump ship as it were, to a vision in which the heavenly hosts themselves intervene on behalf of God's people? It is this sense of hopelessness from which, historically, apocalypticism has been born. It is a last hope: "The fact of Christ coming back should be a great comfort to every believer in the world. We've got hope! We've got an eschatology! We've got a program! We've got a future! The

future belongs to us!" (Billy Graham)

Graham's words are underscored by Sociologist Jeffrey Hadden of the University of Virginia, who predicted that the Christian right, powered by TV evangelists, is destined to become the major social movement in America during the late 20th century.

Earlier this year, *Time* magazine, recognizing their growing influence, ran Pat Robertson on its cover, highlighting a feature story on the televangelists entitled "Gospel TV: Religion, Politics and Money."

The article updated the positions of the "powerhouse preachers" who proclaim, in *Time's* pages:

"Theologically, any Christian has to support Israel, simply because Jesus said so." (Falwell); "The U.S. has a moral obligation" to support "freedom fighters who battle satanic Communism" (Robertson); and "(The Supreme Court) is an institution damned by God Almighty for allowing abortions" (Jimmy Swaggart).

Robertson, a potential Republican presidential candidate, said in an interview with *Time*, "I have felt that one day the Soviets or their satellites will invade Israel. I do not think the United States is going to war with the Soviets over Israel. But we might be drawn into something . . . If something were to happen, of course, the U.S. would come down on the side of the Israelis . . . I think that Soviet Russia is destined to fall, and I don't think the U.S. has to go to war with them to see that happen . . . But if they begin a venture in the Middle East, as I read the Bible, God is going to bring it to pass, not America or anybody else."

The eminent psychoanalyst, M. Scott Peck, in his treatment of the subject of human evil states that, "The central defect of evil is not sin but the *refusal to acknowledge it*." The right-wing fundamentalists' refusal to acknowledge the sins of America, from napalming in Southeast Asia to "Christian" execu-

tions in Central America, leaves a gaping hole in the moral mandates of the Gospel. That cavity, for both the evangelicals and the politicians, has been filled for four decades by focusing on the "evil" and sins of the "enemy." But the blackness of that hole continues to menace them. Armageddon is where they make their final stand: in the destruction of the world. To preserve their self-image of perfection as "God's people," they pilfer the Bible for self-justification. Uninformed by history or Scripture they *choose* to remain in the darkness rather than submit to the light of critical self-examination so central to the Gospel.

Neither the Soviet Union nor any other principality or power can present us with a threat that exceeds in authority the mandate of Christ that we learn to live together in peace for the sake of the whole world.

The last days may well be upon us if the fundamentalists have their way, but they do not come as the fulfillment of prophecy. They come as a result of human evil, *both* ours and theirs, and in direct contravention of God's will for God's world. And each of us has to answer for our contribution to the current crisis through our political indifference.

## Resources

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*Nuclear Disarmament*, A. Y. Yefremov, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1979.

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Lance Woodruff

Alba Barreto-Jelinek, director of the AIDS Hope Health Center, right, chats with Richard Davis, facilitator at The Parsonage, an Episcopal Church ministry, at The Parsonage sign on Castro street in the midst of the gay and lesbian community, San Francisco.

## AIDS hotline, day of prayer

November 9 has been designated by Presiding Bishop Edmond Lee Browning as a Day of Prayer and intercession in the Episcopal Church for victims of AIDS and those who minister to them.

And in San Francisco, the Hope Help Center has set up a WATS line at 1-800-AID-TALK to provide information, forward resource materials, make referrals, and to be a caring, listening presence. Responding will be Alba Barreto-Jelinek, director, who will take calls on the WATS line from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. Pacific Daylight Time, Monday through Friday. Californians can call on 415-861-HOPE.

The Hope Help Center is an advocacy and resource entity set up within the Episcopal Church for AIDS prevention educators, persons with AIDS/ARC and their loved ones. Initial funding came from the Presiding Bishop's Fund for World Relief. The Hope Help Newsletter is available from P.O. Box 6631, San Francisco, CA 94101.

An AIDS Hope Help Network has been organized from resources provided by attendees from Great Britain, Australia and the United States at the March 1986 National Episcopal Church Conference on AIDS. Additions are vital now that the epidemic is spreading beyond urban centers into rural and less populated areas where resources and support systems are less likely to be found, Barreto-Jelinek said.

It was also exactly one year ago on Nov. 9 that a memorial to those who had died of AIDS was dedicated by the Rt. Rev. Paul Moore at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York. Some 332 names were inscribed at that time and read aloud as those attending stood in tribute and mourning. Today the list in the memorial book numbers about 1,000.

William Buckley attacked the Bishop of New York in his syndicated column for consecrating the memorial. "Is Bishop Moore planning a memorial for Stalin and his henchmen, another memorial for those who die of syphilis, another for those who OD on coke?" he asked.

"What is clearly missing from the bishop and from fellow travelers of this brand of groundless compassion, is any consideration to this: Some AIDS sufferers would rather contaminate other people, causing them to die a miserable death, than to control their own perverse appetites," he wrote.

Bishop Moore had pointed out in the dedication, "(This memorial) will be a witness to the city and community that we hold close in our love and care those persons who have AIDS or have died from AIDS. It will dignify this tragedy as much as possible. It will be a way of praying for the repose of their souls."



## The Politics of AIDS

*"When it rains, it doesn't rain on one man's house."*

Bob Marley

**M**ost, if not all public discussion centering around AIDS concerns the epidemiology and natural history of the debilitating and, as yet, incurable malady. This is important for clarification and public understanding of what has become a volatile and emotion-laden health crisis, but outside of the gay community, scant emphasis has been focused on the fact that AIDS also has become one of the most highly politicized issues in this country.

The political fallout from the AIDS phenomenon could seriously impede crucial medical breakthroughs, including the development of effective therapies and long-range preventive vaccine research, and significantly influence the nature of education and control programs. Moreover, evidence of a trend toward widespread legal discrimination against persons suspected of AIDS or AIDS-related complex (ARC) could result in almost as devastating an effect on the lives of other marginalized segments of our society as the physical manifestations of the disease.

U.S. Public Health Service estimates already place the cumulative number of AIDS cases at 270,000 by 1991, with a resulting 179,000 deaths. Some 74,000 cases and 54,000 deaths are anticipated in that year alone. The direct cost of medical care for Persons with AIDS (PWA's) will soar in this five year period to between \$8 — \$16 billion or \$46,000

per person. The staggering numbers and/or the price tag alone would serve as grist for any political mill and indeed they have.

AIDS has been described as a "growth industry" and a recent TV program boldly stated that the disease could do for an exclusive Houston hospital what heart transplants have done for Humana Institutes of Kentucky. Meanwhile, adequate funding for health care delivery to AIDS patients has become a serious problem for hospitals in poor communities and insensitive, unsympathetic medical and ancillary staff personnel are demanding legal relief from contact with them.

Equally as important are key issues involving the legal and civil rights of PWA's and those who may be required to undergo testing in AIDS research. Misinformation, coupled with homophobia, has led to a variety of problems. In Illinois the legislature considers a bill prohibiting a person with AIDS antibodies from getting married; in Los Angeles, an educational pamphlet aimed at intravenous drug users is impounded while a right wing organization distributes an inflammatory tract about the spread of the disease; in Virginia, a man suspected of being gay is fired by a restaurant owner who is afraid of AIDS; in Denver, a teenager is expelled from school after telling a nurse that he had tested positively for AIDS antibodies. And in all 50 states, legislation has been proposed granting local health authorities sweeping powers to quarantine people with AIDS and to forcibly test persons suspected of being exposed to the virus.

The question of testing looms as even more sinister. There is no diagnostic test for AIDS, only for HTLV-III antibodies, and 70 to 90% of those who test positively in this regard will not get AIDS. The ACLU has expressed apprehension over confidentiality in testing and how test results might be used in housing, education and medical and mental health care.

Talk of mandatory HTLV-III screening raises particular concern among Blacks and other minorities who would most be affected — food handlers, those who work in child care and other personal service jobs and those who least would be prepared to fight court battles over breaches of confidentiality. The Black community has fresh and painful memories of the racism associated with sickle cell anemia screening in the early 1970s when the implication of positive test results, indicating either the disease or the trait, produced violations of confidentiality, socio-economic discrimination and increased cost of insurance coverage.

The politics of AIDS threatens to create a new national class of "lepers." Caring Christians, acting out of Old and New Testament roots of our faith, must insist that any legal theories formulated be compassionately grounded in good medical data — not based on the hysteria that so often accompanies society's rush to transpose causes for things to one group or another. ■



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# Compassionate theology

by Paul Moore, Jr.

**A** new Tower of Babel resonates over TV and radio today. Never before have so many used the name of God to justify such a diverse number of views. Every thinkable and unthinkable social and political position is expressed on sundry issues. What is a listener to believe:

- Birth control is a sin? Or planned families are the only solution to the world's most pressing long-range problem of overpopulation?

- Homosexual persons are sinners and should not be encouraged? Or gay men and lesbians are entitled as any to protection under the law from discrimination?

- The Sandinistas are pawns of the Evil Empire? Or the revolution in Nicaragua is a God-given sign of hope for a poor nation?

- We must use our military and nuclear might to prevent atheistic communism from taking over the world? Or the Nuclear Freeze and subsequent nuclear disarmament is God's mandate to a globe on the edge of self-destruction?

Your views on which of these conflicting statements reflects the Word of God depends *not* on their *prima facie* validity, not on whether they can be supported by any biblical texts (for they all can), but by the criteria of acceptance or rejection you have built into your religious consciousness before you have even heard the choices pronounced.

Such conflicts for the average Christian were not always present. Before the advent of mass media — print, radio and television — religious people heard the social views of their own church on Sunday. They paid little attention to the views of others.

Roman Catholics on the local level spoke out on issues of family morality and stood up for the rights of labor wherein lay the interest of their major constituency. They backed a local politician for office regardless of their political position, if they had any, but with the implied understanding that the Ward Heeler would look after the physical needs of the people while the priest took care of their spiritual needs. In a way, it was not a bad system for the immigrant poor. But by and large, the high social doctrine of some of the great Papal encyclicals had little impact on the local Roman Catholic parish.

The Evangelicals were silent on social issues for different reasons. The world was seen to be so evil that the mission of the church was to “snatch brands from the burning,” to save souls *from* the world. This was accomplished through revivals, conversions and the threat of eternal damnation. The morality by which one avoided damnation consisted of no smoking, no drinking, no gambling and only enough sex to perpetuate the human race. (The story is told about an English bride who asked her mother what to do on her wedding night. The mother replied, “It is awful! Just grit your teeth and think of England.”) Public morality addressed the elimination of any taverns or

other places of ill repute which might lead one to such sins.

The exception, of course, was the Black church, which over the years became not only the solace of her people but the champion of their rights.

The mainline churches, with but a few notable exceptions, tended to keep a dignified silence, affirming the *status quo* with tasteful blessings over public patriotic gatherings. The 1919 General Convention of the Episcopal Church, for instance, had such an angry debate over a resolution commending collective bargaining as a Christian method of resolving labor disputes that the mover, Frederick C. Morehouse, editor of *The Living Church* (and hardly a radical), withdrew the resolution.

It was a rare thing, and has always been a rare thing, for a church to stand up for a social or political position against the interest of its ruling majority. Thus the cultural pluralizing of the church in the last generation accounts for the conflict over social issues. When the massive upheaval of the Civil Rights and Peace Movements began to rock the land, many leaders of mainstream churches took the direction of the Black churches and the pacifist Quakers and joined these movements, throwing their weight behind what appeared to be movements respectively of justice and of peace. This caught their unprepared congregations quite by surprise. Many lay persons left the church and only today have most of our people come to accept the propriety of the church speaking out on social and political issues.

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**The Rev. Paul Moore, Jr.** is bishop of the Diocese of New York.



Such a simplistic summary does not do justice to the exceptions to these generalizations, but I believe what I have written sums up the picture as seen by those fictitious straw persons, "The People in the Pews." However, now, because of the cacophony of voices, each claiming prophetic roots, we simply must develop a solidly biblical rationale for our pronouncements and actions.

First of all, as Anglicans we accept the Bible as a whole to be the Word of God. We see each part in context within the whole. We consider the literary form of each passage in accepting or rejecting the quality of its truth. Myth contains truth within the richness of prehistoric legends. Poetry enlightens truth with images, rhythms and metaphors, speaking to the unconscious as well as the conscious. History states fact, but always from the point of view of the historian. Biography paints true pictures of persons, but each is a portrait and not a photograph.

Further, the Word is always incarnate: Even that part of the Word which came before the Word made flesh was expressed within and through the history and culture of the day. The consistency of the Word, the Bible as a whole, lies not in its internal agreement, but in its progressive evolution from primitive gropings to the fulfilled glory of the Gospel. "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," bespoke a rough frontier justice. Yet as the mystery of God's love came to be revealed, Jesus said, "Turn the other cheek."

Given all the ambiguities, given all the traditions, given the bitter warfare be-

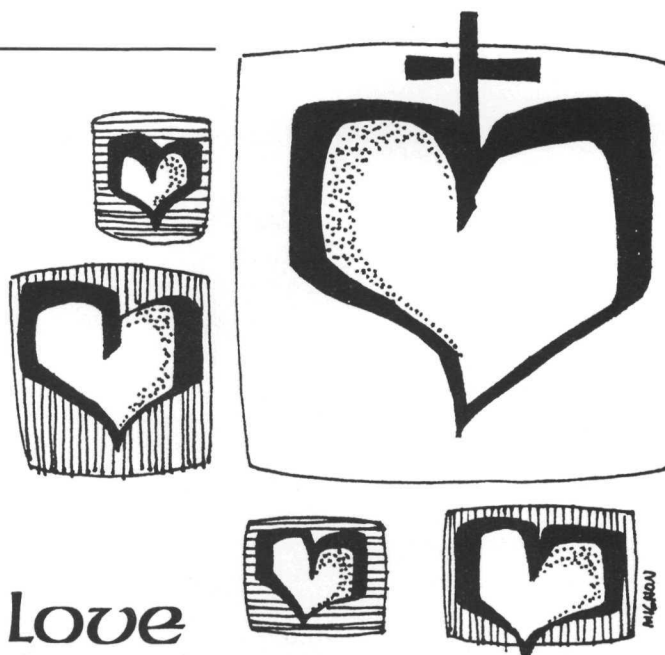
tween Christians over the years, is there any use in even attempting to speak the Word when particular issues are addressed? I firmly believe we have a solemn duty so to do. And I also believe that the Word can come alive authentically for the most uneducated campesino in Nicaragua or the most sophisticated Ph.D. at Cambridge.

The ultimate guidelines to biblical prophetic ministry lay in the Summary of the Law. If the stated point of view threatens any individual, unnecessarily hurts anyone or affronts the dignity of any human being, it is *not* of God. Hence, pronouncements on foreign affairs must be biased always toward peaceful means as well as just ends. Pronouncements on economic justice must be biased toward "a preferential option

for the poor," as the Latin American Roman Catholics phrase it, which informs prophetic teaching from Amos to St. Paul. No other biblical view has such ancient roots. And such an option must inform our understanding.

The implementation of ecclesiastical discipline must bear in mind that the Sabbath is made for the man, not man for the Sabbath. This humanistic principle also has a venerable past. "I despise your feasts and take no delight in your solemn assemblies" . . . "But let justice roll down like waters and righteousness like an everflowing stream." (*Amos 5:21-24*) Thus it is that religious taboos must give way to charity, and that the church must be seen as an instrument of love, not an end in itself.

The full use of reason, as well as the



Love  
is not just words  
and mere talk  
But something  
real and active.

most prayerful search for the meaning of revelation, should test each and every issue. Hence an understanding of modern psychology is coupled with an Old Testament sense of justice in stating a position for Gay Rights. In this connection a recent example is the use of scripture to condemn or uphold "Intro 2," New York City's civil rights law as extended to sexual orientation. Those who were against it used the proof texts of scripture, which when analyzed are often found merely to be against temple prostitution or a breach of hospitality laws. Nonetheless, proof texts are to be found which at least seem to condemn homosexuality. Those of us on the other side claim that the basic principle of justice which runs throughout the Bible prohibits the persecution of a person for something he or she cannot help. Modern psychology, unknown in biblical times, attests homosexuality to be such a circumstance. (Jesus is not recorded as ever having mentioned the subject.)

These are, then, guidelines for the use of scripture to support social pronouncements, but one must be most careful not to manipulate scripture to support his or her own prejudices. Self-searching prayer before speaking out is salutary in this regard!

Another issue which arose in the '60s, but which is not mentioned often today, is whether a given person has a right to express a view not held by his or her fellow Christians. When one speaks *for* the church, some pronouncement or resolution of General Convention should back the view. However, if one is speaking out of conscience and conviction on a matter about which the church has not taken a stand, then it should be clear that one speaks *to* the church. This may seem a subtle distinction but it is an important one.

Furthermore, in our Anglican tradition the individual is encouraged to make up his or her own mind, informed by scripture, tradition, reason and the teach-

ing of the church. We have no *Magisterium*, in the Roman Catholic sense, before which individual intellects must bow.

As an Encyclical Letter from the bishops during the Lambeth Conference of 1930 puts it:

*Our special character and, as we believe, our peculiar contribution to the Universal Church, arises from the fact that, owing to historic circumstances, we have been enabled to combine in our one fellowship the traditional Faith and Order of the Catholic Church with that immediacy of approach to God through Christ to which the Evangelical Churches especially bear witness, and freedom of intellectual inquiry, whereby the correla-*

*tion of the Christian revelation and advancing knowledge is constantly effected.*

I believe it is important to think through these matters today because the governments of the world, especially our own, seem to be explaining their actions in moral and religious terms. Rather than retreat from the scene, I believe we are called to speak forth the Word of God with decency, sanity and compassion. We must stand up to the religious right, which takes such a dangerous position, whether from the Catholics or the Evangelicals. Rome's power grows. The Moral Majority continues. Much money is available for quasi religious foundations of a hard conservative line.

We are small against such power, but our voice must continue to be heard. ■

## A Clergy Calorie Counter

**Everybody is trying to watch the waistline, and that includes members of the clergy. Now, for the first time ever, physiologists and religious leaders have combined talents to produce a clergy calorie counter. This chart below gives the number of calories the body burns in performing the following activities:**

Going the second mile	100
Going to Diocesan Convention	200
Standing up for your convictions	75
Standing up for your convictions at a Vestry meeting	150
Celebrating a High Mass	260
Celebrating a Low Mass	130
Being rector of a High Church (per week)	14,000
Being rector of a Low Church (per week)	14,000
(Extra preaching offsets extra liturgy)	
Counseling a troubled parishioner (per hour)	150
Counseling an untroubled parishioner (per hour)	300
Attending a typical committee meeting	265
Attending a boring committee meeting	265
Getting into hot water	325
First year as rector (honeymoon year, weekly)	15,225
Second year as rector (weekly)	22,325
Third year as rector (weekly)	31,235
Making ends meet on your paycheck	1,245
Fighting the good fight and finishing the course	By this time, it won't matter

— David E. Sumner

# Short Takes

## The gift of contradiction

The fundamentalist mind-set sees little but problems in the multiple sources and viewpoints we have from Genesis to Revelation. It feels a need to explain away the inconsistencies, the several perspectives, the different accounts. But what a richness there is in the contradictions — in those two different stories of creation, or those four portraits of Jesus, or in the divergent views on faith and works that we find in the book of James and the letters of Paul.

Try matching Jesus' approval of Zachheus's enthusiastic decision to give half his goods to the poor with Jesus' demand of the rich young ruler, "Sell all you have." Or put Luke's Jesus, who forbids all divorce, together with Matthew's, who allows it in the case of adultery...

The great moments in music are often those tense ones when dissonance hangs impatiently in the air, waiting for harmonic resolution. Music without its dissonances would too often be innocuous and insipid — as the Christian faith would be if we explained away its mysteries. Thank God for the gift of contradiction.

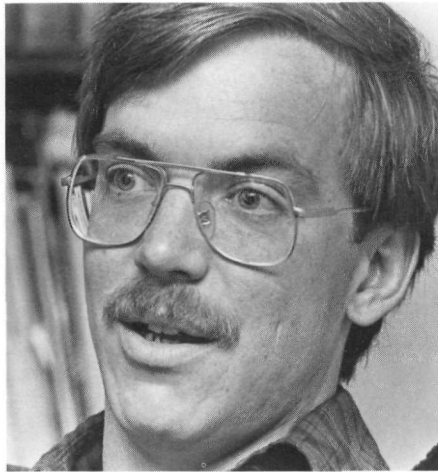
**Gaylord Noyce**

***The Christian Century* 8/13-20/86**

## Results of Capitalism

The existing capitalist system, inhuman, dependent and a creator of marginalisation — is being constantly reinforced by the official policy of the government through its incentives to large estates and monoculture in the region. This policy favours the dominant oligarchies, political repression and economic slavery and encourages, through the absence of sanctions, the practice of every type of corruption. The immediate consequences of all this are growing unemployment and underemployment, forced migration, unrestrained increases in the cost of living, malnutrition and hunger, a huge increase in violence, the breaking up of families, the destruction of the people's culture, the undermining of values, the weakening of faith and the destruction of hope among young people.

**Roman Catholic Bishops of Brazil  
1984 Statement**



## Defrocked pastor in film

Daniel Solberg, above, former pastor of Nativity Church in Alison Park, Pa., who was defrocked recently by the Lutheran Church in America for his involvement with the Denominational Ministry Strategy in Pittsburgh, is one of the subjects of a new film, *The Fighting Ministers*.

The film shows how three ministers, their wives and families were galvanized by the DMS, an ecumenical urban outreach to unemployed steelworkers, to confront local corporations who were liquidating the region's steel industry while investing overseas. *The Fighting Ministers* was shot by actor David Soul, Solberg's brother, known for his TV role in "Starsky and Hutch." The 56-minute film can be rented for \$75 from California Newsreel, 630 Natoma St., San Francisco, CA 94103. It has received acclaim from Harvey Cox and Bill Moyers.

## Defining the struggle

The struggle against our own weaknesses — no matter what difficulties the enemy may create — is the most difficult of all, whether for the present or the future of our peoples.

**Amilcar Cabral**

## Quote of note

An idea, like a ghost, according to the common notion of ghosts, must be spoken to a little before it will explain itself.

— Charles Dickens

## Cost of apartheid

In pursuance of apartheid's ideological racist dream, over 3,000,000 of God's children have been uprooted from their homes, the homes have been demolished, and they have then been dumped in the Bantustan homeland resettlement camps. I say dumped advisedly; only things or rubbish are dumped, not human beings. Apartheid has, however, ensured that God's children, just because they are black, should be treated as if they were things, and not beings of infinite value created in the image of God. These dumping grounds are far from where work and food can be procured easily. Children starve, suffer from the often irreversible consequences of malnutrition — this happens to them not accidentally, but by deliberate government policy. They starve in a land that could be the bread basket of Africa, a land that normally is a net exporter of food.

The father leaves his family in the Bantustan homeland, goes to the so-called white man's town as a migrant, to live an unnatural life in the single sex hostel for 11 months of the year, being prey to prostitution, drunkenness, and worse. This migratory labor policy is a cancer in our society. This cancer, eating away at the vitals of black family life, is deliberate government policy. It is part of the cost of apartheid, exorbitant in terms of human suffering.

**The Rt. Rev. Desmond Tutu**

## SDI: Pork-barrel project

For defense contractors across America, President Reagan's Star Wars program is more than a new strategy for national defense. It is the business opportunity of a generation, a chance to cash in on billions of dollars of federal contracts... And the industry is starting to mobilize its fabled lobbying apparatus to build political support for what critics charge could become the greatest federal pork-barrel project in history.

***Wall Street Journal* 5/21/85**

If the only tool you have is a hammer, you tend to see every problem as a nail.

**Abraham Maslow**

# Contemplation: not for mystics only

by Glenda Hope

**B**efore talking about contemplative prayer, we must consider the meaning of the word *discipline*. Not an “in” word in our society for a long time, it comes from the same root as the word *disciple*, a learner. Discipline is a way of learning which may also involve some unlearning. Discipline has come to be thought of as a negative thing — restriction — a narrowing of life. In some ways, this is true. But discipline as considered here is always for the purpose of liberation.

Too long have we settled for the good instead of the best, the acceptable instead of the excellent, the pretty instead of the beautiful, the warmth instead of the fire. Discipline moves us beyond such mediocrities; spiritual discipline moves us beyond goodness to holiness, sanctity, wholeness. “A way of seeing the world that makes the morning’s getting out of bed, if not a pleasure, an act of love at least,” as James Carroll has put it.

I was once a ballet dancer. Going to the exercise bar often was not a pleasure. That type of discipline can only be sustained when it, too, is an act of love — love-for-the-dance, which is beyond performance or the receiving of adulation, sweet as that is. Love-for-the-dance is the oneness of your total being with all that is. In those mystical moments when there is no separation between the dancer and the audience, they breathe as one, transfixed at some point of timelessness and limitlessness. Neither is there separation between the two partners; spirits flow as one, bodies move in perfect unison even when they do not touch.

For love-of-the-dance, people undertake unbelievable discipline. They do not engage in it as a thing in itself, but for something much grander. This discipline is a sustained, daily phenomenon to which few are called.

But all of us are called to spiritual discipline — those gifted moments of timelessness and limitlessness: the mystical encounter with the Living God. We have not thought so. We like to label some people as “mystics” or “saints” settling them apart as different. They are no different from ourselves save in this one thing: They have undertaken a discipline moving them from goodness to holiness, from the warmth to the fire.

**The Rev. Glenda Hope** is a co-director of San Francisco Network Ministries, an urban based ecumenical ministry focusing on low-income, elderly, young adults, homeless and AIDS-impacted of the city. She is also co-pastor of Seventh Avenue Presbyterian Church.

Let us consider the discipline of contemplative prayer. Prayer as we usually think of it is rational, discursive, talking to God. Perhaps in doing that we will see something new. Meditation, on the other hand, is listening more than talking. Not seeing something new but a new way of seeing. Contemplation is not a seeing at all. It is a being seen. It is this we shall consider, though already I feel a bit silly since the essence of contemplative prayer is silence and contemplative prayer is always. The only way to know contemplative prayer, like the only way to know the joy of the dance, is to do it, beginning where you are.

The wonderful comic strip “Kathy” once portrayed Kathy inquiring about ballet classes. The receptionist said a new class for beginners was starting that very week. Kathy replied: “Oh, no. I don’t want a beginner’s class. I want to skip all those boring exercises and go right into leaping and twirling.” When we approach contemplative prayer, like Kathy, we want to “go right into leaping and twirling.” If you would dance, if you would pray, you must begin where you are.

In his book, *Contemplation*, James Carroll points out, “Real silence and serious prayer are tough. And we are each called to nurture them. We are not (yet) mystics . . . But we are alive. We do see . . . Prayer begins with the lives we lead, not with the lives of the saints. Perhaps the question should be, how do we already pray? How do silence, solitude, simplicity already touch me?”

What are the methods that may help me move, beginning where I am? The disciplines of meditation, which are preparation for contemplative prayer, can be summed up in one sentence. Meditation is learning to do one thing at a time.

A woman told of learning to play the violin. Her teacher repeatedly said: “You cannot chew gum and play the violin.” This is not only because your chin rests against the instrument. It is much more that playing the violin demands single-mindedness, *total* concentration. You must play-the-violin — nothing else — that only. You must not be anticipating the applause which will come at the end, not even anticipating the next note, but be aware only of the note flowing from you now. The Zen Buddhists have a saying for this: “When you walk, just walk. When you sit, just sit. Above all, don’t wobble.” Meditation is learning how not to wobble. Meditation is disciplining yourself to do one thing only — nothing else — to wait until that time when “out of the treasures of divine glory God may grant you strength and power through the Spirit in



your inner being, that through faith Christ may dwell in your hearts in love.”

Ponder the implications of that snatch of Scripture. What would you do if Christ came to live in your house today? Run around and straighten things up? Ply him with questions, taking notes on his answers? Talk a lot about what you think should be done, especially how certain others need to be shaped up? Leave? Sit there thinking of all the other things you need to be doing? Read some good devotional material? Apprise him of the fact that you have only 10 minutes and you would appreciate it if he would come straight to the point? Or would you be ready to “just sit” under the gaze of those eyes? Not grasping for some new experience or insight or idea. Just sit. Being seen by the eyes of the One from whom all that is takes its name, the essence of its being.

Perhaps you have known a time with another person when all the usual defenses behind which we hide, showing only a bit of self at a time, go down and you are really seen. All of you. A breathtaking moment of genuine intimacy for which we all yearn and of which we are all terrified, when it seems you dare not stay and cannot go. Contemplative prayer is like that. Not a seeing, but a being seen. Meditation is preparation for such a life. As such, it is an ongoing lesson in humility. Learning how embarrassingly undisciplined I am. Learning that I can manipulate thought, feelings, experiences, sensations — and I do — and call that meditation. But authentic meditation is truly learning that I cannot manipulate God, as much as I want to and try.

Waiting and listening is much more demanding than speaking, which is why few people move beyond prayer to meditation and even fewer are gifted with contemplation. Contemplation is letting go of all the certainties I have about God, all the names by which I would call God to me. Letting go even of the certainty that God will somehow meet me in the silent place. Carlo Caretto says in *The God Who Comes*: “(God) is afraid that, instead of loving God in God’s naked being, we love creation, riches, gifts . . . the joy God bestows, the peace . . . the truth God makes me a present of. If I have knocked, why has God not opened to me? My lust for possession is stronger than my true love for God. Wait! Oh, the anguish of the ‘wait,’ the emptiness of that absence! But then, little by little, I began to understand as never before that God was present in the emptiness, in the waiting. ‘You believe you love Me but in reality you are loving yourself. For your sake I left what was mine and came to you. You do the same.’ Do not expect to have the Beatific Vision after 10 minutes of recollection. Do not seek for pleasure or enjoyment in prayer and do not wrap yourself round with clouds of sentiment. Do not go out hunting for God as the latest curiosity in your life or as the last lover in your old age. Accept faith as it is — naked.

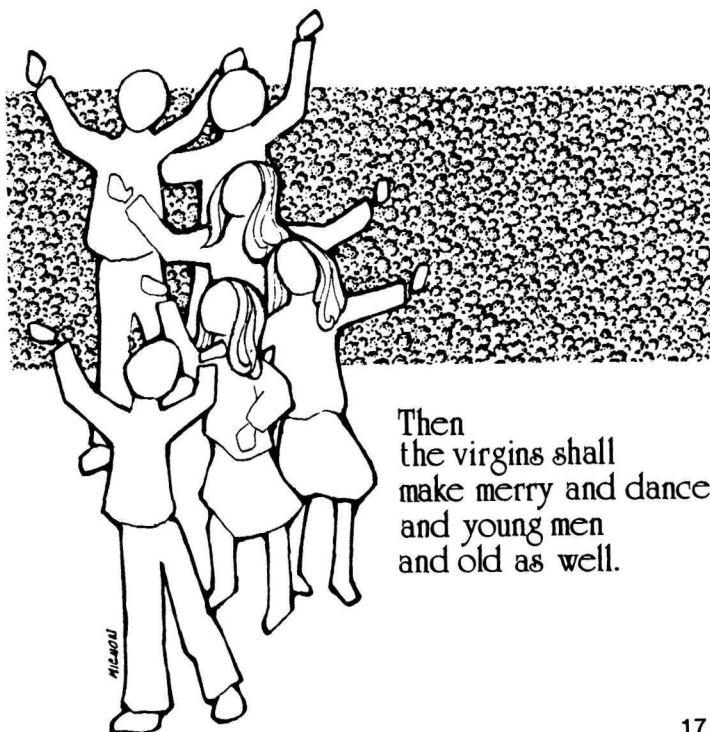
Wait all your life for the God who is always coming, and who does not show up to satisfy your curiosity, but unveils before your faithfulness and your humility.”

Genuine faithfulness and humility become emptiness. Not emptiness as vacuum or void. Not emptiness as worthlessness but that emptiness which establishes no obstacles to complete acceptance of what *may* be given — always a total surprise. Not emptiness as uncertainty but emptiness as *no* certainty, not even the certainty of uncertainty.

Carroll again: “We set out from God the benevolent (One) and go to God the dark nothing. (Contemplative prayer) gets below the easy dogmas and habits of familiarity we have with God and drags us to the edge of deepness we do not understand.”

Here is emptiness which cannot say what it would be like to be full, which no longer *tries* to say, but only waits and listens. Contemplative prayer is emptiness. Not a seeing but a being seen; being seen by God who comes not as something but as nothing — no thing. God is not an assurance, a concept, an experience to be gained. God is not a Being alongside other beings. God is that from which everything in heaven and on earth has its being. God is the fullness of all that is.

Contemplative prayer is being seen, no defenses, all of me — by the God who in God’s own time comes to our faithfulness, humility, emptiness. Not to fill us up but to open us up. Contemplation is the most radical, the most liberated way of life there is. Bit by bit, all the separations and alienations, all the defenses, all the overagainstnesses, all the objectifications of others from which spring the horrors of our times — fall away.



Bit by bit, God opens us up with all God's people to that love which is beyond knowledge but not beyond knowing. Love. Not control. Not tranquility. Those moments of the dance when you know our separation is illusion; our oneness is reality. Not filled up. Opened up. In fleeting moments, I know this identification, this unity, with all that makes me richer, but I resist and guard against it. Contemplative prayer irresistibly brings clarity on how much I withhold myself, even though I know that is not living. "A contemplative vision will not permit us to hide from the blood of children who even now die for want of food we feed our dogs," Carroll stresses. "A contemplative way of living will not exempt us from the dangerous struggle to make America's best dreams of justice and equality come true. It will engage us beyond comfort."

Seen by the One whose gaze loves the whole Creation, I can no longer be silent when from my office window I see old people scavenging in garbage cans and castoff children selling their bodies to survive — a shame on our society and a judgment on our economic system. *I feel* the gnawing pain of gay men and lesbian women ever afraid of being "found out," fired, humiliated, thrown in jail, even beaten to death on the streets, simply because of who they love. I can no longer avoid confronting those pressing for more and more weapons in a spiraling buildup going beyond folly, beyond insanity. Contemplative prayer exposes this reliance on weapons for what it is: idolatry. Placing our trust in the Prince of death. But the Prince of Peace under whose gaze I sit calls me to risk, as He did, to expose this false god taking bread from the mouths of the hungry to stuff his own belly already swollen with bombs.

Contemplative prayer makes real and rich that oneness with all that is, the fullness of being, that openness, that intimacy of which we are all terrified and for which we all yearn. This does not come to the timid, the arrogant or the dilettante. It is a discipline to which we are *all* called, part of which must include regular blocks of time in meditation, bringing with us all those others, for contemplative solitude is never solitary.

"Real silence and serious prayer are tough." Learning to be present to God even in God's absence. Waiting. Listening. Being emptied until there are no obstacles to complete acceptance of what may be given. Beware of that emptiness. We never know what God may choose to give. Or when. Or how. Or through whom. Except that it will be that love deemed "a terrible beauty." We are all called to this discipline for liberation, moving beyond the warmth to the fire. Not tomorrow. Not when it is convenient. Not when we feel like it. Not when we have time enough. Not when the vibes are right. Not only when something comes, but especially when nothing comes. Now. Not for the adulation, but only for the dance. ■

## 'As is'

A damp wind whips wet leaves under my feet  
as I make my way through the streets  
of old Southeast Portland where derelict duplexes  
abut historic homes, an occasional restored mansion,  
and an ancient firehouse, still in use,  
reminiscent of earlier, simpler times.

On this late October Saturday, with chores done  
and the week's unmeaningful work behind me,  
I indulge my favorite pastime —  
the only one left which I can still afford —  
a visit to Goodwill's "As Is" store.

Here, in huge bins, at 50¢ per pound,  
are clothes of every size, variety and condition,  
waiting to be carried home  
for washing, mending and sometimes remodeling  
followed by distribution to non-affluent friends  
who can't quite make it up America's ladder  
of economic opportunity.

Here is an old copy of the National Geographic  
containing a description of the development  
of our ever-expanding universe and all it contains  
from a power-filled microscopic spec  
smaller than an atom.

Here I'm greeted by a small Black boy,  
perched atop a pile of garments, solemn-faced,  
huge liquid eyes considering the scene,  
here are so many friends, fellow beneficiaries  
of six years of Reaganomics,  
sorting through the piles  
for a child's sweater, a blanket,  
or a pair of jeans.

Here, for a little while, I can relax,  
away from all the pressure and the power trips  
of competitive daily life in a land  
whose "safety net" has long since disintegrated;  
here, there is no need for pretense,  
dissimulation or manipulation —  
I can be myself,  
"As is."

MaryJane Brewster

MaryJane Brewster, poet, mother and grandmother, has just published a book of poetry, *Verses in the Wind*, (\$6, WIM Publications, Box 137, San Francisco, CA 94114). The book contains many poems which first appeared in THE WITNESS. Brewster is an active member and former shop steward of the Oregon Public Employees Union (SEIU, AFL-CIO) and an activist in the peace and human rights movements. The daughter of a union printer, she early developed an interest in books, writing, and the concerns of working people, and is a firm believer in the transforming power of love.

## Letters . . . Continued from page 3

break his legs.

I believe that Guatemalan and Salvadoran refugees are indeed fleeing tyranny, not trying to get here for economic reasons as members of the Reagan administration are claiming. If I am ever going to give anyone the benefit of the doubt, it is not going to be this administration, whose leaders I trust very little.

When I first heard of the sanctuary movement in the Southwest, I tried to interest members of the Northern New Jersey Conference, United Methodist Church to draw up a resolution of support. I didn't have much luck then. But this year, praise be to God, it passed with no opposition.

**Robert Keosian**  
Hawthorne, N.J.

## Reagan pretty on TV

Several issues of THE WITNESS were awaiting my attention after some time away, therefore comments on your Letters to the Editor section may be very late.

My own letter about Vickie Miller's April letter, suggesting that she would have made life miserable for Peter, James, Barnabas, Stephen and Philip, those do-gooders she would have labeled "commies," did not see print (and that's OK). But I want to give a bit of advice to the Rev. Charles Farrar, who narrowly averted "tar and feathers" (June letters). Just hang on for a few more scores of years. When he reaches my four score, he'll just face benign neglect — poor old kook, he wants the Reagan administration to act in more Christian ways toward the needy and away from nuclear war and subsidizing the rape and murder of

peasant women and children.

People will let him rave; some may commiserate a bit; all will quickly move to "business as usual." To hell with peace and balanced budgets, he's pretty on TV, isn't he?

**Fred R. Methered**  
Honolulu, Hawaii

## Letter from Helen

You may have seen Mary McGrory's column claiming that the only media who note Plowshares actions are "obscure religious journals." To paraphrase the old quote, I suppose in the world of upper-crust peacemaking, the newsworthy speak only to the important, and the important speak only to Donahue.

It occurred to me after my recent spate of interviews that the judge sentenced me to prison, not to the American press; also that there are 73 other "Plowshares," and martyrdom should be shared. I plan to retire quickly from the public eye, and with any luck, THE WITNESS, the *National Catholic Reporter*, *Sojourners* and I can go down in blessed obscurity together.

After I clean my room and do the laundry, I will spend the afternoon lying in the sun and the evening writing an article for *Sequoia*. (I'm sure you've never heard of them either.) Tomorrow, a phone call to my kids, who will tell me about feeding the ducks and riding Big Wheels around the block. Not a very exciting life for a public figure, but quite satisfying for a lowly human being.

**Helen Woodson**  
Alderson Federal Prison  
Alderson, W. Va.

## Mag not conventional

I do not believe there is any place in your readership for a white male parent in a conventional family who attends church regularly and supports a pluralistic society. Therefore I shall seek effective methods of bringing about social change rather than the futile effort espoused by your magazine.

**Bob Coghill**  
Nenana, Alaska

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A view from the underside:

# Black township theology

by Buti Tlhagale

**T**his essay deliberately deals with a black theology of self-defense or self-affirmation in order to distance ourselves consciously from the following two perspectives. The first is the perspective that describes the direct assault (offensive acts) on the state, state institutions, state servants and on the symbols of the capitalist order as “unrest” or violence without any qualification.

The second involves the traditional Christian perspective that speaks of non-violence at all costs while institutionalized violence is part of the South African way of life.

The current state of emergency in South Africa calls to mind the 1961 state of emergency which blacks referred to then as police dictatorship. Today’s treason trials recall the mass trials of the early ’60s that had been aimed at crushing popular movements of resistance to the tyranny of the state. The black people then resisted the badge of slavery, the passes and the pass laws, with every might. Passes were burnt. Boycotts and strikes were organized. These are comparable to the current school and consumer boycotts. The difference is that today the liberation struggle has become the focal point of young people as never before.

The killings that took place in 1960 and in 1976-77 were mainly the result of police intervention. But so too in 1984-85, when more than 500 people were killed. It is usually reported that these people died “during actions where security forces had to protect property and peaceful communities.” More than 230 black people were killed by other black people during the 1984-85 uprisings.

The intensity of anger and violence that has been seen since September 1984 to today is unparalleled in recent South African history. It all started with the refusal to pay house rentals in the Vaal Triangle and in other areas of the Orange Free State. Members of the community councils were seen as being responsible for the hardships of the urban blacks. They therefore became the targets of angry and frustrated people. These councils were seen as an imposition on the black people by government. It therefore came as no surprise when some of the council members were driven out of their homes

and removed mercilessly. But then such a harsh punishment was equally meted out to persons suspected of being informers. Both property and the business premises of people associated directly or indirectly with the local government have been destroyed. Police killings led to more police killings. And so in the East Rand, Transvaal, and in the Eastern Cape, political funerals led to other deaths. Black people turned out by the thousands in an expression of solidarity on these occasions; the anger of the people was palpable.

The situation has been exacerbated by the fact that a significant number of schools came to a standstill and the young people have been pushed irrevocably into the forefront of the political struggle.

During the turmoil of the 1960s African political leaders had little hope that non-violent pressures could bring about radical change in South Africa. The apartheid system has always been understood and felt as an inherently violent system. When the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress openly resorted to violence as a means of bringing about radical political change, a new chapter in black politics had begun.

What the white community perceives as “unrest,” as sheer displays of savagery when persons associated with the apartheid system are burned to death by the application of the “necklace” — the burning tire — the black community interprets differently. Indeed the death of persons is to be regretted. But what seems to be a senseless destruction of life and property, of schools and buses and delivery vehicles, is in fact seen by blacks, especially young people, as an aggressive statement of a radical protest, of self-affirmation, a calculated tactic to compel the government to reckon with the frustrated aspirations of the black people.

What is seen as violence by most whites is also experienced as violence by blacks. But then blacks attach a radically different significance to it. It is a protest beyond moral indignation, beyond words. It is a direct assault on the apartheid system.

When blacks destroy community facilities, most whites perceive it as short-sightedness, but blacks on the other hand have virtually no stake in the protection and maintenance of public property in the townships. For years blacks have been referred to as “temporary sojourners” in the urban areas. The

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**Buti Tlhagale** is a parish priest at Our Lady of Mercy, Soweto, and co-editor of *The Unquestionable Right to be Free: Black Theology from South Africa*.





*The fact that the Gospel or the life-history of Christ makes no room for the use of violence to right the wrongs of society remains a massive scandal among the oppressed. And yet the story of Christ is a story of a series of subversions.*

psychological impact of forced homelessness — of exile experience as it were — has now taken its toll. The reversal of this process as a result of the Wiehahn and Riekert reports and the subsequent labor legislation of 1979 have not yet had the desired effect. The inane declaration of a dual citizenship for the black people has had even less effect. The denial of the permanence of black people in the urban areas has resulted in the direct denial of the development and improvement of the physical environment of the townships.

The litany of denials: of home ownership, of industry, of business premises, of investment in cultural facilities, etc., coupled with the iniquitous influx control system and the extremely limited availability of housing in the urban areas, have all created a deep sense of non-belonging. Besides, blacks have also been denied the right of participating meaningfully in the planning and management of their own local affairs. The establishment of the community councils was a unilateral decision on the part of government. This explains why some councillors have been driven out of their homes, and their property petrol-bombed. Some councils have been dismantled. Community councils are seen as part and parcel of the apartheid system. The series of denials and government highhandedness have led to the reaping of the whirlwind.

The government insists through the media that the current “unrest” is caused either by the black political organizations, hence the treason trials in Pretoria and Pietermaritzburg, and/or by the “criminal elements” in the black community. The Congress of South African Students has been banned

presumably because it is thought to be responsible for the upheavals. In any situation of political upheaval excesses on the part of the oppressed are to be expected. But this should in no way be confused with the general upsurge of the people in their demand for total freedom.

To blame hooligans or the African National Congress for the so-called unrest is tantamount to burying one’s head in the sand and thereby refusing to acknowledge that the apartheid system is the source of the problems. Finally, short of taking up arms like the South African Defense Force or like black political organizations that have been forced into exile, the present generation — in the complex scenario of consumer boycotts, work stoppages, work stay-aways, school disruptions, protests, the destruction of selected targets, the merciless killings of collaborators, etc. — is irrevocably committed to bursting the chains of the apartheid system. The state, through its agencies, has been thrown headlong into the turmoil. And as the dialectical relationship between the enforcers of the unjust laws and those who resist intensifies, the situation ceases to be simply a situation of “unrest” but becomes a veritable violent struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed.

This struggle is characterized by a massive upsurge of the black people, especially young people. The so-called peaceful people in the community, even though they are not directly involved in the upheaval, undoubtedly share the sentiments of those who are in the forefront of the liberation struggle. So much for the word “unrest.” This then brings us to the second consideration; the traditional Christian perspective on violence.

The Christian discussion on violence tends to revolve around nuclear or bacteriological warfare. The violent struggle of the oppressed people against white domination and against the ruthlessness of capitalism has simply been dismissed as terrorism and therefore immoral. The ambivalence that emerges from the ethical analysis of the violent struggle of the people has simply been shrugged off in favor of the status quo.

The Christian tradition has tended to uphold non-violence as a universal principle while within the very same tradition some speak of non-violence as a strategy rather than a principle. As a strategy it is therefore seen as a Christian attitude that refuses to retaliate: “You have heard it was said: ‘An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth’. But now I tell you: do not take revenge on someone who wrongs you” (Mt 5:38).

The ideal of peace at all costs has permeated Christian thinking even though in certain Christian traditions exceptions are made. In expressing the peace-at-all-costs doctrine, Martin Luther King, Jr., has this to say about non-violence: “Finally it reaches the opponent and so stirs his

conscience that reconciliation becomes a reality.”

The South African black experience denies the above. For almost a century now the inherently violent apartheid system has simply entrenched itself with all the viciousness imaginable. There are no signs of reconciliation on the horizon.

There is of course another tradition. It was articulated by John Paul II in his 1982 Day of Peace Message: “Christians have a right and even a duty to protect their existence and freedom by proportionate means against an unjust aggressor.”

The majority of the black people see the white Nationalist Party as having no moral legitimacy to leadership and to government. It has not been elected by the black people but simply imposed itself on the people and denied them basic human rights.

The Christian tradition recognizes the legitimacy of the use of violence to defend the rights of a given state. But then from a township perspective the South African state is essentially a repressive state. The different branches of the state apparatus are seen as executing and maintaining the repression. The army is frequently remembered for its occupation of a foreign territory, Namibia, and for its incursions into Angola. It is equally remembered for its pre-emptive strikes in Lesotho, Mozambique and Botswana — leaving in its wake destroyed human life and property. In the townships where it is currently deployed under the state of emergency, it is said to have succeeded not only in destroying life but also in alienating the black community.

The political police are credited with harassment and even torture. Detainees have died in prisons. Explanations of the causes of death are taken by the township people with a grain of salt. The courts mete out punishment to those who flout the apartheid laws such as the pass laws. The different administrative departments enforce removals of black people. Finally blacks are excluded from the electoral system. They are precluded from any access to political power and from meaningful participation in the economic system of the country.

In the eyes of the black people, therefore, the state has no legitimacy. Co-optation through the establishment of the homelands has still not lent any meaningful legitimacy to the state. Can a state without any power-base in or even sympathy from the majority of the people have a moral right to rule over the majority or even have a moral right to use violence in order to preserve an intrinsically violent political system?

When blacks resort to violent means of redressing the wrongs of the apartheid system, it is perceived by blacks not only as a right to resist “in the name of an elementary requirement of justice” but also as a duty to resist the crushing repression of the racist regime. . .



**Black or White?**

The nagging question that needs to be answered is whether a violent struggle by black South Africans can ever be justifiable or indeed whether the violent repression by the apartheid regime is justifiable. Cast in the mold of the classical tradition of the just violent struggle, the township perspective yields the following argument.

The semblance of order and peaceful co-existence has been shattered by the spiral of a violent struggle that has engulfed the black townships. The demand of the black people, especially the youth, is, firstly, the abolition of the present political order and the establishment of a non-racial, democratic political system on the basis of one man, one vote. Secondly, the present exploitative capitalist system ought to give way to a more equitable socialist system that will develop an economic program with the view to making amends in those areas where the apartheid economic system has simply played havoc and left in its wake human misery.

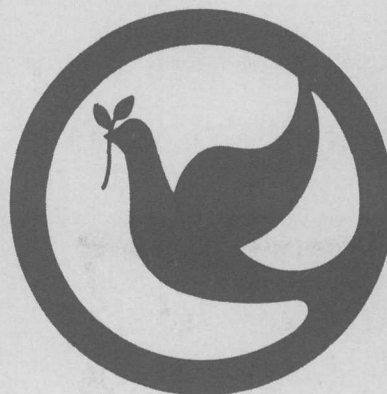
There is no solution in sight to the present political conflict as the government clings to its racist policies of denying blacks a meaningful citizenship, of upholding the Population Registration Act and the Group Areas Act, of refusing the release of political prisoners, etc. Instead the government has responded to the black violent struggle with the might of the army and the security forces. . .

Whilst the logic of the ethic of force when viewed from a township perspective does seem to support at a rational level the justifiability of a violent struggle as a last resort, the gospel imperatives on the other hand seem to challenge the adequacy of the moral principles of a just violent struggle.

The criticisms levelled against biblical literalism in scriptural interpretation and against the selective use of biblical texts out of context (proof-texting) notwithstanding, a host of scriptural hard-sayings continue to plague the minds of the oppressed Christians.

● “If you love those who love you, what reward have you?” (*Mt. 5:46*).

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● "You have heard that it was said, 'An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth.' But now I tell you: Do not take revenge on someone who wrongs you" (Mt. 5:38).

● "Love your enemies and pray for your persecutors" (Mt. 5:44).

● "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God" (Mt. 5:9).

These citations and so too the entire thrust of the Sermon on the Mount not only do not make sense in the face of the continuing repression and the barbarous behaviour of the servants of the state, but they also tend to cultivate fatalistic attitudes among the oppressed who look forward to the "fullness of time" that hardly appears on the horizon. The fact of the matter is that for more than two centuries large sections of the white Christian community have continued to treat blacks as "kaffirs" and as servants and not as friends so that the example set by the Master that all persons are equal remains an empty expression (Jn. 15:15). Christians have been commanded to "love one another just as I love you" (Jn. 15:12). In a South Africa where the Group Areas Act, the Separate Amenities Act, the Population Registration Act, etc., and concepts of "own affairs" and ethnic identity reign supreme, trust, mutuality and friendship remain foreign and indeed inimical to the official policy of the repressive state.

The black experience therefore appears throughout the last centuries as an experience of the wilderness. Thus South Africa under white domination continues to be a "Meribah," as it were, a Massah where the black people are exposed to an unending test by fire for no apparent reason while the racists and capitalists thrive and continue to deal treacherously.

So shattering is the experience of oppression, deprivation and humiliation that the experience of godlessness amongst sections of the black population is here to stay. And so too are the growing convictions of atheism and communism that feed on the devastating scourge of apartheid Christianity. . .

Such a desperate situation, far from crushing the burning desire to be free, has unleashed new energies especially amongst the young black people who have sprung forward to resist injustice. The anger of the weak has confounded the mighty (1 Cor. 1:27). Hundreds of young people have experienced detention without trial. Since the state of emergency, thousands of people have been detained.

Some of the young people have laid down their lives for the sake of justice — inexorably pursuing the model of Christ who died at the hands of his persecutors. This supreme sacrifice is in line with the noble tradition of those who have been in prison for more than two decades or those forced into exile for demanding simple justice.

The desire for freedom has been rekindled, hence the relentless effort to subvert the inherently violent socio-political

order. The fact that the Gospel or the life-history of Christ makes no room for the use of violence to right the wrongs of society remains a massive *scandal* among the oppressed. And yet the story of Christ is a story of a series of subversions. He was continually in conflict with the socio-religious and political order of his day.

He touched lepers (the unclean), healed on a Sabbath, cancelled debts, sat at table with debtors. The Gospels are full of instances of radical departure from tradition:

"You have heard that it was said . . ." (Mt. 5:38).

or "Have you never read . . ." (Mk. 2:23).

or "But it is not so among you . . ." (Mk. 10:43).

or "Who are my mother and my brothers?" (Mk. 3:33).

Belo in his *A Materialist Reading of the Gospel of Mark* describes this subversion as the "tearing of the old symbolic order, the bursting of the old order."

The rekindled desire to be free and the intensive assault on the apartheid institutions are not incompatible with the tradition of subversion modelled on the person of Christ. In fact Christian discipleship demands the subversion of the oppressive socio-political order in order to establish justice and consequently peace.

Unless genuine radical socio-political change is experienced by township and village people, violence is bound to break out intermittently. The meaningful participation in the political process is imperative. Participation must be seen to be real and not a token involvement. But so too the participation in the economy of the country. The apartheid market system favors the retention of privileges of power, wealth and income in the white community. The dispossessed must be seen to have access to the economic resources of the land. If these changes take place, only then can South Africa begin to talk about "the things that make for peace." Change in the political arena must be accompanied by change in the economic system. If violence is to be avoided and peace to be established then apartheid must be uprooted completely. Nothing less than this will do. ■

(The above essay is excerpted with permission from a longer chapter in *The Unquestionable Right to be Free: Black Theology from South Africa*, edited by Itumeleng J. Mosala and Buti Tlhagale, to be published in January by Orbis Books, Maryknoll, N.Y. 10545, at \$11.95.

Topics include black theology's task in relation to the double bondage of racial oppression and economic exploitation; the interplay between U.S. black theology and black theology in South Africa; the relevance of African traditional religions for the liberation struggle; the impact of the black consciousness movement, and black feminist responses to black theology.)



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# THE WITNESS

## GOD & 'MOTHER RUSSIA'



Bill & Polly Spofford  
Paul Valliere  
Mary Lou Suhor  
And other Soviet  
sojourners . . .

# Letters

## What P.B. might have said

Here is what Bishop Browning *might* have said about homosexuality, in response to the Editorial Board of THE WITNESS (September issue):

### My Dear Friends:

Your Open Letter is particularly welcome to me because of its timeliness. As we all know, there are countless gay men and lesbians who are devout, responsible members of the church, a number of them in the clergy (including the episcopate) and in key lay roles.

Too little is still known about homosexuality. What part does it play in God's plan of creation? *Why* are there gay people? Clearly, to be gay goes far beyond "what one does in bed." There is a gay ethnicity, a gay sensibility, that can be traced through human history. What does it *mean*?

The majority culture has long consigned homosexuals to life inside a maligned ghetto. The majority culture has done the same thing to Blacks, Latinos, Asians and others, even as it has exacted from women a grim duty to follow prescribed roles if they would be admitted to positions of power by the established patriarchy, and on its own timetable.

No ghetto is healthy. Neither is a majority culture that consigns people to a ghetto.

The church has understood and taught that marriage is the norm of sexual expression. Yet, with half the marriages in various locations ending in divorce, and untold numbers of women and men living together outside of marriage (especially prior to marriage itself), clearly the church has a responsibility to address *these* people in a loving, nurturing, pastoral way. The biblical texts, which in selected passages seem to pass judgment on

pre-marital sex, adultery and homosexuality, do offer a basic expression of God's love, acceptance and redemption. Nor does the Bible condemn simply so-called "hot" sins; it speaks even more strongly against the so-called "cold" sins of self-righteousness and pharisaical condemnation of others on the basis of "spiritual legalities."

I hear you asking me for a pastoral response.

First, I believe that no one should presume or dare to stand between a person and Jesus. Who among us is, in any case, able to cast the first stone at another? We confront this reality within the Eucharist in the General Confession.

Second, I believe that the church must be a witness of reconciliation always, everywhere. Of course, one cannot speak lightly or glibly of reconciliation. Sometimes it is also necessary to witness prophetically to shatter a false peace, or an unjust system, as a very part of the process of reconciliation itself.

Third, I believe that Jesus' sacrifice for our sins puts our guilt and self-rejection within the healing presence of hope and grace. This places a severe yoke upon those, for example, who condemn gay people and act out that condemnation in hostility, coldness and rejection. If Jesus' sacrifice for our sins brings our self-rejection into the realm of hope and grace, it falls upon the church — claiming to be Christ's body — to offer an approximation of that same hope and grace without equivocation, lukewarmness or smugness.

The resolution concerning the ordination of homosexuals which was passed at the 1979 General Convention mistakenly dealt with procedure instead of the deeper question of inclusiveness. It is

tragic that a number of sincere women and men who have offered themselves to Jesus Christ in the form of church ministry since then have been — how shall I put it? clobbered — in the ordination process itself.

I look forward to growing more conversant with this issue, and will resolutely enter into dialogue with a number of gay and lesbian members of the church, both clergy and laity, in order to further the process of information, dialogue, and mutually growing closer together.

I pray that the process ahead will be conducted by the Holy Spirit working through us as instruments of God's will.

### Your Presiding Bishop

The above is my fantasy offering. I hope to be writing for THE WITNESS soon about related, real-world matters.

**Malcolm Boyd**  
**Santa Monica, Cal.**

*(Malcolm Boyd is writer-priest-in-residence at St. Augustine-by-the-Sea Episcopal Church. His 22nd book, Gay Priest: An Inner Journey, has just been published by St. Martin's Press. — Ed.)*

## Quote out of context

Bishop Browning in the September WITNESS quotes me as follows: "The Christian tradition over the centuries has affirmed the heterosexual, monogamous, faithful marital union as normative for the divinely given meaning of the intimate sexual relationship." The quotation is accurate, but in isolation from its context it has been misunderstood.

First, it was clearly intended to be a historical observation, not a moral judgment. As a matter of historical record, the Christian tradition over many centuries justified slavery, male superiority, divine right of kings, and many other beliefs and practices later reconsidered. To record such traditions is not to argue for them.

Second, the statement was preceded by a criticism of the kind of judgmentalism that often victimizes homosexual people.

Third, the statement was preceded by a sentence saying: "Christian judgments on human conduct are subject to change."

Fourth, the statement (first printed in 1969, then reprinted without my knowledge in 1980) called on Christians to look for "new sources of information and insight." If I were writing on the subject now, I would take account of new information and insights that have become available since I first wrote. But that is another task. For the moment I wish only to correct misunderstandings of the sentence that Bishop Browning quoted. I do not accuse him of distorting my meaning, but I have been shown how easily the sentence, in isolation, can be misunderstood.

**Roger L. Shinn**

**Professor Emeritus of Social Ethics  
Union Theological Seminary**

## Church needs purgation

I was surprised to read that Bishop Browning is "not familiar" and knows "no details" about my forced resignation from a North Carolina parish. One week following my resignation, I wrote him in vivid detail and included four newspaper accounts of the controversy.

Five weeks later, Bishop Browning replied to me, urging me to exercise "prudence" in any future ministry, and to seek "reconciliation" and a "pastoral relationship" with my North Carolina rector and bishop.

Bishop Browning, you and other bishops surrender your capacity to be pastors to me and other gay/lesbian clergy, because you have administrative control over parts of our lives and ministries. How in the world can lesbian/gay persons ever be ministered to by religious homophobes when parts of our basic selves are denied, ridiculed, considered to be evil and needing to be exorcised, or

even worse, hidden?

The church that demands us to lie, be nice cuddly curates and not advocate lesbian/gay rights is one in need of purgation, love and forgiveness.

**The Rev. Zalmon O. Sherwood  
Jackson, Mich.**

## Community impaired

I am one of the two people to whom the first lines of THE WITNESS' Open Letter refer. I want to make clear that the issue of ordination of open lesbians and gay men is larger than either Zal Sherwood's case or my own. Our particular situations are the result of a heterosexual and homophobic world/church which impacts heavily on the day-to-day lives of lesbians and gay men. Indeed, it is church tradition and teaching which too often is used to justify social policies which discriminate against us. Note, for instance, the recent Supreme Court decision on sodomy as well as the current AIDS phobia which permeates our lives.

In such a context, to fail to pursue proactive measures to rectify the injustices perpetrated against lesbians and gay men in the church is to continue to abide in a land of "fear and faithlessness."

I found Bishop Browning's points in response to the Editorial Board, while important, to contain some serious limitations.

If we are to foster relationship among ourselves, God, and Jesus, then that relationship must be, as Bishop Browning points out, guided by a ministry of compassion. But that compassion must entail a *passion with* — a standing with — those who are oppressed — in this particular case, lesbians and gay men. This requires a willingness on the part of the church to cease discriminatory actions and hold open the doors of the churches for the oppressed. A ministry of compassion ultimately fails if it does not include the presence of self-affirming lesbians and gay men in all aspects of the

church's ministry.

In exercising the ministry of compassion, Bishop Browning asserts that the church must "foster reconciliation." We are faced with the danger, though, of premature reconciliation in which by pursuing the *via media*, we avoid the painful confrontation of the issues. Reconciliation cannot take place in the presence of injustice. Without justice there can be no peace. In the same manner, the church cannot be a "community where love and grace abound" if lesbians and gay men are continually asked to hide who we are in order to be acceptable. Until General Convention endorses the acceptance, ordination, and deployment of qualified lesbians and gay men, our relationship to one another in the church community is seriously impaired. May we all become movers from the land of fear and faithlessness to the land of love and faithfulness.

**Anne Gilson**

**New York, N.Y.**

## 'Normative' code word

Bishop Browning was present, I believe, for the installation of Desmond Tutu as Archbishop of Capetown and heard the prophet say that "Many years ago we [Blacks] were thought to be human, but not quite as human as White people, for we lacked what seemed to be indispensable to that humanity, a particular skin color. Have things changed? Yes and no. I am sad to say that I believe that the fundamental attitude that 'Blacks are human, but . . .' has not changed. We do not express it with the same crudity, but it remains all the same."

As a gay person, as an ordained person, I read in Bishop Browning's September response to the WITNESS an attitude, perhaps not even conscious, that sees gay and lesbian people as somehow human, but not quite so. The humanity — the suffering humanity in specific in-

*Continued on page 24*

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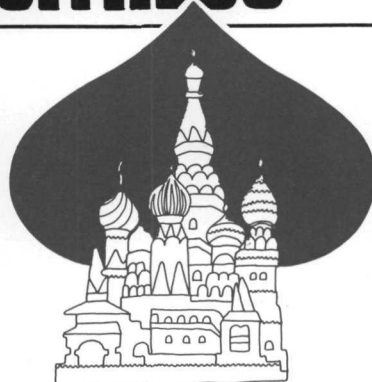
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## Baiting the Red bear

**R**onald Reagan returned empty-handed from the Reykjavik summit. Apparently he fervently believes, "The Lord is my Shepherd . . . but just in case . . . I'll keep Star Wars."

His failure to deal with Mikhail Gorbachev after the Soviets had offered a briefcase-full of creative motions toward peace affirms, sadly, what Sovietologist Marshal Shulman said earlier this year: When it comes to bargaining around nuclear arms control, the United States and the U.S.S.R are "out of sync."

"In the 40 years I have studied the Soviet Union, I have not seen a time when they were more interested in trying to negotiate with the United States," Shulman told 140 peace pilgrims prior to their departure for the U.S.S.R. under the aegis of the National Council of Churches. "But the United States is out of phase with

that. We have been preaching to them for a long time on the virtues of arms control. But now we are in a period of nationalism in our life, and as a result, nothing is coming of it."

In view of the recurring failures at the top, the U.S.-U.S.S.R. people to people visits such as those described in this issue become more and more vital to demystifying the Russian threat. In addition, these visits have unveiled a vital faith in that country, where Christians alone far outnumber the 19 million members of the Communist Party.

Further, a recent issue of *The Defense Monitor*, published by the Center for Defense Information, Washington, D.C. is most helpful in examining the role of fear and how it influences foreign policy: "Many Americans fear that Communist subversion and conquest are on the increase. The

opposite is the case. After World War II the Soviets had significant influence in 9% of the world's nations. They peaked at 15% in the late 1950s, dropping back to 11% today. Of the 164 other countries in the world, the Soviets have significant influence in 18." (See map pp. 14-15.)

In a speech following the summit, President Reagan said that he has always regarded the American people as "full participants" at the bargaining table.

It will take the best efforts of peace activists and other grassroots citizens to say "Deal us out. We want no part of the Star Wars holdup."

Then the United States can quickly forsake, with the U.S.S.R., this immoral nuclear arms buildup and get on with feeding a hungry world — both materially and spiritually. ■

# Summer in the Soviet

by Paul Valliere



**K**iev was an anxious city last summer. The streets were washed every morning to keep down the dust. Plastic sheets protected the merchandise in the better stores. Umbrellas were ubiquitous. Few bathers ventured onto the Dnieper beaches. Chernobyl was a constant topic of conversation and newspaper articles. Kiev also suffered from wounded pride. The Kievans were stung by the negative press, the bad jokes, the decline in visitors and the exodus of some of their fellow citizens. As for the Christians of Kiev, they were praying hard for the welfare of the city.

And so did we — the participants in an International Conference on the Millennium of the Baptism of Russia — hosted by the Russian Orthodox Church and chaired by Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev. The July conference featured scholarly papers and discussion concerning the baptism of Russia in 988 and its legacy, down to the present day. I was privileged

to attend as the representative of the Archbishop of Canterbury. A few other Westerners were there, too, but the majority came from the Soviet Union and other Eastern European or Eastern Orthodox lands.

The event was rewarding intellectually and also because of the opportunity it provided to celebrate the glorious ecclesiastical heritage of Kiev, where the Russian people under Prince Vladimir accepted baptism. It was moving to explore the subterranean network of tunnels and cells of the Kiev Caves Monastery, to view the remains of the saints who passed their lives there, and to reflect on the ironic security of the place in contrast to the anxiety above ground in the summer of Chernobyl. On another day, we had Sunday dinner at the Pokrovsky Convent, feasting on Ukrainian home-cooking and sampling tasty wines in copious portions. Thanks to Mikhail Gorbachev's campaign against alcoholism, "dry" meals are now standard in the Soviet Union. But nuns march to a different drummer.

Earlier in the summer I also had the good fortune to represent the Diocese of Indianapolis in a travel seminar in the Soviet Union sponsored by the National Council of the Churches of Christ. It was the fourth such seminar in as many years, although the first in which I participated. The seminars serve to forge ties between U.S. and Soviet Christians in the interest

of international peace and also to let U.S. Christians explore first-hand the questions they have about religion in the Soviet Union.

My first impressions of church and society in the Soviet Union today were much the same as during my earlier visits in the 1970s. I was impressed by the extraordinary fervor of the believers, especially in worship. The services are as long as ever (two to four hours), the attentiveness of the worshipers as sturdy, their chief complaint also the same: The priests "nowadays" abbreviate the services, which are "much too short!"

Again I was impressed by the social and cultural diversity of the Orthodox Church and by the religious diversity of the Soviet Union. Young and old, men and women, well-to-do and poor, sophisticated and simple, ascetics and worldly folk — one finds them all at church services. To be sure, there are regional differences. One sees a more balanced cross-section of the population in church in provincial centers such as Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia, and Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine; less of a mix in Leningrad and Moscow, where at many services older women still form the large majority. One senses that Moscow especially is "up tight" religiously, as well as in other ways. The unrivaled center of a highly centralized society, Moscow runs the Soviet Union, and the Muscovites can't seem to forget it. They take the



**Dr. Paul Valliere** is dean of University College at Butler University and a member of Christ Church Cathedral, Indianapolis. He has traveled to the Soviet Union five times to do academic research and to participate in ecumenical seminars and conferences.

rules of their system very seriously and avoid public displays of frivolity or nonconformism — such as letting themselves, in a moment of forgetfulness, drop in to church.

And then, as always, I was impressed by the immensity and beauty of the Soviet Union and how conspicuously churches dot the landscape. Our group had the chance to admire the gold onion-cupolas of Moscow, the neoclassical domes of Leningrad on the edge of Scandinavia, and the gold cones of the churches in the mountainous, republics of Georgia and Armenia. Even so, we visited only three of the 15 republics of the Soviet Union. Our travels reminded us to be careful about making generalizations.

Still, the citizens of the Soviet Union, Christians included, are part of one system, and certain trends and moods were evident wherever we went. Some of these were new to me. Among Christians probably the most striking difference was in the level of confidence expressed about the place of the church in Soviet society and its prospects for the future. Clergy and laity, in private conversation and in public, directly and indirectly, put out a message that may be summarized as follows: "We Christians are getting stronger, not weaker. When we have the chance to do something, we do it well; we have a future here."

A scene that embodied the message in a poignant way remains in my mind from the day our group visited the Department of External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate at their new offices in the Danilov Monastery in Moscow. Shortly before he died, Leonid Brezhnev authorized the return of this monastery to the control of the church. The gesture was laden with symbolism, as the Danilov was the first monastery founded in Moscow in the early days of Russian Christianity. It now has the paradoxical status of being at one and the same time the oldest and newest monastery in

Moscow — a fitting witness to faith in the Living God, who makes all things new.

The property is a very large one, including many buildings and an elaborate surrounding wall, so its complete renovation is a project of years. We descended from our Intourist buses to find a group of monks in traditional habit awaiting us in the arch of the main gate. Above them, built into the gate, was a small church where the liturgy was being sung. Behind them through the gate we could see the monastery courtyard — a construction site heaped with bricks, piles of lumber and excavated dirt. The spectacle of ancient tradition standing against a background of new construction, of young monks directing the "hard hats," was one of the most hopeful sights I have ever seen.

The Orthodox Church hopes for the return of more of its secularized properties in the future. A cathedral dean, speaking at a plenary session of our group at the Leningrad Theological Academy, said: "Our architecture and singing bear witness to the word of God. We have always had a feeling of responsibility for how the word of God is spread. Those monuments will someday belong to us again." The assertiveness of his last sentence startled and encouraged us. So, too, the confession of a young woman curator who took us through the collection of religious art in the Tbilisi Art Museum, a state institution. During the tour her reverence for the objects in her care showed so plainly that one of our group was moved to ask her, "Are you a believer?" "Oh, yes, of course!" she answered. "Besides, everyone believes in something." These were not lines she learned in curator's school.

Another memorable example of ecclesiastical self-confidence came when, as a translator, I accompanied a group leader on a private call to Metropolitan David, Bishop of Tbilisi. We had occasion to walk a couple of blocks in the open air with the Metropolitan and were surprised

to see him "halt traffic" on the busy sidewalk as every third or fourth person stopped to receive a blessing. Afterwards, back in his apartment, he showed us souvenirs from a recent trip to the United States, among them the "key" to the city of Tulsa. We asked the Metropolitan whether there was a "key" to the city of Tbilisi. "I don't know," he replied. "I need no keys in this city." We believed him.

Soviet Christians' new spirit of confidence brightened our perception of their situation but did not close our eyes to its negative aspects. All the churches are still constrained to exist within extremely narrow limits by Western standards of religious freedom. Open worship is allowed, but almost all other activities are disallowed. Furthermore, worship is permitted only in registered houses of worship, and the number of these is kept artificially low as a matter of state policy. Then, too, not all religious denominations share equally in improvements. The smaller communions, such as the Lutherans, the Baptists and the Old Believers, have a sharper sense of vulnerability than the Russian Orthodox. The situation of religious Jews remains critical.

During our four-day visit to Armenia, we toured splendid monuments, ate with monks, met the Patriarch, but never got to church. The capital of Armenia, Yerevan, is a city of well over a million people with only five open churches. Four of us found one of them about a mile from our hotel on a back street in a humble neighborhood. We arrived about 7 p.m. in the hope of sharing in vespers. The priest was there, but unfortunately vespers had "just ended." The next evening we arrived at 6 p.m. Vespers again had "just ended." After the third try, at 5 p.m., we gave up. Still, even on those undistinguished expeditions "the beauty of holiness" surrounded us. It was pleasant to sit in the small, cool church and watch believers stop in on

their way home to light a candle and pray. We could hear the voices of neighborhood children playing in the churchyard. White doves roosted in the cupola. Walking back along the main avenue we could admire Mt. Ararat, its snowy cone hanging in the sky as if suspended from heaven rather than resting on the Armenian plain.

My summer in the Soviet Union ended with the Kiev Conference. The scholarly discussions were hard-hitting, particularly the debates among the Russian Orthodox themselves. This made the conference especially stimulating because it afforded insight into differences of approach within the Russian Orthodox community. While the debates may have appeared to be concerned only with the interpretation of events in Kievan Russia centuries ago, one had the strong sense that the interlocutors were also voicing their views on the issues facing the Russian Orthodox Church in their own day. The main antagonists could be characterized as "historical realists"

and "missionary idealists." The realists, always in good control of the historical facts and sources pertaining to their case, emphasized the distinctiveness, solidity, even self-sufficiency of Orthodoxy. Not too interested in ecumenical relations and at times a bit nationalistic, the realists saw in Kievan Russia an example of the Orthodox Church's capacity for being the "one, holy, catholic and apostolic church" in a very public way, in integral association with state and society. Missionary idealists, on the other hand, saw in Kievan Russia an example of bold activism on the frontiers of church and society. Less interested in celebrating the solidity of Orthodoxy than the realists, they extolled an Orthodoxy that sought to transcend its customary limits and to open new fields of endeavor for the church.

The conference was planned to end July 28, the Feast of St. Vladimir. During the last two days we spent no fewer than 16 hours in liturgy. The services were especially splendid, as Vladi-

mir is the patron saint of Kiev's metropolitan cathedral. Again and again the choirs sang the hymn of the saint that we conferees, too, had sung at the start of each day's work:

*You are to be compared  
to the merchant who sought  
the pearl of great price  
glorious ruler Vladimir,  
seated on the high throne  
of the Mother of Cities, Kiev,  
protected of God.*

*Seeking to establish the Orthodox  
Faith you sent envoys to the  
Imperial City  
and you found the pearl of great  
price, the Christ.*

*He has chosen you to be a second  
Paul, and has shaken off your  
blindness in the holy font,  
blindness of soul and body.  
Therefore we as your people celebrate  
your sacred elevation.  
Pray for the salvation  
of your Russian state, its rulers,  
and the multitude of subjects.* ■

## Churches in the U.S.S.R.?

Most people express utter amazement that there are functioning churches, mosques and synagogues in the Soviet Union today. Actually, its borders encompass four major religious traditions — Christianity, Judaism, Islam and Buddhism. The main branches of Christianity are represented:

- Some 40 million Russian Orthodox trace their history back to 988 when Prince Vladimir of Kiev was baptized and established the Greek Orthodox Church as the national religion.

The number of active, functioning Orthodox churches in the U.S.S.R. is much the same as about 20 years ago: 7,000 to 8,000. In 1939, most of the churches had been shut down; only a few hundred remained open. By 1949, after World War II, some 15,000 to 20,000

were functioning. Under Khrushchev's regime, however, these were cut to approximately half, to bring the figure to those which exist today. A small number of monasteries remain open and there are five seminaries with an enrollment of approximately 2,000. Since a priest cannot be ordained without being assigned to a parish, the number of seminarians are calibrated to church needs. The people support their own clergy. Secular priests and married clergy, however, are entitled to draw a pension from the state like other citizens, saving the church the financial burden of operating a pension fund.

- Two other ancient churches with large memberships are the Armenian Oriental Orthodox Church and the Georgian Orthodox Church. Armenia

was the first Christian nation, isolated from both Byzantium and the Western churches by the Council of Chalcedon in 451. The history of the Armenian people and churches is marred by the genocide of some half million Armenians in the early 1900s. The Georgian Orthodox Church is Byzantine in tradition and recently celebrated its 1500th anniversary. St. John Chrysostom's relics are retained by this church. His liturgy is celebrated in all Eastern Orthodox churches today. Counting heads in these ancient churches is often deemed superfluous. Armenia adopted Christianity in the year 301; some say that to be Armenian is to be a Christian. As a government tour guide in Georgia remarked, "Even the atheists say this is a Christian nation."

- Some 2 to 3 million Roman Cath-





olics are found mostly in the Baltic republics, principally Lithuania and in the Western Ukraine.

- Baptists are the largest group of Protestants in the U.S.S.R., the official figure listed as 500,000, but it is suggested unofficially that the actual figure is closer to 2 to 3 million. They trace their origins to the German Baptists in the 19th century and also to English influence in St. Petersburg in the early 1870s.

- 1 million Lutherans are second largest of the Protestant bodies, chiefly in Estonia and Latvia.

Other groups of Protestants include Mennonites, Methodists, Pentecostals, Seventh Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses, and a Hungarian church of the Reformed tradition. The Old Believers, begun by a schism in the Russian Orthodox Church in the 17th century, is solely of Russian origin.

The Jewish and Muslim communities have been visited by NCC delegations to demonstrate respect and concern for their situations. To authorities, Soviet Jews are considered a nationality. Almost 2 million Jews live in the U.S.S.R., the majority Ashkenazim who moved eastward from Central Europe in the Middle Ages. Smaller communities are in the Caucasian mountains in Georgia, where they speak in an Iranian dialect, and in

Central Asia. During the '70s, some 260,000 Jews were allowed to leave, but emigration was severely curtailed in 1980, after the invasion of Afghanistan. The lack of available Hebrew language study remains a severe restriction in Jewish religious life.

Approximately 40 million Moslems live in Central Asia, European Russia and Siberia, Ciscaucasia and Transcaucasia. By the year 2000 some dramatic shifts in the Soviet population could occur. Rising birthrates show that the Turkic and other traditionally Islamic Central Asian peoples could comprise as much as 25% of the population in less than 15 years.

Buddhists, organized under a lama, live in the autonomous republic of the Buryat-Mongols, in Kalmyk and Tuva, and around Chita and Irkutsk.

Article 124 of the Soviet Constitution states that "the church in the U.S.S.R. is separate from the state," and that "freedom of worship is recognized for all citizens." While the legal system proclaims this, it hardly means that discrimination has disappeared from the lives of the populace. The most optimistic interpretation is that the U.S.S.R. is in good faith but hasn't been able to flush oppression out of its system, much as in the United States, Civil Rights laws have not

been able to eliminate racism against minorities. What Soviets call "democratization" of the country is an on-going process, and their revolution is only 70 years old, they point out. The Council of Religious Affairs handles all matters related to the churches.

Clearly, being Christian does not enhance one's career. But there are today more Christians with more responsibility in the government. As one NCC official put it, "It would be dangerous to assume too much from this, but uninformed not to assume anything."

And Jim Forest, peace activist/editor has pointed out that "The churches, even when reduced to museums like St. Basil's in Moscow, remain a kind of sacrament. They are architectural channels of grace, wordless but articulate evangelists... More important than the outer shape are the icons within. Often every surface but the floor is covered with them. Entering one of the Kremlin's cathedrals, you pass under a newly restored icon of the Last Judgment, a solemn reminder that a final weighing of hearts awaits us, but only at the end of time, when the final consequences of every life, for good or ill, can be known. The church is dedicated to the summoner of judgment, the Archangel Michael, and inside, many of the Czars, including Ivan the Terrible, await the great trumpet blast in their stone boxes."

— M.L.S.

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# Bridge-building twixt adversaries

by Bill and Polly Spofford

*Bill and Polly Spofford were among adults accompanying 28 high school students commissioned from the Washington National Cathedral by Bishop John Walker as a peace delegation to the U.S.S.R. this summer. They took sections of the Peace Ribbon which had hung around both the National Cathedral and the Pentagon, as well as materials from the Boise Peace quilters, Ploughshare lapel pins, and the new Russian language edition of "What of the Children" by the Parents and Teachers for Social Responsibility of Vermont. In the following pages are impressions of the trip by the Spoffords and two students, Jennifer Wilder and David Hutchinson (see vignettes).*

**T**here is a Russian proverb which has often proved true historically, militarily, and politically: *Space is our enemy, space is our friend.*

Visiting four major metropolitan centers hardly qualifies as more than an appetite-whetting exercise in a landmass as broad and culturally diverse as the Soviet Union. Except for a brief visit to Zagorsk, the heart of Russian Orthodoxy through the centuries, we visited no rural or farming communities. We were in three different Soviet republics but there are 12 more we never touched.

Even with the efficient, ever-present service of U.S.S.R. Intourist guides, it is always difficult to travel to cultures where one does not know the languages, the in-depth history of the people, their diets, the essence of their philosophies and religions, and their mechanisms of social process, education and control. It was to "feel" into these that we went to the Soviet Union, and, in a modest way, to be bridge-builders between peoples and in current terms, between adversaries.

Our trip was pastoral rather than political, educational as opposed to polemical. It was limited in coverage and, at the end, one is left with impressions rather than with great knowledge. It is as though a Soviet citizen should visit New York City, Washington, Tampa and Tucson briefly and claim that the U.S. people, culture and history are known.

On Oct. 1, 1939, Winston Churchill uttered his famous commentary: "I cannot forecast to you the action of Russia. It

is a riddle, wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma, but perhaps there is a key. That key is Russian national interest." There seems to be still much truth in this observation. But it also applies to all nation-states, whether one is referring to the U.S.S.R., the United States, or developing countries in the Third World.

Of course, the human and physical devastation of what the Soviets call The Great Patriotic War is a living and vital memory in the present and a component of their anxiety about the future. All cities which we visited are officially designated Hero Cities, each having parks and monuments with "living flames" for the more than 20 million who suffered and died. For us, the most moving was in Leningrad, seen from our modern hotel room, since it was located a stone's throw from the frontline bunkers in the siege of that city.

We had uncomfortable feelings as we passed through an Orwellian "mirror" where, in our conversations and lectures, we were graciously treated but often seen as citizens of the Evil Empire. In Moscow, it was strange, living in the mammoth 6,000 resident hotel next to the Kremlin, to realize that most of the other people there were from Arab/ Islamic nations, southeast Asia and African countries, along with some western Europeans and many Scandinavians. Their lives whirled on a different axis than ours. They, too, had cameras, funny hats and lapel pins which revealed that holidays provide an essence of human community that is beyond ideology. Each morning, black limousines picked up some hotel residents and sped off to various conclaves and trade negotiations as we, tourists, waited for our bus — exactly like Washington, D.C.

At times, it was difficult to make any real contact or to empathize, since the nature of our official meetings were with adults (although the approved plans had called for contact

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with teenagers). Whether they were ecclesiastics or community persons, they often seemed to be puzzled by the challenging openness of U.S. students and, generally, the students had a strong sense of being "talked down to." The official style was to "talk at" rather than to dialogue. Indeed, the most angry exchanges we had were with the official peace committee in Odessa, which we are sure did little for peace-making and understanding. As Sydney Smith, the English cleric-wit, wrote years ago: "We were like two neighbors arguing across their common fence . . . we were arguing from different premises!" It was always hard to get the premises clarified. But in the effort, we pray, will be the victory of understanding.

Their reference points seemed to be the past, symbolized by churches, monasteries and museums, and the future which, if there could be peace, might be built. Except in novels, we felt that Russians don't appear very existential. In novels, and they are a reading people, they make up for it.

Everywhere, the present was obviously better than the immediate past and there was a great deal of building and expansion planned and in process. The totally devastated Leningrad has been, and continues to be, restored, with the result that the Venice of the North, with its many canals and the Neva River, has to be one of the planet's most beautiful cities. (To read of the devastation, we commend the chilling account of their siege, *900 Days*, by Harrison Salisbury.) In 1986 alone, Leningrad is expected to complete 60,000 apartments, complete with medical units, day-care centers, schools and shopping centers. These mini-cities, in expanding suburbs, are significantly more attractive than developments post-World War II and we were told that, given peace and reduction in military security needs, plans could move ahead significantly. The people invariably seemed proud of how far they had come but concerned as to where the future would lead.

At the same time, in conversations, history is repressed and distorted. We heard, for instance, no mention of Afghanistan or Angola. We heard nothing of dissenters or resisters. But there were strong feelings expressed on the day that the U.S. Congress voted \$100 million in aid to the Contras in Central

America. This action was known to everybody, it seems. We heard the name Stalin once, in a negative context, and never heard the names Brezhnev, Khrushchev and others, indicating their flexible view of history.

We were shown the gracious parts of communities, complete with some good statuary, splendid fountains, restored palaces and gardens. We participated in several Orthodox church services, and viewed "museum" churches. The students felt that we weren't being shown negative sides of life. However, how often do Washington tour buses head to the Jefferson and Lincoln Memorials via the pain and sordidness of the 14th Street corridor? Never, we imagine, do nightmares mix well with dreams and ideals. Whatever the culture, dirty laundry is seldom hung in public view.

The active churches we visited seemed reasonably lively. They were totally male-dominated as to liturgical officiating, which for Washingtonians was off-putting. Of course, services were precise and sensually beautiful, especially musically. The power of iconography, so seminal in Orthodox spirituality, was obvious, although on occasion one wished to see just one good icon, well-presented and lit. In churches, as well as in museums such as The Hermitage, one saw much "forest," but it was hard to enjoy the "trees."

For the most part, the numerous worshipers were older — we saw no children — and they actively participated in singing the lay parts of the liturgies. We were always hosted graciously, especially in churches, monasteries and seminaries.

The three monasteries and seminaries we visited had student bodies of 300 to 400 and each contained rich cathedrals and museums. In Odessa, the seminary museum had a comprehensive ecumenical room, featuring many meetings of the World Council of Churches and other conclaves; pictures of various Archbishops of Canterbury and significant leaders of the ecumenical movement post-W.W. II, and various exchange gifts which had been shared as tokens towards Christian unity. We were also informed that the churches, whether congregationally active or redundant as museums, received large grants for the restoration of buildings and their interiors. It seemed that when active churches had money for this, it



was a matter of some speculation, if not suspicion. One seminary dean said that active churches raised all their own money but, for historic reasons, governmental grants were offered to places such as Zagorsk as part of the Russian heritage.

Despite the words of human equality, Black members of our party felt an incipient racism in commercial and other settings. They were not significantly aware of it in ecclesiastical settings, although one Baptist pastor was obvious in his refusal to acknowledge the Rev. Gayle Harris as priest, always calling her "the teacher." No Orthodox cleric appeared disturbed by relating to an Episcopal female priest.

On occasion, out of ignorance or youthful enthusiasm, we are sure that we came across as "ugly Americans" but that is hard to overcome in a culture that lives much by form, protocol and precedence.

We had all learned at least one word in Russian, *nyet*, to say to the street people (youthful or otherwise) who wanted to

exchange rubles for hard currency, or our clothing or jewelry — an illegal act in the U.S.S.R. The subsequent case of correspondent Nick Daniloff, highlights the wisdom of our learning that word and, most often, the simple "no" did the trick.

We were impressed with the Moscow Museum of Aeronautics and Space, which is fully as rich and powerful as ours at the Smithsonian, and noticed how, as with Lenin, Yuri Gagarin's pictures, statues and monuments are, shall we say, "divinized." Space, that proverbial enemy and friend, seemed part of their present and future in a real way.

Everywhere, especially in Odessa, persons referred to "this summer of crisis," by which they meant the disaster at Chernobyl. The pioneer camp we visited was filled with children from the Kiev area and the director told us that 250,000 children from the most afflicted area had been moved to such camps, at least for the summer months. He reported that physical examinations indicated that there was

## Peace from bottom up

by Jennifer Wilder

The first step in achieving a lasting peace between the United States and the Soviet Union is to have the people of each of these great nations understand one another. This summer, I was part of a youth tour of the Soviet Union, sponsored by the Diocese of Washington. The trip was aimed at educating high school students about the USSR. We were given the chance to meet Soviet people so that we might gain a better understanding of those we have come to call "our enemies." We had hoped that this trip would allow us to discover the real Soviet Union.

We went with the idea that the Soviet people must be normal and friendly, even if their government does oppose our beliefs about freedom. As we toured Moscow, Odessa, Leningrad, and Tallinn, visiting museums, shops, churches, and even the beach, we found some of our stereotypes confirmed and others disproven. In general, we found that the Soviet people are very much like us, and becoming friends with them might not be so difficult after all.

The most memorable experiences I had were those with the Soviet churches. The magnificent Russian Orthodox cathedrals with their golden domes, ancient icons, and musky incense were breathtaking, but even more inspiring were the believers who worshipped in those churches. We saw many young people, single men and women, or families who had given up their chances of getting top government jobs by worshipping openly. However, the majority of believers in the Orthodox churches were

the old, wrinkled widows, called babushki, who, although toothless and hunched over with age, could remain standing devoutly throughout a four-hour service when our young, healthy group felt faint after an hour. Their friendly smiles were the warmest I had ever received, as they welcomed us and thanked us for coming to visit.

Although most of our personal encounters with Soviet citizens were positive, we did find ourselves in some unpleasant situations. In one incident, we were supposed to have met with a group of Soviet young people at a Peace Commission in Odessa. We were met instead by two older men, and ended up debating government policy rather than discussing person-to-person understanding. We also had some frightening encounters with "the system." The schedule imposed on us by Intourist (the government tourism agency) was grueling, and the military guards stationed at our hotel in Moscow were intimidating. Many mem-



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no extraordinary elevation in radioactivity in their systems. But most obviously there was concern about the accident.

Before the flight home, we assessed the two-week trip as 70% positive. It was obvious, in Lutheran Estonia, as in Orthodox Moscow, Leningrad and Odessa, that the people wanted and needed peace. Our small group, consisting mostly of future decision-makers and educators, had the privilege of looking at things through some Soviet contacts, eyes and persons. Most recognized that, although nuclear and other armaments are the negotiating issues, the real concerns, built on mutual fear and hope, are ideological and historical. As such they are related to communication, trust-building, increasing honesty and deeper empathy.

Throughout we were aware of being in a controlled and noncommunicative society. Early in what the Soviets reminded us was the third Russian Revolution, Lenin wrote: "Soviet power is a new type of state in which there is no bureaucracy, no police, no standing army." Obviously, his-

toric events, combined with what Christians name sin, now make this a failed dream. But, the persons we met, in churches, on the streets, in the markets, in formal and informal settings, were concerned with what they call *mir*, and we call peace or shalom. Knowing that we were Americans, they surfaced the topic on all occasions and at every opportunity. We also saw it proclaimed on every city's billboards and buildings.

We landed at Kennedy airport July 6, just as the celebration of Miss Liberty's 100th birthday was ending. There it was confusion, bustle, exuberance and New York *chutzpa*. It felt good. In fact, on a human level, it didn't feel too different from the people in the open market in Odessa or along the flower stalls in medieval Tallinn or, particularly, the vibrant crowds on Leningrad's Nevsky Prospekt during the White Nights of early summer.

Maybe, with such small steps by church folk, and others, the longer journey will continue. ■

bers of our group had luggage searched at Customs, or their visas scrutinized by stone-faced guards trying to verify that we were who we said we were. However, these tense experiences were over quickly and left us with only a taste of the rigidity we associate with Communism.

The most personal encounter I had in the USSR was with a college student named Alexander. He is a student at a university in Leningrad, and was taking an English course. His professor had encouraged him to go out and find some American or English tourists, so that he could practice his English, and he had found me and two of my friends from the trip. He told us about the American literature he was supposed to study. Unfortunately, he had searched everywhere for the books he needed, but they were not available. He asked if we had brought any with us. I wish I had packed some popular American paperbacks. We also discussed world travel. While my friends and I were free to travel anywhere we wished, even to the USSR, he would never be allowed out of his homeland. He explained that seeing the world was like a dream to him. I could not imagine learn-

ing about foreign countries all my life without ever having the opportunity to see them.

The main message that the Soviet people we met asked us to carry home to our churches and peers is the fact that the Soviet Union wants peace, too. The memory of World War II, when hundreds of cities were destroyed and a generation of men was killed, is still alive and vivid in every family of the USSR. They never want to live through an experience like that again, and will do anything to avoid a World War III, particularly a nuclear holocaust. Every person we talked to made it clear that he or she was ready to improve relations between our two countries to insure peace and an end to the threat of nuclear war.

Although my two weeks in the Soviet Union were a priceless learning experience, I was very happy to be on my way home. Seeing a country without democracy or capitalism had made me realize how much I take America and its ideals for granted. During our Fourth of July party in Tallinn, the day before we left the USSR, the entire group reflected these feelings as we sang, drank cham-

pagne, and stuck one another with red-white-and-blue band-aids.

Now that the trip is over, each of us has been asked to share our experiences and impressions, in hopes that what we learned during our two weeks in the Soviet Union will help others gain a better understanding of our "rivals" in the USSR and eventually provide basis for a lasting peace.

Although I would love to go back to the USSR again, to meet more people and visit more places, this trip has given me a better perspective of the Soviet Union. I was pleased by the good experiences we had with friendly people who welcomed us to their home. The negative experiences left me feeling disappointed, but they did bring me to realize that our governments may never see eye to eye, so the best way to bring about better relations is to start from the bottom up, with personal friendships. When the people of the Soviet Union and the people of the United States have become friends, our governments will find it much more difficult to disagree. World peace may depend on friendships between the ordinary citizens of our two nations. ■

## Top Recipients of Soviet Arms

1955-85

Syria	\$16.3 Billion
Iraq	\$15.4
Libya	\$11.2
Vietnam	\$9.0
India	\$8.2
East Germany	\$6.5
Cuba	\$6.0
Algeria	\$5.6
Poland	\$5.0
Ethiopia	\$4.1

1980-85

Syria	\$10.3 Billion
Iraq	\$8.2
Libya	\$5.8
Vietnam	\$4.9
India	\$4.8
Cuba	\$3.9
Algeria	\$3.6
Angola	\$2.8
Ethiopia	\$2.6
East Germany	\$2.5

Note: All figures are deliveries in current dollars (Billions).

Sources: CIA, DIA, DoD, ACDA, CDI.

Chart prepared by the Center for Defense Information.

## Soviet Military Advisors in The Third World

Cuba	5,600
Syria	4,000
Vietnam	2,500
Libya	2,000
Ethiopia	1,700
South Yemen	1,500*
Angola	1,000
Iraq	1,000
Mozambique	850
Algeria	800
Laos	500
North Yemen	500
India	200
Others	500**
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>22,650</b>

\* Reportedly declined to 600 during January 1986 upheaval.

\*\* Includes: Peru (125-150); Congo (100); Madagascar (100); Nicaragua (50-70); Seychelles (10); Benin; Cape Verde; Guinea; Guinea-Bissau; Mali; Nigeria; Sao Tome and Principe; Tanzania; Zambia.

Note: Not listed are 118,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan and 75,000 troops in Mongolia.

Sources: DoD, State Dept., CDI.

Chart prepared by the Center for Defense Information.

SOVIET INFLUENCE

### Soviet Treaties of Friendship and Cooperation

*Egypt* (5-27-71, abrogated 3-15-76)  
*India* (8-9-71)  
*Iraq* (4-9-72)  
*Somalia* (7-11-74, abrogated 11-13-77)  
  
*Angola* (10-8-76)  
*Mozambique* (3-31-77)  
*Vietnam* (11-3-78)  
*Ethiopia* (11-20-78)  
*Afghanistan* (12-5-78)  
*South Yemen* (10-25-79)  
*Syria* (10-8-80)  
*Congo* (5-13-81)

### Soviet Defense Treaties




*Albania* (abrogated 1968)  
*Bulgaria*  
*China* (expired 1980)  
*Czechoslovakia*  
*East Germany*  
*Hungary*  
*North Korea*  
*Mongolia*  
*Poland*

### Members of COMECON

The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (also known as COMECON or CMEA) is the economic alliance created by the U.S.S.R. and East European nations.

*Albania* (dropped out in 1961)  
*Bulgaria*  
*Czechoslovakia*  
*East Germany*  
*Hungary*  
*Poland*  
*Romania*  
*Soviet Union*  
*Mongolia* (since 1962)  
*Cuba* (since 1972)  
*Vietnam* (since 1978)

### KEY

 Soviet Union  
 Significant Soviet Influence  
 (Afghanistan, Angola, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, East Germany, Hungary, Laos, Libya, Mongolia, Mozambique, Poland, Romania, Syria, Vietnam, South Yemen)  
 Other Countries

# Short Takes

## Fear youth's #1 enemy

- U.S. children are being fingerprinted because of the fear of kidnapping.

- Thirty-nine states indicate an increase in reports of child abuse.

- 22% of U.S. youth under 18 live in poverty.

- Suicides among U.S. youth (ages 15-24) have increased 300% in the last two decades.

- The ultimate form of child abuse is war. From World War I to the present, civilian casualties from warfare have risen from 5% to 97% — mostly women and children. Of the 25-30 million refugees worldwide, 15 million are children — mostly from the Third World.

- One in three U.S. teenagers fears a nuclear war will take place in their lifetime, according to Dr. John E. Mack, chairperson of Harvard Medical School's Psychiatry Department. He says: "They feel alone with their fears and abandoned, isolated and unprotected by the adult generation, including the nation's leaders."

**Children of War flyer**  
**Religious Task Force**

## Quote of note

To be moderate in matters of love is simply not to love. To be moderate in matters of justice is to be simply unjust.

**John Howard Griffin**  
**The Hermitage Journals**

## 1st in feminist theology

For the first time in theological education, a doctoral level degree is being offered in Feminist Liberation Theology and Ministry at Episcopal Divinity School.

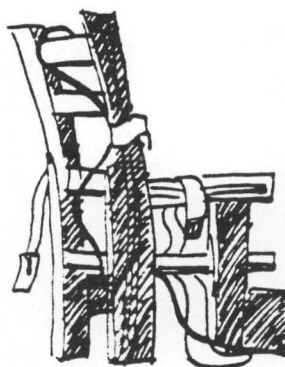
Ecumenical in vision, the FLTM program provides an opportunity to

- reflect on the experience of marginalized people as a starting point for doing theology,

- discuss the genealogy of race, sex, and class oppression,

- explore different directions in feminist studies and theology, and their implications for ministry today.

For information write EDS, 99 Brattle Street, Cambridge, MA 02138.



## Death penalty facts

- Each year since 1975 at least one country has abolished the death penalty.

- Iran, Iraq, China, South Africa, the Soviet Union and the United States are now the chief countries where the death penalty is imposed.

- Georgia has the highest execution rate of any state — and the highest murder rate of any state.

- Since Florida has resumed executions, the murder rate has gone up. It jumped 14% in the first six months after the death penalty was reinstated.

- For 13 out of 14 years, Illinois, with the death penalty has had a higher murder rate than Michigan without the death penalty.

**Newsletter, Church of the Incarnation**  
**Ann Arbor, Mich.**

## Bishops defer to women

Roman Catholic bishops have abandoned their plans to issue a pastoral letter on women. Instead they will issue a "pastoral response" on the subject next year. The change appears to reflect the will of women who told the bishops early on that they didn't care to be studied as a problem.

**Inside the American**  
**Religion Scene (RNS Newsletter)**

## 700 B.C. advice

Go to the people. Live with them. Learn from them. Love them. Start with what they know. Build with what they have. With the best leaders when the work is done, the task accomplished, the people will say, "We have done this ourselves."

**Lao Tsu (China, 700 B.C.)**

## Shades of Chernobyl

At the Fernauld uranium processing plant near Cincinnati, local residents learned in 1985 that drinking water supplies were contaminated with radiation 15 times higher than EPA guidelines. The government and Fernauld management knew about the contamination for four years before alerting the citizens affected by it.

Recent revelations also show that Fernauld has pumped at least 215,000 pounds of uranium dust into the air and 170,000 pounds of uranium into the water over its 30-year history. For years the secrecy was so great around the facility that even local residents thought the weapons production center was a cattle food production plant.

In January, 1986, after an accidental release of uranium gas had killed one worker at the Kerr-McGee processing facility in Oklahoma, the government permitted release of the remaining radioactive gases. The cloud floated over houses and an elementary school within miles of the facility. No one from the company or the government warned the residents. Only after a worker made an anonymous call did anyone know of the release.

Hiding the truth from people in Oklahoma or Cincinnati is the same as hiding it from those in Kiev.

**Billie Garde and Tom Devine**  
**Providence New Paper**  
**Utne Reader 9/86**

## Facts about PACs

Our system of government is under threat by the millions of dollars political action committees (PACs) are pouring into congressional races every year. In the 1984 election, PACs contributed more than \$100,000,000 to congressional candidates. And those PAC contributions will pay off in billions of dollars worth of government favors for the corporations and other special interest groups that are making them. "There's always been some corruption in American politics. What has happened with political action committees is we've institutionalized that corruption," said former U.S. Rep. John Cavanaugh.

**Common Cause flyer**





## The 'Mind of the House'

**A**troublesome resolution concerning the election and consecration of women to the episcopate emerged from the recent interim meeting of the House of Bishops in San Antonio. Even more troublesome were the discussions that led to its adoption, raising more questions than answers, both for those "pro" and "con" women bishops.

While reaffirming the action taken at the 1985 General Convention (advising that the House "would not withhold consent to the consecration of any person as bishop on the grounds of gender alone") a subsequent clause in the new resolution seems to take a step back from that significant pronouncement. It reads: "Be it further resolved that while recognizing the right of any diocese to proceed with episcopal elections, the House of Bishops does acknowledge the concern of the Primates for restraint in proceeding to the consecration of a woman as a bishop before the 1988 Lambeth Conference." The final resolve, "that this action is in no way intended to imply that any Lambeth Conference could decide such a matter for any autonomous province," is not very helpful since the prior clause sends a decided and dangerous signal for delay.

With, of course, no presbyters or laity involved in the debate, an immediate question is: What chilling effect might the resolution have on diocesan Standing Committees, a majority of which also

must consent to the election and consecration of any bishop? If such consent is withheld, could this, in turn, lead to an "irregular consecration" reminiscent of the 1974 ordinations of the Philadelphia 11 to priesthood? Further, what new or strengthened diocesan canons might emerge to "protect" local autonomy and jurisdiction?

Beyond these procedural questions lie some emotional issues that could again so consume the mind and energy of the church as to push the consecration of any women, if not their election, well beyond Lambeth '88. Some indication of this was seen in the fact that permeating the small group discussions in the House was the "pain and agony" of the "Fond du Lac 16" — some factious fathers in God who have gone on record as being unable to live with the prospect of "mitered mommas."

A sampling of the questions raised included: Would bishops who consecrated women be out of communion with other bishops such as the above or those in other provinces of the church who feel that apostolic succession has been despoiled already by admission of women to the priesthood? What would happen if a person ordained by a woman moved to another diocese whose bishop did not acknowledge her consecration? But most prevalent was the question, How can the House and church *accommodate* bishops and those in their dioceses who cannot

accept women in the episcopate?

With regard to the latter, at least one discussion group asked if the present "conscience clause" (which permits bishops to deny women ordination to priesthood solely on the basis of gender) does not already provide for their concern? If, indeed, it does, then a frightening situation arises for the whole church. How can you have a conscience clause with regard to a *bishop*. If a bishop can be rejected by bishops, then certainly presbyters and laity are in no way constrained to accept that person or the sacramental acts of their office, such as Confirmation.

As might be expected, missing from most of the discussions, or at least what was reported of the discussions, was any real mention of the *women* who will be affected by all this. And, of course, no women were invited to share their perspectives or their feelings on the matter. All of which leads me to answer one important question that was not asked. When we do "see the day come 'round" on which the first woman is admitted to that august body, what survival instincts will she need? Answer: a high tolerance for indecisiveness, an inordinate amount of patience with unimaginative leadership, a low level of frustration at the penchant for preserving the collegiality of the "club" at all costs and an appetite for ambiguity. Lacking a cast iron backside, she might well have her cope and miter lined with rhino hide as a hedge against insensitivity. ■

## Mother Church, Mother Russia

# The double burden of peace

by Mary Lou Suhor

**T**ake a country two and a half times larger than the United States. It encompasses 170 ethnic groups, 130 languages, and 100 distinct nationalities. What do you call it?

Well, Ronald Reagan calls it the Evil Empire and says only a Star Wars system can protect us from it. And some people say Russia, which is closer, but misleading. Russians comprise only 52% of the population. More properly, it's the Soviet Union, which also contains within its borders Georgians, Armenians, Ukrainians, and Central Asian Uzbeks — all proud of their identity. It's a layered society (the onion domes of its churches are an apt symbol) informed by a complex history going back hundreds and hundreds of years.

Russian is the dominant language, taught in schools to foster communication, which would otherwise be a problem. For example, the Slavs use the Cyrillic alphabet (St. Cyril devised it); the Georgians and Armenians have kept their old Japhetic alphabets derived from Aramaic and Greek script; and Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians have retained Latin script. One has to marvel how the Politburo makes the gosh darn country work.

From that introduction, I betray the fact that as a journalist, I am intrigued by language and the complexities it offers. But the concept which puzzled me most during my summer trip to the Soviet Union with the National Council of Churches was *Mother Russia*.

To be sure, the Politburo has no women in its ranks, and the Russian Orthodox Church remains rigidly patriarchal. Yet there is an almost mystical veneration for the word "mother." We came upon heroic statues called "Mother Georgia" and "Mother Armenia." A sculpture called "Motherland" dominates the memorial ensemble in the Piskarevskoye Cemetery in Leningrad, where more civilian victims of World War II are buried — mostly women and children — than *all* our WWII military casualties. I also recalled reading histories



**Motherland  
Piskarevskoye Cemetery  
Leningrad**

and novels in which protagonists were motivated to act "for Mother Church and Mother Russia."

In contrast, the United States is portrayed in masculine images: Uncle Sam, the Founding Fathers, today's Rambo-mania and a macho President who plays out High Noon in foreign policy. In Leningrad, Motherland stands in vigil over those who died in the struggle against Hitler's "Fatherland" of the Third Reich. Were we headed in a Fascist direction with these macho thrusts?

I filed this data to be explored at the end of our visit during a dialogue with women from U.S.S.R. churches, for which I had been asked to be co-facilitator.

Before we left home, our advisor, feminist-activist Sister Marjorie Tuite of Church Women United, had sketched out parameters for our discussion during orientation sessions:

*"The women's struggle for equality and justice takes place within a worldview of militarism which is acted out daily in a culture of violence against women . . . Militarism is rooted in patriarchy; that is, a pervasive pattern of ideological assumptions and social structures that validate and enforce the subjugation of female to male, of colonized peoples to racial overlords, of the whole People of God to male religious leaders.*

*"A second factor is that the daily reality for millions of women is a struggle for economic survival. Within this framework, women of faith are seeking to formulate a theology based on their experience which will reach beyond patriarchal traditions of existing social and religious institutions."*

As Providence would decree, Marjorie fell ill and was to die in the United States before we returned, the news leaving us stunned and bereaved when announced in Frankfurt. But her words had remained in my head as her memory will ever in my heart when 19 of us met in Moscow to dialogue with 10 Soviet churchwomen.

We did not know quite what to expect. Our previous meetings with patriarchs, archimandrites, monks, seminarians too often had been characterized by long, formal presentations allowing little time for questions, making for limited and reserved exchanges. At worst, this was interpreted as church people frustratingly dodging the opportunity to dialogue on important issues; at best, it was interpreted as Soviet "style," complicated by a long history.

Natalia Chernyh, a knowledgeable ecumenist, explained it this way: "Suppose you had two books, one a 200-page history of the United States, and another the history of the U.S.S.R., of 1,000 pages. Can you imagine spreading out 200 pages at once to try to find an answer to a question? Even that would be difficult. Now imagine consulting 1,000 pages. If we hesitate in response to a question perhaps it is because we are simply trying to determine what page to consult, seeking the most precise answer. I invite you to be tolerant."

Against former experiences, the women's dialogue turned out to be remarkably free of rhetoric. Ironically, the sign on the Intourist bus which transported us to the meeting illustrated one recurring theme which we dealt with: The sign read *Women Problems*, and some U.S. men were heard to say that they wished their wives were on that bus. The sign was quickly edited to *Women's Concerns*.

We noted that our official Soviet guides waited outside as the five dialogues took place, the Orthodox church having provided translators for the discussions on peace and disarmament, youth, liturgy, and human rights, in addition to ours.

Brief introductions indicated that our 19-member U.S. delegation ranged in age from 29 to over 60, and included widows, married women, divorced and single women from various states. Some were grandmothers, some great-grand-

mothers. Working professions included teachers, journalists, counsellors, homemakers, interior decorators, clergy, church-workers, and a speech therapist, computer programmer, hotel administrator, songwriter. One woman, unemployed, was job-hunting.

Half our size, the Soviet delegation represented an impressive array of Orthodox and Baptist women from Moscow and Leningrad and included educators, translators, church-workers, ecumenists, and a chemist — some married, some divorced, some grandmothers. Nina Bobrova, co-facilitator for the Soviet side in welcoming us outlined our commonalities: We were all sisters-in-Christ, seeking peace while threatened by nuclear war, fearful of a future which endangered the lives of our children and the ecology of the planet.

From there on the accent was on sharing, as we exchanged ideas, analysis, and anecdotes from our lives. Discussion centered around marriage and the family, justice and economic issues (including women and their work roles); peace education, ecumenism, and how women provide Christian witness in church and society.

Both U.S. and U.S.S.R. participants were acutely aware that no grave social problem — whether related to war or peace, poverty and hunger, marriage and the family, etc. — is the exclusive concern of women. These are human problems, and need the best efforts of humankind to resolve them. The women's dialogue focused on *human* problems from a *woman's* point of view. At the same time we were painfully sensitive to the fact that there is no justice issue which does not touch women's lives, that often women are the victims of global injustice. Since we represented many Christian denominations from both countries, the very fact of ecumenism was important in broadening our perspectives.

Natalia Chernyh of Moscow said that thinking in ecu-

Nina Bobrova, Soviet facilitator, opens the U.S.-U.S.S.R. women's dialogue sponsored by the National Council of Churches as part of its '86 peace pilgrimage. Left to right are Ludmilla Gibbons of Los Angeles; Donna Porter, Kansas City, Mo.; Mildred Moser, Altadena, Cal.; Tatjana Orlova, Moscow; Bobrova, and Mary Lou Suhor, editor of *THE WITNESS*.





menical terms made her feel less of an outsider. Many perceive her country, she said, as an atheistic, socialist state. (And U.S. participants might add that the United States is perceived as a capitalist state.) Chernyh cited the World Council of Churches' new program thrust, "Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation" as helpful for breaking through stereotypes and making connections. The greater the realization that we belong to the same planet and share its destiny, the better we can work towards global unity and avoid the destruction of creation, she said.

She also said that her work makes her think of life in ecumenical terms as well, and this moves her more and more to look into the social process which goes on in her own country.

A Baptist woman, Claudia Pillipuk, reflecting on that process, noted that the Socialist society places a high value on work, the right to work, and equal pay for equal work. A common theme proved to be how work in the U.S.S.R. and the United States helps women to realize their potential and best capabilities.

The discussion evinced that the role of mother is deeply respected in Soviet society, and maternity has become a

theme of social importance and value. Soviet working women benefit from maternity leaves with pay, but home responsibilities are still a problem. Unlike Socialist Cuba, the U.S.S.R. has no family code which cites that husbands must help wives with housework when both study or work. Women are hoping that the new Soviet 5-year plan will ease these tensions. Meanwhile, they are still chiefly responsible for work in the home.

Soviet women expressed grave concern about divorce. At first, they said, the war "divorced" most women, who lost their husbands. (Statistics show that in 1970 there were 1,170 females for every thousand males in the U.S.S.R., the highest recorded imbalance in the world.) But now one in three marriages ends in divorce, and every fifth woman is not married. Divorced women in the U.S.S.R. lead fragmented lives, torn in priorities between their work and family, and frequently lack a sense of dignity, they said. This sounded familiar to U.S. participants.

U.S. delegates explained Social Security, welfare benefits and public assistance based on income, and how the process of applying for assistance is sometimes difficult. They also explained how churches pitch in with day care and other

## Soviet women yesterday and today

- In 1908 a Russian newspaper estimated that it would take at least 280 years for every woman in the country to be able to read and write. Before the 1917 Socialist Revolution, 85% of the women were illiterate. By 1950, illiteracy had been almost eliminated.

- Before the Revolution, illiteracy was practically universal among Central Asians in the U.S.S.R. In 1920 only 25 or so Turkmen women were able to read. Today literacy is universal and a substantial proportion of the population has been through higher education as well.

- Today the position of Soviet women is expressed in Article 35 of the Constitution:

*"Women and men have equal rights in the U.S.S.R. Exercising these rights is insured by according women equal access with men to education and vocational and professional training, and in social and political and cultural activity, and by special labor and health protection measures for women; by providing conditions enabling*

*mothers to work; by legal protection and material and moral support for mothers and children, including paid leaves and other benefits for expectant mothers, and gradual reduction of working time for mothers with small children."*

- Three out of every four Soviet physicians and teachers are women; every third engineer and lawyer, every other technician and designer is a woman. Some 40% of all Soviet scientific workers are women. The first woman in space was a Soviet woman — Valentina Tereshkova — in 1963.

- About 500 women (some 1/3 of the membership) are deputies to the Supreme Soviet, the national parliament. In 1980, half of all those elected to local government bodies were women.

- The predominant methods of birth control are "the pill" and "the loop." Abortion is common, although prohibited by the church. Characteristically Russian families have only one or two children. On the other hand, Central Asian Moslem women have a staggeringly

high birthrate. This is partially due to better medical facilities and the consequent decline in infant mortality, together with better nutrition and health care, but also to the survival of the tradition of large families. As a result, Central Asians are growing four times faster than the rest of the population and soon 1/3 of the Soviet military will be Moslem.

- More than 90% of adult women in the U.S.S.R. either work or study. Women constitute 51% of all those employed in the national economy. It is rare, however, for a Central Asian woman to pursue a career.

- Young women constitute more than half of all students at secondary technical schools and one half of all students at institutions of higher learning.

- The pensionable age is 60 for working men and 55 for women; 50 for women with five or more children. Pensionable age for farming men is 65, for women, 60.

Resources: Fodor's *Soviet Union* 1986; Soviet Women's Committee, 1981; *Update U.S.S.R.* February/March 1986.



programs for women, and for unemployed youth.

Our deliberations stressed that the pursuit of justice is intimately tied to the works of peace. We were mutually concerned about the equal distribution of the world's goods, about who has the power of decision-making in our families, in our nation, and globally.

At the dialogue's end, Nina Bobrova, reflecting on the suffering which took 20 million Soviet lives during World War II, told U.S. women: "We have witnessed how horrible war is. We don't want you in the United States to have that experience. We feel a double responsibility for peace since we have lived through war — a responsibility for us and for you, that you never have to go through that."

The U.S. women made a Christian commitment that their Soviet sisters would never stand alone in shouldering that double burden again.

Were Marjorie Tuite alive, she would want an accounting of how her analysis stood up in the women's dialogue. Marge would never send you across town for a meeting without wanting a report — much less across the world. "Well, how did it go?" she would ask gravely. Then, "And this better be good!" as her six foot frame would rock with laughter. Here goes:

- The feminist analysis was right on target, Marge, but a bit heavy for this meeting. One got the feeling that it's hard enough to be a Christian in this society much less a feminist Christian. Having experienced repression under Stalin and Khrushchev, people in the churches walk a tightrope between what has been described as "discretion and valor."

- The church venerates many women saints, notably St. Nena and St. Hripsime. These were strong women of ancient times. Georgia even had a woman ruler — King Tamara, who ruled wisely for 29 years. Somewhere we lost it — the decision-making role — to the extent that in Georgia women in our group were admonished by the tour guide not to go out at night unaccompanied by a man. Not for reasons of safety, but, "please, it is the custom."

- The political views of people in the churches seem to be shaped by having lived through a violent history over the past 70 years — two world wars, a Revolution, a civil war — rather than by any Marxist-Lenist analysis (although their perspectives do not exclude the latter). The U.S.S.R. has "institutionalized" peace in the Soviet process, in its political structures, in education. Peace efforts in the United States are largely the burden of social activists, many involved in civil disobedience.

- Holy Mother Church and Holy Mother Russia — a paradox, indeed. "Mother Russia" while it falls far short on providing political rights, has to be given credit for its economic advances. This atheistic Communist state has fed and

clothed its millions, constructed housing, provided for the widow and the orphan — in short, accomplished tasks traditionally considered a mandate for Christians. And women play a vital role in that process. (See box.) Holy Mother Church, is, more aptly, Holy Father Church. Although Orthodoxy emphasizes wholeness, it is male-dominated, prohibits women behind the iconostasis. The highest role it allows a woman is choir director. Women seem to enjoy a more "liberated" role in the secular society. This in turn may influence the church, as indeed, the spiritual dimension of the church may influence the future of Soviet society.

One National Council of Churches training manual for our trip contains a statement: "The Message of the Gospel is not confined to any particular culture, ideology or economic system." We must now struggle to add, "or sex" to that incomplete sentence. Rest, Marjorie. ■

### For Sister Marjorie Tuite, June 28, 1986

A thin New York rain  
on your coffin.  
The Dominicans follow,  
forty years of catching up.  
So you are still,  
a last ride across  
Manhattan's black mirror streets.  
Ada Marie pokes  
a fist into the weeping air,  
shouting your name,  
and we all cry "Presente!"  
again and again,  
until the hearse,  
like a low rider chariot,  
carries you to fire.  
One consummation  
before the freeing.  
Then, *compa*, you are  
light as breath,  
and can fall, as you wished,  
on Nicaragua's soil.  
To lie in the grainy arms  
of a thousand mothers,  
the holy embrace of martyrs,  
with Luisa Amanda Espinoza,  
with Sandino.  
A gringa, a nun  
dug into an earth  
that hums beneath banana trees,  
under the almond groves,  
below Lake Managua floating white herons,  
harmonizing with the frog —  
song of the rivers,  
their monotone glory:  
everything lives,  
everything lives.  
Oh you who never rested,  
now in the dust  
of mango groves,  
rest in peace.

Ada says your solidarity was  
clear as blue sweetwater lagoons,

because you were never  
too tired for El Pueblo,  
for las hermanas,  
for the bag-ladies, for the folks.  
But I think you were  
too tired, destructively tired,  
tired almost  
to incomprehension.  
But then I'd see you  
drag that tiredness  
one more step.  
You'd move up to the line,  
and one, exquisite, seemingly  
last time, you'd step  
over it. Hurrah!  
She did it again! Viva!

So Marjorie, adelante.  
Right now  
we are stepping up  
to their lines.  
Watch us.

— Renny Golden



Marjorie Tuite

# Human rights debated

*The 1986 travel seminar to the U.S.S.R. sponsored by the National Council of Churches this summer featured five dialogues with Soviet churchpeople: Human rights, women, peace and disarmament, youth, and liturgy. John P. Burgess, of Doane College, Crete, Neb., who spent the 1984-85 academic year in East Berlin, presented the account below on the human rights session. Other reports can be obtained from NCC, Room 880, 475 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y. 10115.*

**T**he human rights discussion took place at the publishing headquarters of the Russian Orthodox Church. Twenty-five Americans and 12 Soviets were in attendance.

I began with a brief overview of the question. First, different conceptions of human rights are emphasized in East and West. Political rights (such as freedom of press and assembly) stand at the forefront in the West. Economic rights (such as right to work and housing) receive more emphasis in the East. From another angle, human rights can be defined as individual or communal. In the West, political rights protect the individual from state interference. In the East, political rights provide for the participation and integration of the individual in society. It is important to note, however, that both political traditions make a claim to provide for both political and economic rights and for both individual and communal rights.

Second, the common Christian commitment to greater contact, conversation, and justice in East-West relations depends on a common commitment to human rights. During our brief stay in the USSR, we Americans were struck by the state's accomplishments in providing housing, health care, and food for all its citizens. These accomplishments are particularly impressive, given the vast destruction which the nation suffered during World War II. We have also been struck by the sense of openness under Gorbachev, particularly in the area of arms negotiations. Yet, other factors in the Soviet system have disturbed us. In

order for Christians from East and West to come to greater mutual understanding, we believe that there must be a greater flow of information between our lands, more opportunities for travel to each other's nations, and more contact with a diversity of people in both countries.

Third, we Americans came to this dialogue not to ask about restrictions on the church, but to learn of the church's possibilities in its society. We wanted to share our vision of the role of the church in the United States too.

Bishop Clement, the Soviet co-moderator, who heads the Partiarcal Parishes in the United States and Canada, asked the Rev. Vitally Borovoy to respond. He emphasized the different historical development in the two nations. There are historical roots for the different priorities in the discussion of human rights. The top priority, however, must be the right to life, including but not limited to economic rights. Borovoy asserted that the guarantee of the right to life would require great changes in capitalist society.

The two delegations then had the opportunity to pose questions to each other. Often we could do no more than express our concerns, as the time was too limited for a full discussion of each point. The dialogue was open and candid — diplomatic language by which to acknowledge that the conversation was sometimes emotional; differences of opinion were apparent, yet a common commitment to continuing discussion held sway.

As was often the case in our conversations with Soviet church leaders, I could

not always gauge the spirit in which the Soviets made their remarks. For example, Dr. Osipov of the Moscow Theological Seminary questioned how the church could survive in a society which rests on freedom. In the United States freedom for freedom's sake has created a materialistic, pagan society. Several Americans responded that the individual must learn to use freedom responsibly. To limit freedom, however, is to limit the power of the Holy Spirit. The Soviets answered that our American concept of freedom rested on Enlightenment presuppositions. Christians believe, however, that the soul is not essentially good, but a battleground between good and evil forces. Society must limit and define freedom for the sake of guaranteeing a full life. Some Soviets questioned Osipov's position; it seems to me that the Soviet understanding of freedom lacked a great deal of nuance, and seemed more like an accusation than a question. (I do not believe that it helps to say that the Soviets or the Russian Orthodox simply have a different concept of freedom. Dostoyevsky, for example, offers a sensitive and nuanced discussion of the complexity of freedom in *The Brothers Karamazov*.)

I fear that the way we Americans brought up the question of the status of Jews must have seemed more like an accusation than a question to the Soviets. Their answers were defensive and, at least to my ears, quite troubling. We were told that the Soviet Union is a vast, diverse country in which the key issue is how to unify different peoples and give them a sense of equality. The Russian

Orthodox Church has always been the spiritual and moral force of the nation. It was the church which brought peace to medieval Russia by encouraging warring princes to lay down their arms and to unite their forces. It is the church which today strives to bring peace and unity to the Soviet nation. Some Jews, however, still think of themselves as the chosen people. They are to blame for the consequences if they do not wish to integrate themselves into Soviet society. We were told that the problem could be seen not as oppression of Jews, but as oppression of Russians. Jews constitute only 0.7 percent of the population, yet they had 10 to 20% of the top positions in the Soviet economy. Finally, we were told that the West has overemphasized problems of Jewish emigration. When Jews are not allowed to leave, it is because they know

state secrets. When this knowledge becomes obsolete, they will be allowed to emigrate.

As the discussion proceeded along these lines, I sought to put the question of the status of Jews in a larger context. In the United States, I said, there are people who sometimes find themselves on the outside because they experience discrimination or hardship. The American churches have attempted to reach out to these people. How, I asked, do the Soviet churches reach out to people who find themselves on the outside of their society? I never received an answer more concrete than "prayer and service."

The Soviets emphasized that individual rights exist for the benefit of society. No right may take precedence over the right to life, hence the Soviet concern not only to guarantee economic rights, but to

preserve peace.

Future discussions of human rights must attend to this central concern. The right to life raises a profoundly theological question: what constitutes the full life? Attention to human rights can help contribute the answer. Life in the fullest sense, depends on both political and economic rights, individual and communal rights. Life depends on physical preservation, but physical preservation alone does not constitute the full life. The freedom to develop individual personality is also crucial. Both American and Soviet Christians can celebrate the sacred gift of life, the image of the God in whom we have our being. Future dialogue should explore a definition of the full life, lived finally for the sake of neither society nor the individual alone, but in service to God. (From NCC Newsletter MIRror).

## A STUDY PACKET

# THE CASE FOR DIVESTMENT

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**The Rt. Rev. Desmond Tutu**

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stances of Zal Sherwood and Anne Gilson is shunted aside, out of his pastoral purview — and what is affirmed instead of them is “tradition . . . heterosexual, monogamous, faithful marital union as normative for the divinely given meaning of the intimate sexual relationship.” *Normative* is a code-word for fully, truly human. It is a fairly new name, actually, for heterosexualism, but its effect is to marginalize or demote to less-than-fully-human the lives and loves of lesbian and gay persons.

It is odd that no one notices that Jesus’ own sexuality is by this definition meaningless. Whether he engaged in intimate sexual relationships cannot be known to us. But we do know that the apostolic witnesses record that he loved persons of his own sex — Lazarus, and the disciple John — in a special way, and that he had relationships, unique for his time, but quite common today for gay men, with women whose meaning for him was not found in marital union nor in the males they were related to through patriarchal institutions.

To faffle about “many exegetical approaches” and “diverse professional opinion” is to speak as the scribes, and not with the authority of the liberating gospel of God. The privatizing, the reduction of the gay experience to a “pastoral ministry which brings people to Jesus” while ignoring the most significant fact about the lesbian and gay movement in our time — that God has raised up a community, a gentle, loving people who are fighting for our lives — is one-dimensional, to say the least, a total failure of insight to say somewhat more.

The Presiding Bishop can begin anew his dialogue with the gay and lesbian community by changing his language about us. “Homosexuals” as a noun is an unacceptable clinicism. We are gay and lesbian people, just as “Negroes” and such terms are no longer acceptable when speaking or writing of the Black community. Begin, brother Edmond, by recognizing the full humanity of us all. Our lives are “normative” and our sexu-

ality is quite human, quite “normal.” Take another look at Jesus when you use such words.

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

## Issue sidestepped

I have read the Presiding Bishop’s statements in *THE WITNESS* over and over again and they continue to make little sense. All that I can derive from them is that a man who should, by virtue of his position, have detailed knowledge of, and openness to, the sufferings of 10% of his sisters and brothers lacks current information on homosexuality, is uninformed on how the sin of homophobia operates within church structures, and is unwilling to use even the power of a sympathetic statement on his part to do justice to the oppressed homosexual members of the Body of Christ.

As nearly as I can make out, he is sensitive to the presumed feelings of Diocesan Commissions on Ministry. But he is not responsive to the suffering of gay and lesbian people who are trying to live out their call to ordination. The Presiding Bishop hopes that his letter will enhance “reasoned reflection and discussion.” All it has done for me is to provide occasion for marveling at his ignorance of the growing body of knowledge about the nature and irreversibility of sexual orientation. I was prompted to reread *James 2:14-16*, for an example of a man of presumed good will appearing to address an issue while deliberately sidestepping it.

**The Rev. Dr. Anne C. Garrison**  
Assistant to the Bishop of Michigan  
E. Lansing, Mich.

## Foot-dragging appalling

I am appalled by the Presiding Bishop’s ambivalence, expressed in his reply to your open letter. His response surely shows the power of rhetorical double talk. He is trying desperately to straddle the fence — not to offend any side of the issue. He is not proving himself to be the champion of a cause which at present he obviously feels still lacks enough evi-

dence and sufficient popular appeal to pursue. Where is this great wave of “compassion” upon which he came riding in to the post he holds?

“I do not believe the issue will be resolved quickly,” he states. His “foot-dragging” here will be one very important reason why.

**John Manola**  
Wilmington, Del.

## Church sexual ghetto

Dear Presiding Bishop: God says as She makes the plumbing, “I love you.” How can Genesis confuse you and choke you with so many polysyllables?

The unhealthiest sexual ghetto I visit is the church. Women and men like me serve at altars everywhere, but usually we must bow to hetero idols.

You beg for time and point to the church’s ignorance. The church’s ignorance threatens far less than the church’s pride. In an instant the church could humble itself, could again become a place comfortable for Jesus.

**Louie Crew**  
Hong Kong

## From ‘healed’ lesbian

As a Canadian, I rejoiced upon hearing about the election of a liberal Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, USA. Bishop Browning’s subsequent statements on Nicaragua, the bombing of Libya, and his *WITNESS* interview showed him to be sensitive and alert to justice issues. I am disappointed that his response to your correspondence was so atypically uncourageous when it came to affirming gay and lesbian rights. As a longtime victim of sexual oppression, I want to share my story with you.

The church and the world condoned my violent marriage because it was heterosexual and told me I should have stayed in it. I have been accused by people of having a “pattern of running away” from situations because I ran away from a violent childhood, and then from an even more violent marriage, to freedom and life. Yet those same people condemn lesbian relationships like the one I thrive



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# THE WITNESS

and grow in at present, and tell me I should run from it.

It saddens me to hear people pervert the Gospel of love and tell us we are in a "sinful relationship," that being lesbian is "sick" and that we "need healing." Our experience has been the opposite; it is within our relationship that we experience healing. And we are better ministers — with more energy, compassion and care to give to others because of what we have together. Why should we seek to be "healed" from wholeness and love?

I am saddened that my partner and I cannot openly celebrate our love. And it saddens me as well that I am forced to write this without adding my name. To

share my identity would jeopardize the ministry to which God called both of us. That is where we are unlike other oppressed groups who can fight openly for their liberation. We dare not, or we will be doubly oppressed. That is the reality with which we are faced daily. One day perhaps we will be strong enough to face the crucifixion the church offers. But not yet. However, I did want you to hear the other side — not the story of a heterosexual "healed" from some homosexual experience; but the story of one lesbian's struggle from exile and brokenness, to the promised land of love and wholeness. I am truly a healed homosexual and I have been richly blessed.

This account is my own way of "singing the Lord's song in a strange land," to a strange people, that you might know that this land is my land, too!

**A Canadian minister  
Name withheld upon request**

## More to come

Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning's openness to dialogue on the subject of homosexuality in the September WITNESS has elicited a broad range of response by way of Letters to the Editor. The dialogue will continue in next month's pages. — Ed.

# Vignettes from the U.S.S.R.

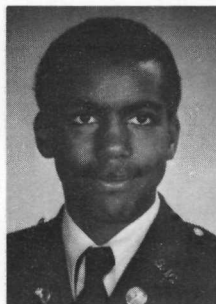
## Media image distorted

My trip to the Soviet Union was one of the most memorable times in my life. The experience made me see things in a different light. I used to think of the people as being hard to talk with and not wanting to lend a hand to anyone in need of help. Another of my stereotypes was that the Soviets believed that they were the best people in the world and thought very highly of themselves. But when I saw the reality, I felt bad about how I had assumed these people were so terrible when they really aren't.

I learned that the Soviets are just like other human beings, and that they are doing basically the same things we are to promote peace. I also realized that our media has only shown us the faults of the U.S.S.R. and I went on this trip believing what the media had told us. I believe the trip has shown everyone a new side of the Soviet Union, a positive side.

However, we were disappointed that we never got to meet young people our age. Those we met with were at least 20-30 years of age. When we questioned this we were told that people there are considered to be young adults or youth until the age of 30. The only time we came in contact with children or teenagers was at the Pioneer camp we visited. Even then we really didn't talk, but sat around as they sang songs, and later we sang for them. One thing I noticed about the children is that they never smiled. The only kids that smiled were the younger ones ranging in age from 5 to 11.

The group that I traveled with became so close that I thought of them as family. If there was a member in the group who had a problem, he or she could share openly with anyone. We would even lend each other money. Except for minor disagreements, the group had no problem living together for two weeks. There was never any racial incident. The Russians seemed curious about our racially integrated group. They tend to think that America still has the racial problems it had many years ago. But the



Russians were very accepting of the blacks as well as the whites.

We spent much time defending our country from vicious attacks about us not wanting peace. Many members of the group felt that young Russians are just as we are, but the older ones don't care about Americans, and are influenced by communist propaganda.

I sometimes wonder about the impression we left. We were a little more hyperactive than some other kids, and most of us were visiting a foreign country for the first time. Some members of the group believe that we were seen as ugly Americans because of the way we would chew gum, wear lots of jewelry and run around in the streets. I believe that while we did many of these things we also did some things to show that we were growing into mature young adults.

I hope to have another experience like this, so I can see other countries as they really are and not only the way our media depicts them.

— David Hutchinson  
St. John's College High School  
Washington, D.C.  
National Cathedral Trip

## The bell nobody heard

Upon entering the walled Danilov Monastery in Moscow we were greeted by some of the 15 resident monks and escorted to the church over the gate to witness a portion of the on-going liturgy. The church was so small that our group of 25 filled it, hardly leaving room for the worshippers, most of whom were *babushki* of indeterminate age. While listening to the chanting, I distinctly heard a bell sound. The sound was familiar. It reminded me of long ago when, as a child, I once heard the Liberty Bell struck softly. This steeple bell, too, seemed to have a crack in it.

Wondering at the similarity in sound, I asked the Moscow seminary student travelling with us if he knew the origin of the bells in the church tower. He asked how I knew there were bells in the tower as we had not seen them yet. I told him I had heard one strike softly and I wondered at their origin. Were they cast in the Soviet Union? He didn't know, but said he would ask during the time we were there. I heard nothing from him until we boarded our buses later in

the day. He then announced over the bus microphone that the bells had been a gift from Howard University in Washington, D.C. He asked if anyone else had heard the bell. No one had. As the impact of this small miracle of the bell manifested itself, I was overwhelmed with the awesomeness of our journey.

— Mildred Stafford  
Calvary Episcopal Church, Cincinnati  
NCC Trip

## Partaking of Agape bread

It is Saturday evening before Pentecost in Moscow's lovely old St. Pimen's Russian Orthodox Church: we have listened reverently to the priests and choir as they've intoned with chant and song the words of the thousand-year-old Divine Liturgy. There is a separating sadness though, in knowing that we non-members will not be allowed to participate in the climax of the Eucharist—taking to ourselves the bread and wine.

But what is this? We are being directed toward a priest standing at the side of the sanctuary holding a basket of communion biscuits. Word is whispered down the line that, although this is not the actual Eucharist bread, it is not just any bread either; it has been given a special blessing for us, the visiting Christians from America. This heart-warming gesture expressed for me the thoughtful and genuine cordiality with which the 138 members of our National Council of Churches Travel Seminar, representing 18 denominations from 30 states, were received by both Protestant and Orthodox Churches last June in the Soviet Union.

Among the traveling group were eight Episcopalians from the Diocese of Los Angeles: the Rev. Canon Harold G. Hultgren of the Diocesan staff; Ludmila Gibbons and Ted Hollis, Jr. from All Saints, Beverly Hills; Gwen Felton from St. Michael and All Angels, Corona del Mar; with July Felton, Mildred Moser, Cheryl Stilwell and myself from All Saints, Pasadena.



Our experiences were varied as we divided into small groups. All of us, however, went to Leningrad, Moscow, Zagorsk, and at least two other cities (seven of our local group taking in Odessa, Kishinev, and Rostov on Don, while Ted Hollis saw Tbilisi and Yerevan), visiting at least a dozen functioning churches, monasteries and theological academies.

— Dorothy Kilian  
All Saints, Pasadena  
NCC Trip

### 'Ethics of survival' needed

The major problem in U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations is to find a new social and political base for detente, Andrei Kortunov, head of the Foreign Policy Division of the U.S.-Canada Institute, told a visiting delegation from the National Council of Churches in July.

"The present state is not normal," he said. "We need to find some new principles and perceptions. Parity does not provide stability."

Kortunov emphasized that the ethics of survival must first be developed — no genocide, no nuclear war. Then the two countries can move to the ethics of cooperation. International law cannot be the basis of relationship, because treaties are not interpreted uniformly, he said. It is only a minimum standard.

The U.S.-Canada Institute, academic in character, is a think tank with a staff of about 350 persons, (200 scholars, 150 staff). It is headed by Dr. Georgi Arbatov, a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, who frequently appears on U.S. television.

The Institute, founded in 1968, focuses its research on the United States and Canada. Its departments include foreign policy, politics, economics, American management, agriculture, sociology and public opinion. The U.S.S.R. is interested in public opinion in the United States, Kortunov said. The fact that Reagan and Gorbachev spoke

to each other's nations on TV this year was a real breakthrough.

Kortunov said that there are two different visions of the United States in the U.S.S.R. One is that the United States is gloomy, jobless, full of organized crime, military-industrial complex-dominated, and those who believe this wonder, how the country can survive. The second is that America is ideal: everything is good, people are rich, all social problems are solved.

The Institute publishes 20 to 25 books a year, in printings of 100,000, and produces a magazine on U.S. policy, economics and society. Members lecture and write fre-

quently for *Pravda*.

Although they receive the major newspapers such as the *New York Times*, they have little access to provincial publications. They read the *Congressional Record* and only know provincial news from inserts in the *Record*. The woman who is senior researcher on the U.S. Peace Movement and Women's Movement gets only four major publications, and made her address available to us.

— Lynn McGuire  
First Parish Church  
Brunswick, Maine  
NCC Trip

### Music hath charm

In addition to common bonds of love and a burning desire for peace, we shared something else with the Soviet people — a deep appreciation for music and its power to sustain and lift the human spirit. I have never experienced a more angelic sound than that of the women's choir of Tbilisi, singing antiphonally with a male choir, their pure tones inviting the worshiper into "liturgical transformation." There is a saying about Orthodox liturgy: The first hour you will feel only your aching feet; the second hour you will feel nothing; the third you will have wings.

Early on in our visit, the Orthodox Church publishing house in Moscow presented a program featuring 12 men and women singing music from the 12th century to modern times. Acknowledging our thunderous applause, Archimandrite Alexander told us, "We are sure that on our planet, the greatest thing after love is music. The time will come when music will be looked upon the same way that icons are looked upon."

After those heady words, we unveiled our modest secret. Before we left the United States, Michael Roshak, a deacon in the Orthodox Church and an outstanding tenor, had taught us to sing *Mnogaya Leta*, "God grant you many years," well known throughout the U.S.S.R. Now Michael strode forward, gave us our three-note cue, and 138 of us belted out our debut in Russian and English. As we accepted their enthusiastic applause, tears flowed freely. Even our Intourist guide, Natasha, until then unflappable and serious in demeanor, told those of us around her, "That was beautiful! Who trained you? Look," she pointed to her arm. "Goose bumps" did not translate easily from Russian to English.



Orthodox guide, Zagorsk,  
Intourist's Natasha, right

Our shining hour came after we had split into smaller groups, at Gegard, a 13th century cave-monastery in Armenia. A priest-guide had shown us through the noted spiritual center, with its cavelike monk cells and *khachkars* (stone crosses), and we ended up in the main Cathedral hewn out of rock. To demonstrate its remarkable acoustics, he chanted a psalm. We were mesmerized by his voice, the "stereophonic" ambience. Then all of us seemed to have the same idea at once, as Lynn McGuire, our best vocalist, lifted her hand, hummed our harmony cues, and 25 of us burst into *Mnogaya Leta*. In that setting, we sounded like the Mormon Tabernacle Choir.

We were so impressed with ourselves that Lynn led us into *Dona nobis pacem* and other selections we had learned. Our guide practically had to tug sleeves to move us to an assembly room where the monks were waiting to serve refreshments.

— Mary Lou Suhor  
NCC Trip

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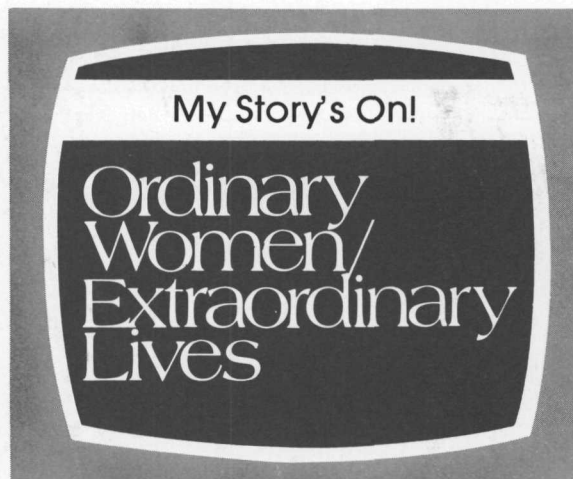
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DECEMBER 1986

# THE WITNESS

WISHES YOU A

## Blessed Christmas

The great thing about Mary  
• Sue Hiatt

'Belonging' • Malcolm Boyd

The cosmic nature  
of Christmas • John Hamel

# Letters

## Cause set back

Herewith is a running commentary on the September WITNESS, which carries significant correspondence between your Editorial Board and the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church:

To speak of the reality as "sexual preference" is to bespeak a lack of sensitivity. Dictionary definitions of "preference" are "the act of preferring," "the power or opportunity of choosing," etc. Suggesting that one chooses one's sexual orientation re-enlivens the myth that a non-gay or gay person can change at will. Further, it suggests that gay Christians are wilfully sinful in not "preferring" what most Christians consider to be the normative orientation. By including such a phrase in its open letter, THE WITNESS is setting back the very cause it presumes to assist.

The open letter suggests that the Episcopal Church is peculiarly qualified to provide leadership to Christianity in its moral confusion about the ordination of practicing gay persons. My study and writing about the official statements re the church and gay persons promulgated by 36 denominations supports that suggestion. But, for the most part, Episcopal publishing organs do not meet their responsibilities in helping our denomination assume the vanguard. Your own monthly prints personal horror stories, violent letters, and sympathy-evoking devotional pieces, rather than dealing with the substantive theological, sociological, educational, ecclesiological, and moral questions involved. If ever Episcopalianism becomes a spirit-filled prophet here, it will do so only on the basis of sound rational, prayerful, biblical, and historically aware study — not on the planks of yellow journalism, or of power politics at public assemblies. The latter two may move a denomination to different practices; only the former will give a denomination leadership in shaping the destiny of Christ's church as a whole.

It is amazing that the board presumes to call Bishop Browning to lead the way in correcting this pastoral scandal. In the few months he has been in office, he has already been doing this. Where have you folks been?

The prayer provided by the Gay Christian Movement of England reminds one how much more the church values unity as compared to justice. Many mainline denominations — including our own — demand that secular principalities and powers guarantee all civil rights to lesbian and gay persons, while themselves denying some ecclesial rights to those same people. A curious instance where the church expects government to be more "Christian" than the church. Furthermore, most of those same sectarian bodies solicited and received from a subgroup, studies and reports which recommended an openly gracious and "Christian" behavior towards same-gender lovers, but then — by votes — rejected much of that counsel in the name of maintaining denominational unity (that is, in fear of losing large parish, individual, and other organizational donors from their rolls). All hail the power of money, and peace-at-any-price!

One wonders how many of the persons involved in writing the pieces in the September issue are self-declared gay Christians. One wonders when non-gay publications will start giving power to such self-declared advocates to speak for themselves on the substantive issues and to set the course of the conversations, rather than patriarchally assume that only they (the non-gay imperialists) know how, when, where and what to say on the issue.

**The Rev. Ray Mesler, Jr.**  
Jersey City, N.J.

## Commissions can lead

Bishop Browning has clearly analyzed and stated the current "common wisdom"

of the churchly society on the subject of homosexuality. I concur that there remains a diversity of professional opinion as to the biological basis of sexual orientation, but those of us who are in the field of medical education are painfully aware that decades, perhaps a generation, may be needed for the fruits of medical research to trickle down even to the astute practitioners and opinion shapers.

The three pastoral principles enunciated by Bishop Browning, if prayerfully studied and faithfully followed, can lead only to the resolution of this current problem within the church in a manner consistent with the inclusiveness, reconciliation and love taught by Christ. The Diocesan Commissions should be expected and permitted to become leaders in this pastoral mission, with the guidance not of words, but of the *Word* and Bishop Browning's pastoral compassion.

**David J. Lochman, M.D.**  
Chicago, Ill.

## Ghettos healthier?

Thanks to THE WITNESS and the Presiding Bishop for initiating dialogue on the subject of lesbians and gays in the church. The words of the Presiding Bishop, "No ghetto is spiritually healthy," call forth my thinking on this matter.

The fact is, the ghetto may be far healthier than the society which creates its necessity. This is as true of a sexual ghetto as it was of the slave ghettos in 19th and 20th century America. The problem is that the health which is in a ghetto remains unknown until many years later. Then historians and artists, seeing with clearer vision, bring forth the truth.

Those of us who are lesbian and gay see in Jesus the One who shows the Way. In the church, we often see the Pharisee.

The critical issue, from my perspective, is whether or not the church is willing to recognize the price it has paid by separating itself from those it brands

as sinners. That which unites all people always creates evolution, grace, peace and possibility. That which separates yields death, violence, war and hatred.

When the church truly listens to the gay and lesbian community, without prejudgment, it will discover a ghetto filled with grace and power. While the larger society reacts to AIDS with fear, ignorance, loathing and perverse joy in this supposed judgment of God, the lesbian and gay community has called forth heroic testaments to the power of the Living God. I see a level of caring for one another which I have found in only one other community, the Black community. I see people dying with great pain, but fully at peace with themselves and gifting themselves in many ways to others. I see members of a community, embattled from without, showing a level of care for one another exactly like the community of Acts, where all things were held in common, and shared. And, I see healing — people getting well in non-conventional ways.

If the church, then, seeks the authority of Christ, let it with the outcasts seek Jesus, where there is no condemnation and no guilt.

**The Rev. Richard Kerr**  
San Francisco, Cal.

## Trapped in sin

I think too many people with homosexual problems have come to church for love and forgiveness, only to receive hate and rejection. So they turn to others looking for help and are told, "Oh, it's normal; it's fine . . . you're O.K., there's no problem . . . Go explore it; God loves you, He made you that way!"

God does love them, but He hates their sin. This is why the church must carefully weigh its approach to someone trapped in sin. A segment of the church is doing a disservice to the body, not only by trying to accommodate itself with the gay community, but in not addressing the

sin of sodomy.

We must scrap the buzz words, "sexual orientation," "alternative lifestyle," "enlightened relationships" and the like. Sodomy is not a civil rights issue, and it's not a case of oppression: it's a perversion. In addition, homosexuality is a choice, not only to engage in such activity, but also a choice to reveal it. Obviously there cannot be supposed discrimination against a homosexual unless that person has chosen to make his/her behavior known.

When the church stops ignoring the voluminous biblical admonitions against this practice and confronts it, we will be aimed in the right direction.

**Donald L. Adams**  
Rio Rancho, N.M.

## Passing thoughts

I'm gladly sending my renewal to THE WITNESS. Wouldn't want to be without it, after all these years. Two passing comments: 1) Mary Lou Suhor's several special contributions to the July/August issue are greatly appreciated by this isolated reader ("Guerra, Cueto home from prison" and "Conversation with Ben Bagdikian"). 2) Did anyone try to help Zal Sherwood understand the difference between "coming out" and "going public?" The former can be helpful; the latter crippling.

**The Rev. Robert Griswold**  
Lakeview, Ore.

## Why 'come out'?

Many people question why it is that we gay and lesbian people ever feel that it is necessary to tell anyone our affectional preference. That question came up at the National Church conference on AIDS in San Francisco. I found myself answering that the homophobia most of us experience is based on misperception, myth, and ignorance . . . that it is difficult

to maintain homophobic beliefs after one knows gay and lesbian people. It is somewhat like the concept of women clergy. Many were opposed to our ordination until they actually knew a woman who was called to be a priest. When the idea was no longer abstract, there was greater acceptance. I believe this is possible with lesbian and gay people also.

Obliteration of homophobia is an essential goal for the church. Homophobia creates a serious break in the Body of Christ. Rather than stress the different sexual expression of a gay or lesbian lifestyle as compared to heterosexual persons, we must stress the concepts of commitment in relationship, faithfulness to one's partner, and unselfish love. These are expectations of the "straight" community and can surely be addressed in the lesbian and gay community. Emphasis on the sanctity of marriage not only alienates gay and lesbian persons, but all of those persons who have chosen to remain single, are divorced, or widowed.

I have been faithful to the promises made when I was ordained a priest in this church. I am diligent in reading and studying scripture and have, in fact, just completed a devotional manuscript for publication. I was a faithful pastor . . . My resignation was pushed, not because I had been unfaithful, but because I am a lesbian, and the homophobia surrounding lesbian and gay persons.

Homophobia causes us to lead a closeted lifestyle. Our parishioners share the joy of family life, the birth of a child, a blossoming love, the pain of separation or divorce, and we can share nothing of our lives. I hardly advocate sharing intimate details of a relationship, and don't expect that from heterosexual people either. My hope and prayer for the church is that we can and will recognize that there is no one specific lifestyle which is better than another. Heterosexual peo-

*Continued on page 20*

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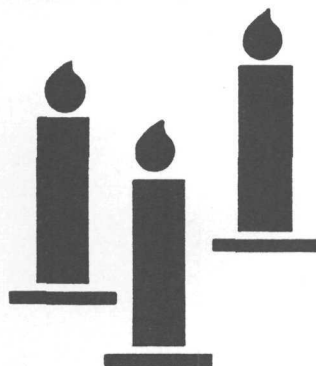
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# Editorial

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## Bob Cratchit: Father of a disabled child

*Guest editorial this month is by Cyndi Jones, editor of Mainstream, a national journal by and about handicapped people. The work below appeared previously in Mainstream, which she publishes monthly from 2973 Beech St., San Diego.*

**T**iny Tim—Charles Dickens' perception of how every well-behaved disabled child should be.

So often when we think of disabled individuals or children we are reflecting on the image of Dickens' Tiny Tim. The usual focal point of Dickens' story is the miserly Scrooge, however, let's reflect for a moment on the Cratchits and their role as parents of a handicapped child. Bob Cratchit would carry Tiny Tim around on his shoulders. The family included Tiny Tim in its daily activities and made sure his needs were met.

Why didn't Bob Cratchit ever talk about curb cuts or accessible public transportation? Probably because like most small children, Tiny Tim was easy to carry and Cratchit really didn't expect Tiny Tim to survive his childhood, much less live an independent life.

Expectations have changed since the

late 1800 s, and most radically in the past 10 years. Parents of handicapped children are seeing great strides in the medical professions that enable their children not only to survive, but to thrive. The 1975 Education of All Handicapped Children Act (PL 94-142) has produced its share of handicapped children who expect to take their rightful place in the mainstream of society.

But these great expectations will be for nothing unless the parents of today's handicapped infants and toddlers put their muscle behind the fight for their children's future in our society.

It is sometimes difficult to see 18-20 years into the future like Scrooge had the opportunity to do, but if Bob Cratchit had, he would have realized that Tiny Tim was going to grow up to be a disabled adult; one that he could no longer carry on his shoulders or lift into the carriage. Tim probably survived Bob Cratchit and as such, not only

needed independent living skills, but also an openness of society. Tim might have worked in a sweatshop or perhaps a freak show, but with proper training and an open and educated society, Tim could have been properly placed in an accounting firm, following in his father's footsteps. But none of this mattered, because Cratchit had no view of his disabled child's future.

If we want our children to be able to use public transportation when they grow up, we had better start advocating their right to do so now. By the time they are old enough, the transportation system might be able to accommodate their needs.

It takes a long time for most systems to change. If we work hard today and are a bit lucky, by the time today's infants are adults, society will be ready to accept and welcome them as full participating members. ■

**Members of American Disabled for Accessible Public Transportation (ADAPT) blocked buses in Detroit in October to protest the lack of public transportation for handicapped people and to hassle the convention of the American Public Transportation Association, which played a key role in rescinding federal regulations designed to increase the number of buses equipped with wheelchair lifts. Some 20 protesters were arrested, including Jane Jackson, of the Episcopal Urban Caucus Board. (The Detroit News photo/ © Lynn Owens)**



# The great thing about Mary

by Suzanne Hiatt

A friend sent me an ad recently for a poster she thought I might want to use as a teaching tool. At the center of the poster is an abstract version of a madonna and child. Surrounding this medallion is the legend, *The great thing about Mary is that her son turned out so well! Alleluia!* My friend thought I might want to use the poster in a quiz; i.e. "What's wrong with the theology here expressed?" But then again, she supposed my students were too sophisticated to take it seriously.

However, the fact that the poster undoubtedly sells well (and not cheaply either — \$14.50 mounted in a clear plastic box) makes one wonder if it doesn't reflect the common Christian wisdom. There is clear and specific Dominical teaching to the contrary in the New Testament:

*While he was speaking thus, a woman in the crowd called out "Happy the womb that carried you and the breasts that suckled you!" He rejoined, "No, happy are those who hear the word of God and keep it."*

(Luke 11:27-28)

Yet many Christians still believe that women are to be judged on the accomplishments of the men they are close to and presumably influence. Popular Mariology may well be summed up in that poster despite the efforts of modern theologians like Hans Küng to honor Mary as the first among believers.

Reflections on the role of Mary in particular and women in general in the

Christian church come naturally at Christmastime. They come to me especially at the close of this year as I look back at some poignant milestones involving Anglican women in 1986. In April an event was held at Canterbury Cathedral honoring the work of Anglican women worldwide. A stirring service recognizing the various ministries of women throughout the Communion was followed by another service that a number of women felt it necessary to boycott as the host church, the Church of England, refused to allow any women priests from other provinces to exercise their sacramental ministry.

In May a woman was very nearly elected Suffragan Bishop of Washington, but again the sensibilities of the Church of England were invoked and the convention was persuaded to "wait" until after the next Lambeth Conference (a worldwide conference of Anglican bishops held every 10 years in England)

scheduled for 1988, so as not to promote "disunity" in the Anglican Communion. In July, the Church of England reaffirmed its ban on allowing women ordained in other Anglican provinces to celebrate Eucharist in English churches and declined to vote on ordaining English women priests until further study could be done. (The first such study was done in 1919 and the synod approved such ordination "in principle" over 10 years ago.)

In August came the death of Dr. Cynthia Wedel, the last of a number of great Episcopal women who pioneered in Episcopal, Anglican and ecumenical leadership roles in the 1960s and '70s. In September the U.S. House of Bishops urged caution in consecrating women bishops here, strongly suggesting we wait until after Lambeth 1988 to take such a step.

All these events leave me feeling sad about the prospects for women keeping

## End of an era?



Wedel



Kellerman



Rodenmayer



Murray

**The Rev. Suzanne R. Hiatt** is professor of pastoral theology at Episcopal Divinity School.

the word of God in the Christian church today, certainly in my small corner of that church. We will miss Dr. Wedel, along with Marion Kellerman, Pauli Murray and Betsy Rodenmayer, all recently deceased, not only for the leadership they exercised and for the mentors they were for many of us, but because they don't seem to have women successors among the church's leaders. Were they the first in so many areas only to be the last as well?

Perhaps women's leadership is more diffuse now, many women doing the jobs that only a few were allowed to do a generation ago. Woman's voice is no longer univocal (indeed it never was) and no one person or small group can represent "the women" anymore. If so, well and good, but I wonder. In the Episcopal church women have been priests for almost 13 years, deacons for 16 and the backbone of most parishes for over 200 years. Where are the women rectors of "cardinal parishes," the ordained women on the national church staff? Where are the women, lay and ordained, who chair diocesan standing committees, provincial bodies, standing committees of the General Convention House of Deputies? Where are the Episcopal women in leadership roles in the Anglican Consultative Council and in national and international ecumenical organizations? I know there are a few, but not nearly enough.

And perhaps symbolically most important and telling, where are the women in the House of Bishops? It is embarrassing to be part of a church where one house of its bi-cameral legislature excludes women entirely. It is even more embarrassing to hear members of that house describe it as "the most exclusive men's club in America" and mean it, or to hear them chat about which members attended which men's college and belonged to what fraternity. I suppose that goes on in the U.S. Senate in spite of the presence of a few women, but it is no way

to run a country or a church.

It is amusing in a bittersweet way to watch the House of Bishops debate the matter of women bishops. They acknowledge that the canons of the Episcopal Church clearly allow for women bishops as they do women deacons and priests, so we don't hear many arguments about why women can't be bishops. We do hear arguments about timing and disunity and pain and suffering on the part of male bishops who have stuck it out despite women priests but who could not tolerate women bishops. These are arguments we have heard before — when laywomen threatened to invade the lay order of the House of Deputies in the 1950s and '60s and when women clergy threatened the clergy order of the same house in the 1970s. A different ox is being gored, but the cries of its owners are similar to cries we've heard before.

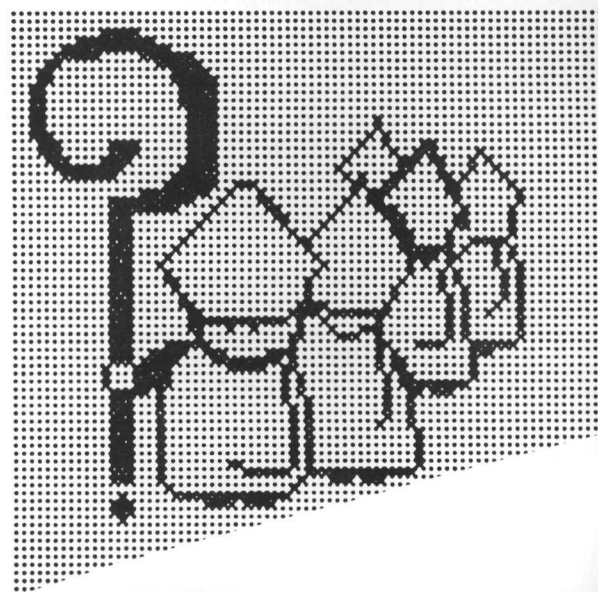
It is ironic that the bishops have given the question so much time, since they are the only group in the Episcopal Church who do not normally vote for bishops. Bishops are elected in our polity by clergy (deacons and presbyters) and lay people. True, diocesan bishops do call for the election of suffragans and coadjutors, but they do not have a vote as to who will be selected by the diocesan convention. The House of Bishops may, by majority vote, refuse to consent to the election of a particular person (and have done so in the past, most often on grounds of churchmanship or alleged heresy), but this power is negative and after the fact. It is a collective veto also granted to diocesan standing committees. Members of the House of Bishops have twice indicated they would not veto a bishop-elect *because* she was a woman, but they have also asked the dioceses not to put them to the test before Lambeth 1988.

Meanwhile, God is undoubtedly calling women to be bishops. Fine candidates have emerged in a number of Episcopal elections over the last few years and, were it not for the plea to wait until after

Lambeth 1988, I suspect we would already have at least one woman bishop and that several more would be elected in the next two years. But the siren cry of "wait" — most insistently keening from England but not absent among American bishops — is heard by the electors. They are decent folk and do not want to cause any pain or suffering they can avoid. (Women's pain and suffering is apparently part of our natural condition and therefore not to be considered.)

So I feel sad about women's leadership prospects as I think about Mary this Christmas. Hearing the will of God and keeping it is complicated by the church's preference for women who bear and nurture sons who turn out well.

Yet sometimes in these dark December days I wonder what would happen if we did hear the word of God and kept it. Suppose women who are called to be bishops heard the call not only from God but from their fellow Christians as well. Suppose Anglicans in New Zealand and Canada and Hong Kong and Brazil and Kenya and the United States and Uganda and all the Anglican provinces that have women priests (and even perhaps some that don't) elected and ordained a number of women bishops in the next two years and presented Lambeth 1988 with the fact rather than the theory. That would certainly change the debate just as the fact of women priests changed the debate on that issue here in the United



States and made it real.

In my fantasy these women bishops would be elected and ordained within the structures of their own provincial churches. They would be regular suffragan (even — dare we hope — diocesan) bishops, canonically chosen and certified. Failing that, for the weight of caution is very strong in regular channels, some of them might have been chosen as special bishops to women in their respective churches.

In the American church we have a special suffragan bishop for the Armed Forces, whose duty is to minister to men and women in the military wherever they may be stationed. Military chaplains are responsible to their own diocesan bishops (where they are canonically resident), but they do have someone to turn to for

pastoral care and advice who is especially charged with ministry to the military.

Perhaps we could use that model to create several suffragan bishops for women, whose responsibilities would be to provide pastoral care and advice to the women of the church. We know that such “extra-territorial” bishops can function in our system. We also know that women would welcome the pastoral care and advice of other women as we develop new roles and leadership styles in a very changed world. There would need to be not one but several such bishops. One thing we have learned over the years is that no woman should be asked to take on such a burden by herself.

Suppose Lambeth 1988 had to deal with real women bishops from all over

the world. No longer could the idea of women bishops be considered “a hare-brained American scheme,” but must be taken seriously as a vocation whose time has come. The rhetoric about pain and disunity would be minimized as it was with priesthood after the fact. To paraphrase Shakespeare, “Men have died from time to time, and worms have eaten them, but not for love — or for clergywomen.”

Best of all, for my fantasy to come to pass women ourselves would have had to take leadership in the church and to have insisted that our voice be heard. We would have truly learned the great thing about Mary — not that her son turned out well or badly, but that she heard the word of God and kept it. Alleluia! ■

## Speak truth to power, my love

Speak truth to power, my love  
and watch their sleek smiles disappear.  
The gatekeeper's face hardens from the impact.  
And those who should feel only shame,  
are filled with righteous puffery.

Meanwhile, the loyal oppositionists,  
academic acolytes, pop scribes,  
the Bear-baiting labor dealers,  
all sniff the wind and test the *Times*,  
trimming their sails, ready about!

With earnest asides,  
they counsel self-censorship,  
urging you to a smaller voice  
to gain a bigger audience,  
as they twist themselves in a tighter circle,  
twisting for their credibility.

They know how to show courage  
against easy targets.  
Waiting for an approving glance,  
they demand faultless standards  
from besieged infant revolutions.  
A critical distance they keep  
when victims fight back and win.  
They do mainstream imitations  
Responsible Critics from Pragmatics, Inc.,  
and flash their anti-Menace credentials  
as they seek entry through the reception gate.

But you, my love, standing outside  
under the chill glare of mean eyes,  
you just speak truth to power  
and feel your power grow.  
Your life itself an eloquent testimony  
of fightback and fightforward  
against their gossamer and stone.

Moving quietly in a raucous history,  
the trickle becomes a tide  
until one day the soldiers  
look the other way or melt into the crowd,  
drawn by the padding of a million footsteps.

M'Lords squawk urgent commands  
to stop the insolent dance.  
M'Lords sit in their bayonet temples,  
calling upon the Furies of private interest,  
hurling down their incantations.

And you,  
you stand there like a thousand legions  
and speak truth,  
remembering how the tides  
can break down walls.

— Michael Parenti



# A Luta Continua — the struggle continues by Barbara C. Harris



## 'Tis the season

**T**he pre-Christmas mail always brings a few refreshing accounts of activities which illustrate that some people really do care about their neighbors and others whom they may not know, but with whom they are moved to share and to tangibly express concern. A recent Diocesan Press Service news packet contained one such item.

Seventeen local Episcopal parishes in the Diocese of Washington, D.C. have funded a residence in a neighborhood north of Georgetown for five people with AIDS. The first such undertaking by churches in that area, it is the outgrowth of a discussion between Christ Church, Georgetown and the Whitman-Walker Clinic, the area's largest provider of services to persons with AIDS. Members of the parish were looking for a way to assist those suffering with the disease. When the clinic described the backlog of people needing housing, the parish found a way to help. A committee of parishes in the diocese — now the Episcopal Caring Response Committee — was formed, the house was opened in early September of this year and by the end of October over \$26,000 had been raised with \$9,000 more pledged.

The home is administered by the Whitman-Walker Clinic, which also runs five similar facilities. The others are funded through a combination of public appropriations and private, largely secular, contributions. As the epidemic continues to grow, the clinic plans to open more.

Such facilities are necessary for persons with AIDS who are well enough to

care for themselves physically, but are too ill to support themselves financially. They cook their own meals and perform the usual household chores. Those who can work contribute a portion of their income toward the cost of operating the facility.

That's good news as Christmas approaches and our thoughts turn to the coming of the Savior who had no place to lay his head. It also should sharpen our awareness of the absolute necessity for some massive new efforts to attack homelessness, hunger and similar problems in our communities.

Sociology professor Robert Bellah's compendium of interviews with middle Americans — *Habits of the Heart* — is well titled. Its analysis of individualism and commitment in American life is most revealing of the dominant national psyche and uncovers much of the underlying lack of a sense of community among so many. One of the conclusions Bellah and his research associates draw is that the church could be a vital force in the recovery of communal values in our society. While no minorities were included in the research that produced "Habits," that particular conclusion is something the Black church has known for a long time. Historically, it has been the ethic and the ethos of many Black congregations.

It was out of basic needs and a sense of community that many Black-owned and operated burial societies (which later evolved into insurance companies), banks, savings and loan associations, credit unions, hospitals and other institutions

were spawned by Black churches. For many Blacks, these efforts found their genesis in African societies where the welfare of widows and orphans was the concern and the responsibility of the entire community.

The cooperative effort of the Washington churches with Whitman-Walker and similar undertakings are to be cautiously commended. What is needed are large scale partnerships between the church and other institutions of the community — public and private — that address the spiritual and temporal needs of the whole person. Old divisions between church and society must continue to fade because no institution of the community, no matter how well intended, can go it alone these days.

The more day-care centers and soup kitchens churches open on their own, with only token hand-outs from the public and private sector, the less the whole society is called into account for the causes of hunger, joblessness and the plight of working mothers. The more churches open their sanctuaries as shelters for the homeless, the less will be done about adequate and affordable housing for the poor.

As necessary as these stop-gap measures may be, until we undertake some realistic efforts that cooperatively involve the church with other major institutions of the society, we are engaging in an exercise about as effective in the long run as rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic. ■

# 'My name is Ed. I'm a racist.'

by Ed Kinane

I recently went with a friend to a meeting of Alcoholics Anonymous. Before each person spoke he or she said, "My name is \_\_\_\_\_. I'm an alcoholic." AA knows that recovery requires acknowledging one's illness; denial makes recovery impossible. What follows isn't about drinking but about a more widespread disease. Before I say more, I want to introduce myself: "My name is Ed. I'm a racist."

No, I'm not flaunting my bigotry, nor being cleverly rhetorical, nor tormenting myself with guilt. I'm acknowledging that I've been deeply conditioned by a society permeated with racism and that recovery is the task of a lifetime.

AA teaches that alcohol is cunning; so too is racism. Just as it is hard to admit alcoholism, so too is it hard to admit racism — thanks to our stereotyped notion of what racism is. Conveniently, our stereotype involves alien behavior in which we would never engage. We know we're not racist because we would never condone burning a cross on someone's lawn; we may even wince at ethnic slurs or take offense when someone says "nigger."

We view racism as "elsewhere," coarse, bullying, and face-to-face: Bull Connor and lynching in the bad old rural South. But after World War II, as blacks by the millions were dispossessed of their land and sought sanctuary in Detroit, Boston or New York, racism got hip and turned inside out. In the urban liberal

North, racism, still the mainstay of class privilege, became refined, avoiding and systemic. Spawning the suburb and ghetto, it cloaked white dominance with white separatism.

Anti-racism has also become stereotyped. Again, conveniently, the focus is on the alien or far away. We know we're anti-racist because we angrily condemn Apartheid; we may even do some organizing against U.S. investment in South Africa. But if our concept of racism/anti-racism is limited to such obvious examples, it is unlikely that we're challenging the racism within us. Nor do we grasp racism's breadth and subtlety or perceive the social and economic forces which foster the de facto apartheid that crosscuts every facet of our society.

Propping up this lower case apartheid is what can be called tunnel vision. It is infinitely more destructive than the malice of the Ku Klux Klan. Tunnel vision is a cultural egoism which assumes — often unconsciously — that only white history

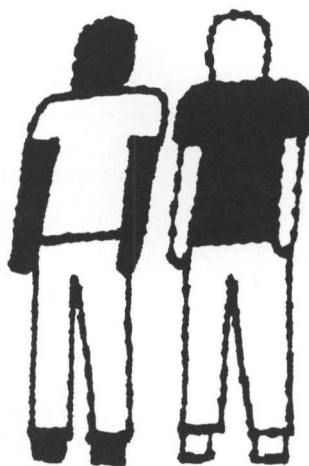
or suffering or interests or discovery are worthy of notice. Most of us grew up in white neighborhoods going to white schools where we internalized the white version of life. Our openness to people of color was "whited out" at an early age.

In my first 14 years of school I had only three black classmates; I've never had a black teacher. I was 19 before I had my first conversation with a black person. My first years of college were spent with the Jesuits in a lovely ivy enclave set off by walls and security police from the teeming inner city at its gate.

I quit school to work construction. The job paid well — thanks to the building boom of the '60s which, in the name of urban renewal, forced the relocation of thousands of blacks off the precious real estate between downtown and the university. Few of these blacks could break into the construction trades; there was not a single black in our union local. My fellow workers were determined to keep it that way. No wonder that when I was in South Africa recently it seemed so much like home.

Even in the '80s as a so-called "grass-roots" activist I've had little contact with the local black or Indian or Latino community. It seems much of our activist subculture, so vain in its political correctness, simply reflects society at large.

Sometimes our tunnel vision leads us to be duped by the foreign policy double standard which regards only political violence aimed at whites as terrorism. In recent decades whites have not been the target of U.S., Israeli or South African air raids, so we don't call those atrocities terrorism. Similarly, although we call



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Qaddafi a terrorist, we don't call members of Congress terrorists when they vote tens of millions for military regimes and mercenaries. In the moral calculus of white America the tens of thousands of slain Nicaraguans and Salvadorans simply don't exist. Even we who actively oppose U.S. policy in Central America often forget the racism at its heart.

The tunnel vision that denies or de- means did not originate with racism. It began, historically and personally, before we were exposed to ethnic diversity. As children, while being molded for roles defined by gender, we acquired the tunnel vision of a culture based on male supremacy. Sexist behavior provides the on- going rehearsal that hones our racist performance. Sexism is the parent or prototype of racism. It grinds the lens

which makes our racist outlook second nature.

When we were young we had no con- trol over our indoctrination and so were not to blame for our tunnel vision. But now we are responsible for the kinds of callousness and exclusivity we choose to honor. Many of us eagerly, or unwit- tingly, float along the mainstream that invalidates the lives of the disempow- ered. Their gifts and their rights, their needs and their pain are systematically negated, rendered invisible.

What can we do to shed our self- contrived blinders? What can we do to burst the bubble of our self-contrived segregation? We can raise our children — and educate ourselves — as non-sexist and non-racist as possible. This is no easy task. It requires that we become as

children and unlearn much that our cul- ture keeps teaching us. It requires rolling back the snug, the smug, chosen ignor- ance that comes from having imbibed the white version of life.

As involved citizens we can encourage our peace and justice groups not only to take on the Apartheid over there, but also to confront apartheid here. We can seek to discern why so many of our enter- prises — whether they be the neighbor- hoods we live in or the causes we lobby for — are lily white. We can work with the poor and people of color locally on issues of importance to them. If we take that mighty step our eyes will at last be- gin to see the huge majority of our species who are not white, who are not affluent, and who do not blackmail the globe with nuclear terror. ■

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Robert F. McGovern

## The cosmic

**T**he Christmas event is a cosmic one. Its significance has to do with God's coming to humankind, and with a change in the world for all time that results from this coming. From this point of view, the events of Jesus' birth change our understanding of things from the time before time to the end of things and the eternity beyond time. For this Jesus, who in the traditions becomes the Christ or the one sent from God, stands one and the same with God at the beginning and at the end. He is symbolized in the tradition as the Alpha and Omega — the beginning and end of all meaning.

For us, it may be easier and better to start with the beginning as it has been given to us. Was there ever a story so beautifully told? Was there ever such an inspiration rolling through the centuries commanding our gifted ones to great works of unutterable beauty in song, story, spire, color and light? We see paintings of animals adoring the baby in the manger; paintings of Mary, holding the child, of a beauty that brings awe at the power and imagination of the mind's eye; and of angels, golden and glorious, ascending to a realm where our hearts virtually leap to follow. We see our own children at local church or school auditoriums looking like angels we know they

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**John J. Hamel, III** graduated with honors from Virginia Theological Seminary and studied under Paul Tillich and Reinhold Niebuhr at Union Theological Seminary. He heads his own sales consulting firm in Princeton, N.J., where he is a member of Trinity Church. The above article is excerpted from a longer monograph.



# nature of Christmas

by John J. Hamel

are not and singing like we never knew they could.

So much for what has been made of the story — we would almost be believers because of that alone. But what in the story shows us a reality not layered over with our own shimmering sentimentality? What are the facts, shorn of the wonders of the stars, kings, angels, and adoring shepherds?

What we are really given are two people — one not so young — who are poor and powerless and about to have a baby. They have been ordered by imperial decree to return to their native city for a census and eventual taxation. You can be fairly certain that most of the people the Gospels call Herodians and other officials and the wealthy had rulings from their lawyers and tax collectors that allowed them to avoid a long journey to their native villages. Those who couldn't find a tax loophole certainly commanded enough respect in the community to have the innkeeper find them a room; many would not have been turned away under any circumstances.

The innkeeper, often portrayed as hardhearted, undoubtedly took one look at Mary and quickly decided — with one eye to an image of bad publicity — that maybe the stable could be brought into use after all: "Well, my friend, there really is nothing I can do for you here, but I see your plight and there is just the possibility that this place out back here . . ." The man was not unkind. He wasn't thinking that animals look cute in paintings and on cards; he knew for a fact that they were at least warm. And shepherds know something about birth; they might have a lively

interest in the events in the local stable that night.

They were also, like all poor people, subject to the wanton brutality of the organizing ability of Imperial Rome. Rome's local representative, Herod, was obviously feeling some kind of political vulnerability. He had his soldiers move through a village where he thought a threat might develop and kill all the male children under a certain age. Why not? Can you think of a better way to keep an unwanted or possibly rebellious group of people under control? What are kings for? Didn't Rome bring order and control wherever she went? Joseph and Mary may have been political refugees for some time from this wanton brutality, because Matthew says they did not return from Egypt until after Herod was dead.

## Birth story universal

The simple birth story is for all peoples and all can relate to it. Mother, child, father, shepherds, animals, clear starry night, and a lowly place. There are no crowds of slaves, retainers, captains of cohorts, senators, and nobles awaiting the news of a new Caesar from the messenger of the current political god. This is not a birth where groups of mounted knights might wait in the castle courtyard under great flickering flares while serfs surround the moat and all wait to hear of a new lord and master.

We do not have to be familiar with captains of industry — where the family and controlling shareholders would be anxiously waiting to hear of a successor registered at Exeter and Harvard and at

the best New York clubs at the moment of birth — to understand this story. Christianity lays claims to universal truths and here we have some evidence. The book containing this story has been translated into every conceivable living language and a few dead ones, and everywhere the book has been carried people have responded.

The world's people can say, "This much I understand, this child and his life relates to me, what happens here and afterward can matter to me." We often think the stable is some sort of staging meant to hide the fact that a most royal personage has come among us. The real events, we seem to feel, are signified by those things that happen in the sky. Actually, it is the other way around. For a child of truly lowly birth will eventually change the world for all time to come and will confront us all with questions about our life that cannot be avoided and that bring light or darkness to us all — life or death.

We can approach the final phase of Jesus' life journey by asking, as many have before, what he thought of himself. In what sense was Jesus conscious of his mission and aware of his stature as God's Son? If he knew something of this, as he seems to in the stories, at what point did the knowledge come? Did Jesus learn about himself from his baptism by John and from John's view of Jesus? Maybe it was at the temptation and his transfiguration where the Apostles saw Jesus in white robes. Maybe. Maybe.

These are virtually unanswered questions and yet if left unanswered, it seems impossible, or has seemed impossible to

those who care at all, to make sense of the mystery left by Jesus' death at Golgotha. Once again, it won't do. We must find another way. There must be another vision, a way of thinking that can resolve these things in our time.

Go back, look again. What is there to be found?

Did Jesus believe he was the Messiah — the one sent from God? There can be little doubt that he had a strong sense of his relationship to God and was sent to the people much as the prophets were. There is also little doubt that he had ideas of a different kingdom that was not of this world and that these ideas were related to the end of the world and the establishment of a new kingdom by God. In various forms, these ideas were abroad in Israel in Jesus' time and were held by many individuals and groups. These "messianic" ideas were not always taken quite literally even in the first century, but were often meant lyrically, symbolically, and metaphorically. Even in the Gospels, this is the case in many instances where Jesus expresses such ideas.

But nonetheless, there is the interpretation of the Christian church and its historical expressions, awkward for our times, to be sure, but at the heart of Christian experience over the centuries. Jesus is celebrated as Messiah, the one sent specially from God, beautifully and lovingly, faithfully and universally throughout our world, in ways held dear by millions. Badly used at times though it may have been, the message built from the story of this man has comforted and strengthened people far more than we can ever begin to express. Has this journey, in 1986, brought some new light for us?

### **What Jesus refused to be**

The most striking part of the story of Jesus' last days is not so much in what many claimed he was, but in what he

refused to be. He rejects every claim made for him, much in the same way he rebuked the demons and told people he healed to tell no one but to go to the Temple and give thanks to God. Peter said, at one point, that some people thought Jesus was the Christ and Jesus tells him to be quiet and talks about having to die. The disciples dispute among themselves about who will be the greatest in the coming kingdom and Jesus gets quite angry with them. A man approaches with the greeting "good teacher" and is told none is good but God alone. We see him, most clearly towards the end, turning aside every claim by silence or by turning it back upon the speaker. The religious leaders ask if he claims to be the Son of God, the one that is to come, and he replies that that is what they themselves say; then he adds an apocalyptic saying about the end of time. Clearly, the ideas he had were not related to his lifetime nor, seemingly, to what he was being accused of. Pilate asks if he is a king and Jesus in effect says those are your words not mine. Then, amidst the claims and counterclaims, false charges, false witness, and lies, Jesus falls totally silent and goes to his death.

Many theologians and preachers have led us to think of these events as a sort of necessary deception on God's part. Jesus had to die because that was what God wanted from Jesus, who was a special kind of being on a kind of special mission. We find out about this after three days and Jesus' resurrection when everything will be all right again and we will see how God was acting through the life and death of Jesus in a transaction between God's world up there and our world as we know it down here. This may be conceived in sophisticated terms or claimed to be symbolic in some way, but all in all, it amounts to the same thing. It is a view that comes from the mindset of the time that the New Testament was written and is reinforced by the church fathers and the building of the creeds, most especially

by the powerful figure of Anselm.

The whole "action" of God is regarded as a sort of trick, is often expressed that way in the literature. But, as Einstein has said in another connection, "God does not play tricks." The world view of the traditional formulation contained the kernel of Christian truth for well over a thousand years — albeit uneasily, as we see from inquisitions, religious wars, crusades, and many lesser evils. But since the time of Copernicus and Galileo, certainly since Bohr, Einstein, and Hubble, modern physics and astronomy, atomic furnaces, and space probes, this world view has gradually weakened and finally turned itself into the tool of the mindset that seeks for a certainty in life that cannot be found. Faith becomes a special type of knowledge and belief is presented to us as accepting something we know is not true.

But we have our precedent from the stories of Jesus' birth, where we put aside the events in the sky and looked for the realities that kindled the initial expressions of faith. If we look at the whole story in that way, we find a man who led a life of total faithfulness to the essential God of his people, the God of forgiveness and love. Far from being some hidden power, we find him rejecting every power and authority that others claimed for themselves or attempted, one way or another, to thrust upon him. Jesus was broken and went to his death because of what everyone else thought he was, feared he might be or hoped that he would be. He would have none of it, he had even put aside the powers that his love had given him to heal, lest they lead people astray and substitute magic for faith. It is *not* that Jesus is some special power and came with the authority to represent God on earth but is hidden for a time; it *is* that he shows forth the traditional God of love and forgiveness in a new and compelling way by taking on himself no authority whatsoever and by accepting no power at all.

The life and death of Jesus are an event in time that change more than our intellectual understanding — our “illumination,” so to speak — because they change the very substance of life in a fundamental way. We are dealing here with a view of the Christian truth that is well beyond the sweet reasonableness of “modern” Christian thought that always comes down to making Jesus and his life some sort of example.

Leaving aside the older notions of original sin which belong to the two-story, supernatural version of Christian events, our problems with faith, love, and life have recently been more often described in psychological terms. One popular, widespread, and even profound version of this arises out of the idea of “separation,” our separation from God and our separation from our fellow humans. There are well-trained and brilliant clergy who can use categories like “separation,” “alienation,” and “loneliness” with very telling and true effect. The categories of

“power” and “authority” may bring a new set of descriptive thoughts that are somewhat stronger because they spin out of the basic events of Jesus’ life and death. They may even provide a better grounding for the psychological truths. For is it not our condition, the condition of all human beings, that we cannot abandon the need for authority and the desire to wield power over others? Do we not totally resist letting go; do we not find it impossible to abandon what we feel is best, especially for those we love? Is this not our “pride,” which needs to be overcome and is the source of our separation? Has not Jesus brought to us an understanding of God’s love that breaks through to us and gives us the courage to turn from this way of life, to let go, to love, to care, and to be as we were meant to be?

So we are able, in a new way, to express the true paradox of our faith. God is revealed in Jesus in a startling way. The most powerful idea we can have —

that of God — and what we must conceive of as the final authority for our life, is revealed in a life that rejects all power and all authorities. God is pure spirit, God is perfect love, there is none above God. To believe in God is to believe that love and caring, justice and peace are the very foundations of human life.

No authority that humans may find — not science, not philosophy, not living history or any other truth or thought can stand above that faith. No power we take unto ourselves to exercise — that of the state, of economic organizations, of institutions (even church and university) or any other source — can occupy our first loyalty or be allowed to corrupt our relations with our fellows so as to leave them at our mercy or shrink the scope of their lives for our benefit. These are crucial guiding principles and they lead us to be very circumspect in the powers, laws, institutions, restrictions, governances that we would inflict on others for their own good. ■

## To a God without papers

**Undocumented God:**  
you cross borders without inspection,  
you know you smuggle goods  
that would make customs officers  
very perplexed.

**Undocumented God:**  
you manage without a Green Card,  
without proof of belonging  
to this empire.

**You are an uncredentialed God,  
a God-not-figured-out:**

not by the FBI  
not by the CIA  
not by the INS  
not by the IRS  
not by the SSS

(Computers say when asked:  
“This God does not compute”)

There are no fingerprints,  
no driver’s license number,  
no credit cards,  
no trace.

**Because you are undocumented!**

You said “No, thank you” to the melting pot.  
You graciously declined  
an advisory job  
with the government.  
You would not sit  
with the board of directors  
of a business concern

(even when they all thought  
that their fabulous prosperity  
meant you were on their side  
and had finally accepted  
to sign the proper forms.)

**But you are God,  
definitely without papers,**

**God**  
foreign  
marvelously free,  
a wandering God  
who crosses borders  
as some of us do  
looking for work.

**Undocumented God:**  
if you are ever detained  
by the Border Patrol  
know that you have the right  
to remain silent  
know that you have the right  
to remain free.

— Aurora Camacho de Schmidt  
*Poem available in Spanish*



# On Bishop Tutu, gays, Christmas and belonging together

by Malcolm Boyd

**“I**f we could but recognize our common humanity, that we do belong together, that our destinies are bound up with one another’s, that we can be free only together, that we can be human only together . . .”

These are Desmond M. Tutu’s words at his installation as Archbishop of Cape Town. He was speaking, of course, in the context of the possibilities of “a glorious South Africa . . . where all live harmoniously as members of one family, the human family, God’s family.”

His words also speak sensitively and prophetically in the context of where, and how, gay people fit into the church. “If we could but recognize our common humanity . . .” We cannot do this when some of us are likened to lepers, or notorious sinners, by virtue of our sexual orientation. This, despite the fact we have been baptized, confirmed, and sometimes ordained.

I remember when Black people were not welcome in most White Episcopal churches. Apartheid was practiced with the rigidity of a sledgehammer. I also recall a western U.S. town with *two* Roman Catholic parishes — one offering the Mass for Anglos, the other offering the Mass for Latinos. The latter largely comprised farm workers not acceptable to middle-class Christians with different cultural mores.

“That we do belong together . . .” Gay men and lesbians have been told from time immemorial that they were welcome in the church only if masked, if “telling a lie for Christ.” Needless to say, this has not been congruent with enabling either mental health or spiritual well-being. If one’s mask momentarily happened to fall on the floor, there was hell to pay. Hell, defined vividly afterwards by those required to live through it. This cruelty was enacted beneath the shadow of

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**Malcolm Boyd** is writer-priest in residence at St. Augustine by-the-Sea Episcopal Church, Santa Monica, Cal. His 22nd book, *Gay Priest: An Inner Journey*, has just been published by St. Martin’s Press. References in this article are to his earlier works, *Are You Running With Me Jesus?* and *Half Laughing/Half Crying*.



**Malcolm Boyd**

cool angels’ wings, in the name of the Good Shepherd.

“That our destinies are bound up with one another’s . . .” Shortly after my “coming out” in 1976, I was invited to attend the funeral of a priest whom I had long known and respected. A large number of clergy were present. As we vested in the parish hall, another priest asked to be introduced to me. I reached out, took his extended hand, smiled. I had no way of knowing that in a moment his calculated smile would turn into a mask-like hate stare. Suddenly he withdrew his hand — fiercely, with animal strength — leaving mine hanging in empty air. He simply stood there to a count of five, staring angrily, before he turned his back and strode away. He created an incident of extraordinary embarrassment for me. The crowded parish hall fell silent, but no one came forward to offer comfort or comradeship. The priest-as-judge had made his point, his “witness.”

“If we could but recognize our common humanity, that we



do belong together, that our destinies are bound up with one another's . . ." Desmond Tutu's words ring especially true for those of us, heterosexual or gay, who are yoked together by Christ in his church. It is a church with such a high proportion of gay people in its ranks, clerical and lay, that sometimes — as I've noted in *Gay Priest: An Inner Journey* — I've felt that I stumbled as Malcolm in Wonderland along an ecclesiastical landscape.

The church has an enormous task to try to translate Christ's gospel of love to a puzzled, frustrated, angry world. How can the church be made more relevant, appealing, approachable to the contemporary people who inhabit that world? Surely not by practicing apartheid in any form, slamming doors in peoples' faces, remaining uncaring instead of loving, denouncing in the place of healing, or expressing professional spiritual elitism as over against others' alleged spiritual inferiority.

*How relate to another human being?* If one is honest, this is never an easy question. I remember when I was a chaplain at Wayne State University and lived in the inner-city of Detroit. A block away, a figure framed in a window looked small. Yet the same figure loomed large in my consciousness and became unforgettable for me. It somehow incarnated the meaning of that question: How relate to another human being?

*Look up at that window where the old guy is sitting.*

*See, he's half-hidden by the curtain that's moving a little in the breeze. That tenement — it's a poor place to have to live, isn't it, Jesus?*

*He is seated alone by a kitchen table and looking blankly out the window. He lives with his sister, who is away working all day. There is nothing for him to do. He doesn't have any money; all he has is time.*

*Who is he in my life, Jesus? What has he got to do with me? He's your brother, and you love him. What does this say to me, Christ? I don't know what sense I am supposed to make out of this. I mean, how can I possibly be responsible in any honest, meaningful way for that guy?*

*He just moved a short bit away from the window. Maybe he moved because he felt my eyes on him from the sidewalk down here. I didn't mean to embarrass him. I just wanted to let him know somebody understands he's alive and he's your brother, so he's not alone or lost. Does he know it, Jesus?*

*Are You Running with Me, Jesus?*

Do we ever know completely, or for long stretches of time, that we're *really* secure? Can we help one another along the way, maybe with a symbolic reminder of God's love expressed in human terms? Can we help to raise one another's self-

esteem a notch in a world that likes to batter it; become a concrete expression of compassion in the midst of terror, fear and hate? The man in the window is an archetypal figure for me now. I've seen him — or her — in many a window since I lived in Detroit. The figure haunts me for it bespeaks love, and the absence of love.

"That we can be free only together, that we can be human only together . . ." What is the larger context in which gay people live and work in the church? What do gay Christians mean in, and to, the church? The theology of liberation extends to gay people. Baptism guarantees that there are no second-class members of the church. Membership signifies freedom to be oneself, created in the image of God; freedom to grow in the nurturing love of Christ. But how may this be put into practice now for gay people in the church?

First, by granting permission for the closeted to "come out" if they wish, into full acceptance and love.

Second, by opening up the ordination process for lesbians and gay men, without further hypocrisy or calumny.

Third, by blessing relationships of gay people. In this age of AIDS, when having multiple sex partners is seen as a primary cause of the disease, it is an outrage against the Holy Spirit when the church withholds a blessing from those who choose faithfulness to a life partner. Gay relationships have long suffered because of the absence of support. It is time to redress that wrong.

Fourth, by relaxing in the presence and power of the Holy Spirit. Practice what Reinhold Niebuhr called "Christian nonchalance." Let go of old fears and hatreds. Shed stereotypes, see people. Try to relate. Smile. Laugh. Touch: it's only flesh and blood.

The church has an opportunity, virtually unparalleled in our time, for genuine evangelism and pastoral outreach.

*Burnt-out people*

*play with fire again*

*light candles in darkness*

*a moral minority emerges*

*integrates diversity*

*feminine, masculine*

*heterosexual, gay, lesbian*

*Black, White*

*Latino, Anglo*

*European, Asian, African*

*new breed*

*sophisticated beyond belief*

*innocent as lambs*

*tough survivors, tender lovers*

*God isn't Lionel Barrymore anymore*

*glimmer of deity*

*along lines of*

*Dorothy Day, Barbara Jordan  
Eleanor Roosevelt, Georgia O'Keeffe*

*Endless procession  
chanting, robed  
women and men  
(there's even a place for me)  
a tiny seashell  
on floor of mighty sea  
a small streak of color  
in blazing sunset*

*Half Laughing/Half Crying*

A new generation of gay people, comprising a sizable proportion of the urban population, presently is indifferent to the church that has clearly expressed indifference and hostility toward it. A multitude of gay people will not feel an affinity for the church *without* an unequivocally warm invitation. Does the church wish to bar its doors to this burgeoning community of caring, creative, productive people who need spiritual nourishment — and have so much to offer?

An influx of gay people into the church may, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, change the church itself. The church may reach a more honest and healthy view of human sexuality as created by God. It may even find new paths toward servanthood and “foot-washing,” in place of outmoded monarchical patriarchy and the stinging blasphemy of self-righteousness that stands in the way of Christ’s inclusiveness.

I’d like to see Bishop Tutu’s beautiful words printed on a Christmas card: “If we could but recognize our common humanity, that we do belong together, that our destinies are bound up with one another’s, that we can be free only together, that we can be human only together . . .”

At Christmas, we realize with special clarity that Christ has entered into our common humanity as one of us. So, we belong together in Christ. Christ’s gift to us of freedom and full humanity cannot ever be “mine,” it is inescapably “ours,” as we contemplate the manger scene and later stand at the foot of the cross.

*Oh Jesus . . . it is so cold and lonely to be separated,  
isolated, fearful, unloving . . . warm us . . . vivify us  
. . . touch us . . . hold us . . . make us see we are one in  
you, all parts and partners in the morality play called  
life . . .*

It’s Christmas again, Jesus. We’re going to celebrate your birthday another time around. But are we aware you’re *real*, Jesus? If not, maybe this is why we seem to be despising humanness in our world right now. Help us to understand what it means to be truly human and real, with you and the others with whom we share life. Happy birthday, Jesus. And, thanks for being here. ■

## Beware the mothers

once i railed against god  
for giving me children  
when i wanted to fight dragons.  
now i know  
my children are the eyes  
through which i see dragons  
more clearly.

i say to you, men:  
beware the mothers  
the ones who cherish the future  
because they have given birth to it.

ours is a tenderness  
born in the late-night caress  
of a slumbering child.  
ours is a fierceness  
born of watching our children cry  
where there is nothing we can do.

i say to you, men:  
we will not abandon the children  
the future  
to the myopic ones  
who would turn playgrounds  
to battlegrounds  
and swimming holes  
to fox holes.

you will not steal the future  
from my children.  
you will not destroy  
their birthright.  
i will not hand it to you  
it does not belong to you.  
i have birthed the future  
my children.  
and you must learn to cherish it  
as i do them.

— patricia broughton

## When elephants fight, grass suffers

It is important to remember that when we raise the question of peace, we do not only speak about the arms race at the top, but we also look at the grass, which suffers when elephants fight. I am one who belongs to the grassroots.

And what is the elephant fight all about? This question has to be carefully answered. What role do we play in relation to the grass which suffers?

In this search, I need you, my Christian sisters, to assist me in finding my role, so that it becomes our struggle together. We need desperately a circle of friends at all levels from the stem of the grass up to the elephants, in order to develop a global understanding of the problems and are not too narrow in our approach.

**Sithembiso Nyoni/Zimbabwe  
World Encounter, Fall '86**

# Short Takes

## Whose poor? Who's poor?

One of the truest, deepest themes of Sacred Scripture is the special love and care God has for the little people. But who believes it? The world surely has a multiplicity of poor. Some 800 million people live in absolute poverty where hunger, homelessness and sickness are chronic.

It is becoming clear to me that God's expressions of care for the downtrodden are not intended for them at all; that all the words of hope and restoration Scripture addresses to the abandoned are directed elsewhere. (Keep in mind most of the poor can't read.) The real shock is that God's words about the poor are aimed at those of us who are not poor. We are not only the ones who can read; we are the ones who can make the promises of God come true. The Word of God is aimed at converting us, not the poor.

**Bishop Michael Kenny**  
*The Inside Passage* 9/5/86

## In pursuit of Shalom

Torah was to the people of God in the Old Testament what the Risen Christ and the Spirit were to the people of God in the New Testament, a source of illumination and guidance. A society based on Torah (as a church based on *pneuma* — Spirit) could lay the foundation for Shalom. Shalom, the realization of Torah in human society, was the greatest good because it was everyone's good. It was nothing less than the vision of a social order in which no one lived at the expense of another.

Implicit in the Torah's concern for economic justice was the awareness that violence most often was perpetuated for the purpose of preserving the interests of an elite who lived quite willingly at the expense of others' misery. Maldistribution of wealth and concentration of luxury in the midst of poverty and oppression could never lead to Shalom. Social inequities sowed the seeds of reactionary movements whose harvest of violence was but a response to the violent and daily oppression of the many by the few.

**Prof. William R. Herzog, II**  
*Witness for Peace Newsletter*

*Invoice*

*Cover design + separations*  
*200.*

*The Witness*

*many thanks,*

*Corita Kent*

## In loving memory

Among deaths of noted religious figures in 1986 was Corita Kent, artist and former nun, who died of cancer Sept. 19 in Boston. Her work is found in 40 major museums throughout the world, and in 1985 she designed the famous postage stamp bearing the word, *Love*. She also created the largest object ever granted a copyright, the 150-foot rainbow on the gas storage tanks along Boston's Southeast expressway.

Corita used a "sliding scale" to charge her clients, as illustrated on the invoice above, in her own hand. She designed the cover of the February, 1981 *WITNESS* for \$200. Now a collector's item, it bore an arrangement of crocuses to illustrate that issue's theme of hope.

## Making of an Episcopalian

"As long as Catholics marry Baptists, we'll have lots of Episcopalians."

**The Rev. R. Roy Baines, Jr.**  
Quoted in *Inside the American Religion Scene/RNS*

## Homosexual conundrum

How fiercely ironic that a gay Christian can have clandestine sex several times in one Sunday after church with far less risk than the person takes if he introduces as spouse at the parish coffee hour a gay lover of many years.

The gay press floods with discourse about "responsible sex," especially in the wake of the grim specter of AIDS. Meanwhile, the church would defrock those of us in holy orders unless we lie.

**Louie Crew**  
*Christianity and Crisis*, 3/17/86

## Mini-meditation

The word "religion" draws out all sorts of associated responses: God, sacrifice, church hypocrisy, cross, boredom, joy, opiate, repression, oppression, status quo, institution, wealth, goodness, evil, farce, truth, deception, salvation, heaven, hell, or whatever.

Here is the Bible's definition: "Pure religion is this: to visit the orphans and the widows in their affliction, and to keep oneself unspotted from the world."

Pretty simple stuff, really.

In that definition, there is no mention of institution, of clergy, of ecclesiastical structures, of church property or of cathedrals. There is no indication of church treasuries, tax-free donations, building funds or charity funds. Nothing about pews, or an organ, not even a steeple.

No stained glass, no preachers. No deacons, no professionals, confessionals, processions, or recessions. Not even choirs or parking lots!

Now, other passages in the Bible may address some of these things. But when biblical religion is reduced to the bottom line, it is this — a personal responsibility to love genuinely.

Religious behavior springs from two fonts: 1) sensitivity to human need and personal involvement in meeting those needs, and 2) basing one's moral behavior in an ethic of love.

Here is the essence of biblical religion: loving so that lives change.

**Jon Paden**  
*Juneau Empire*, 7/25/86

## Take care of your pump

Every day the human heart pumps 2,000 gallons of blood through 70,000 miles of blood vessels.

**American Red Cross**

## Words, words, words . . .

*The New York Times* notes that the Lord's Prayer contains 56 words, the 23rd Psalm 118, the Gettysburg Address 226, and the Ten Commandments 297, while the U.S. Department of Agriculture directive on pricing cabbage weighs in at 15,629.

**Utne Reader**



ple, single and married people, gay and lesbian people, divorced and widowed people, are all members of the Body of Christ and must learn to respect one another, live together, work to heal wounds resulting from prejudice, lack of knowledge and misperception.

**The Rev. Claudia L. Windal**  
Minneapolis, Minn.

## A matter of scandal

The "Open Letter to the Presiding Bishop" from THE WITNESS Editorial Board is an urgent appeal for moral leadership to eliminate the scandalous mistreatment of lesbians and gay men seeking ordination and those already ordained.

The Presiding Bishop's response is a disappointment. Nothing he says is wrong exactly, but lesbians and gay men respond, "So what?" His vision of the church as "a community where love and grace abound" is not wrong, but is it a concrete response to *scandal*?

Gay men are legion among Episcopal clergy — in every diocese and even in the national church offices in New York. Lesbian clergy are less numerous because of another scandal: the long-time refusal to ordain women. The scandal, therefore, is not the existence of gay and lesbian priests, but rather the immoral demands the church places on those who seek, and receive, ordination.

The scandal is that the church condemns those who tell the truth. The scandal is that the church consigns countless men and women to secret, double lives, balanced precariously between their desire to serve the people of God and their desire for fulfilled, happy lives which are sustained by the love of another person of the same gender. And it is not only clergy but men and women in the pews who are so condemned.

The appropriate moral response to duplicity is to begin telling the truth. The truth is often hard, but without it admonitions about love are empty. The Presiding Bishop is wrong: The canons do not give ample guidance to the ordination process when, in North Carolina a gay

priest is fired, in Pennsylvania a lesbian is removed from the ordination process, but in Michigan and New York gay men and lesbians are being supported, ordained and placed.

I am glad that this Presiding Bishop responds to letters which press important issues and that he seems to care about the marginalized among us. Now, he should take the next step: moving from abstract pastoral nostrums to an active involvement in concrete situations where the lives of flesh and blood lesbians and gay men are at stake.

**Robert H. Gorsline**  
New York, N.Y.

## Fails to persuade

Reading Bishop Browning's recent letter in the September WITNESS, I do not disagree with the logic he brings to bear, either on the issue of the 1979 Convention resolution on the ordination of homosexuals or the acknowledgement of the historic controversies surrounding homosexuality. It simply fails to persuade.

The references to canonical rights of bishops in this light is reminiscent of the state's rights arguments by Southerners. They might have been perfectly correct and legitimate, but this did not alter the fact that they were used to oppress, and oppression is the more urgent issue. Nor is the Presiding Bishop's argument that little is really understood of "the homosexual" really profound; to further the same analogy, "the nigger" was a mystery in the antebellum South. The treatment of Blacks made any knowledge impossible.

We ask Bishop Browning to go past the details of canon, the contradictions of Pauline scriptures, and the scores of controversial individual cases to the heart of

the matter and proclaim God's fundamental acceptance of and love for all.

Everyone has so long been wrapped up in individual issues that the central has escaped us; we are like the fundamentalists who have argued so long about the age of creation that they have forgotten the central message: *God creates*. If we can get back to that without any of the baggage we normally carry, we can get quickly to the implied statement that our ability to love each other is God's greatest gift to us; just as returning to *God creates* lets us see that the way in which God created us in God's image is by giving us the power to create for ourselves.

Nowhere is the interrelation of these gifts more obvious than in the monogamous marriage described as "the Christian norm"; the dedication of two persons to each other and their mutual dedication to build a life together is both an ideal of love and of creation.

This may in fact be at the root of much anti-homosexual feeling. Homosexuality has often been associated with sex without love, with pointless promiscuity and anonymity. Small wonder then, that there has been distrust of homosexuals. However, the hatefulness of Sodom is not the homosexuality, but the wantonness, the lack of love, and this applies to everyone. After all, the whole city was destroyed, not just the homosexuals.

If the church is worried about the fitness of homosexuals for the priesthood because of their sexual activities, let her simply impose the same strictures as for heterosexual priests: that sex should be in the context of marriage.

There could be no better time to take this position. Not only does the newest wave of homophobia create a deep need for some demonstration to society that homosexuals and heterosexuals share the same fundamental desires and dignities, but AIDS has also shown many homosexuals, albeit starkly, their depth of feeling for their lovers and the need to create stable units despite pressures from outside.

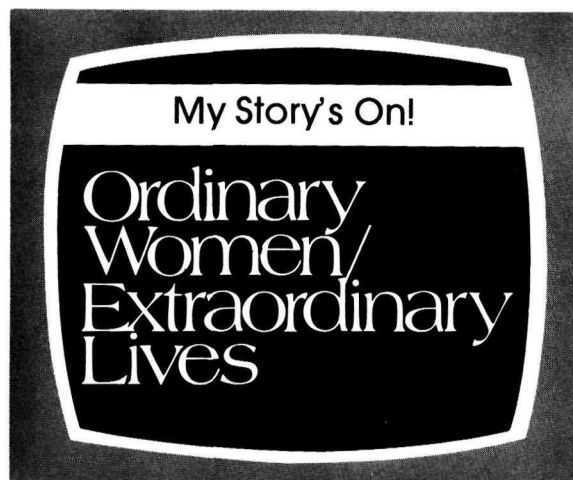
I pray that Bishop Browning may see the way in which ordination of gay and

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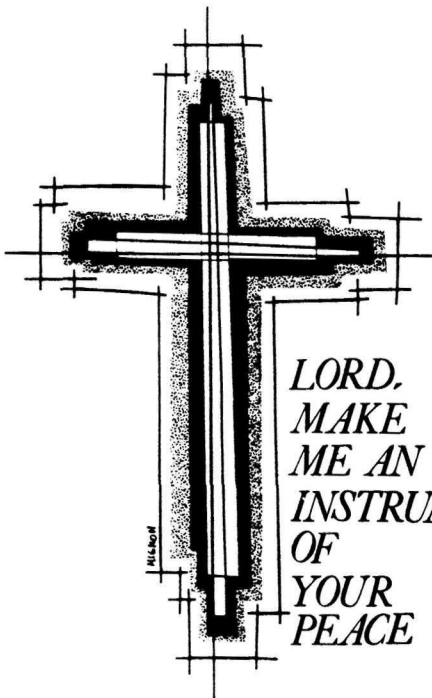
lesbian priests is a fundamental part of the affirmation of the rights of all to God's gifts. When we limit the priesthood we say: thus far and no farther are you accepted in the eyes of God. And whomever we say this to, we limit us all; whether black, white, man, woman, gay, or straight, because we limit the possibility of God's love. This issue may be closer to home for gay or lesbian Episcopalians, but it is at the heart of all our faiths.

**Edward T. L. Hardie**  
**Hong Kong**

### Presiding Bishop requests letters

**All Letters to the Editor relating to the exchange of correspondence between THE WITNESS and Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning on the subject of gay and lesbian rights in the church have been forwarded to him at his request. We are anticipating a response for the January WITNESS.**

**At the House of Bishops meeting in September, Bishop Browning cited THE WITNESS open letter and his response as an example of dialogue around "explosive issues" which need to be explored. "Of all the issues we face, I think this will neither disappear, nor should it," he told the bishops in his opening address. "I am deeply aware of the possibilities of real tension and polarization, which enhances my conviction for this dialogue. I have no idea where this may lead, but I'm willing to take the risk for those who have too long been considered as outcasts of society."**



# Litany of contemporary

*The Rev. F. Sanford Cutler, recently retired rector of Redeemer parish, Morristown, N.J., compiled the following list of "Episcopal saints" as an invocation opening a meeting of The Consultation Nov. 1 in Detroit. He began with a reading from Jose Cardenas Pallares' A Poor Man Called Jesus and asked those present to respond to the Litany by saying "Presente," a Hispanic commitment to remember the dead by pledging to emulate their lives. The Consultation is a coalition of Episcopal organizations working on justice and peace issues. THE WITNESS joins Sandy Cutler in noting that the list is by no means exhaustive, and invites readers during Advent to add their own contemporary saints.*

**Shelton Hale Bishop**, Harlem rector, who showed us that you can move a Presiding Bishop, to move in turn a General Convention out of a segregated city

Response: *Presente.*

**Carol Davis**, who 25 years ago quietly demonstrated what a woman could do in full-time parish ministry in Corning — and even at the Episcopal Church Center

*Presente.*

**Bill Gray**, who proved that a diocesan newspaper did not have to be dull, irrelevant and trivial

*Presente.*

**Charles Lawrence**, who somehow managed to serve the church prophetically at all levels — parochial, diocesan, and national — and the world in the church's name

*Presente.*

**William Appleton Lawrence**, for so many years the only consistent voice for peace in the House of Bishops, who gave us an Episcopal model of a pastoral prophet

*Presente.*

**William Howard Melish**, who no doubt is reading the November issue of THE WITNESS with delight, only regretting that he can't add his comments, for he led the fight for East-West understanding in his time

*Presente.*

**Pauli Murray**, lawyer, poet, activist, priest — but perhaps more important, a true communicator capable of inspiring others to do battle for justice in church and society

*Presente.*

# Episcopal saints

by Sandy Cutler

**Chuck Packard**, who in a short life and very short ordained ministry, challenged and energized young radicals and tired cynics in the Diocese of Newark to take on the Church Pension Fund

*Presente.*

**Jeannette Piccard**, who in a long and full life, lifted our vision up to the stratosphere, and broke not only the gender but the age barrier

*Presente.*

**Betsy and Bob Rodenmayer**, who together, showed the church a vision of marriage and team ministry that broke the traditional stereotypes

*Presente.*

**Vida Scudder**, who constantly reminded us that justice and peace are linked, and that both are deeply rooted in our peculiar Anglican tradition

*Presente.*

**Bill Stringfellow** — Defender of the faith, but more important, defender and protector of the faithful

*Presente.*

We sum up our petition in the words Jesus taught us:

Our Father and Mother in heaven

Holy is your name

May your reign come

your will be done

on earth as in heaven

Give us our bread for today

And forgive us our sins

As we forgive those who sin against us

Do not put us to the test but deliver us

from the power of evil

For yours is the realm, the power

and the glory

Forever. *Amen.*

Dismissal (said by all): God, send us anywhere you would have us go, only go with us. Place any burden upon us, only stand beside us. Use the ties that bind us together, to bind us closer to you. And may your peace, O creator, redeemer and sustainer, be always with us. *Amen.*

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