

Title: *The Witness*, January to December, 1987

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THE WITNESS

Inside: Appalachia
The U.S. 'Third World'

CELEBRATING

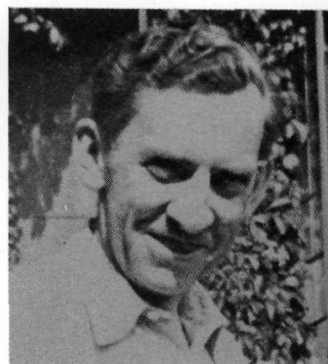


Three score and ten years ago, the first issue of **THE WITNESS** rolled off the press in tabloid form into a world scarred by political, social and economic upheaval. On Jan. 6, 1917, when Editor Irving Peake Johnson checked the first **WITNESS** — an 8-page weekly selling for \$1 a year out of Hobart, Ind. — two main events were shaping the world's destiny:

- A World War had been raging in Europe since 1914 (and was to be enjoined by the United States during **THE WITNESS'** fourth month of publishing);
- A revolution was in its inchoate stages in Russia, where a political activist named Vladimir Ilyich Lenin

was organizing the Bolsheviks to end Czarist rule.

In the second decade of the 20th



William B. Spofford



Irving Peake Johnson

century, the United States, having fulfilled its "manifest destiny" to reach from sea to shining sea, flexed

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Letters

Browning responds to homosexuality letters



The Editorial Board of THE WITNESS magazine, concerned about rights of gay men and lesbians in the Episcopal Church in the context of current "gay-bashing" in U.S. society and in the churches, wrote an open letter to Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning in September. The correspondence urged him "to encourage bishops to accept, ordain and employ persons who are qualified," irrespective of their sexual orientation. Bishop Browning's response in that issue included an invitation to others to dialogue on this "explosive" topic. Subsequently, THE WITNESS printed in its Letters column in November and December a wide selection of responses. All letters, including those we did not print, were forwarded to the Presiding Bishop at his request. What follows is his second response to the correspondence. Barbara Harris, in her column A Luta Continua, comments on the Browning letter elsewhere in this issue.

Bridge-building in a divided church

I have read, reread, and pondered long and hard upon the responses to our exchange of letters which appeared in the September issue of THE WITNESS. I would like to share a few thoughts which have emerged.

I want to thank THE WITNESS for providing a forum for the public discussion of homosexuality. I am gratified by the response to our published correspondence. Many sent me personal letters. I have read all, and I hope that they are but a small indication of the dialogue within the church. I am pleased that the concerns expressed in each letter have been lifted up. I am intensely moved by the anguish conveyed. And, I am encouraged by the remarkable vulnerability several writers were willing to risk. I have taken the liberty of sharing all the letters I have received with the Standing Commission on Human Affairs and Health, which has been directed by

General Convention to address the issue of human sexuality.

I must candidly remind you that our church is of many minds about the place of homosexual people in Christendom. Since my remarks at the Los Angeles Convention, I would suspect that I have heard every possible position. Some Episcopalians on *both* sides of this issue hold views that reveal prejudice, myth, misinformation and spiritual shallowness. On the other hand, some of our communicants' — (again on both sides) — strong views are based on careful thought, extensive study and serious soul-searching. The painful truth is that we are not, as a church, reconciled about whether gay and lesbian people, while "children of God, fully deserving of the pastoral care and concern of the church," should be admitted to Holy Orders or whether their sexual unions should be blessed by the church. The vote at the

1985 General Convention on the resolution concerning the ordination of openly avowed and practicing homosexual people made clear our lack of agreement on these matters. These are the facts. While this state of affairs causes pain and anger all around, to contend that things were otherwise would be to traffic in illusion, and I cannot do that.

As Chief Pastor I want to say that I am grieved by this brokenness in our church. I am in no way insulated from the anguish of gay and lesbian Episcopalians in a church that is torn over how to treat them. Many have shared with me their heartrending stories; I have ached with gay clergy and lay people who have been treated with hostility by parishes and dioceses. They have paid an enormous price at times as they tried, in good conscience, to lead integrated Christian lives. I am appalled by the violence against homosexual persons in our soci-

ety and, often, the denial of their basic human rights.

At the same time, I have heard the rage and anguish of some Episcopalians who have felt disillusioned and confused about their homosexual sisters and brothers. They too want, with equal passion, to be given clear and unequivocal assurance that their beloved church is not disintegrating into the hedonism that our age seems to have spawned. For a number of people in our churches today many changes are not upsetting but frightening. They view the basic heterosexual relationship as so much a part of the natural order that it is fully normative. To hold that there can be other forms of God-given relationships raises difficult questions for them about the natural order and, therefore, even about the existence of God and God's purposes as they have understood them. They are also concerned that full acceptance of homosexual relationships would somehow mean a breakdown of all forms of sexual morality. I have sat with these people, too, and ached.

As your Presiding Bishop I need to share with you that the pain on both sides is real; neither side has cornered the market on anguish. I find that I share deeply in the pain and struggle of many individuals today and in the life of the church as we try to come to fuller understandings of human sexuality. I am hopeful that the pain and struggle can be redeemed and redeeming and that they are leading us to both new compassion and vision. Compassion, if it is to be authentic, must be extended to *all*.

As Primate, Chief Pastor, and President, the titles given to me as Presiding Bishop, I am called to lead. But, to lead does not mean to yank or to dictate. This is not the style of my ministry. Nor is it the mandate given me in our polity, in which I have neither the right nor the

power to make unilateral declarations about such issues as who should or should not be ordained. Nor would I want such a prerogative. We Episcopalians proclaim the catholic faith; we strive to be a collegial church.

In a controversy, then, my leadership must consist of clarifying the issue and building bridges. It is the vision of wholeness — of the oneness that is ours in Christ — that I hope will lead me all the days of my ministry as Presiding Bishop. To be a bridge builder in a divided community is to reach out with *both* hands and to draw the sides together. This is the role of the prophetic pastor, seeking out both sides and enabling them to enter into dialogue for mutual understanding and acceptance.

To be a prophetic pastor is to live in tension — the tension of holding opposites together and the tension which grows out of deep compassion with those who have strong positions and passions. This is not a passive ministry but one of intentional engagement, constant growth and awareness, risk and vulnerability. I am called to this ministry and it is out of this that I can honestly say that there will be no outcasts.

In the midst of this longstanding contention among us, what I yearn for is this: that we be honest and vulnerable in our sharing, compassionate in our listening, and diligent in our search for truth. In fact, I challenge the Episcopal Church with these tasks. I give you my pledge that I shall use all the resource and persuasion of my office to foster dialogue and study in the church on the matters of sexuality, homosexuality and relationships so that the myths can be dispelled, the prejudices overcome, the truth known, and our brokenness healed. I can do no more; I shall do no less.

Edmond L. Browning
Presiding Bishop

For non-violent witness

The article "Black township theology" in the October WITNESS well expresses the drastic pressure between two different approaches to the apartheid oppression and violence experienced by the Black people of Southern Africa.

The author seems to choose a response of *violence* to the unjust system of greed, oppression and violence. On a human level this response is very understandable. I have no doubt there is much ambivalence, as the young people Buti Tlhagle speaks about so admirably try to relate to their ongoing, unjust experiences.

This same ambivalence has been felt down through the years in confrontational experiences. There is no easy answer to these different approaches and each can be ably defended. My bias is towards what I consider the pure Christian approach of non-violence, but I am not living in South Africa, or El Salvador, or wherever such drastic confrontations are experienced these days.

Buti Tlhagle makes a generalization that "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." By whom? Not by me.

My presence in an American federal prison is as much in solidarity with the sufferings of the Blacks in South Africa as it is with the Blacks in the South Bronx. The greed, oppression and violence of the Global Corporate State is found not only in militarism and nuclearism, but also in classism, sexism and racism. I did my best to disarm a nuclear missile not only in opposition to nuclearism and militarism, but also because I

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THE WITNESS

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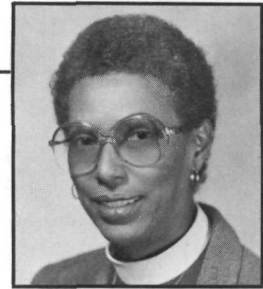
CELEBRATING YEARS

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Speaking the truth in love

The published exchange of correspondence between the Editorial Board of the WITNESS and the Presiding Bishop (September 1986) on the subject of homosexuality and the church generated a barrage of responses both to this magazine and Bishop Browning personally. Several of the letters from openly gay and lesbian WITNESS readers expressed disappointment in what, for many, amounted to the PB's polite and politic skirting of the issue. As a "straight" I found his diplomatic letter cold comfort and I am certain it offered little to our gay and lesbian brothers and sisters struggling for more than a grudging tolerance in the Body of Christ.

On the other hand, that Bishop Browning took time to "read, reread and ponder long and hard" the responses to his September statement and share his further reflection with the church is encouraging. That this exchange could take place at all between a publication such as the WITNESS and Bishop Browning is significant, given the siege mentality of the PB's office in recent years. His follow-up letter, published this month, is thoughtful and reflects not only care in its crafting, but caring in its content.

Where I take issue with our Chief Pastor and President is in his assessment of the role of *leader* and *prophetic pastor*.

In a controversy, says Bishop Browning, "my leadership must consist of clarifying the issue and building bridges." The first is true. The second is a desirable outcome if possible, but not at the expense or sacrifice of a clarion call for justice.

Two oft quoted or paraphrased adages come to mind. First, a leader does not *seek* consensus, he or she *makes* it. Second, nobody follows a leader who does not look like he knows where he is going.

The prophetic pastor, as the PB further points out, does live in tension, but not the tension of trying to hold opposites together. Rather, the prophet lives in the tension that results from speaking God's word unequivocally to a vain world that is no friend to grace. Prophets live in the tension of speaking the truth in love because they care that those to whom they speak hear and obey God's word. Bishop Browning correctly assesses that this is not a passive ministry. Moreover, prophets are not likely to be popular figures.

Jeremiah, scarcely a seeker of consensus, barely escaped with his life. Isaiah, no builder of bridges, saw very clearly that his task was to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor. Elijah's position with the priests of Baal was hardly diplomatic and John the Baptist had little time for

"intentional engagement" with the Pharisees.

The role Bishop Browning lays out is that of reconciler. This may well be what a Presiding Bishop in a Protestant Episcopal Church is called to do and all that office can be among the "largest group of unsupervised branch managers in the world" (bishops and parish clergy), and an even more independent thinking laity. It is not, however, to be confused with leadership or with being a prophetic pastor. The role of prophet calls for far greater risk of alienating or disaffecting some in the community, including me.

That some will fall outside the pale is a fact of life that issues from prophecy and prophetic witness. The prophet himself/herself may fall into disfavor and wind up hiding in a cave or even hanging on a cross. The price and the stakes are high indeed and a prophetic Presiding Bishop may well be the one who winds up an "outcast."

Bishop Browning can foster the dialogue that leads us to be "honest and vulnerable in our sharing, compassionate in our listening and diligent in our search for truth." But in the end, the prophetic pastor must speak to dispel the myths so that the truth may be known. Only then can prejudice be overcome and the brokenness in the Body of Christ be healed. No more is required, nor any less.

Appalachia: U.S. 'Third World'

by Jim Sessions

The story of Appalachia is like the story of much of the rest of the world's poor. The sorrow of Appalachia is "like unto the sorrow" of sisters and brothers on every continent.

An internal U.S. colony, Appalachia reveals relationships between the powerful and the powerless like those in Third World countries. Our own Third World is near at hand. Through the entry point of experienced suffering at home, we begin to acknowledge the larger global picture which otherwise remains too obscure to contemplate.

Listen to a Presbyterian minister remembering a recent week of visiting in his mountain parish:

"Statistics and findings become real for me in the memory of persons who give names and faces to suffering. 'Black lung' becomes real as you observe the wakefulness of Bill's children in the night while they listen to their father struggle for one more breath with the aid of an oxygen tank. Powerlessness has new meaning as you join Mrs. Hardaway, a widow, in her attempts to produce records from now-defunct coal companies to prove to the government that her husband died from black lung so that she can gain a minimal pension, since she is now disabled herself. Meanwhile the quilt she made, which you helped to sell for her for \$50, provides the only income she is likely to receive this month.

"The right to adequate education rings

urgently as you accompany your child on Parents' Day to the house trailer that has served as the classroom for her and 42 other pupils for a year. On the way, you pass the line of children waiting for the one working toilet, not yet connected to a sewer, which serves the 600 students in the building designed for 300 pupils.

"Mike, who is unemployed now for the sixth straight week and for the third time this year, invites you to share the bowl of pinto beans and the goat's milk, which comprise the one meal his family of four has for today. You join neighbors in rebuilding the porch on Mary's house, which has fallen in again. The lumber for the job is salvaged from the abandoned coal tipple by the railroad. Just down the road are the remains of the McElroy's home. You stood in their living room last week and wept over the memories of a lifetime smashed in a matter of minutes by the boulder from the strip mining operation. The mine had stopped 100 yards away, but not far enough to save the two rooms at the back of the house in the boulder's path.

"Tears are all that can be offered to the family of Joey, whom you bury today. Words won't suffice at the grave. There is no statistic that can explain to the Black mother of an 11-year old boy why her child has died. He was an epileptic, lacking proper nutrition because of the family's poverty and medical care because of the region's exploitation. 'Is it nothing to you, all you who pass by? Behold and see if there is any sorrow like unto my sorrow.'"

Like colonies of the Third World, Appalachia was appropriated by economic interests in Europe and the Northeastern United States for use as a timber, labor, and energy colony with the active

collaboration of the government. The poverty and suffering of the region make the people more docile and susceptible to the exploitative policies of outside economic interests:

- Three-fourths of the surface land and four-fifths of the mineral rights in 80 Appalachian counties are absentee-owned — 40% of the land and 70% of the mineral rights are owned by outside corporations. The top 1% of the owners own 22% of the land, but pay only 4.7% of the property taxes in those 80 counties. The almost non-existent taxes paid by absentee corporations mean that Appalachians must deal with chronically inadequate public service, despite the wealth of coal and other natural resources around them. And they must depend upon state and federal revenue to provide services and education.

- Some 70% of the working women in West Virginia make \$1.60 per hour or less.

A woman who is a single parent in Appalachia stands a 60% chance that she and her children will live in poverty.

- What bargaining power the region's labor force has had is being subverted by government budget cuts of unemployment insurance, public service jobs, workers' compensation, etc., promoting and escalating the fears of being without a job. A growing insecure labor pool of unemployed is further threatened by loss of food stamps and medical benefits.

Twenty-three of the 85 Central Appalachian counties have had unemployment rates of well over 10% for the last 10 years. Some counties average 15 to 40% unemployment, in some cases double the unemployment rates in the region in the early '60s, on the eve of the War on Poverty.

Jim Sessions is Executive Director of the Commission on Religion in Appalachia (CORA), a coalition of 18 denominations and 10 state Councils of Churches. He prepared the piece above for distribution by *Third World Sermon Notes*.

What is happening to Appalachia's poor in an age of retrenchment differs only in degree from what is happening to many others. Daily life turns more insecure, a sense of betrayal becomes ingrained, docility prevails in the labor markets, and a more predatory, survivalist mentality dominates social life.

Miners talk about men being "mashed up" like one might talk about a dented fender of an automobile. Destruction of human beings and destruction of the environment happen on a daily basis. Violence is a sad fact of life and the church must respond to its fundamental origins, rather than simply to its symptoms.

The injustice within Appalachia is interwoven with the prevailing institutions, structures, and ties of which the local parishes, the elders, the Sanhedrin, the councils are a part. While there is some wisdom in maintaining relations with these institutions in order to provide needed services for the poor, the church would be acquiescing in a system de-

signed to perpetuate poverty, and a consequent lack of empowerment if it simply accepted things as they are.

In Appalachia, we perceive a distinction between the poor and the powerless. Our service to the poor must be balanced with a commitment to challenge the economic and political organizations that foster powerlessness and poverty. The church's concern for the poor cannot be based on a need for people to whom we can minister. We must not only assuage the conditions of poverty and powerlessness, we *must end them*.

Prophets are often stoned. Their function is not to build something themselves, but to motivate other people to action. Thus they can appear inimical to the elders, the prevailing institutions. But where people undertake actions, they soon initiate institutions. In other words, the relationship between institutional interests and prophetic missions are not diametrically opposed but a synthesis that involves tension. This tension can be

creative in a sense of revitalizing institutions and making them uncomfortable while also shaping the prophetic vision to make it consistent with long-range strategies of change and not merely dramatic and episodic activities.

The Appalachian mountains store an incredible amount of wealth, not only in minerals, but in information the people have about their country, about the powerful and the powerless, and what it must be like to suffer in Third World economies. Most importantly, mountain people live a tradition of resistance born of persecution that is redemptive and permits the soul a place of rest.

The antidote for Appalachia is not distance, or even charity for the poor, but active solidarity with the poor. It is not just their plight, it is ours. As the Catholic bishops of Appalachia put it, *"It is the mountain's spirit of resistance which must be defended at any cost, for at stake is the spirit of all our humanity."* (This Land is Home to Me) ■

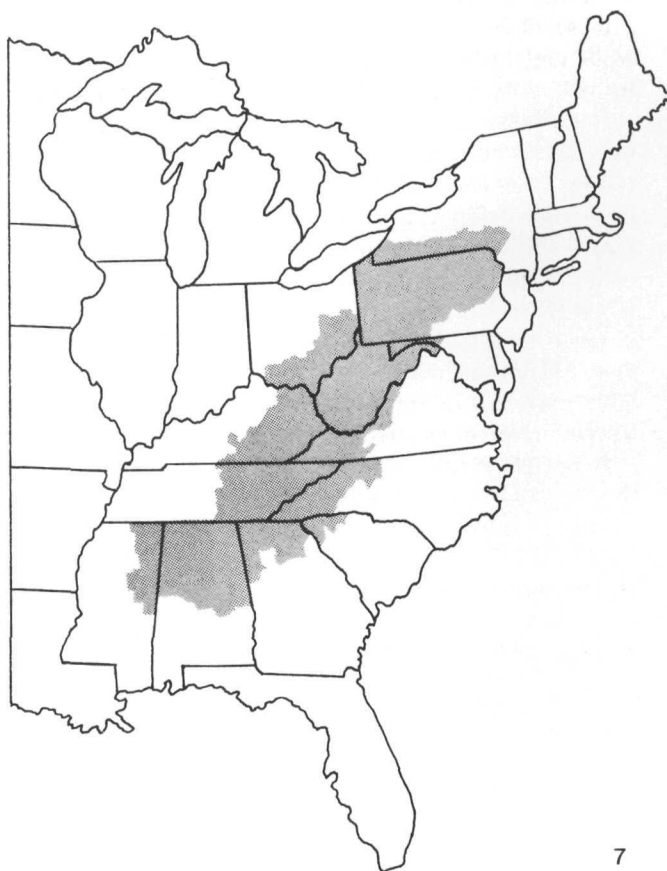
Appalachia in context

- Appalachia is home to 9% of the U.S. population and 10.8% of the nation's poor. It is home to 8% of the U.S. civilian workforce and 10% of the nation's unemployed. It is home to 11% of U.S. Episcopalians.

- Appalachia is affected by the emergence of a two-tier national economy. Almost two-thirds of the counties in the region have declined economically in the last 15 years. Data show that roughly 80% of the counties which fared worst in the first half of this decade are found in 17 states, including those of Appalachia. 62% of Appalachia's adults have not completed high school.

- While the traditional sectors of the Appalachian economy — mining, steel, manufacturing, farming — are losing enormous numbers of jobs, the new jobs are going to metropolitan areas which already have the highest degrees of wealth, education and services, leaving the rural areas, already the poorest in the nation, further and further behind. The two-tiered economy has particular consequences for rural women and rural Blacks, who already experience inordinate levels of poverty.

- "Blackness in the mountains makes people poorer still." One third of the Black families live below the poverty line. As of December, 1985, one third of the Blacks in the region were unemployed. As Blacks compete with low-income Whites for economic survival, there has been a rise in racial violence. The Ku Klux Klan, the White Patriot Party, and other hate groups in the region have stepped up activity.



Families win back homes

by Sandy Elledge

Adorned with signs reading, *Please don't buy our homes!*, the houses of Trammel, Va. went on the auction block last summer. Ordinarily, the surrender of their homes to public auction by an entire community would portend disaster for those involved. But as it turned out, for the people who lived in the homes of Trammel, an old mining camp nestled in the mountains of Southwestern Virginia, the event provided a bonding unparalleled in its history, as well as one of the most dramatic church interventions in Appalachia of recent memory.

The future looked bleak for Trammel when 79 homes were sold in the estate settlement of a wealthy landowner who had bought the camp some 60 years ago. While no written notification was ever received, word of the settlement filtered down on June 16, and more threatening, that an auction was set for July 12. Residents heard they could purchase their homes before the event, but many understood this to mean they would have to pay cash. People were afraid that if their houses were sold they would either be evicted or forced to move because of higher rent. Most of the homes do not have indoor toilets or running water and rented for under \$100 a month.

Trammel is comprised chiefly of unemployed coal miners or people who live on minimal, fixed incomes from black lung benefits, SSI or social security.

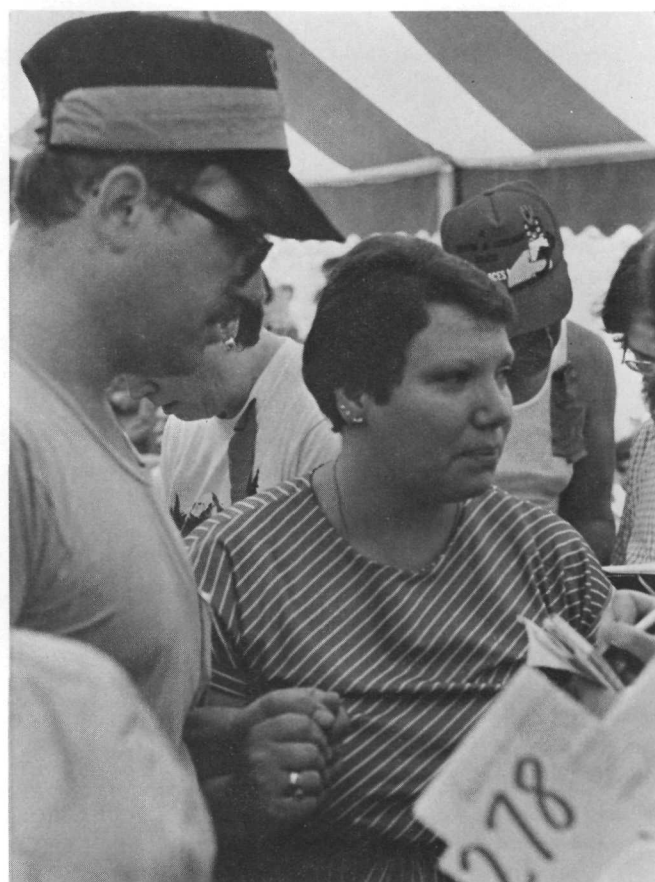
Jean and Clyde Hale have lived there for 11 years, renting different homes. As their son, Jason, 11½, wrote in a paper for school, "I've moved five times in my lifetime and I still live in Trammel."

Coy Williams remembers working in Trammel as a young man. He poured the cement for the foundation of the house he and his wife live in.

Dolores Rose and her husband lived elsewhere for 6½ years. "I thought when I moved away from here, I'd never come back — it was just the pit of the world," she said. But in the end, she was homesick and wanted to return.

It was this love of community that made Trammel residents determined to hang on to their homes, even if it took a fight. One of these was Clady Johnson, a divorcee whose only income derives from a \$207 monthly welfare check. Clady had worked with other community organizations in the area

Sandra Majors Elledge is communications director for the Appalachian People's Service Organization (APSO), a coalition of 14 Episcopal dioceses serving as an expression of mission and ministry in Appalachia.



Dolores Rose, secretary of the Trammel Homeowner's Association, and her husband, Wayne, join hands in a tense moment of bidding at auction of their community's homes.

and had had some leadership training, primarily through Grace House on the Mountain in nearby St. Paul, Va., a Learning/Training Center affiliated with the Episcopal Church. She contacted its director, Linda Johnson, (no relation), for help in organizing her neighbors into the Trammel Homeowner's Association. "We felt like we were going to be cast out," said Clady, who was to become vice-president of the group.

Dolores Rose, who became the Association's secretary, affirmed Clady's feelings. "When you have children, that's something to worry about. It was like they were going to auction you off as a person, or your kids. That's a part of your life and makes you real angry. My mother was raised here.

My 84-year-old grandmother was 14 when she came here.”

“The community never got together until all this started,” said Jean Hale, in whose home the first meeting took place. “June 25 was the first time the people of Trammel ever got together at a community dinner.” In the not quite three weeks between that first meeting and the auction, the Homeowners’ Association raised enough money to make the down payments — 10% of the total bidding price — on 25 homes, about \$30,000.

This included \$10,000 from the Episcopal Church Presiding Bishop’s Fund for World Relief, \$1,000 from the Episcopal Diocese of Southwestern Virginia, and gifts from Episcopal congregations in the Dioceses of Upper South Carolina, Virginia, Southwestern Virginia, and Newark. Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Lutherans also made substantial contributions. The residents raised \$1,000 through bake sales, car washes, telephone solicitations, and a gospel sing.

By the time the other 90% was due — 30 days — the necessary \$63,000 had been raised.

Clady Johnson’s home was the first offered at the auction. She lost out to a Washington D.C. man who bid \$4,000. He also bought her mother’s and her son’s homes, spending a total of \$11,150.

After losing those first three bids, “it seemed like a wet blanket had been tossed on the whole scene,” said the Rev. R. B. Lloyd, executive director of the Appalachian People’s Service Organization (APSO).

“People got physically ill when they saw Clady’s family lose their homes,” Linda Johnson said. “But even when others kept telling us that we were foolish, that we had poor strategy and that it was a bad investment, we believed we could still prevail.”

The Association called a hurried meeting to revise strategy. They decided that two representatives would handle the bidding, instead of an individual family bidding on its own home — an emotionally enervating and threatening task. The group stood together in the center of the auction tent, offering each other support and coaching the bidders. An Association member held up a sign during the proceedings, “This house is being used in a community ministry to assist low income persons! Your bid will keep it that way. Thank you!”

Events began to change. “There would be a great cheer after a successful bid,” Lloyd said. “Spirits lifted and then soared.” At the end, the Association had purchased 25 houses for \$63,000. Many of them sold for \$1,600. Even Clady Johnson and her brother have bought their homes from the man who outbid them, since the auction. “I had just had water put in in December. It was the first time I’d ever lived in a house with water,” Clady said, recalling her feelings upon



Top: A home typical of those up for auction; bottom, Harrison and Shirley Hale in front of their home. He is an unemployed coal miner; she, a volunteer community worker.

losing the house. Clady’s mother was given the opportunity to purchase her home, but the asking price was higher than she felt it was worth. Instead, she bought a home from the Association for less. This home is not only larger, but has hot and cold running water.

“Spirits are running pretty high around here,” said Dolores Rose, secretary of the Association. “We have a house for everyone in the Association.”

“There is little doubt that the Trammel miracle could have happened without the assistance of the churches. The Episcopal Church especially will long be remembered here,” said Linda Johnson.

The long grind of cleaning, repairing, and improving the community, however has just begun.

Virginia Governor Gerald Baliles sent a delegation of state and federal housing officials to Trammel to determine the community’s water and sewer needs. State Secretary of Eco-

conomic Development Richard M. Bagley, who led the delegation, called the Trammel story "one of the best examples I've ever seen of people using their own resources to solve their own problems."

But the original water system is antiquated. It was turned over to the Association when attempts to sell it on the open market were unsuccessful. The pipes leak beyond repair; the system will not last through the winter months. Neither does the chlorinator work. A gallon of Clorox has to be added to the system manually each day.

When the government delegation visited Trammel, Andrew Chafin, executive director of the Cumberland Plateau Planning District, said his agency would make a 4,000-gallon water tanker available to deliver to the homes there, if necessary.

Norma Jean Powers, president of the Homeowners' Association, said she doubted if anything would be done if the water system gave out. "The county's never done nothing for us before." But, she'd remember he made the offer in front of other government officials and that he was quoted by the press. "We're learning," she chuckled.

Other water sources for the community are a spring and a well. The well has often been contaminated with E. coli bacteria from human waste.

Trammel has no sewage system. There are five or six septic tanks in the community, one of which leaks raw sewage onto a road. The rest of the homes either have outhouses or pipes that run down to the creek to carry waste.

Neal J. Barber, director of the State Department of Housing and Community Development said that state officials would seek grants or loans for necessary construction of a water and sewer system. An Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) grant is available, but under its terms, Trammel would have to install bathrooms in all the houses currently lacking them. Residents are willing to provide the labor, but cost of materials will be about \$80,000. If the money can be raised, Barber has made a commitment to release the \$430,000 ARC grant, which would go a long way toward covering the estimated cost for the entire water and sewer system of between \$800,000 and \$1.2 million.

The water and sewer system is only one of the issues being dealt with by the Trammel Homeowners' Association Board. Members meet several hours each week with Linda Johnson and Elizabeth Rose of Grace House for leadership training. They are learning to work together, set priorities, do problem solving, solve conflicts, and set goals.

Johnson and Rose said they have discovered three main themes in their work with the Homeowners' Association:

- People want to control their own lives.
- The people in Trammel were hungry and anxious to

learn and opened themselves to that learning when they knew that we would stand with them and that we believed in them.

- The church as an institution can be present in a place like Trammel, but *only* in a partnership where all participants are equal.

The three operative phrases in the contract between Grace House and the Trammel Homeowners' Association are:

- 1) You are your own best expert.
- 2) You can always say "no."
- 3) You (the Homeowners' Association) tell us what you need, what you want, and what you want to learn and we'll do what we can to meet those needs or to find someone who can.

The relationship has worked because, Powers said, "Linda and Liz are the first people who've come to Trammel who have believed in us and believed we could learn."

Johnson said, "There are all kinds of gifts in the community and it's a matter of affirming them and lifting them up. The people of Trammel are some of the most passionate and intelligent workers I have ever known."

And work they do. With funds from the Virginia Housing Authority and the Rural Action Development Agency, Trammel residents are winterizing their homes. Most of the money is used for materials. "Everybody's helping each other," said Powers.

Insulation is being blown into the attic and walls, and, if there is room, beneath the floor. New exterior doors and thermopane windows are being installed. Roofs are being repaired and at least five houses will have new roofs. Many of the other homes have been painted and yards have been cleaned up. A real civic pride is evident.

"Someday, we hope to have a playground here for kids," Powers said. For the time being, residents are remodeling a three-room house the Association bought for use as a community center. It will provide a place for young people to play and learn, for adult education classes and for community worship.

Trammel has a church, but most of the residents don't attend for three reasons: "They don't have the right clothes to wear; they're embarrassed when the collection plate is passed and they have no money to put in it; and they don't see the church reaching out to help in the community," according to Linda Johnson.

B. Lloyd has been visiting Trammel to share in community celebrations and worship services. Residents are talking about starting a home Bible study/prayer group.

Lloyd now describes Trammel as "a true community in which families are doing things together and helping one another. A real miracle has happened." ■

Short Takes

The call to rebellion

The significant thing about the division between rich and poor people, rich and poor nations is not simply that one has the resources to provide comfort for all its citizens and the other cannot provide basic needs and services. The reality and depth of the problem arises because the man who is rich has power over the lives of those who are poor, and the rich nation has power over the policies of those which are not rich. And even more important is that our social and economic system, nationally and internationally, supports those divisions and constantly increases them, so that the rich get ever richer and more powerful, while the poor get relatively poorer.

My purpose today is to suggest to you that the church should accept that the development of people means rebellion. At a given and decisive point in history, people decide to act against these conditions which restrict their freedom as people. I am suggesting that unless we participate actively in the rebellion against those social structures and economic organizations which condemn people to poverty, humiliation and degradation, then the church will become irrelevant to people, and the Christian religion will degenerate into a set of superstitions accepted by the fearful. Unless the church, its members and its organizations, express God's love for human beings by involvement and leadership in constructive protest against the present human conditions, then it will become identified with injustice and persecution. If this happens it will die, and humanly speaking will deserve to die — because it will then serve no purpose comprehensible to the modern world.

Julius Nyerere
Freedom and Development

'Essential' defined

When Congress failed to pass a spending bill in time and the Government was forced to furlough all of its "nonessential" employees for half a day, the Defense Department kept all of its 1,087,893 workers on the job. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration on the other hand, found that 21,861 of its 21,911 employees — 99.8% — were nonessential.

The Progressive 12/86



Crime does not pay at your level!

Quote of note

We know that the edge of the American plate was thrust upward to produce the Appalachian Mountains... they are the majestic harbingers of our land... They are mountains of ancient destiny, and to move among them is to establish contact with a notable period of our history.

James Michener
Centennial

Seek Appalachian volunteers

A new listing of volunteer opportunities in the Appalachian region, many designed for church groups wishing to participate in a workcamp experience, is just off the press.

Programs utilize physical labor, such as home construction and repair, research and teaching skills, clerical assistance, etc. Many are designed for teenage volunteers. Others are for individuals or small teams, some of whom may wish to make a long-term commitment.

"We hope this will encourage people to come, live, work and learn in Appalachia. This kind of shared ministry enables people of different backgrounds to appreciate each other's culture and struggles and to join together in Christian community," Sandra Majors Elledge, APSO communicator, said. Copies of the poster can be obtained from APSO, P.O. Box 1007, Blacksburg, VA 24060.

The atomic age is here to stay. But are we? — Bennett Cerf

New abortion drug

A new drug known as RU-486, which enables women to perform abortions privately at home, could well transform, if not end, the abortion debate. Developed by the French drug company Roussel-Uclaf, RU-486 is a steroid compound being tested in Paris, Stockholm, and the University of Southern California. The drug blocks the cells in the lining of the uterus from receiving progesterone, the hormone that builds up the uterine wall, allowing the fertilized ovum to implant in the womb and mature. Deprived of progesterone, the wall of the uterus breaks down, just as it does in a normal menstrual cycle. The ovum breaks off from the uterine wall and is discharged in a period...

Thus a woman could take RU-486 safely and privately very soon after missing her period without ever knowing whether she was actually pregnant.

The biggest question women may have about RU-486 will probably be medical, not moral. Knowing that the first generation of RU-486 users will be guinea pigs for the drug's long-term side effects, many women may balk at using it.

Tony Kaye
The New Republic, 1/27/86

Rights and reconciliation

Wasn't it Thomas Jefferson who said, "...not a foot of land will ever be taken from the Indians without their consent. The sacredness of their rights is felt by all thinking persons in America." But that was before we wanted it all, and not many thought like Jefferson.

John Echohawk, an Indian attorney, reminds us (since we seem to have forgotten), "Scarcely a single tribe escaped the murderous fury, the plundering of land and resources or the desecration of shrines... Worse still the relentless war on our land and treaty guaranteed rights continues!"

Vine Deloria, Jr., a contemporary Indian thinker stated, "Before a final solution to American history can occur, a reconciliation must be effected between the spiritual owner of the land, the American Indian, and the political owner of the land, the American white man."

Gordon MacDowell
The Living Church 8/17/86

Women invisible in Appalachia's

The role that women play in the economic fabric of Appalachia is undervalued, uncounted, and to a large extent, unknown. What is known is that women in Appalachia suffer disproportionately the effects of a distressed economy, poverty of resources and assistance, and a changing family structure that places the burden of raising children increasingly on single women.

Women in the region have been conscious of their inequality for many years, but it is only in the last decade that they have begun to look at the economic consequences of that inequality in a systematic way.

Because much of the region is rural and there are few guidelines from existing research, women and their organizations have begun to develop their own statistics and propose their own answers to economic questions.

Among the most important coalitions in the region is the Southeast Women's Employment Coalition (SWEC), a group of women's projects dealing with economic issues in the southeast United States which includes Appalachia. This coalition has operated since 1979 to address issues of economic equity for Black and White women, including child care, education, research, pay equity, and employment in nontraditional jobs, among others.

A recent SWEC publication, *Women in the Southern Economy: Who Are We?* describes "making a living": "Most Southern women work in one of three giant job ghettos: low wage manufacturing, low wage services and low wage office work. We are further segregated by race within our 'women's work' ". The effect of this occupational segregation is evident. "Poverty is a problem of women and their children. Over 75% of Southern poor are women, children and members of female-headed families."

The wage gap among Black men, White women and Black women is less than \$2,000 per year — between \$11,000 and approximately \$13,000. However, between White men, the highest paid workers, and Black women, the lowest paid, the gap is \$9,500. White women have lost ground relative to White men; the wage gap between them more than quadrupled during 1956-1982.

Faced with these statistics, SWEC and other groups agree

that a job is not the answer to eliminating poverty in the southeast. Wage discrimination, job segregation, lack of adequate child care — all contribute to women's poverty.

In documenting the nature of poverty and inequities that result, women have begun to tell their own stories. Subsequently, they have moved to look at how economic development affects women, both positively and negatively.

Economic development is "done" by governments, private corporations, and somewhat rarely, by communities of interested citizens. Motives for consciously "doing" development vary. But usually the objective is to increase economic opportunities and the financial stability of those who develop.

Jane Jacobs in *Cities and the Wealth of Nations*, says that effective economic development involves strong and healthy cities which provide a center for economic activity in a region. She defines the necessary characteristics for these cities, which include markets, jobs, technology, transplants and capital, and cautions against another approach. " 'Industrial strategies' to meet 'targets' using 'resolute purpose,' 'long-range planning' and 'determined will' express a military kind of thinking. Behind that thinking lies a conscious or unconscious assumption that economic life can be conquered, mobilized, bullied, as indeed it can be when it is directed toward warfare, but not when it directs itself to development and expansion."

It is just this kind of "military" thinking that has fueled development theory in Third World countries. The disastrous effects of "development" on women became evident with the appearance of Ester Boserup's book, *Woman's Role in Economic Development* in 1970. Fourteen years later, a writer concluded: "Despite differences in culture and history, the Western model for development and Western definitions and indicators of status have been transferred intact to the developing nations. Thus, both the developing and developed countries share a great emphasis on economic growth that tends to obscure the importance of assessing development in terms of improved human well-being. They also share similar assumptions about women's and men's places in society, such as the assumptions that men are the principal workers, the heads of households, and the main breadwinners, and women are dependents who have a 'natural' capacity for homemaking and nurturance, but who are not mentally, emotionally, or physically able to contribute significantly to

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'shadow economy'

by Chris Weiss



society.”

According to the ISIS publication, *Women in Development*, “Women in the United States must look at the struggles of women in their rural communities, women in Appalachia, Native American women, farmworker women, working class women. Many of the problems these women are facing are similar to those being faced by their sisters overseas.”

Sue Ellen Charleton’s recent *Women in Third World Development* offers an important overview of women in the development process, using a historical and political context. She provides important insights for women in developed countries as well. According to Charleton, “The challenge is to provide culturally acceptable, nonexploitive opportunities to earn money.” She also pointed out, “To be successful, rural development must see women as cash earners and non-agricultural producers as well as farmers and household workers.”

In these statements lie two key problems/challenges to address the question of inequality for women in Appalachia. The first is for all those who concern themselves with development to seek to develop those segments of the economy that will not be exploitive.

Such development that has assisted women has been around the marketing of handcrafts, the formation of agricultural and other cooperatives that utilize skills familiar to women, support of small businesses, including home-based businesses, and education and training programs.

This raises an important question. While women in the Appalachian region clearly suffer disproportionately from

the effects of exploitive development, does not the kind of development that Jacobs referred to as “militaristic,” affect men too? Of course. When development concentrates on one resource in a region, for instance coal, or brings in industry that relies on skills not available in the local work force, people of either sex are the losers. Therefore some of the answers are universal. They include local control of the development process, relying on citizens’ committees instead of state officials, access to capital, both for small and large loans, but particularly for support for small business, and most importantly, support organizations which can provide technical assistance and information on local growth.

The second problem/challenge, that women be seen as cash earners and nonagricultural producers, is more appropriately directed to the issue of inequality. The role that women play in the economic fabric of a community has barely begun to be researched. Women in Appalachia have been invisible players in the economy. Women in West Virginia have a lower labor force participation rate than Kenya, a meaningless statement, because in both countries, women work very hard.

And labor force participation and unemployment rates do not tell the whole story. According to author Barbara Smith, “What these figures do not reveal is that most adults in rural West Virginia ‘work,’ in the sense that they expend enormous time and energy in the business of staying alive. Subsistence agriculture, barter, food stamps, perhaps a small cash crop, and an occasional temporary job are among the means of survival. Cultivating a small plot of tobacco or raising a few head of cattle are common ways of supplementing the family income.”

A West Virginia newspaper recently documented the existence of this “shadow” economy. Estimates vary, from 5% to 30% of the gross national product, as to its extensiveness. Women are particularly involved in this “shadow” economy, selling jewelry and plastic kitchen containers to their neighbors, taking care of children and old people, raising and selling produce, and running home-based businesses. However, economic planners in the state are not interested in an indigenous economy, but are instead, looking at tourism and relying on coal and “smokestack chasing” to lure industries into rural areas.

There are two basic solutions to the “shadow” economy.

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THE WITNESS CELEBRATES YEARS

Continued from front cover

its muscles and started a period of expansionism.

U.S. marines had been sent to Nicaragua in 1912 and were to occupy that nation for 20 years; Haiti was similarly occupied. Puerto Rico and the Philippines were “annexed” after the Spanish American War. The United States landed troops in Cuba in 1906, 1912, and 1917 and corporations had begun to append the Caribbean nation to the U.S. economy.

In April of 1917, troops were sent to the rescue of bleeding Europe even as the United States began to close its golden door to immigrants in a growing wave of xenophobia and racism. And the fledgling revolution in Russia was an unwelcome event to a country devoted to unfettered capitalism.

Still, Americans were distracted by the prospect of a new prosperity in those days, fueled by credit and the availability of cheap mass produced goods. The automobile — the rich man’s toy and the poor man’s dream — sold for \$750 in 1917 and 4.8 million were on the streets.

Those were some of the salient features of the secular society into which THE WITNESS was born.

In that context, Irving Peake Johnson, an Episcopal bishop, tackled the question, “What kind of a newspaper do you propose to publish?” as subject of his first editorial. He opened humorously: “We propose to publish a dollar (a year) newspaper. At this price we must come unadorned and in simple dress. The editors are working for love.” His editorial staff consisted of George P. Atwater, Henry J. Mikell, John C. Sage, Ralph B. Pomeroy, Charles J. Shutt, Charles J. Sniffen, James Wise and Francis S. White.

Johnson continued, “we propose to publish a newspaper that the plain man can read and understand. The staff has been told to avoid big words and technical terms. We propose

to publish a human newspaper, accounting human touch and human viewpoints of more value than profound learning or scholastic attainments. We propose to publish a newspaper that shall be instructive and devotional rather than controversial. Now of course this is impossible. For the moment a man touches anything definitely somebody denies it and the fight is on. We do not propose to issue a newspaper without teaching definite truth and we hope that we may teach it with some ‘punch;’ otherwise we are doomed to failure . . .

“By saying that we do not propose to be controversial we do not mean that this paper will not have a definite sound. What we hope is that it will not change that definite sound into a chaotic din. We do not expect every reader to agree with all that is said. Write us if you think us unfair.”

Johnson defined *witness* as “one who bears testimony to facts rather than fancies, realities rather than theories — and we believe that these facts are embodied in the formularies and liturgy of the Episcopal Church. We propose to be loyal to these facts.”

He ended by quoting Canon Scott Holland: “If only the church will trust herself and the Spirit of God that is in her! She has but to put out her true innate power . . . What clogs her, what chokes her, is our dreadful worldliness, our conventionality, our stupidity. We, her individual members, are the main cause of her defeat. It is we who make her name a byword for timidity and cowardice!”

In the church context, THE WITNESS was strongly influenced in its early days by the Social Gospel Movement, and the writings of Walter Rauschenbusch, who stressed the social teachings of Jesus and their applicability to public life. Implicit was the belief that a Christian social order provided a Third Way — a vision neither capitalist nor socialist — the church being unwilling at that time to identify too closely with secular movements.

A new thrust developed in the second decade of the 20th century, when many Christians adopted the position that political parties rather than the church should be the primary agents of social change. It was during this era that William B. Spofford, who had served under Johnson and was to succeed him as editor, began to make his mark. Spofford, an Episcopal priest, and Vida Scudder, a noted Episcopal laywoman launched the Church League for Industrial Democracy in 1919, which greatly influenced the history of THE WIT-

NESS. The Church League sought justice in the workplace and attempted to learn from and support secular movements in their quest. In this way the League was a bridge from the Social Gospel movement to the 1960s option of empowerment, which saw the direct participation in and funding of secular movements by church groups.

From the 1920s to the 1950s, the CLID focused its activities in three areas: civil liberties, church education and corporate responsibility. In the third area, Spofford and Scudder came up against the fact that what is in the best interest of the underclass frequently challenges the interests and attitudes of an upper and middle income church.

In 1924, Spofford became executive secretary of the

War declared

When President Wilson signed the resolution on Good Friday declaring "a state of war" existed between our country and Germany the whistles of the City of Washington blew for 15 minutes. This took place shortly after 1 p.m. when the three-hour service was being conducted in most of our churches. It was a time which will never be forgotten by the people of the National Capital. On Easter there was an unusually large number of communicants in all the Parishes. The Cathedral and many of the parish churches had the national flag displayed. At St. Paul's two beautiful silk flags were given, the one by a daughter of the Dean of the U.S. navy and the other by two ladies in memory of their husbands, the one an army and the other a navy officer. The flags were hung on the Gospel and the Epistle sides of the Chancel and were blessed by the rector. (4/28/17)

Backlash re Germans

We have heard of Christian people who refused to allow anything German in their house, who would not use a German record in the phonograph. Such are guilty of the same attitude of mind as they condemn.

For it is our Christian duty to see the good in our enemies and to forgive the evil in them.

What we need is a Christian frame of mind more than we need anything else; a frame of mind that will realize that this is a great volcanic action, out of which

come gold mines and fertile lands, eventually. And we do not hate Germans but are fighting for greater unity and greater liberty on land and sea. We need to pray for the unity of spirit if we are ever to find the bond of peace. And to be a part of this unity of spirit we must cultivate the mind of the spirit, which St. Paul so adequately describes. There never was a time when people needed their religion more, both to comfort them in the possible horrors of war and also to enable them to emerge from the conflict without bitterness.

The Christian religion is the one unifying principle that can break down the barriers of hate and build up a new manhood, for it is the one element that the combatants have in common, that they recognize Christ as their Master and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit as their bounden duty and service. (Editorial 6/1/17)

Plea for leadership

This frightful war is a demonstration of the results of "efficiency without conscience", and the same elements that brought about the war in Europe are naturally present in America; in many a conscienceless corporation of capital and of labor; looking only to self interest, demanding only its own special privilege.

The idealism of America still exists. It may have been throttled by business and politics, but it is still in the heart of that portion of our personality which is thoroughly American. What we shall do? How shall we do it? We must have

League. At the same time he was managing editor of THE WITNESS, setting the type himself and preaching at the church in tones that sometimes thundered, sometimes cajoled. Some of his critiques read as though they were written today. But Spofford paid dearly for his views. He was summoned before the McCarthy committee in the '50s and the paranoia of that era dealt a serious blow to THE WITNESS.

We will continue the history of THE WITNESS and return to the Spofford years in future issues, but in this edition we would like to give a flavor of THE WITNESS during its first years under Bishop Johnson, after the United States had entered World War I. Here are some excerpts:

leadership. Give us the leadership and the idealism will be found true and sound. (Editorial 2/17/17)

Women & 8-hour day

There was recently held in New York a conference on the 8-hour day for women workers. It is felt that this is the moment for a drive upon the various State Legislatures and upon Congress simultaneously in behalf of an 8-hour work-day for women. (1/27/17)

Paper too Western?

In Boston, New York or Philadelphia, when a man was asked to take an interest in THE WITNESS, the ordinary answer was apt to be, "The paper is too Western. Its news is too much from the middle states or from beyond the Mississippi." There are two faults with such a critical attitude: first, it is not true; second, it is too curiously like a criticism that is often made in the West with reference to Eastern Church papers. They have been called "too Eastern," or too provincially allied to the Atlantic coast. The importance and needs of the great West were supposed to be of little interest to the great Eastern Church Editor, surrounded as he is by Parishes and ecclesiastical organizations apparently active with things done and said in the name of the Church.

However feeble the effort might be, it becomes the duty of every man on the staff of THE WITNESS, or any other

Continued on back cover

DISPOSABLE PEOPLE

"[A] miner's son asked his mother: 'Why don't you light the fire—it's so cold?' And the mother says, 'Because we have no coal, your father is out of work, and we have no money to buy coal.' And the son said, 'But why is he out of work, Mother?' And the mother says, 'Because there's too much coal.'"

Dr. John David
Williamson Hearing

"I've been with Standard Coosa-Thatcher for about 12 years...I was on quilling and that was cut back last week, so I'm back in winding. When I received my check yesterday, I just wanted to cry because it was cut from almost \$200 to \$65...I said, 'Lord, what can I do with \$65, when I got a \$200 house note and a light bill over \$100.' ...that's the only income I have coming in. I'm just hoping and praying that my husband will find a job...it's rough—I have two girls in school and just one person working."

Ms. Lila Ann Clay
Chattanooga Hearing

The Commission on Religion in Appalachia formed an Economic Crisis Working Group recently to investigate root causes of economic deterioration in the region, including international dimensions of the problem. As part of the process, ECWG sponsored four public hearings over 1985-86: On coal and land-related issues in Williamson, W. Va.; on agriculture, timber and natural resources in Marshall, N.C.; on textiles, the service sector and rural development in Chattanooga; and on steel and heavy industry in Rochester, Pa. Excerpts from testimony appear on this page. The full report is available from CORA, P.O. Box 10867, Knoxville, TN 37939 for \$5.

"A Kentucky employer forced to compete with goods made at 56 cents per hour in the Caribbean, was forced to close his doors...he could not compete with 56 cents per hour. I had to tell 300 people that they would no longer have work...one woman seemed devastated, sobbing uncontrollably. When I questioned her privately... she told me of her fear that she could no longer provide decent conditions

for her children. She didn't mind sacrificing for herself, but couldn't stand the thought of her children doing without. Finally, she admitted she might have to return to an abusive husband in order for her kids to have any economic hope. Are these the kinds of choices people of this region should be forced to make?"

Mr. Gary Ferraris
Chattanooga Hearing

"They come in...they rape and steal from the communities, nobody makes them responsible for their actions in the plants. They make big money but have no responsibility to the community. There must be some call—from the community—from the church—to monitor and see what's happening. The stories are inside the plant because as long as they can keep their actions from public view, they have no fear."

Ms. Barbara Taylor
Chattanooga Hearing

"I lease tobacco from other farms and rent some other farms and do all my farming through the lease method. You could never pay for it. It's not feasible to lease at the price we're getting now, so I don't know what I'm going to do for another year—I guess I'll keep farming. I've got a part-time job to sort of make ends meet. My wife works at Microswitch five days a week, and we grow about six acres of tobacco, which you know is a full time job, and I bale a little bit of hay, and do a little bit of other farm jobs: cut a little timber now and then and work in a sawmill part time. It takes about 15 hours a day of working to make ends meet on the farm."

Mr. Buster Norton
Marshall Hearing

Theological reflections on Appalachia

Theology of Economics & Work

We affirm an economics of stewardship, an economics aimed first of all at meeting human need and caring for the earth and its resources; an economics which recognizes that we are all heirs of God (THE OWNER) and, therefore, equal owners (stewards) of the earth and its resources; and an economics of stewardship, therefore, that may have to resist "the maximization of profits" and the notion of private wealth and ownership of the land, resources and the means of production — in the interest of creating a true commonwealth — with social, economic, political equity which works for the common good.

We affirm for all persons the opportunity to engage in meaningful, useful, celebrative, and productive work aimed at gathering and building community, meeting the basic needs of community, and sharing in the care of land and its resources.

Theology of Involvement

We need to do analysis which helps us to understand and deal with the structural causes of oppression and injustice, rather than to address only symptoms and victims.

Our analysis should be shaped not only by analytical tools and resources, but also corporate prayer and contemplative reflection in the Spirit.

Our analysis and prayer should lead us not only to personal change, but also to participate in the struggle for systemic change, or the transformation of our social, economic, political system to one which is more just and caring.

We affirm the right and need for systemic change where there are concentrations and monopolies of wealth, and where those concentrations of wealth and the concentration of power which often accompany it have created social inequities, economic injustices, and have denied political access to decisions which affect people's lives.

Both to defend their worth and dignity and to witness to God's love for humanity, we affirm the right of working people to form free and independent unions for the purpose of collective action in obtaining just and adequate wages, safe working conditions, health and retirement benefits, job security rights, and other conditions which contribute to meaningful, useful and productive work.

We affirm the need for churches to foster

dialogue across the social community in order to build new solidarity with those whose rights are under attack, so that groups will not be played off against each other, and that working people and the poor will not be made the scapegoats of economic crises within society. As the problems of our present crisis extend beyond the poor and the near-poor to those who have enjoyed certain benefits and privileges from "the system," we need to explore increasing opportunities to build bridges of understanding upon an analysis of the problems which suggests radical, systemic change.

We affirm that these above tasks are now integral elements of the churches' mission and ministry, and that such ministries of justice and liberation supported by the spiritual and material resources of the churches are the way God's social message becomes incarnate today.

Theology of Risk

There is no cheap grace and hence no cheap discipleship. To follow in the path of the Servant Jesus entails risk and a price — "the cost of discipleship."

The churches need increasingly to find ways of putting their spiritual and material resources, however vast or humble, at the service of the poor and the oppressed, for it is in the experience of the poor and the oppressed that the Word of God speaks with a special clarity.

Not only does the church need to become a church for the poor, but also a church of the poor. We need to probe and plan for what it would mean for the churches to heed the call to a corporate witness of lifestyle which identifies with the poor.

This will mean that some old institutional forms and patterns of ministry must come under close scrutiny as we affirm the necessity of churches which are willing for some of their institutions to die so that new ministries and missions more explicitly in the service of faith and justice can come into being.

There will be many ways for this to occur, but we affirm those who are acting in a variety of ways to identify with, and act in solidarity with, the oppressed throughout the world; we affirm those in Appalachia whose ministries range from advocacy to taking jobs in sewing factories, textile mills and the mines; and we affirm those who are struggling with all the hard questions which

arise in the imperfect institutions we are part of in both church and state as we move on with constant hope in the Lord to bring liberation to the oppressed.

Theology of Hope, Resurrection

Since our witness of faith is not simply a personal but also a social task, we are called to probe the signs of an entirely different social, economic, political order, radically different from the one we presently know, in which we seek a true commonwealth with respect to the land and natural resources and the means of production, and in which we seek to develop the genuine work of all who are able to gather and build communities which struggle together for the common good.

In the pursuit of such a new and different order we affirm the need to build, with the leading of the Spirit, religious and social communities which will carry this vision and commit their energies to this task.

As to our advocacy in current labor-management relations, we believe in a need for moving beyond conventional bargaining processes which only represent a kind of power exchange without any new and different sense of ownership. We affirm moving toward the goal of worker ownership and stewardship of natural resources and the means of production. We seek that time when the adversary system of "bargaining" will give way to cooperative decision-making, and when work will be understood collectively and be devoted to the common good.

Different kinds of work, such as productive work and management work, are, under present arrangements, assigned different values and have too often led to class distinctions. A collective understanding of work would mean a more equitable sharing in the whole process of planning, production, and distribution of goods and services. It would also mean that management work is not qualified differently from productive work. In such an arrangement there is a possibility for a non-adversary process/relationship with a more egalitarian understanding of, and participation in, different kinds of work.

(Excerpted with permission from the report of the Working Group on the Appalachian Economic Crisis to the Committee on Religion in Appalachia, 10/15/86)



Study war no more

by Colman McCarthy

Like tattooing on the body of education, Bill Tisherman, the student in the front row of my class, had fine markings. He had majored in English at Harvard. He wrote, read, and savored poetry. In class he spoke in sentences and could gem them with insights that brightened the discussions. Among classmates, he had personal warmth and was immediately likeable.

Tisherman is now a graduate student at American University in Washington and, through some chancy turn, ended up last summer taking my course, "Peace and World Order." It went for \$800 for 14 two-and-a-half hour classes and earned three credits. The numbers were of little interest to Tisherman, who saw them as useless externals. He was introspective, trying to understand the interior life. He was beginning to figure out, too, that even if you win the rat race you're still a rat.

Near the end of the course, Tisherman wrote a paper. It dropped the guises and disguises to which his Harvard education and much else entitled him. He confessed to being "surprised at the degree to which my attitudes and behavior have been molded in ignorance and guided by assumptions."

Before taking the course, he wrote, "I had never heard of Dorothy Day. I thought of Joan Baez as a singer, Martin Luther King as a Black leader, and Thomas Merton as a monk. I believed that both humans and animals are violent by nature. . . . I never doubted that education is the product of lectures and assignments, requirements and grades."

Among the 500 students I have had in nine courses in the past six semesters, most came into the first class "molded by

ignorance and guided by assumptions." Why shouldn't they? I was teaching peace-studies courses and the students had been exquisitely educated in violence studies.

In grammar school and high school, they had been exposed to the glories of Caesar's wars, Napoleon's wars, America's Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, World War I, World War II, and the global preparation for World War III. The schools masterfully taught them the militarists: George Washington, Robert E. Lee, U.S. Grant, Davy Crockett, Cromwell, Pershing, Churchill, Eisenhower, Custer, and Patton. They studied Valley Forge, Gettysburg, Lexington and Concord, Iwo Jima, and the Alamo.

Emerging from that, how could a student like Bill Tisherman be expected to know about Dorothy Day and her Catholic Worker movement? She is not mentioned, much less taught or studied, in grade schools or high schools. How can the young know about Gandhi, King, Rankin, Muste, Merton, Addams, Jesus, Dolci, Giovanni Bernadone, Ballou, Mayer, Schweitzer, Einstein, the Berrigans, Abdul Ghaffer Kahn, Nearing, Lithuli, Baez, Tolstoy, Camara, Sharp, Sandperl, Sibley, Penn, Fox, Woolman, or Perez-Esquivel?

These, and dozens of others, believed that the force of nonviolence is more effective, more ethical, and more teachable than the force of fists, guns, armies, and nuclear weapons. But 18-year-olds come into college knowing more about the Marine Corps than the Peace Corps, more about the Bataan death march than Gandhi's salt march, more about organized hate than organized cooperation.

We call them well-educated and keep the delusion alive by making sure that higher education lowers them deeper into the acceptable sludge of violence studies. Then they are ready to go docilely into a world that spends more than \$800 billion a year on wars or war preparation — a sum that comes out to

Colman McCarthy is a syndicated columnist and staff writer for *The Washington Post*. A longer version of this article appeared in the November issue of *The Progressive* magazine. Reprinted with permission, copyright retained by *The Progressive*.

\$2.2 billion a day, \$91 million an hour, \$1.5 million a minute, and \$25,000 a second. In 1976, the total was \$300 billion; now, that sum is spent by one nation alone, the United States.

Since 1900, according to Ruth Sivard in the 1985 edition of *World Military and Social Expenditures*, wars have killed 78 million human beings, a 500% increase over the previous century. Some 50 governments are currently waging declared or undeclared wars, putting down rebellions, or otherwise carrying on hostilities that claimed an average of 41,000 human lives a month in 1985.

Nonmilitary wars add to the toll. Handguns used in street or household shootouts account for about 10,000 deaths a year in the United States. In one recent year, 8.4% of the nation's homicides were committed by one spouse against the other. Two million Americans are beaten by their spouses every year, and another 1.7 million are attacked with knives and guns. Some 5,000 suicides are recorded annually among Americans under the age of 25. Abortions account for some 1.5 million deaths to fetuses. Every day, 15 million mammals, fowl, and fish are killed to supply food for America's flesh-eaters.

In the Third World, the violence of neglect is pandemic. Some 38,000 children die every day of diseases that could be prevented by timely vaccinations. Treatment would cost \$10 per child. The Congressional Research Office reports that since 1977, U.S. development and food aid to Third World nations has decreased by 16% in constant dollars while military assistance has increased by 53%. In a sermon at Riverside Church in New York City a few days before his death in April 1968, Martin Luther King Jr. said we are "a society gone mad on war." His own government, King concluded, was "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today."

As a journalist, I have been reporting, lamenting, and damning the killing and the schemes for killing since 1956, when I wrote in my college newspaper — and in my bluntest freshman prose — that the people who enrolled in campus ROTC were fools and the people who ran it were jerks. I remember that I tingled when I wrote that, and I admit it's still a charge to let go with an adjectival blast at today's crop of jerks and fools issuing the orders to spend the annual \$800 billion death budget.

But after the tingles and charges, what?

To get beyond the negativity of mere griping, I decided to try teaching peace. Criticizing the way of violence is hollow unless we can offer alternatives.

I learned early that peace can't be taught, any more than grace can be taught to a dancer or style to a writer. All one can do in a peace-studies course is help students develop a philosophy of force. Nothing more than that is at work in the

world: Governments, institutions, and individuals seek to control, reform, or persuade other governments, institutions, and individuals by means of force. Only two kinds of force — violent and nonviolent — are available, and both have failed. It's left to us to determine which kind of failure has been worse and which kind of force we want to risk.

Those who prefer violent force, as when a government sends its army to change the behavior of another government that has an army of its own to say that its behavior needs no changing, must justify the deaths of this century's 78 million war victims. Is that success? Those who choose the force of the handgun as the best way to control, reform, or persuade the next person need to talk to the 10,000 people who will be shot and killed in the next year.

From the other side, the believers in nonviolent force have their own explaining to do. If Jesus, Gandhi, and King were peacemakers, why are so few of their followers committed to the creed? Why is it, as Gandhi asked, that "the only people on Earth who do not see Christ and His teachings as non-violent are Christians"? If Jeannette Rankin, the member of Congress from Montana who voted against entry into World Wars I and II, was so effective, why was she defeated in the next elections after her votes for nonviolence?

If we are faced with a choice between two failures, we are obliged to study — systematically, wholly, and devoutly — which failure, violence or nonviolence, is the better risk.

At American University in Washington, D.C., I hired on to teach two courses — "Peace and World Order" and "The Politics of Nonviolence." Both were designed to create the intellectual and emotional conditions that would permit students to develop their own philosophy of force. The choices, whether collectively as citizens of a nation or as individuals, are not between war and peace but between war-force and peace-force. The ideas I offered were both as old as the hills and as new as the paths we keep cutting up them to rise above the world's sea of blood.

With a weekly class length of two-and-a-half hours, a sumptuous spread of time, we could write, read aloud, discuss, and debate. In the first semester, only 15 students signed on. By its end, word was out that a course on nonviolence had somehow slipped into the curriculum. Fifty people enrolled the next semester. I was asked to split the classes and take two sections of 25 students each. This meant teaching from 5:30 to 8 p.m. and then from 8:10 to 10:40 every Wednesday. I run in marathons, I thought; why not teach in them? Then the unexpected happened: Hearing that the course now had two sections, another 50 students asked if I would take them in.

The growth was to continue. In the fall of 1985, after a summer class of 55, I taught one course with 140 students and

another, in the School of International Service, with 90. The student newspaper reported that some 200 were turned away by department administrators.

I supply these enrollment details because they refute the media's portrayal of today's college students as mere careerists. I discovered the opposite. They think about their futures — who doesn't? — but they are also heart-weary of wars, violence, and the cheerleaders for wars and violence.

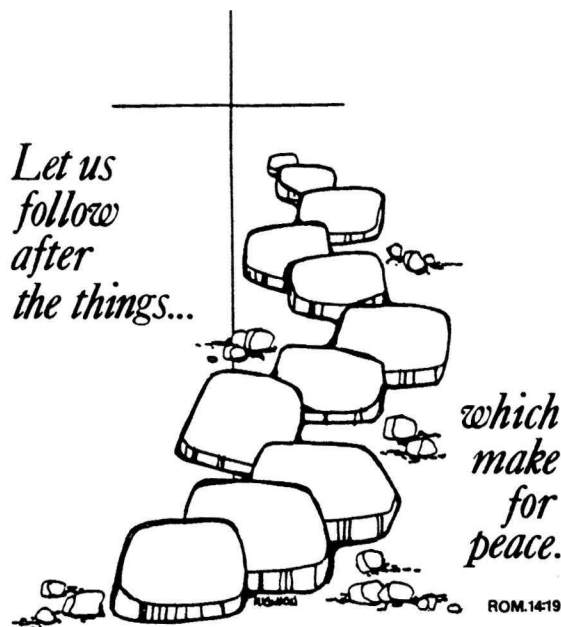
A 14-week course in "Peace and World Order" can include the basic texts as well as the obscure ones. I spent a few moments of the first session explaining the two philosophies of force in the world. For an in-class writing assignment, I asked everyone to compose his or her own obituary. It's an easy way for a teacher to get acquainted with the class and a sure way to learn how students feel about their life and values.

Often I was able to persuade activists and theorists to share an evening with us. These included two Salvadoran refugees; Ed Guinan, who founded the Community for Creative Non-violence; Senator John Melcher, who spoke on Food for Peace; Marion McCartney, a nurse-midwife who described her experiences in nonviolent deliveries; Joan Baez; Mitch Snyder; Garry Davis, the saint of the world-government movement; John Shiel, the most jailed and unrepentant pacifist in the United States; Representative Andy Jacobs, a Vietnam veteran who teaches peace studies to Black high-school students; Marlow Boyer, who was dying of cancer at the age of 25 and spoke of his pending death; a Mexican archbishop, and four survivors of the Hiroshima A-bomb.

My other course, "The Politics of Nonviolence," also had a structure of 14 classes, guests, and selected readings by such writers as Thoreau and Dwight Macdonald, Albert Einstein and Gandhi, Daniel Berrigan and A.J. Muste. Topics included biblical pacifism, military conscription, world government, pacifism and the women's movement, war-tax resistance and the military rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Each course provided time for in-class writing. In many college courses, the writing is impersonal, the research dull, and the conclusions tame; I invited my students to free themselves of their customary please-the-professor style and use their writing in my class as an opportunity for energetic opinionating, personal expression of feelings, and visceral reactions to what we had read. In this pressure-free atmosphere, a fair number of students noticeably improved their writing skills.

Gandhi believed in experiments in truth. For one semester, I experimented with a third course, which I called "Peace, Justice, and Governments." Again, class material was easily harvested. The 14 topics included Albert Schweitzer and the



reverence for life, the World Peace Tax Fund, peaceful alternatives to the violence of abortion, Scott and Helen Nearing, nonviolent birth and home delivery, solutions to economic violence (E.F. Schumacher), the Peace Corps, Danilo Dolci, the Sanctuary movement, pacifism and Vietnam veterans, Erasmus, William Penn and precolonial pacifism, Mother Teresa, and nonviolent and noncoercive education (Rudolph Steiner, Maria Montessori, and John Holt).

For a reading list, I offered a selection of books that included the best and least known works on nonviolence. When students asked how many of the books they should read, I told them to start with one and see how far their imaginations would take them. The list, like the subject, is for a lifetime, not a semester. For some students, one paragraph from one book is enough to kindle a perpetual flame. For others, 200 books may kindle nothing. Who's to say how much is enough?

My list was a start, but one could read every book and still remain what many college students are: idea rich and experience poor. To unbalance that, I offered an option: Instead of writing an outside paper for class (three were asked for), students could spend the time volunteering at a soup kitchen or a shelter for the homeless, or serving as a Big Brother or Sister, or perhaps teaching an illiterate to read. I gave the classes a list of places to volunteer. Many did.

The experiences touched parts of their inner selves that they never realized were there. All the students who took the option for community service also found time to write of it.

One paper — to end where we began — came from Bill Tisherman: "I've taken my first step — nay, leap — from absorption to action. I walked into the Literacy Council of

Prince Georges County Tuesday and said, 'I want to teach someone to read.'

"The volunteer grabbed my hand and exclaimed, 'Oh my goodness, you have made my day!' We sat down and she described the program to me — the training, the curriculum, the philosophy, and above all, the success. The pure joy in her face and words was incredible, contagious. She made me feel like a saint, and I hadn't even started yet!

"Once the formalities were done, she flicked her head toward a man on the other side of the room, speaking with another volunteer. That man, like me, had walked in that morning, except he had come to learn.

"Our respective interviews ended at just about the same moment, and I spoke briefly with the other man as we left the office. He is employed as a factory worker, and had decided to learn to read so that he could read stories to his three-year-old daughter. And I told him that I had decided to teach because, as a writer, I didn't want to go on writing without doing something to help others take advantage of what I do.

"Suddenly the gap between us — I, a Harvard graduate, and he, an eighth-grade dropout — narrowed to nothing. We were both drawn to the same place at the same point in time for the same purpose: to help others. It didn't matter that we were on opposite sides of the literacy fence, because we are now both on the right track.

"We shook hands, wished each other luck, and parted. I walked away feeling great, knowing that it's so much better to do than to talk about doing. Action is the right track, the right track is endless."

Bill Tisherman's zeal should not be put down as the mere fervor of a newcomer. He understands that the practice of nonviolence isn't just a matter of ending war. It's also a matter of creating peace in our own souls and in the soul of the person next to us. Teaching someone to read is one of hundreds of ways of peacemaking.

Now that I've had the privilege of teaching some of those ways, I wonder how many hundreds of thousands of students are waiting to have their hearts turned. I suspect the number is larger than we dare think. Let's start daring.

(Epilogue: American University fired Colman McCarthy in 1986, citing his indifference to the grading system. They said that his peace courses were designed to be "non-recurring" and could not be added to the regular curriculum. Some 1400 students signed petitions urging his reinstatement, and there were many demonstrations on campus to no avail. Subsequently, McCarthy has been invited to take his course on nonviolence to the honors program at the University of Maryland, to Georgetown University, and to Sidwell Friends School in Washington, D.C.) ■

Moving

Like a wounded hunter he keeps moving
Street smart he stalks the winter canyons
Gleaning from dark alleys
That lie like black snakes
Behind the elegant streets
Where the good people live and dine.

He wears his belongings layer upon layer
Clutching his rag blanket around his shoulders
Like a friend
His brown-bagged bottle like a lover

He keeps moving
Moving in shadows like smoke
Back and forth
Numbed feet drag heavy
Folded paper stops the wet for now
But not the cold
Cold that eats his skin like ants
And slows his poisoned blood

The enemy keeps him moving
Moving like black ice
That chokes the swollen river
Moving like time
Pulling deeper, deeper into night
The quiet night when people sleep

The hunter walks
His hands seek warmth beneath his clothes
His mind seeks a way out.

Come dawn
The hunter sleeps
Pressed against a grate
Filling his lungs with fetid steam
Sucking the street for heat
An offering from hell
To keep him alive
For one more night
Of moving.

*"Foxes have their holes, the birds their roosts;
but the Son of Man has nowhere to lay his head."*

(Luke 9:58, 59)

— Ralph W. Pitman, Jr.

The first will sound familiar. It is to develop those supports that women have been advocating for many years: adequate child care facilities, education and training programs, especially in those fields that are considered nontraditional to women; a greater role in the political process, and monitoring and enforcement of equal employment laws and regulations. The lack of recognition of the role that women play in any economy is in direct relationship to the degree that sex and race discrimination dominate that economy.

Another solution that is beginning to emerge is related to the idea of "status." The worst effect that development has on women is to reduce their status in a community by replacing their labor with tools that only men can use. Or eliminating access to an essential commodity, as a project did in Africa when a forest was cleared for agricultural use by men, eliminating a woody fiber that was vital for production of market items and medicine by women in the local village. Not only did the clearing eliminate the indigenous economy in which women participated, but it reduced their status in the community by leaving them without a source of cash (power).

Women in Appalachia, realizing that lack of status leads to inequality, have begun to form organizations and create institutions of their own to bring about economic equity and power.

Some of the impetus for these organizations came during the '70s when the old CETA programs were broadened to include training women in nontraditional jobs. YWCA's, women's centers, and other traditional women's organizations applied for and received CETA dollars to train low-income women. In the Appalachian states, numerous programs developed — some of which survived the reduction in CETA funds and the changeover to the JTPA program and some that didn't. Other projects also developed as the women's movement nationally fueled a recognition that race and sex discrimination were related to economic problems.

Among these projects, which had an advocacy base, rather than a training base, the most well-known then and today is the Coal Employment Project. CEP was single-handedly responsible for the entrance of women into the coal mines, and provided the model for numerous other advocacy groups.

This model has three basic parts: organizing women to apply for nontraditional jobs, filing administrative complaints with government officials responsible for enforcement of equal employment laws and regulations, and filing law suits against employers who contract with the federal government for goods and services for violation of affirmative action in hiring practices. This same strategy was used by SWEC to gain access to highway construction for women, and by Women

and Employment to obtain jobs on building construction projects in West Virginia. Thus, organizations reacted aggressively to ensure women jobs and benefits.

The Mountain Women's Exchange has taken a more proactive position regarding economic development in its rural community. The Exchange is a coalition of small community-based organizations in Whitley County, Kentucky and Campbell County in Tennessee. Member groups are comprised mainly of local low-income women who work either as paid staff or volunteers providing a wide range of community services from child care and emergency assistance to economic development and housing. They have helped start a women-owned and operated weatherization business, an herb growing collective, a retail crafts shop, and adult literacy education programs.

In southeastern Virginia, the Dungannon Development Commission, a private non-profit community-based organization whose leadership is primarily women, serves a rural valley with high unemployment. It has sponsored community college courses, co-operated with a local sewing factory for better working conditions, purchased a 10-acre site for multi-family housing, helped establish a sewing cooperative, and is working on expanding local recreational opportunities and establishing a local library.

In West Virginia, the first U.S. program of an international loan guarantee fund has been established to assist rural women with credit for small business development. Women's World Banking is a loan guarantee fund established in the Netherlands in 1979 and now has affiliates in 33 Third World Countries. It operates with 50% loan collateral from the international fund, 25% from a local bank, and 25% from a local women's group which is the affiliate. Women's World Banking/West Virginia Affiliate was incorporated in 1984 and processed its first loan applicants in 1985.

Slowly these organizations are becoming advocates for women in court, financial circles, development districts, and in employment in coal mines, highway construction and building trades.

Women's organizations are slow to emerge: Frequently the leadership is fragmented by lack of financial resources, race and class differences and lack of organizational skills. But over the years, several have managed to survive and grow. The task for these organizations is to replicate themselves by finding new leadership and resources.

Finally, since substantive research on women in the economy is ignored in Appalachian institutions of higher learning and the connections between those institutions and women's organizations at the grass-roots level are almost nonexistent, women must continue to tell their own stories. Only then will inequality disappear as a fact of life. ■

Letters . . . Continued from page 3
abhor classism, sexism and racism.

Perhaps I can afford to be non-violent in my Christian response to these evils, but our presence in prison for an extended time of punishment has not been particularly pleasant for our act of witness and concern. I hesitate to draw any simplistic conclusions, but I still choose non-violence as the better way, although it may not be particularly effective.

Of course, one can still wonder how effective Jesus has been and is, too.

The Rev. Paul Kabat, O.M.I.
Sandstone, Minn.

Not fortune tellers

Peter Stiglin's excellent article on "Apocalyptic Theology and the Right" in your October issue was marred by his succumbing in the final paragraph to the common error of apocalypticism concerning the nature of biblical prophesy. The prophets of the Bible are not fortune tellers or augurs who by reading signs in the light of secret knowledge are able to divine what is yet to be revealed to the ordinary run of humanity. Their modern equivalent is rather the social scientist, whose predictions take the form "if A, then B." "If present trends continue, there will be a recession in 18 months." The difference is that where the fortune teller informs you that such and such is going to happen, so you might as well be prepared for it, the prophet of the biblical type informs you that such and such is going to happen *unless you take the necessary action to prevent it*.

The fundamentalists cited by Stiglin clearly regard prophesy as augury. They state that the final battle between the Soviet Union et al and the people of God (American nuclear forces) "is the will of God and cannot be prevented." This is so, in their view, not because of human willfulness, blindness, deafness, or even malevolence, but because it is written in chapters 38 and 39 of Ezekiel. It follows that any effort to avert war is not merely doomed to failure, but sin. In James Robison's words, "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!"

But the word of God, as spoken through the prophets and by the Christ whom Christians accept as the fulfillment of prophecy, is never stated in those terms. It is always conditional: be my people and I will be your god; reject me, and my power will be turned against you. This is perhaps most explicitly shown in the book of Jonah, which is not so much a book of prophesy as a parable about prophesy. Jonah, himself misunderstanding the nature of the task that has been thrust upon him, reluctantly undertakes his mission to the people of Ninevah, convinced that he'll be made to look a fool. Disaster will come upon you, he proclaims, unless you repent and change your evil ways. So effective is he, in spite of his self-doubt, that the Ninevans *do* change their evil ways — and disaster does not befall them.

Jonah has accomplished exactly what he was sent to do. He has been more successful than Isaiah. Jeremiah, Noah, more successful even than God, who prophesied directly to Adam and Eve about the consequences of usurping the function of judging good and evil. Yet Jonah himself failed to grasp the conditional terms of his message, and went into a snit because he had prophesied disaster and disaster did not come. Evidently there were fundamentalists in the last centuries before Christ who, like those of our own time, failed to understand that God's standing offer to all people is "Repent and be saved." For them, and no less for us, the book of Jonah was written.

Stiglin concludes his essay with the following words. "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." The fact is that the fulfillment of biblical prophecy *always* comes as a result of human evil, and *always* in direct contravention of God's will for God's world. Many fundamentalists do not understand this; in

combatting their influence on American political life, let us not begin by accepting their false premises.

The Rev. David F. Ross
Lexington, Ky.

Stiglin has it right

Peter Stiglin has it all right in "Apocalyptic Theology and the Right." May the article be widely read. I am just completing a bibliography for Meckler Publications on corporate and government-Pentagon control of information in the United States, the opening part of my collection of books and articles on Sovietphobia. I am preparing the book to enable us to reply to doubters: Here's the evidence — dare to read it.

Prof. Dick Bennett
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Ark.

Apocalyptic genre valid

Thank you for Peter Stiglin's piece on apocalyptic theology in the American political scene. I must take exception, however, to his assumption that apocalyptic thought is inferior to other interpretations of reality found in the biblical tradition.

It is true that apocalyptic thought does depart from the prophetic view of history as the exclusive arena of justice and redemption. For the visionaries history was unchangeable and predetermined, and the true dimension of destiny was the cosmic. This is so because the apocalyptic voice spoke to situations not rightly equated with those addressed by the classical prophets. The prophets faced an unrighteous (pre-exilic) nation headed for judgment and a chastised (post-exilic) people in the process of restoration. The visionaries, on the other hand, addressed a people for whom history had proved such a precarious threat that a message of strength or consolation could not entail mundane history, as it had for the prophets. Apocalypticism was thus a movement characterized by a *different* perspective on reality; that does not in itself make it an *inferior* one.

History for the ancient Near East of

the apocalyptists had entered into a long season of imperial domination by some great power or another. This season lasted well into the Christian era. Ancient apocalyptists were hardly guilty of remaining "steadfast in their refusal to see the world situation as it really is."

So apocalyptic genres emerged for a people who had been clobbered over multiple centuries. There came a point at which these people could no longer draw strength from the things that were happening to them in history, so they turned to draw strength from the cosmic significance of these things. In doing so they tapped into a realm of meaning not available to the prophetic witness. For unlike the prophets, the visionaries acknowledged the power of the mytho-historical perspective for maintaining a witness when the mundane-historical view simply could not deliver.

Therefore, I cannot agree that in the frighteningly silly eschatological pronouncements of our modern American religious right we have a "current of apocalypticism infecting our society." The fundamentalist spokespersons quoted by the author may indeed be "court prophets" anxious to eschatologically valorize the policies of the powerful, but apocalyptists they are not. The latter would not include Stigler's villains in the community of the persecuted remnant, but rather among the rebellious powers destined for God's climactic judgment.

The fundamentalists have failed to recognize the distinction between apocalypticism and eschatology. In his argument with them Stigler commits the same hermeneutical oversight. This demonstrates that apocalyptic thought still waits to be taken seriously by those who would include Daniel, 4 Ezra, and the Revelation along with Amos, Isaiah, and the Maccabees in their Bibles.

Bill Yarchin
Claremont, Cal.

Contributing to peace

The Rev. Jimmy Swaggart in a recent Baton Rouge *Advocate* column applauds the failure of the arms control summit in

Reykjavik. He tells us the Soviets can never be trusted, their leaders are jackals, and therefore the United States must go forward with SDI at all costs. Further he warns that the opponents of SDI are in cahoots with the Soviets, i.e., "Hand in hand, liberal congressmen will walk off into the sunset with Gorbachev." This is apocalyptic theology. Peace, he tells us is impossible.

I have not the slightest doubt that Swaggart is sincerely convinced of his eschatological view of the world, but I also believe he is blinded by the hatred engendered of 40 years of Cold War rhetoric, and the seeming hopelessness of a world but a hair-trigger away from nuclear annihilation. The attraction of such a view is that by concentrating our attention on the sins of our enemies (real and imagined) we can ignore our own sins, and as President Reagan says, "feel good about America." Peter Stiglin in *THE WITNESS* quotes psychoanalyst M. Scott Peck, in his treatment of human evil, "The central defect of evil is not sin but the refusal to acknowledge it." Thus, we can ignore the sins of America, from napalming in Vietnam to financing terrorists in Nicaragua to bombing innocent children in Libya. This only makes sense if we can convince ourselves we are "God's people," and our enemies are hopelessly evil.

This eschatological view also demands we ignore the moral mandates of the Gospel and refuse to love our enemies and do good to those who hate us. Love always demands a certain amount of trust and hope, and if as a Christian nation we cannot take the risk of this love and hope, then who do we ask to take this first step, the "godless Soviets?"

To achieve real peace we must learn to live together with all peoples of the world, and without greed and hatred to blind us it might be easier than we think. We must find a way to spend our resources on making the world a fit place for our children and their children, not on bigger and more expensive technological weapons labeled defensive or offensive. SDI is at best only a concept, and neither Swaggart, President Reagan, nor Caspar Wein-

berger can tell you a single precise existing element of what it will consist of, except its trillion dollar price tag. We hear vague references to defensive hydrogen bomb umbrellas, and nuclear powered laser beams, all of which sound as deadly as the offensive weapons they are supposed to protect us from.

To quote Stiglin, "Each of us has to answer for our contribution to the current crisis." My contribution will be to continue to support and work for elected officials who will sincerely work for peace and not take the eschatological view that the only answer is in bigger and more expensive weaponry to destroy our enemies, and in the process, ourselves.

Ray E. Ingram
Baton Rouge, La.

Stiglin responds

Thanks to readers Ross, Bennett, Yarchin and Ingram for their letters about my article. I have three brief comments: First, I am delighted that Ray Ingram found my article helpful in responding to Jimmy Swaggart in the Baton Rouge *Advocate*.

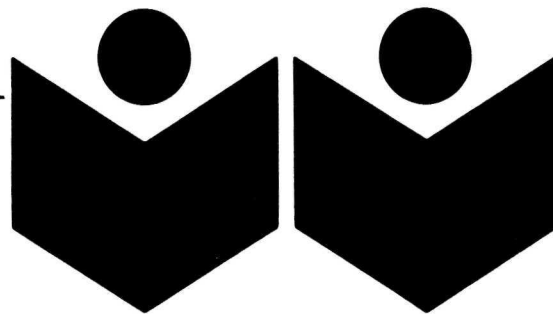
Second, if Bill Yarchin re-reads Hanson's definition of Apocalypticism with which I opened my article, I hope it will become clear that in my admittedly pejorative use of the term, I was referring not to the literature itself but rather the misuse of it by subsequent social movements. Nor do I imply that the books of Ezekiel, Daniel, Revelation, etc. are in any way inferior to the other books of the Bible. On the contrary, they have a great deal to teach us about ourselves and our world, if we would only listen more carefully.

To David Ross I would simply say that the original draft of my article included a rather longwinded section on the historical developments leading up to the prophecies of Ezekiel, as well as Daniel and Revelation. It was found by *THE WITNESS* to be a bit too academic and a bit long for available space. I thank David Ross for filling in the blanks.

Peter E. Stiglin
New York, N. Y.

THE WITNESS

1986 Index



For 70 years now, THE WITNESS has been a voice of social conscience for the church, speaking out on peace and justice issues. Our index of articles for last year illustrates our continuing advocacy for and with those who suffer discrimination.

Librarians, researchers and students have found this tabulation helpful in the past. We have most issues from 1986 available, should new subscribers recognize a particular author or topic which they would like to acquire for their files. (For

example, the exchange of letters between the Editorial Board and Bishop Browning, and reader response referred to in this issue, took place in our September, November and December issues.)

The articles under the categories Social Action and Theology illustrate the praxis of THE WITNESS — our emphasis on the action/reflection theological model.

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We have provided a complete index (by author and subject) of articles in THE WITNESS since 1982. An abbreviated index going back to 1974 when the magazine was reinstituted is available as well. An Index "package" — 1974 to 1985 — is available from THE WITNESS, P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002 for \$4).

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general Church newspaper to do all he can to make it national and catholic, rather than parochial, diocesan, or provincial. (1/5/18)

Post-bellum program

So that it would seem that the first article in our post-bellum program should be that we are no longer to admit nor to permit that the public shall be damned in the interest of a few reckless, silly fools, who look so harmless and, because they sit in the seats of the mighty, really are such an awful calamity. This war ought to teach us for all time that collars and cuffs, caps and gowns, stripes and uniforms, crests and hyphens, copes and mitres, bonds and coupons, do not give any privilege to lord it over God's heritage and to treat contemptuously the man who lacks these ornaments.

Democracy will be safe enough if we can eliminate the tinselled fool who poisons himself by closing the pores which God has given us to exude honest sweat, whose self-esteem seeks the chief seats in the world's synagogue, and whose colossal folly corrupts his flatterers, stirs up the envy of the vicious and ruins the brotherhood of man fully as much as the elder brother in the badly named parable of the prodigal son — a parable spoken to the Pharisees because they venomously assaulted our Lord for consorting with



publicans and sinners.

If we can only compel the self-constituted leaders of society to behave themselves, there will be no anarchists worth worrying about.

Let those who love the chief seats in the synagogues of this world learn the lesson of this war, that they may retain them only because such seats are opportunities for service, and not poses for purposes of adulatory and undemocratic deference. Then they will receive the love that Lincoln and Washington earned, because they served in modest desire to do good, and not to be fawned upon. They represented two distinct types of humanity — the rail-splitter, who had too much common sense to allow his elevation to make him dizzy, and the formal gentleman, who was too much of a gentleman to advertise his own importance. (6/8/18)

Bible being eclipsed

Not so long ago, says the Rev. W.M. Ford, Rector of St. Paul's Church, Montrose, Col., children grew up accustomed to hear the Bible read aloud by the head of the family. Now they hear the phonograph. The Bible, once revered by the whole household, is now ignored. The children that used to be thrilled by the adventures of Gideon and the daring exploits of David, are now excited by the movies. Those who used to gain a lasting impression of heroic words and deeds, now get a comic impression of Mutt and Jeff. Why not read the Bible aloud at home again? Children need the Bible every day to stir their imagination and admiration. (1/ 5/18)

After 1 year of publishing

As Editor-in-chief I have received many notes of approval, many notes of critical disapproval. I hoped for the one, and expected the other. The success has been no greater, the failure no worse than I expected, for like the Irishman who went fishing, "I have not caught as many as I expected, and I never thought that I would." (Irving Peake Johnson 1/5/18 editorial)

(Contributing to the 70th anniversary story were Mary Lou Suhor, WITNESS editor; Susan Pierce, researcher and free lance writer; and the 1917/1918 editorial staff of the magazine.)

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THE WITNESS

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English bishops: Peter Selby



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ISAIAH 62:11

Letters

WITNESS as resource

A special thanks for your excellent November issue on the Soviet Union. As a fellow sojourner on the trip last June, I welcome it as a resource for interpreting the many levels of our experience in the U.S.S.R., and would like to make it available to the groups going to the Soviet Union in 1987 under sponsorship of the National Council of Churches. Please let me know if it would be possible to order 100 copies.

Kathy Todd
NCC Travel Seminar Office
New York, N.Y.

Insights into U.S.S.R.

"God and Mother Russia" is a great issue. The articles provide insight into the Soviet character and raise some of the continuing questions we need to be concerned about as well.

We live in a complex world; so do Soviet citizens. The trouble is that U.S.S.R. complexities are shaped and focused differently than ours, and therefore are more difficult for us to grasp. However, we must continue to make the effort to understand, and the November issue of THE WITNESS will contribute to that task.

I distributed copies to each of the U.S.S.R. seminarians who visited the United States recently, and also gave them copies to take back to the various offices they represented.

The Rev. Don Nead
John T. Connor Center
for U.S.-U.S.S.R. Reconciliation
W. Lafayette, Ind.

Issue affirms dedication

Since my return from the Soviet Union I have shared my impressions with a wide and diverse audience. There's always one person who asks, "But did you see just what they wanted you to

see?" The answer is "No," but sometimes it's hard to be a lone, small voice when surrounded by Rotary Club and Moral Majority folk, among others. Reading the stories of my fellow travelers (if you'll pardon the expression) in your November issue reaffirms my dedication to spreading the news that the Evil Empire may be a different place than we've been led to believe.

I use six minutes of slides of children in the U.S.S.R. in my presentation. I have come to feel close to those little faces and find myself smiling every time I show them. I hope to be able to return in 1988 to sing in the Soviet schools and negotiations are underway now between the Friendship Society in Moscow and the Citizens Exchange Council in New York to make that happen. Meanwhile, I'll work here to try to help our children to get a different picture of the U.S.S.R.

Mary Lu Walker
Corning, N.Y.

Building bridges

Thank you for your excellent issue concerning U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations. WITNESS readers may be interested to know about the Bridges for Peace program which conducts exchange visits between U.S. citizens and Soviet citizens with the purpose of building better understanding between our two nations.

Our congregation participated in this program over the past year. We are still identifying the wonderful gifts we have received because of it. We welcomed two Russian Orthodox priests, the Rev. Boris Udovenko, from Kiev, and the Rev. Victor Petlyuchenko, from Odessa.

Our guests stayed for one week. They attended dinner parties in private homes, had lunch in a fast food restaurant, toured Washington, visited a

shopping mall, attended a community potluck dinner and square dance in the church, toured a high school and a college, saw a farm, met with local clergy, went to a dinner theater, toured Washington Cathedral and met with Bishop John Walker, had a TV interview and a press interview, and went on a picnic to a local state park. Our week ended with worship service on Sunday morning, including a Baptism, followed by a farewell brunch and a tree-planting ceremony.

We sent two of our members to the Soviet Union in September. A major benefit has been increased understanding. But even more, there has been a growing sense of community in our congregation and a shared concern for Christian responsibility in the world around us. We know more clearly than ever that the world belongs to God and we are stewards of it.

Information about the program is available from U.S.-U.S.S.R. Bridges for Peace, The Norwich Center, Inc., Box 710, Norwich, VT 05015.

I thoroughly enjoy THE WITNESS and find myself both better informed and often inspired by its articles. Thank you for a fine contribution to Christian journalism.

The Rev. Karen B. Johnson, Rector
St. Anne's Church
Damascus, Md.

Extolls women's view

The November issue of the Witness has helped to restore my faith in the telling of the news about women and our issues and perspectives. The articles about Russia and the *A Luta Continua* column by Barbara Harris help to support the efforts of the Women in Mission and Ministry unit at the Church Center in its struggle for women's issues and equality.

Mary Lou Suhor's article, "The Double

Burden of Peace" beautifully told the story of my ecumenical colleague and kindred soulmate Sister Marjorie Tuite. Whenever our work brought us together in women's meetings she always asked me the same question: "Why are you always smiling when I see you?" My constant reply was that I was among women who, although not necessarily agreeing, spoke the same language. She also asked me how we could get other women to become active against sexism, racism, poverty and violence.

THE WITNESS' love and respect for Marge came through your words. She touched many lives and gave so much. Oh how I miss her, and wonder who will take up her charge.

Ann Smith
Coordinator for Women
in Mission and Ministry
Episcopal Church Center

Big stick, few carrots

I enjoyed very much Mary Lou Suhor's article, "Mother Church, Mother Russia: The Double Burden of Peace." I have known for years that in many lands, "Mother" is used instead of "Father," but had not taken time to make a comparison between Uncle Sam, the Founding Fathers, Rambomania, and "a macho President who plays out High Noon in foreign policy."

The president's behavior is exactly what one might expect of a former actor whose films always saw the good guys win over tremendous odds. That is what worries me about our leader — big stick but not very many carrots.

My second comment concerns Barbara Harris' description in the same issue of the mental and physical needs that our first female bishop might need on her first appearance in the House of Bishops. I believe Harris has painted things correctly. But I would venture that at the *first* meeting, and possibly

the second, the first woman bishop might be treated courteously, even pleasantly. After that she should be on the alert for the barbs and arrows.

In our secular world Geraldine Ferraro might be a classic example. She was greeted with open and enthusiastic arms when she received the vice presidential nomination, but it wasn't long until she had to exhibit her fighting claws to escape annihilation.

Charles Corwin
Colonial Beach, Va.

Positive search

The November issue is here and it is wonderful. The burden of death caused by American policy is heavy on my heart, but hope springs forth from your issue of sharing with those who need to hear we can be positive. Forty years of manufactured negatives have driven us away from our directive of liberty and justice. Thanks for the other view — a positive search for truth. It can be found when hatred is abandoned.

Gay Anderson
Bloomington, Ind.

Hands across the world

The other night I could not sleep, so I curled up in a comforter and read the November WITNESS cover-to-cover. I don't always have time to read as much as I'd like and skim much too often. Your Mother Russia issue is soul-searching and poignant. How little do we really know about the lives of people very close to us, much less of those half a world away. Thank you for helping those of us who may never travel very far from the ground we were born and for those hands and hearts who touch hands and probe minds of others across the world. Something of us goes with you.

Sara Morrison
Washington, Iowa

Antidote for AMERIKA

New WITNESS readers may wish to order the November WITNESS, "God and Mother Russia," as a resource and antidote to the TV miniseries AMERIKA — the Right-wing fantasy about the occupation of the United States by the "evil Soviets" and their "obedient and brutal" United Nations troops, scheduled for February. Send \$1 to THE WITNESS, Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002.

Woman priest new dean

"Where are the women rectors of cardinal parishes?" Sue Hiatt asked in the December WITNESS.

Answer: In Louisville, Ky., where the Rev. GERALYN WOLF, vicar of St. Mary's in Philadelphia, has been called to become dean of Christ Church Cathedral. We can't wait!

Sue T. Chapman
Milltown, Ind.

(THE WITNESS rejoices in GERALYN WOLF's appointment — announced after our December issue had gone to press. Wolf, 39, who was ordained in 1978, becomes the first woman in the Episcopal Church to be named a Cathedral dean. — Ed.)

December outstanding

As an appreciative subscriber, I have valued each issue of your journal for its insights into the current religious issues and trends.

The Christmas issue was no exception. The views expressed in articles by Suzanne Hiatt and Ed Kinane, as well as the column by Barbara Harris, struck a very responsive chord. As did the poems by Michael Parenti, Patricia Broughton, and Aurora Camacho de Schmidt. These I will share with others.

Louis C. Bryan
Columbia, S.C.

THE WITNESS

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THE WITNESS



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Back to the future?

Digging through old WITNESS files from 1917 to 1926 for gems to report during our 70th anniversary year has proved an enlightening and somewhat frightening experience. When we compared secular and church history of the first decade of the existence of THE WITNESS to the present day, disturbing parallels kept emerging.

Our fears were confirmed when a recent article was called to our attention — Gregory Bergman's "The 1920s and the 1980s" (*Monthly Review*, 10/86). Among the striking similarities he points out are the following:

- An increasing polarization of wealth and poverty was taking place from 1919 to 1929. Some 60% of U.S. families had less than the \$2,000 annual income then needed for the basic necessities of life. "With a simple adjustment of figures to match today's poverty line, this report could serve as well for the years of Reagan prosperity," Bergman says.

- Farmers and workers were notably excluded from the prosperity of the '20s, as in today's two-tiered economy. Debts owed the United States by European nations after World War I added to the purchasing power gap, much as Third World debts today inhibit those nations.

- In 1919, the U.S. Catholic bishops were attacked by the National Association of Manufacturers for their pastoral letter entitled, "The Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction." In

it the bishops urged minimum wage legislation, unemployment benefits, health and old age insurance for workers, and an age limit to child labor, Bergman reports. The NAM said the letter was "a covert effort to disseminate partisan, pro-labor union, socialist propaganda." In the 1980s the Catholic bishops' letter on the U.S. economy was attacked by *Fortune* as leaning to "a planned economy . . . socialism gives them the role to play while capitalism — reliance on impersonal market forces — leaves them out in the cold."

- Both Protestant and Catholic church officials protested the invasion of Nicaragua in 1928 when Coolidge conducted a "private war" to support the regime against a liberal uprising. Although isolationism characterized the nation's attitude toward the League of Nations, foreign policy was interventionist when national security or economic interests were concerned, an obvious parallel to today.

- In the '20s, the Republican Party was "completely fused with business," as the *Wall Street Journal* exulted. The administration was openly hostile to organized labor, and union membership dropped from 4.5 million in 1920 to 2.7 million in 1928. Today union membership is down from 25% of the workforce to 17%.

- The Ku Klux Klan, quiescent before World War I, revived to direct its message in the '20s to financially troubled farmers in the Midwest and the poverty-

stricken Deep South. The Klan allied itself with fundamentalism and inveighed against Catholics, Communists, Jews, foreigners, unionists, bootleggers, loose women and Indians as well as Blacks. Preaching a return to WASP supremacy, wrapping itself in the flag, and holding the cross as its symbol, it proclaimed itself the guardian of the nation's morals and traditional values. While the Klan is not the large mass movement it was in the '20s, there has been a resurgence in its ranks today. More disturbing, the electronic preachers who are far more respectable, today trumpet the Klan's ideology of 100% Americanism and the free enterprise system, Bergman points out.

- Tennessee put John T. Scopes on trial in 1925 for teaching the theory of evolution, now rivaled by the attempt to make creationism a compulsory part of public school curriculum.

We are grateful to Gregory Bergman and *Monthly Review*, if grateful is the word, for underscoring our worst fears about the signs of the times. If our recounting of the history of THE WITNESS is to be more than a nostalgia trip, we must be keenly aware of the mistakes of the past, which led to the great depression of 1929 and another World War, lest we be destined to repeat them. Those who profess a serious faith in a God of justice and peace have at least one major moral and civic duty this year — to work for a reversal in our national priorities at home and abroad, acting for the common good. ■

'Risking lives for peace'

Three weeks after Lucy and James Phillips-Edwards were married, they began their assignment as long-term Witness for Peace Volunteers in Nicaragua.

It was hardly a honeymoon, since their roles meant spending eight months in the war zone, documenting attacks against civilians.

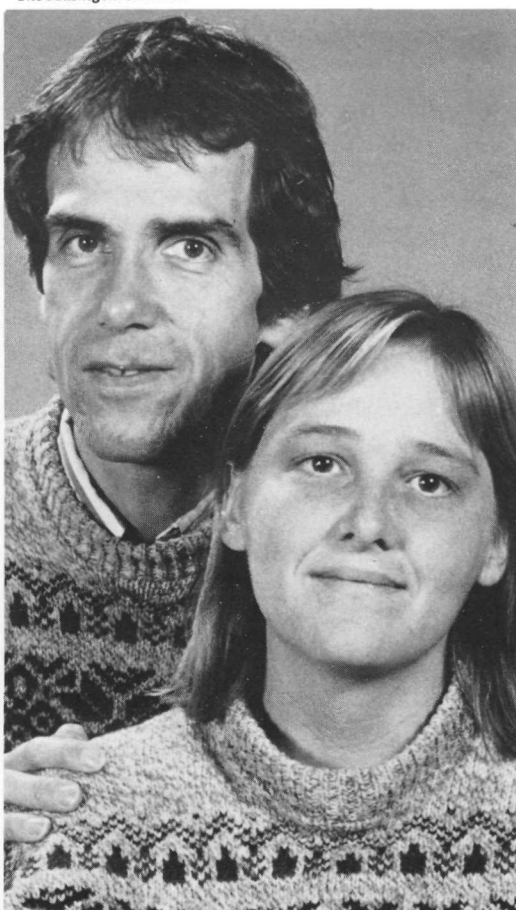
"We were simply accompanying the Nicaraguan people in their suffering," Lucy said. "People have always been willing to risk their lives for war. We thought it made sense to risk our lives for peace."

The couple returned to the United States recently on a two-months' speaking tour about their experiences, attacking U.S. support of the Contras. They carried documentation and detailed reports about Contra torture, atrocity and slaughter, along with slides of mourning families and orphaned children.

Lucy, a 28-year-old Episcopalian who grew up in California, is former senior foreign correspondent for The Other Americas Radio, an international public radio enterprise. Jim is a 41-year-old former Jesuit seminarian who has taught cultural anthropology and lived and worked in Central America. Both are back in Nicaragua for another 6-month stint. But before they left they had toured coast-to-coast, speaking to church and secular audiences from Brooklyn, New York, to Santa Barbara, Cal., and in the halls of Congress as well.

An example of the stories they

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James and Lucy Phillips-Edwards

told about the Contras, being supported as "freedom fighters" by the Reagan Administration, appears at right. It details the Contra massacre of six civilians in a raid on Somotillo, this month marking the anniversary of that raid. Among the victims was a Swiss Catholic volunteer, a friend of Jim and Lucy's.

While in Nicaragua the Phillips-Edwards documented the deaths of 30 civilians, all but one of whom

was killed by the Contras. For the latter death, a Sandinista army officer is serving a 25-year-prison term, they said.

The first assignment of their previous tour of Witness for Peace duty was to gather affidavits from residents near Achuapa about the massacre of 11 farmers. These were among 20 unarmed farmers kidnapped in the countryside by the Contras. Nine were released, but the others were found in a ditch, all showing signs of torture: Tongues cut out, empty eye sockets, knife wounds, castration. Acid had been poured over their faces.

It was concern for "very basic issues — such as the death of innocent people" which motivated Jim to go to Nicaragua, he said.

"We've learned more in Nicaragua about the resurrection and our faith than we ever could have in the United States," Lucy said. "We've seen that life can come out of death. It is our privilege, a painful privilege — to share their suffering," she added.

Lucy and Jim have supported themselves in Nicaragua on their own earnings, which are now exhausted. They are appealing for contributions through the Institute for Global Education in Grand Rapids, where Jim was onetime director.

Before returning to Nicaragua, Jim and Lucy wrote their friends:

"We have so many things to thank you for. We have stayed in your homes, slept on your floors, driven your cars, and raided your fridges. You have filled our teeth,

cured our parasites and forced your chocolate chip cookies upon us. We are grateful for the warmth and caring with which we have been welcomed, for the thought you have put into listening to our testimony, for sharing your ideas

and energy in organizing.

"We are returning because we love Nicaragua, and because we really believe in the work Witness for Peace is doing. We are going because we love our own country and want to be part of a project

which leads us as a people away from death and back to life."

Tax deductible checks for their support can be sent to Institute for Global Education, 415 Ethel S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich. 49506, earmarked "Lucy and Jim fund."

Where our Irangate money goes:

Aftermath of a Contra massacre

by Lucy Phillips-Edwards

It was just a year ago this month — on Feb. 17 — that I was preparing to leave for a northern border town in Nicaragua to say goodbye to a friend, Maurice Demierre, a Swiss volunteer whose large body had absorbed eight bullets several hours earlier. He and five Nicaraguan women, aged 15 to 60, had been killed in a Contra ambush.

Before we left, 20 of us Northamericans gathered in a circle on the porch of the Witness for Peace house in Managua. Our arms held each other as we raised our voices in prayer for strength, compassion, grace. Then it was time to go.

I climbed into the truck with three other volunteers from the Witness for Peace long-term team. All of us knew and loved Maurice. We admired his work as an agronomist and Catholic lay teacher with peasant farmers in Northwest Nicaragua. We knew his 26-year-old wife, Chantal.

I was alone in the back of the pickup for much of the four-hour ride to Somotillo. I remembered meeting Chantal and Maurice in Achuapa in December, when my husband Jim and I had gathered affidavits and documentation of a massacre the Contras carried out on 11 Nicaraguan peasants a few months earlier. We rode with

them back to Esteli, where they spent the night with us at the Witness for Peace house. Chantal's family was visiting from Switzerland and went to bed early after an exhausting day of travel. The rest of us settled comfortably into a corner with hot tea and the excitement of new friends. Chantal talked with animation about their work with the Christian Base Communities of the rural Northwest. Maurice and Chantal had been in Nicaragua three years and planned to return to Switzerland in May, 1986. But Maurice was to stay, his blood spilled on Nicaraguan soil, his body planted there. . .

It was early afternoon when we arrived at the Christian Base Community house in Somotillo, 17 hours since Maurice's death and 30 hours since I had slept last. Chantal bit her lip as she approached; her eyes fought back tears as mine flowed. We embraced.

Chairs lined the periphery of the main room of the house. The simple wooden coffin rested at the front surrounded by flowers, which did little to disguise the smell of decay. A chalkboard listed the names of the dead and wounded in the attack. I stepped around the coffin to view Maurice's rugged, handsome face. But the face was cut and bruised, all of life's energy gone,

spirit now in communion with our God of Life.

Outside, my eyes were assaulted with the sight of the yellow Toyota pickup. Methodist minister Jake Golden stood by the driver's door, counting 104 bullet holes which punctured the steel sides. Although the truck had been washed down, blood was still smeared where women had frantically jumped off, trying to avoid the barrage of gunfire. The front tires were blown apart from the Claymore anti-personnel mine which the Contras detonated manually as the truck passed. I hid behind my camera lens, subconsciously absorbing the tremendous violence of those few minutes it took to destroy six lives.

The wake lasted through the night and members of the Base Community served hot sweet coffee and bread. At 3 a.m. I found a corner in the smoky kitchen to stretch out on a blanket and sleep. Three hours later I awoke refreshed, as if I had slept an entire night.

At 9 a.m. we piled into pickup trucks and headed towards the community of Jinocua to bury four of the women. The temperature rose to over 100 degrees as five priests celebrated a Requiem Mass for the women. Husbands, mothers, sisters and children

wept with grief; several passed out and were carried to shade by family members. Then the four coffins were lifted and carried a mile to the cemetery where they were buried side by side.

Back in Somotillo we prepared to bring Maurice's body to the church. His coffin was placed into the red truck which I had always seen him driving. Then the flowers were arranged and the wooden cross Maurice had carried in a Via Crucis (stations of the cross) procession in the days before his death stood next to the coffin. It read *Por la paz, por la vida*. "For peace, for life."

Chantal and Maurice had participated in a five-day Via Crucis reenacting the 14 stations which commemorate Christ carrying the cross to his crucifixion. The walk had ended on a Sunday morning and the community celebrated the Resurrection Sunday night.

Now Maurice and my Nicaraguan sisters were dead.

We all gathered behind the truck and began walking, singing the Nicaraguan folk mass: "You are the God of the poor, the human, simple God, God who works in the streets, worker Christ."

In the church, peasant farmers who worked with Maurice gave testimony to his dedication and love for life. After Mass, his body was buried in the central park, across from the church.

That February night clouds burst into rain, virtually unheard of during that dusty time of year. The air was cleansed, the ground swept, and the seeds of the lives of Maurice and the Nicaraguan women were planted.

Chantal later told me, "This power of violence, this project of death which takes the lives of so many innocents can never succeed. You have a death, and another death, and another death, and then a resurrection, and another resurrection, and another resurrection. The spirit of our God of Life rises and gives breath to those who suffer." ■



Episcopalian Witness for Peace volunteer Lucy Phillips-Edwards took these photos in Somotillo, Nicaragua, top clockwise: Women's bloodsmears on truck after Contra ambush; tire of Christian Base Community truck, blown by mine; eight (of 104) bullet holes in truck, these on driver Maurice Demierre's door; women's coffins being carried to cemetery.



Africa National Congress in 75th year:

'You A.N.C. Nothing Yet'

by Kwasi Thornell

South Africa is full of contradictions. The city of Cape-town, with its modern urban beauty, underground shopping centers, and seeming tranquility stands in sharp contrast to the barren land surrounding it. That land, once home to many Black South Africans, has been "cleared" by the government under various pretexts. Black people have been moved to other areas — now tent cities or overcrowded townships. Forcibly removed from their homes near Capetown, they live like refugees, the townships not much better in quality than the tent cities. Both entities have little plumbing or electricity and lack municipal services such as trash collection or recreational facilities. Both have schools that are not functioning, a reality suggesting that an entire generation of future leaders will be lost. Fear from all sides is palpable and well-founded.

It was within this atmosphere that a few words scribbled on the side of a building in a Capetown suburb caught my eye: *You A.N.C. Nothing Yet.*

Graffiti about the African National Congress took on a new meaning for me when, while I was attending the enthronement of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, it was announced that an ecumenical delegation would travel to Zambia to meet with A.N.C. leaders in exile in Lusaka. My bishop, the Rt. Rev. John Walker of the Diocese of Washington asked me to attend, representing his office. I looked forward to meeting with those whom many perceived to be the visionaries and molders of change, and — in the minds of most Black South Africans and an increasing number of Whites — the future leaders and principal architects of the new structure of South African society which will replace the apartheid system.

Oliver Tambo, A.N.C. President, Alfred Nzo, Secretary General, and Johnny Makhatini, former United Nations observer and current International Relations official for the A.N.C. were among the delegation with whom we met.

I was amazed at the warmth with which they received us and their undisguised responsiveness to our questions.

The Rev. Kwasi A. Thornell is Canon Missioner at Washington National Cathedral and Chair of the Board of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

Clearly these leaders not only wanted us fully to understand their history and purpose but also to become advocates for their cause. In essence, their aim is the total destruction of an apartheid government and the structures that created it, and the setting up of a new government which would allow for the development of a free nation where all could participate in its operation and governance.

When we asked direct questions they responded openly and without rancor. For example:

- "*Are you Communists?*" They replied that they accept in their membership anyone who commits himself or herself to, and abides by, the A.N.C. Freedom Charter.

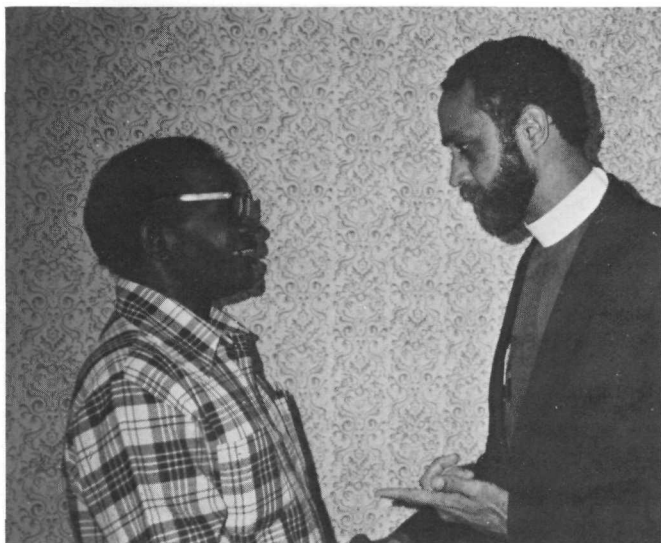
- "*Will there be room for Whites in the new government?*" Their answer was that they were working toward a non-racial democracy, a country which includes anyone working toward freedom and rights for all South Africans.

- "*What role will the church play in your organization and new government?*" The church, they said, will play a role similar to the role played in any democratic society. It will function as an independent and free institution. The A.N.C. has appointed a leader whose responsibility is to deal with church relationships.

The A.N.C. is 75 years old this year. Its formation was largely a consequence of colonial rule, which prevented any Black Africans from participating in the political and economic structures of the country.

Originally, the A.N.C. called for the many tribes and other Black African groups to solidify by uniting and working for equality in government and business. In 1913 the South African parliament legislated the Land Act which divided the land between Whites and Blacks. White South Africans would occupy 87% of the land and Black South Africans only 13%. Until 1949, the A.N.C. relied heavily on diplomacy in their negotiations with the British government and the Afrikaners. Then, after years of little progress, the A.N.C. boldly restructured its methodology and developed a political strategy for mass demonstrations, using a model of nonviolence. At that time Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu were leaders in the A.N.C. youth corps.

In 1950 the first nationwide workers' strike was called. Two years later, a Defiance Council was formed and people



Oliver Tambo, A.N.C. president, left, converses with the author, the Rev. Kwasi Thornell, in Lusaka, Zambia.

were asked voluntarily to break unjust laws as a continued means of nonviolent protest.

In June 1955, the various South African protesting groups came together to form a united front, out of which emerged a Freedom Charter.

Basic tenets of the charter stated that South Africa belonged to all of the people who live in it and that the future government should be nonracial and democratic in form. All groups represented at that organizing meeting were invited to sign the charter on Sept. 6, 1956. The apartheid government of South Africa subsequently arrested 156 of the signers and charged them with high treason. Most were detained from four to five years. In April 1960, the African National Congress was officially banned.

Today it is still outlawed, but it is very active internally and externally. With offices in most of the front line countries bordering South Africa, and in Europe and in the United States, it continues to build its movement. White South African businessmen break the law with regularity by coming to Lusaka to meet with A.N.C. leadership. Representatives from the university systems in South Africa also meet with the A.N.C. to design educational programs and curricula for the future training of Black South Africans. In various South African townships, A.N.C. organizes on all levels, and sets up cooperatives and schools.

Tambo said that what the A.N.C. needs at this critical point is external support from the U.S. government and other institutions, particularly the churches of America. Churches could be most helpful, he said, in encouraging

the U.S. government to recognize the legitimacy of the African National Congress. One form of recognition is engagement in constructive dialogue to bring apartheid to a peaceful and equitable end.

Tambo was optimistic. "There is a feeling that the people are indeed winning," he said. "This may seem strange to say when so many are dying, that we are still winning."

As I left South Africa, along with my colleagues, there was a strong sense among us that A.N.C. was indeed winning. It may take five, ten, fifteen or even twenty years, but yes, the A.N.C. is winning. ■

Who is 'Christian' in South Africa?

At odds in South Africa is a "state theology" which invokes the Gospels to preserve the apartheid system, and a theology of liberation which gives legitimacy to Black militants striving for a more just social order.

The word *Christian*, then is equivocal, a group of South African Black clergy and theologians pointed out recently: "There we sit in the same church while outside Christian policemen and soldiers are beating up and killing Christian children and torturing Christian prisoners to death, while yet other Christians stand by and weakly plead for peace."

Allister Sparks in a *Washington Post* article alluded to the Christian overlay of the Africa National Congress, which the Botha regime equates with terrorism. "Oliver Tambo, like many of the Congress' founders and early leaders, was the product of a missionary school," he wrote. "Before he took over the exiled movement he had hoped to become an Anglican priest."

Sparks pointed out that a group of South African businessmen who met with A.N.C. leaders in Zambia were startled when Tambo insisted on saying grace before lunch.

Albert Luthuli, A.N.C. leader who won the Nobel Prize in 1961, was a Methodist lay preacher. And Nelson Mandela, the most famous A.N.C. leader now serving life imprisonment, regularly receives Holy Communion. The Rev. Dudley Moore, his chaplain, has portrayed him as a man of deep faith.

Mandela, an attorney before his imprisonment, helped draft the A.N.C. Freedom Charter. When he was tried along with eight others in June 1963, as the leader of the A.N.C.'s militant wing, he opened the defense with his now famous speech, "I am the first accused." Excerpts appear on the following page.

Nelson Mandela's defense speech

I am the first accused. At the outset, I want to say that the suggestion made by the state in its opening that the struggle in South Africa is under the influence of foreigners or Communists is wholly incorrect. I have done whatever I did both as an individual and as a leader of my people, because of my experience in South Africa and my own proudly felt African background, and not because of what any outsider might have said.

In my youth in the Transkei I listened to the elders of my tribe telling stories of the old days. Amongst the tales they related to me were those of wars fought by our ancestors in defense of the fatherland. . . . I hoped then that life might offer me the opportunity to serve my people and make my own humble contribution to their freedom struggle. This is what has motivated me in all that I have done in relation to the charges made against me in this case.

Having said this, I must deal immediately and at some length with the question of violence. Some of the things so far told to the court are true and some are untrue. I do not, however, deny that I planned sabotage. I did not plan it in a spirit of recklessness, nor because I have any love of violence. I planned it as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of tyranny, exploitation, and oppression of my people by the Whites.

We of the A.N.C. had always stood for a non-racial democracy, and we shrank from any action which might drive the races further apart than they



Nelson Mandela

already were. But the hard facts were that 50 years of non-violence had brought the African people nothing but more and more repressive legislation, and fewer and fewer rights. It may not be easy for this court to understand, but it is a fact that for a long time the people had been talking of violence — of the day when they would fight the White man and win back their country — and we, the leaders of the A.N.C., had nevertheless always prevailed upon them to avoid violence and to pursue peaceful methods. When some of us discussed this in May and June of 1961, it could not be denied that our policy to achieve a non-racial state by non-violence had achieved nothing, and that our followers were beginning to lose confidence in this policy and were developing disturbing ideas of terrorism.

At the beginning of June 1961, after a long and anxious assessment of the South African situation, I, and some colleagues, came to the conclusion that

as violence in this country was inevitable, it would be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue preaching peace and non-violence at a time when the government met our peaceful demands with force.

This conclusion was not easily arrived at. It was only when all else had failed, when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to us, that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle. We did so not because we desired such a course, but solely because the government had left us with no other choice.

Already scores of Africans had died as a result of racial friction. In 1920 when the famous leader, Masabala, was held in Port Elizabeth jail, 24 of a group of Africans who had gathered to demand his release were killed by the police and White civilians. In 1921, more than 100 Africans died in the Bulhoek affair. In 1924 over 200 Africans were killed when the Administrator of South-West Africa led a force against a group which had rebelled against the imposition of dog tax. On 1 May 1950, 18 Africans died as a result of police shootings during the strike. On 21 March 1960, 69 unarmed Africans died at Sharpeville.

How many more Sharpevilles would there be in the history of our country? And how many more Sharpevilles could the country stand without violence and terror becoming the order of the day? And what would happen to our people when that stage was reached? In the long run we felt certain we must suc-

Continued on page 23

THE WITNESS CELEBRATES



YEARS

The First Decade: 1917 - 1926

In the first full decade of publication, THE WITNESS delivered its message of social responsibility and egalitarian concerns to a society entranced by materialism and “the good life.” By 1919, Americans were weary and disillusioned by war and international politics. They rejected Woodrow Wilson’s dreams for world peace through the League of Nations and concentrated on “getting ahead” in a national economy marked by mass production and easy credit.

The 1920s ushered in the era of Prohibition, gangsters and speakeasies. For working people, it also heralded a time of struggle for social change against a pro-industry, reactionary government. The successful Revolution in Russia inspired American workers and frightened industrialists, prompting the U.S. Justice Department to conduct mass arrests and deportations of political and labor activists — dubbed the “Red Raids.” Socialist Eugene Debs, arrested in 1918, was serving a 10-year prison sentence for denouncing government persecution of labor activists and leftists. To stifle foreign competition, the United States imposed strict tariffs on imported goods.

Fear of foreign ideas, of the powerless gaining power, fueled an ugly and violent upsurge of racism. From 1921 to 1924, the U.S. government enacted an increasingly restrictive series of immigration bills — the 1924 bill excluding any Japanese immigrants. Two immigrant Italian laborers were arrested in 1920 on charges of robbery and murder in Massachusetts. Many people felt that Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were in fact innocent victims of prejudice because they were foreigners and professed anarchists and had refused, on ideological grounds, to fight in World War I. Despite a public outcry, they were sentenced to die in 1921 and executed in 1927.

Racism reached new heights as the Ku Klux Klan, a remnant of Civil War days, reappeared. By 1921 the Klan was growing stronger and more violent, routinely destroying property, and whipping, branding and lynching Blacks. By 1923, the Klan had gained political power and had a membership of 5 million. In 1921 an economic recession set in, throwing 4,750,000 people (in a population of 107 million) out of work. Farm failures and foreclosures soared and tenant farming became more and more common. Black sharecroppers suffered most of all — on average, a

Black sharecropper in the South gave up to 75% of his crop to the landlord, and his total income was less than \$350 a year.

Though sentiment at home was anti-foreign, U.S. colonial ambitions flourished as troops occupied Nicaragua, Haiti, Honduras and the Dominican Republic through most of the 1920s. By 1929, 29% of all U.S. direct private investment abroad was in the sugar industry in its de facto colony, Cuba.

While Americans were being entranced by jazz, bathtub gin and motion picture shows, two influential world leaders were beginning their rise to prominence. In 1923 in a Munich beerhall, Adolph Hitler made his first bid for power. His attempt failed, and he was sentenced to prison, where he wrote *Mein Kampf* — his outline for revenge and world domination. (In the same year of Hitler’s putsch, the KKK had become so dangerous in the United States that martial law was declared in Oklahoma to protect people from Klan attacks.) Meanwhile, in India, Mohandas Gandhi, a proponent of non-violent social change, emerged as the leader of his nation’s struggle for liberation from British rule.

In the United States, some strides were made in the ’20s. Women got the vote in 1920, and Jeanette Rankin of California was serving as the first woman in the House of Representatives. Progress in the secular sphere came for women before they achieved decision-making power in the churches as Mary Sudman Donovan points out this issue in “The feminist dimension of the Social Gospel.”

The two presidents in power during the first decade of THE WITNESS, Harding and Coolidge, are not remembered for their great skill in governing. It was said of Warren G. Harding that he never let the problems of high office ruffle his good nature. With this philosophy, he managed to ignore the corruption in his administration. It finally became a national outrage, erupting in the Teapot Dome scandal, after Harding had transferred supervision of the naval oil reserve lands from the navy to the Department of the Interior. Harding saved himself from being implicated in the deals by dying in office.

Another Republican, Calvin Coolidge took over the presidency in 1923, and led according to the gospel, “The business of America is business.”

Some disturbing parallels to the 1980s

But the prosperity of business had a dark side, which foreshadowed the great economic crisis to come in 1929. We will continue the history of THE WITNESS; meanwhile some excerpts from early issues when Bishop Irving Peake Johnson was editor and William B. Spofford, managing editor. In 1926, Episcopal communicants numbered

1 million and the overall church budget was \$40 million: \$30 million for "parochial machinery; \$6 million, "diocesan organization;" and \$4 million, "national program." THE WITNESS, which had switched to magazine format, was published weekly from Chicago for \$2/year.

Editor predicts Reagan?

Addressing the Bar Association of the State of Colorado recently, the Rt. Rev. Irving Peake Johnson, editor of THE WITNESS, said:

"One wonders how films produced, even when censored by such an astute politician as Will Hays, can turn Fatty Arbuckle, Douglas Fairbanks and Charlie Chaplin into great moral leaders; Mr. Volstead and John Galen Locke (Colorado Ku Kluxer) into spiritual uplifters; William Jennings Bryan and Mary Baker Eddy into expounders of scientific truth, and the local ministerial association into lawmakers and moral scavengers. I maintain that these are honorable folks, but that the people have mistaken their calling. As long as we continue to select our governors, legislators and judges because they have the same prejudices as ourselves, hell is around the corner. The great mistake of modernism is the assumption that it is a success, whereas it has turned our legislative halls into low comedy, our homes into high tragedies and our religion into a fair basis for comic opera. We have been stampeded by a generation of reformers who are not experts, by men with a vision and a challenge who need to take lessons in Christian charity, and by political and religious buncosteersers.

"So long as American people get their spiritual inspiration from Holly-

wood, their theology from the Rockefeller foundation, and their legislation from pan-Protestant ministers, we shall continue to grope for light and walk in the darkness." (10/15/25)

Koo Koo Kluxers

Bishop Cheshire of North Carolina recently received a nasty letter from the Koo Koo Kluxers. He replied, publicly, as follows: "I wish to take this opportunity of saying to my unknown correspondent and to his fellow K.K.K. on the police force and off, that I consider the Ku Klux Klan, in its principles, methods and organization, absolutely inconsistent with the Christian religion, which many of them profess; a menace to good government and a disgrace to our civilization. And it seems to me the duty of all good citizens to give open expression to the indignities they must feel at being restrained in the free use of the public streets of the city in the interest of men who are ashamed to let their faces be seen." (12/10/25)

No to women deputies

"Votes for women" agitated the convention of the Diocese of West Missouri. They were denied seats by a narrow margin, the men, according to reports, being afraid that if the women were seated, in a short time the convention would be solely a woman's affair. (1/28/26)

Radical Episcopalian?

Bishop Manning of New York, in his address at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine on Thanksgiving stressed the breaking down of intolerance and prejudice in religious life and also the growth among the American people of sentiment for the World Court.

Hope he is right. Sometimes have doubts about that breakdown of religious prejudice myself. For instance the other day I was talking with the president of a cooperative apartment in Chicago that shelters 24 American families, including my own. He said: "No use for any Jew, Catholic, radical or foreigner to try to get in this building." Of course I got smart and told him that it was a good thing folks didn't feel that way a few years ago. If they had his father and mother would probably have been turned back at Ellis Island. He then defined a foreigner as a person coming from the south of Europe. Then I got smart again and said: "Glad I got my apartment before you had anything to say about it, since I'm a radical." His reply was brief: "You're no radical. You can't be. You're an Episcopalian parson." (William B. Spofford 12/10/25)

'Disarmament' in 1924

An advance step was taken in the movement toward international friendship and world peace when more than 2,000

people, representatives from France, England, Czechoslovakia, Norway and Germany met in Berlin for the Peace Congress.

The opening session was held Oct. 5 in the *Reichstagsgebäude* — the meeting place of the German Reichstag. Senator LaFontaine of France, President of the Congress, presided.

For two days previous to the formal opening of the Congress, delegates met in smaller commissions: on Actualities, on Disarmament, on Economic and Social questions, on Propaganda, on Education and on the League of Nations.

The question of disarmament was faced very frankly. It was repeatedly argued that total disarmament was more desirable and practicable than a gradual reduction. A telegram of encouragement was sent to the Parliament of Denmark which was at that time considering complete disarmament of that country. (11/20/24)

Falwell predecessor?

Mr. L. E. Morgan, who in his spare time sells real estate down in Dothan, Ala. has sent us a leaflet called, "The Hour Strikes." In it he tells us all about the evils of these people who are not of his particular stripe of fundamentalism. He calls for a line up . . . his followers on one side and all others arrayed against him. "Rank heresy stalks abroad and boldly raises its hydrahead in church and school. Behind the preacher and professor teaching modernism, the scientist with the brute ancestry theory, the infidel and agnostic, there is silhouetted the silent, invisible, but dreadful personality of Satan, whose connection with our human race is one of the strangest and most mysterious things in our history." More just like that. Those of you who want to leave the Episcopal Church for it please write to Mr. Morgan. (8/27/25)

Some people's children

The children of the Episcopal Church gave over \$400,000 to the work of the church last Lent. They are going to make it half a million in 1925. . . If you are interested in the facts about child labor send to the Federal Council of Churches, 105 E. 22nd, New York City for a pamphlet telling of the million or more children at work in America. It will make you want to help ratify the federal amendment. (11/20/24)

On real democracy

President Pott of St. John's University, Shanghai, is discouraged over the political situation in China. He thinks it will be a long time before there can be real democracy there. Some of us feel the same way about America. (11/20/24)

WITNESS 10th birthday

This fact which I relate both about my grandfather and my children is interesting merely because it illustrates a general condition. The former died when he was close to a hundred, and I have a vivid recollection that the last dozen years of his life were lived chiefly for the purpose of observing birthdays. My children, very young, likewise rejoice greatly as a birthday anniversary approaches; rejoice, I fear, a bit selfishly.

THE WITNESS is to be pardoned therefore, being very young, for calling attention to a 10th Birthday. Mortality is greater in infants . . . this is even a recognized principle of the great American government. We rejoice therefore on being alive after 10 years of existence in a church that has a reputation . . . an unfair reputation I think . . . for not doing so well by her church journals. (William B. Spofford 9/30/26)

(Contributing to the 70th anniversary story were Susan Pierce, researcher and free lance writer; Mary Lou Suhor, WITNESS editor; and the 1917-26 editorial staff of the magazine.)

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.

● **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.

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EUC to probe future

This time last year we expressed our hope that the Episcopal Urban Caucus would stir to life again and get on with its mission of advocacy with and on behalf of the poor and dispossessed in our cities. To some degree that has happened, but the Caucus still seems to be casting about for a viable organizational structure and operation model that will get to the heart of its concerns.

Nevertheless, the EUC has made great strides following a highly successful February 1986 national assembly at Pittsburgh. In a recent memo to members and friends, the Caucus reported on its external involvements, programmatic efforts and the work of its Task Force, which has taken over most of the nuts and bolts functions previously handled by a large and cumbersome Governing Board.

Externally, EUC has continued to make its presence felt in a number of activities relevant to urban ministry, including membership in IMPACT, the Coalition for Abortion Rights and the Episcopal Church Center Public Policy Network. The Caucus, which was a catalyst for the review of the national church's Washington Office, is represented on the Restructure Committee overseeing that effort by former president Byron Rushing of Massachusetts. Other board members sit on the Advisory Board of Jubilee Ministries and the Steering Committee of The Consultation, a coalition of 11 progressive, church related organizations.

Programmatically the Caucus has given financial support to 12 projects

representing a wide variety of ministries on the local level, including a much needed Task Force on AIDS in the Black Community, sponsored by the Union of Black Episcopalians. In another significant area, the EUC has moved to organize an urban diocesan staff network to assist maturation of the faltering Jubilee Ministries program. "Jubilee" has yet to approach its potential for encouraging and supporting meaningful approaches to urban ministry.

The Caucus will hold its Seventh National Assembly Feb. 18-21 in St. Paul, Minn. Theme for this year's gathering is "City Planning: Building a New Jerusalem." Attention will focus primarily on the urban church between now and the year 2000, and those attending will learn first hand about ministries among urban Native Americans. Keynote speakers will be Prof. Lisa Peattie of the MIT City Planning Department and the Rt. Rev. John T. Walker, Bishop of Washington.

In a continuation of last year's highly successful Assembly feature, conferees will have the opportunity to participate in "Vision Quest II." In 1986, Caucus members, in the presence of then newly elected Presiding Bishop Edmond Browning, presented their views on how the Episcopal Church could respond to issues on the urban scene and in today's interrelated world. They will have a chance this time around to offer their vision for the church in the next decade to guide the Caucus in planning for the future.

EUC continues to fulfill an important function, primarily through its Assembly, in providing a voice to the voiceless and a forum for controversial and cutting edge issues in the church. Its role will remain meaningful as long as it can keep that focus clear and refrain from putting more on its plate than it can say grace over.

In announcing last year's Assembly, the Rev. Ed Rodman, Canon Missioner for the Diocese of Massachusetts and Caucus coordinator/consultant, stated: The continued viability of the Caucus 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. The wisdom of that observation holds true, particularly as the church moves into the waning years of this decade.

This means, however, that the Task Force must come to the Assembly with a carefully thought-out, well-designed structure and fundraising scheme to support it. Organizational structure cannot be developed in plenary with on the spot input from a "cast of thousands." More importantly, those whose primary issues are only tangential to the EUC focus and who cannot buy into the design, might well direct their efforts through other channels and leave urban ministry to those with a demonstrated concern for the future of the church and the city. ■

How women transformed the church

The early decades of the 20th century were dramatically influenced by the Social Gospel movement, which in turn shaped the history of *THE WITNESS*. Episcopal Church women played such a prominent role in that movement that Mary Sudman Donovan in her new book, *A Different Call: Women's Ministries in the Episcopal Church 1850-1920* (Morehouse-Barlow) devotes a whole chapter to their efforts.

Among names readers will meet in the accompanying excerpts are Vida Scudder, who worked closely with William Spofford in the Church League for Industrial Democracy; Ellen Gates Starr, co-founder of Hull House; Harriet Keyser and Margaret Lawrance, co-founders of the Church Association for the Interests of Labor; and Emily Malbone Morgan, whose life centered around the welfare of working women and the Companions of the Holy Cross.

"The work of Episcopal women from 1850 to 1920 transformed the church," Donovan emphasizes. "Many of the women served out of a deep commitment to a Gospel they perceived as egalitarian. And that egalitarianism was part of the message they proclaimed to the people with whom they worked — the sick, the poor, the uneducated, and those in foreign lands."

Yet, Donovan points out, "there comes a time, especially for a women's organization within a larger institution, when it must see that women are allowed access to the controlling power . . . otherwise it runs the risk of imprisoning women in a restricted sphere within the institution and rendering the work increasingly marginal."

When the 1919 General Convention perceived the Episcopal Church as hierarchical, not egalitarian, and defeated both the suffrage resolution and the plan to elect women to the Board of Missions, women were confronted with their marginal position. So emphatically was their position solidified that "the next 50 years saw few changes in the official status of women in the Episcopal Church," Donovan reminds.

"Episcopal Church women of the 19th and early 20th centuries recognized and responded to a different call; they chose to enter social service ministries, and with very little support from church authorities, they developed their own ministering vocations. In the process they shaped a church that was responsive to social needs and involved in the community. Ordained women who today continue social service ministries are following a tradition forged by their antecedent sisters," she concludes.



The feminine

The first two decades of the 20th century saw Episcopal women making the social gospel a reality. As volunteer parish workers, deaconesses, nuns, matrons and principals of a wide variety of hospitals and schools, these women, motivated by a spirit of Christian love, were caring for the sick, the poor, the uneducated, and the dispossessed. In developing church work as a profession for women, they had chosen subservient models, focusing on the goals they wanted to accomplish rather than on their own needs or requirements.

The concept of the social gospel, however, entails more than the delivery of services to those in need; it also entails a recognition of the corporate nature of sin and the radical demand that society restructure itself to respond to the inequities it has created. In one sense, many of the women workers were reshaping the limited spheres in which they worked — requiring their parishes to respond to immediate needs, demanding more services from the Bureau of Indian Affairs on the reservations, providing vocational training for Appalachian women. By living in disadvantaged communities, they also were gaining experience about the nature of poverty, racial discrimination, and economic exploitation. But to move from these limited activities to a more direct challenge to the system itself was inconceivable to many. One reason was the relative isolation of most of these workers. City workers lived and worked at the institutions they served, most of which had very small staffs. Rural workers were geographically isolated. Foreign missionaries were far from the office that deployed them. The women workers had no place in the

Mary Sudman Donovan is lecturer in history at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock. She is co-initiator of the Episcopal Women's History Project, and currently serves on its Board. The above article is excerpted from Chapter 10 of her book, *A Different Call* (\$19.95). Reprinted with permission from Morehouse-Barlow.

dimension of the Social Gospel

by Mary Sudman Donovan

church structures that governed the institutions; though many of the trained workers (especially the deaconesses) felt their vocations were similar to those of priests, the latter generally did not share their opinion and made no effort to include them in clergy conferences or diocesan conventions.

It was their affiliation with another group of women — the settlement-house workers, similarly isolated because their residence was also their place of work — that began to break down this separation, establishing an informal network of women involved in social service. A significant number of the first settlement-house workers were Episcopalians, including Ellen Gates Starr of Hull House (Chicago), Helena Stuart Dudley of Denison House (Boston), Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch of Greenwich House (New York), and Vida Scudder and Mary Van Kleeck of the College Settlement Association. Several of these women had first experienced social work through volunteer activities in their local parishes, and they continued to maintain strong church ties.

Many of the first social settlements were begun by Episcopal churches (and some continued under church sponsorship), whereas others were intentionally founded as non-denominational institutions. Of the 38 religious settlements established before 1900, 11 were Episcopalian. By 1910, of the 167 religious settlements, 31 were Methodist, 29 Episcopal, 20 Presbyterian, and 10 Congregational. Women at the Church Training and Deaconess House in Philadelphia studied social-work methods at St. Martha's House, a settlement established in 1901 and directed by Deaconess Jean W. Colesberry. Graduates went on to work at other settlements, such as St. Agnes House in Philadelphia, St. Monica's Home in Des Moines, and the Neighborhood Settlement in Los Angeles. Many of the women workers found in social settlements another place to invest their energy and altruism — but with a higher degree of pro-

fessional reward. Lavinia Dock, whose later efforts as founder and editor of the *American Journal of Nursing* would shape that profession, first applied for a job as a visiting nurse at Grace Church, New York. When she informed Dr. Huntington that she could not live on the proposed salary of \$300 per year, he asked her whether she was working for money or for the Lord. She merely observed how unjust it was that "the employers of poorly-paid agents should pride themselves on philanthropy or charity when it is really the worker who is the philanthropist." She moved instead to Henry Street Settlement and continued nursing from there.

Though settlement workers in voluntary church-sponsored programs and church workers at settlement houses forged links between the two areas of employment, the most important connection was an unusual organization, the Society of the Companions of the Holy Cross. The driving force behind it was Emily Malbone Morgan, who, with Harriet Hastings, organized the group in 1884. The only daughter of a wealthy family in Hartford, Conn., Morgan grew up with a strong religious conscience. Influenced by the works of John Ruskin and Sir Walter Besant, she visited Toynbee Hall in London and was very impressed with what she saw there. She returned home determined to help working women. Adopting a simple lifestyle, she poured all her resources — family income and royalties from several books she wrote — into the purchase and maintenance of vacation cottages for workers. The remainder of her life was centered around her two consuming interests — the welfare of working women and the Society of the Companions of the Holy Cross.

Morgan organized the society as a group of laywomen dedicated to maintain a Christian lifestyle with an emphasis on intercessory prayer. Its members were Episcopal women who agreed to certain central ideals — the Way of the Cross, the Life of Intercession, Social Justice, Christian

Unity, Simplicity of Life, and Thanksgiving.

The first Companions were from New England, but the society gradually grew to include many of the leaders of the settlement movement as well as Episcopal church workers (both at home and in the mission field), deaconesses, and even a few Episcopal nuns. By 1894 Ellen Gates Starr of Hull House, Chicago, had joined. Women were accepted as members, after a year's probation, on another Companion's recommendation to Emily Morgan. Vida Scudder directed the probationers from 1909 until 1942, whereas Morgan remained Companion-in-charge until her death in 1933, summarizing each year's activities in an annual letter sent to members around the world. By 1897 there were 143 members, with chapters in Hartford, Boston, Philadelphia, and San Francisco; by 1908 there were 252 members. Several Black women were among the early Companions. Missionaries such as Margaret Waterman in the Philippines and Dr. Marybai in India spread word of the order to other lands. An English society was also formed. Others were in China, Puerto Rico, and Alaska.

Central to the society's life was its annual conference, which brought the scattered Companions together for 10 days each summer. Though guest speakers such as Jane Addams, Walter Rauschenbusch, James O. S. Huntington, and Emily Greene Balch were often invited, the programs were primarily offered by the Companions themselves, who shared their intellectual and social concerns. Vida Scudder presented her research on the social commitments of St. Francis; Genevieve Cowles spoke of her work for prison reform, and Maud Foley, a member of the Garment Workers of Boston, urged other Companions to join the Women's Trade Union League. From Vida Scudder comes this picture of Adelynrood during the conference:

In the little house oratory, a half-dozen women cherishing devotional methods accredited by the ages would now and again supplement the required chapel offices of prime and compline by the use of terce and nones. . . . At the same time, another group sitting peacefully on the wide porches looking westward might be holding a prayer meeting, studying the Greek Testament, or practicing the Quaker method of silent fellowship. . . . Here, a group might gather around a Companion, recounting her adventure in addressing a strike meeting—possibly that of 1912 at Lawrence; on another occasion people might listen to a passionate appeal from someone who had been visiting a mining area, or to report a strike in Chicago. E.M.M. [Morgan] tells gleefully in 1915 of her bewilderment on hearing that the socialist Companions, of whom there were always a few, were meeting to discuss vestments; and of her relief when it turned out that their topic was investments, and the possibility of a white list to salve the Christian conscience.

For the Companions, these annual conferences and the conferences led by the Committees on Social Justice and Christian Unity were a time of reflection and recreation —



Photo (1922) shows attendants in the nursery of New York's St. Barnabas' House, a temporary shelter for women and children, staffed by Episcopal women workers. (Episcopal Church Archives, Austin, Tex.)

a chance to integrate their spiritual life into social action. The yeasty mixture of women who were employed as professors, doctors, social workers, and religious workers, whose common ground was their membership in the Episcopal Church, led to stimulating conversations and a collective impulse to reform both the social order and the church. A high percentage of the Companions were professional women, and many were forging new opportunities for women in their chosen fields. For the unmarried members, the society became a supportive family; for the missionaries, it became a home to which to return in the United States. The roll of members was a veritable *Who's Who* of professional women . . .

Although some Companions probably regarded the society primarily as a spiritual resource for busy women, the interaction between the various disciplines they represented forged an understanding of the social gospel unique in the Episcopal Church in the early 20th century. That understanding not only inspired the Companions to individual and corporate activities in their own fields but led them on several occasions to challenge the Episcopal Church to come to terms with social issues. For example, in 1907 Harriette Keyser (co-organizer with Margaret Lawrence of the Church Association for the Interests of Labor) shared with the annual conference her dismay that the Committee on Capital and Labor, which had been appointed at the General Convention of 1901, had never even issued a report or brought before the convention any consideration of the labor unrest then prevalent in America. Jane Addams, who was one of the guest speakers at the conference that year, described her experience in dealing with labor problems at Hull House and her conviction that the church must address those issues. The ensuing discussion led to a petition to the General Convention that

the church "take some action which shall bring [it] into fuller knowledge and closer truth with the industrial and social problems of the day." Specifically, the document requested the reappointment of the Commission on Capital and Labor, with the stipulation that it bring suggestions for specific action to the next convention.

Bishop Arthur Hall agreed to present the petition to the House of Bishops, and some Companions lobbied for the bill through correspondence and meetings with deputies to the General Convention. Cognizant of the importance of their activities, the women wrote, "In venturing so serious a step as bringing itself to the notice of the church, the society realizes that it has reached a new stage in its corporate life, but it was felt that our pledge to constant prayer for the reconciliation of classes inevitably led to this step, at a juncture when there seems a real chance of quickening the social conscience of the church." The petition was successful. The commission was reappointed and in 1910 became the Joint Commission on Social Service, stimulating and coordinating social-service programs throughout the church. Significantly, this was the first commission of the General Convention to include women as members; Deaconess Knapp, Vida Scudder, and Mary Simkhovitch served along with Robert A. Woods, Seth Low, J. M. Glenn (whose wife was a Companion), and several other clergy and laymen.

In 1909 the Companions devoted their entire annual conference to the subject of "The Church and Social Justice." The conference committee, led by Anna Whitcomb, summarized the social-action programs of six other Protestant denominations, the Roman Catholic Church, the Federal Council of Churches, the YMCA and the YWCA, and suggested areas of cooperative action. Harriette Keyser reported on programs in the Episcopal Church, including the Church League for Industrial Democracy, the Girls' Friendly Society, diocesan social-service commissions, and the Church Association for the Interests of Labor. Both documents were reprinted, widely circulated in the Episcopal Church, and used as guides for developing diocesan social-service commissions.

In 1916 some of the Companions sent another petition to the General Convention, urging

that the service of the community and the welfare of the workers rather than private profits should be the aim of every industry, and the test of its value; and that the church should seek to keep this aim and this test constantly before the mind of the public; and that Christians as individuals are under the solemn obligation on the one hand, conscientiously to scrutinize the sources of their income, and on the other hand, to give at least moral support and prayer to every effort to secure fair conditions and regular employment for wage earners, and the extension of true democracy to industrial matters.

With only a few stylistic changes, the resolution was adopted by the entire convention. Later it formed the basis

for an expanded resolution adopted by the Bishops of the Anglican Communion meeting in Lambeth in 1920.

Some Companions also worked for minimum-wage and hour laws to protect working women and for anti-child-labor legislation. During the 1911 coal strike, Companion Margaret Shearman moved into the coal camps near Pittsburgh to help the miners' families.

On another issue, several Companions — Helena Dudley, Vida Scudder, Florence Converse, Geraldine Gordon, Lucy Sturgis, and Grace Hutchins — sent a strong protest to the House of Bishops committee that had recommended censuring Bishop Paul Jones. (Jones was the bishop of Utah whose staunch antiwar statements and support of the pacifist movement during the saber-rattling period just prior to the United States' entry into World War I angered many of his diocesan leaders. In 1917 Utah requested that he be removed as bishop. The House of Bishops discussed the case at two successive meetings, finally resolving the situation by both affirming Bishop Jones's freedom to express his opinion *and* accepting his resignation.) But many of the Companions continued to believe that the bishop's pacifism was thoroughly consistent with his Christian beliefs and that he ought to be lauded rather than censored.

In 1918 they wrote to President Wilson, requesting a new trial for labor leader Thomas J. Mooney. The next year they petitioned both the president and the attorney general, asking for the immediate release of conscientious objectors serving prison terms.

Far more could be said about the Companions as initiators of social-service programs, as champions of inter-denominational cooperation, and as advocates for social justice. One has only to begin to read the biographies of these women to be impressed by their commitment to, and their realization of, social-gospel ideals. Their accomplishments in terms of meaningful social change would easily stand alongside the work of such social-gospel reformers as Walter Rauschenbusch and Richard T. Ely. Their long-term dedication to the Episcopal Church is ample evidence of the important part their religious convictions played in shaping their dedication to an improved society. And yet, because of the privacy of their religious life, their work has been neglected by church historians; and the religious dimension of their concern for social justice has been ignored in historical studies of the progressive period. Through both their individual commitments and their corporate activities as Companions, these women voiced a strong social conscience within the Episcopal Church, a conscience that often pushed the church into social action projects. As educated professionals pursuing careers in social work and as active, involved churchwomen, they played a significant role in shaping the Episcopal Church's response to the demands of the social gospel. ■

Elie Wiesel's blind spot

by Norman Solomon

The winner of the 1986 Nobel Peace Prize has proven that even a great visionary can have a blind spot.

As a survivor of Nazi death camps, Elie Wiesel wrote many books testifying that the human spirit can endure in the face of ghastly barbarism. Wiesel has done much to remind humanity that — as he put it in his Nobel acceptance speech — “If we forget, we are guilty, we are accomplices.”

With a global spotlight on him in Oslo, Wiesel presented a powerful affirmation of moral strength and spiritual renewal. But his message faltered when he spoke of the Middle East.

Wiesel's moral vision suddenly went out of focus. He mentioned “the Palestinians to whose plight I am sensitive but whose methods I deplore when they lead to violence.” Yet there was no mention of Israel's violent methods: “I trust Israel, for I have faith in the Jewish people. Let Israel be given a chance, let hatred and danger be removed from her horizons, and there will be peace in and around the Holy Land.”

Such faith can be moving — but it can also become immovable. Many Palestinian people, made homeless by Israeli policies, have felt the double-edged sword of faith in Israel as they experience a Diaspora of their own.

“I am profoundly Jewish, and therefore I am profoundly linked to the Jewish people,” Wiesel told a news conference in Oslo. When reporters pressed him about Israel's treatment of Palestinians, however, Wiesel complained: “You are asking me things

which you would not have asked of me if I was not Jewish.” Wiesel, like quite a few other American supporters of Israel, wants to reserve the right to have it both ways — endorsing a militarized state and disclaiming it too.

Those who believe in “Israel, right or wrong” sometimes respond to criticisms by contending that the country is unfairly held to a higher moral standard than other nations. Yet Israel's backers are apt to claim that the Jewish homeland — founded in the wake of the Holocaust as a refuge for Jews — is in a special spiritual category. And the implication, all too often, is that Israel can do no wrong.

As an American Jew, I had hoped to be proud of Elie Wiesel's Nobel speech. Instead I was appalled at his evasions, and alarmed at the extent of his ethical nearsightedness. Wiesel is so focused on those closest to his heart that the human dignity of Israel's current victims seems like a blur in comparison.

“We must always take sides,” Wiesel pointed out in his speech. “Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim. Silence encourages the tormentor, never the tormented.”

But Wiesel has failed to take sides as Palestinians undergo oppression and torment. At best, Wiesel is neutral as Israel tightens its grip on the West Bank. And he has remained silent as high-tech Israeli air strikes, in Lebanon and elsewhere, inflict the kind of human misery among civilians that would rightly be denounced as terrorism if perpetrated by an Arab group.

What's more, there was a terrible irony when Wiesel told his Oslo audience and the world that “apartheid is, in my view, as abhorrent as anti-Semitism.” Israeli collaboration with

South Africa has become well-documented if not well-publicized.

Israel buys most of its coal from South Africa. Annual trade between the two countries adds up to a lot more than the \$142 million listed by the International Monetary Fund, since much of it goes unreported — including \$350 million in arms. Evidence indicates that Israel is South Africa's biggest trading partner. In effect the two nations are close allies, with ties extending to joint military projects.

Meanwhile, Israel has been funneling armaments to the Contras at war with Nicaragua, and to repressive regimes in Latin America. Israel is able to finance these endeavors because the U.S. government provides several billion dollars in aid each year.

There is no justification for trying to absolve Israel for its cruelties and cynical alliances. It is wrong to carry belief in any government, or faith in any people, to such an extreme that trust becomes gullibility and faith turns a blind eye to injustice. When that happens, no amount of past anguish or present eloquence can make up for what is left unsaid.

In the here and now — at any time in history — to “take sides” can be difficult and hazardous. In the late 1980s many Palestinians, and many Black South Africans, desperately need us to take risks on their behalf as they struggle to survive predicaments that are imposed or aggravated by Israel.

What “victims need above all,” Elie Wiesel said at the close of his Oslo speech, “is to know that they are not alone; that we are not forgetting them, that when their voices are stifled we shall lend them ours . . .”

Nobel laureate, heed thyself. ■

Norman Solomon is a free-lance writer living in Portland, Ore. He is co-author of *Killing Our Own: The Disaster of America's Experience With Atomic Radiation.* (Dell).

Short Takes

Vatican justice

Margaret Hebblethwaite, wife of Vatican affairs writer Peter Hebblethwaite, attended a papal audience Dec. 10. When Pope John Paul neared, she took out a poster that said, "English Catholics Support Hunthausen."

Policemen grabbed the sign and tore it in two, without looking at it. Then they grabbed Margaret and carried her out horizontally. Margaret said she was placed on the floor in the foyer. A cop stood over her and cried, "Get down! Do not move!" She asked, "Why are you afraid of me? I have come in peace. I have done nothing more than hold up a piece of paper."

They led her to the police office inside the Vatican, saying demonstrations are not allowed in the Vatican. Margaret asked, "Is not the pope allowed to know what Catholics around the world are thinking?" The cop replied, "The pope knows everything." After an hour, one of the cops brought a statement for her to sign. She said she noted inaccuracies and asked the police to rewrite it. She was threatened with a trial and possible imprisonment if she did not sign the statement. Eventually, they permitted her to add a few explanatory phrases but refused to give her a copy. She was then escorted across the square by a cop, who wished her "buon appetito."

Tom Fox

National Catholic Reporter 12/19/86

Orthodox to Reagan

We, the children of the Russian Orthodox Church and all Christians of the Soviet Union, are particularly conscious of the great responsibility of religious people these days for the preservation of the sacred gift of life against nuclear disaster . . . It will not be rhetoric if we exclaim: Where, Mr. President (Reagan) is the limit to this thirst for armaments? What are the means that can arrest this insane movement toward the triumph of death? How has it happened that love has been lost for fellow creatures, for neighbors, when we Christians regard every human being as such, without which, as the Apostle Paul said, "all other spiritual gifts are nothing?"

Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow
and all Russia
Quoted in *The Churchman*



Rini Templeton

In memoriam

Word of the death of Rini Templeton, noted movement artist who devoted her life to social justice issues, reached THE WITNESS last month. The news was late to arrive in the States, since she was house-sitting in Mexico when she died at the age of 54 of heart failure.

Templeton received public acclaim for her illustration of John Nichols' book *The Milagro Beanfield War*, soon to be made into a movie. But Native Americans and Chicanos best knew her selfless dedication to justice and minority issues. She contributed to *El Grito del Norte* and illustrated *450 Years of Chicano History in Pictures*.

Templeton worked four years in the literacy campaign in Cuba, after which she was not allowed to return to the United States. When the ruling was changed, she settled in New Mexico. Nichols wrote of her:

*She lives on the mesa
where the road rises out of the Rio Grande
Gorge
Her house has no running water
but it has large windows and sunshine
In a twisted tree by the door,
hot breezes stir a vague wind chime.
She is earthy, passionate, political.
She calls herself cojo, manco, tuerto
drinks sherry, works very hard, loves very
hard
absorbs landscape with desperate
beautiful joy,
lives alone.*

Templeton illustrated *Must We Choose Sides*, the first of two volumes on Christian Commitment for the '80s published by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. (See Back Cover.)

Predicts \$1.5 trillion debt

Former budget director David Stockman, accusing President Reagan of continuing to wage a "phony war against spending," claims Reagan will have left a \$1.5 trillion legacy of red ink by the end of his second term.

"The next president will inherit a publicly held federal debt nearly triple that accumulated by all of Ronald Reagan's 30 predecessors," Stockman contends in the paperback edition of his book, *The Triumph of Politics*.

The paperback was scheduled for release four days before the president submitted his \$1 trillion fiscal 1988 budget to Congress.

Associated Press

Quote of note

You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you odd.

Flannery O'Connor

8,800 children detained

Some 8,800 children are among the 22,000 people who have been detained and held without trial at the whim of security police since the State of Emergency imposed by the South African government in June, 1986. A child is defined by law as a person under 18 years. Many have been tortured.

These facts about Pretoria's treatment of Black South African youth were published under the auspices of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, which has been active in the monitoring, care and treatment of detainees and their families.

The 220-page DPSC document examines the political context of repression, the complex web of laws under which Black people suffer, citizenship laws which dispossess people, the powers of banning, the role of South Africa's inferior schooling system in igniting Black youths' resistance to apartheid, and the damage suffered by children because of the brutality to which they are subjected.

Human rights groups in South Africa are drawing urgent attention to the children being detained, and Pretoria has responded by attacking those pressing the campaign. Officials of the Black Sash and the DPSC have been given banning orders.

Newsletter: **Episcopal Churchpeople for a Free Southern Africa**

Why a bishop should choose

"I have a concern that the U.S. bishops and the Episcopal Church in your country know that some of us are grateful for the leadership (in support of women's ordination) that we've had from you all," the Rt. Rev. Peter Selby, Bishop of Kingston upon the Thames, wrote THE WITNESS recently. He enclosed a piece he did for the London Times following the controversial celebration of Communion by the Rev. Joyce Bennett at Church of England headquarters at Westminster last year.

Selby was the only bishop to receive communion at the service conducted by Bennett, who was ordained in Hong Kong. Moves to allow women ordained abroad to celebrate communion in England were effectively turned down last summer by the church's general synod, which has opposed women in the priesthood to date. Bennett's service angered staunch opponents of women priests, who called it "a challenge to the authority of the Church of England." Selby's article, "Why a bishop should choose," below, applies not only to the ordination of women priests, but also to other justice issues requiring a prophetic stance.

The hardest moment of the annual meeting of the Movement for the Ordination of Women at Church House did not come in the Eucharist; on the contrary, that was a natural, restorative and healing event, and the promise of a better future.

The hardest moment for me, the only bishop present, came when members staged two dramatic "role plays" depicting encounters between movement delegates and their bishop. One "bishop" was portrayed as a most enthusiastic supporter of women's ordination, fulsome in his approval of and interest in what the group was doing.

The purpose of the imaginary encounter, however, was to find out what *he* was doing or proposing to do, and he became pretty short on content. It was all very realistic and, for me, uncomfortable. The giveaway line for the "bishop" was, "I am pastorally responsible for *everybody*". So he could not ally himself clearly and firmly with the cause he claimed to support, because of the reaction of opponents.

In nearly two years as a bishop I have found nothing harder to struggle against than that debilitating view of pastoral responsibility. There are several parts to it: a desire to love, which in-

volves reaching out to people who differ from you; the tradition that to be out of communion with your bishop is to be outside the Church — and that seems to impose an obligation on bishops to avoid, at almost any price, putting people in that position; an instinct that conflict is bound to be a sign of sin; and the belief expressed in the bishop's function in service after service, that the bishop is representative of the *whole* Church.

It is a view summed up in the often used phrase "focus of unity", embedded deep in the episcopal culture and popular expectation. It does not take long to acquire.

In the Church of England that view of pastoral universality as the ideal derives support from a long tradition, very explicit in the Prayer Book and certainly not expunged in recent liturgies, of assimilating God, and then all authority, to the image of the English monarch; that personage whose life, lived above the flux of social conflict, is conducted in a manner all can esteem, and from which none need feel alienated.

During periods of agreement, such "monarch figures" can exercise their universal pastorate with relative ease. In a fragmented society, and especially

one which reaches the point where some — because they are poor or because they are black — are not even included, the position of "the universal person" becomes immensely precarious.

In relation to many groups and individuals, and in particular in relation to women with the grace and calling of priests or bishops in them, the Church is such a society. So what is to become of the ideal of universal pastor?

The role-playing bishop expressed the anguish very well. Was he not behind the ordination of women all the way? Was there really anything else he could do, given his position and his responsibilities? He had indeed done what he could, except for the one thing which was needed, and that was to opt for them.

His difficulty was that to opt for the women seeking ordination meant leaving behind not merely other people ("I am pastor to everybody") but a whole set of deeply ingrained ideas and perceptions. And he would have been accustomed to a style of praying which subtly presupposes a unity of mind and heart, and a view of holiness excluding tension, anger and conflict.

When he was ordained and undertook the various obligations of ministry

there was no suggestion that they might at some point conflict with one another and that he would have to choose. So he undertook "to have a special care for the outcast and needy" and to uphold ecclesiastical discipline; perish the thought that they might ever pull in opposite directions.

Most of the time the "outcast and needy" are far more silent about their claim than are ecclesiastical authorities, and so the choice (and it is a choice) goes in that direction unnoticed. It is at times such as ours, when the cry of a suppressed vocation can be ignored no longer, that he has to choose openly and accountably, and for that he finds himself — I found myself — very ill-equipped.

That is not all his fault, and the difficulty is not the bishops' alone. They are that way because that is the way the Church wants them to be: if they do not choose maybe the Church will also escape without choosing, which all of us would rather do if we happened to be the beneficiaries of the way things are.

Last Saturday the cruel fantasy was exposed: that you can be for women's ordination and for the Church of England's present way of doing things. The reality is that Anglican women priests are not a future hope but real people already live among us, and we all have to recognize them now or deny them now.

As for bishops, one thing they could do is give up the phrase "focus of unity"; bishops do focus the Church, but what they focus is the Church as it is. Being a focus of disunity is not therefore in itself a sign of pastoral failure.

The components of the "universal pastor" view are, taken individually as I described them, a rich inheritance of love and concern; taken together, they have come to form an encumbrance which we, like the rich ruler, may sometimes be called to dispose of if we are to choose for Christ.

**The Rt. Rev. Peter Selby
Bishop of Kingston
upon Thames**

Continued from page 11

ceed, but at what cost to ourselves and the rest of the country? And if this happened, how could Black and White ever live together again in peace and harmony? These were the problems that faced us, and these were our decisions.

I turn now to my own position. I have denied that I am a Communist, and I think that in the circumstances I am obliged to state exactly what my political beliefs are.

I have always regarded myself, in the first place, as an African patriot . . . Today I am attracted by the idea of a classless society, an attraction which springs in part from Marxist reading and, in part, from my admiration of the structure and organization of early African societies in this country. The land, then the main means of production, belonged to the tribe. There were no rich or poor and there was no exploitation.

It is true, as I have already stated, that I have been influenced by Marxist thought. But this is also true of many of the leaders of the new independent states. Such widely different persons as Gandhi, Nehru, Nkrumah, and Nasser all acknowledged this fact. We all accept the need for some form of socialism to enable our people to catch up with the advanced countries of this world and to overcome their legacy of extreme poverty. But this does not mean we are Marxists.

I have been influenced in my thinking by both West and East. All this has led me to feel that in my search for a political formula, I should be absolutely impartial and objective. . .

Our fight is against real, and not imaginary, hardships or, to use the language of the state prosecutor, "so-called hardships." Basically, we fight against two features which are the hallmarks of African life in South Africa

and which are entrenched by legislation which we seek to have repealed. These features are poverty and lack of human dignity, and we do not need Communists or so-called "agitators" to teach us about these things.

Above all, we want equal political rights, because without them our disabilities will be permanent. I know this sounds revolutionary to the Whites in this country, because the majority of voters will be Africans. This makes the White man fear democracy.

But this fear cannot be allowed to stand in the way of the only solution which will guarantee racial harmony and freedom for all. It is not true that the enfranchisement of all will result in racial domination. Political division, based on color, is entirely artificial and, when it disappears, so will the domination of one color group by another. The A.N.C. has spent half a century fighting against racialism. When it triumphs it will not change that policy.

This then is what the A.N.C. is fighting. Their struggle is a truly national one. It is a struggle of the African people, inspired by their own suffering and their own experience. It is a struggle for the right to live.

During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against White domination, and I have fought against Black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die. ■

CORRECTION

A Soviet woman was identified incorrectly in a photo on page 19 of the November WITNESS. Her name should read Tatiana Volgina, not Tatjana Orlova.

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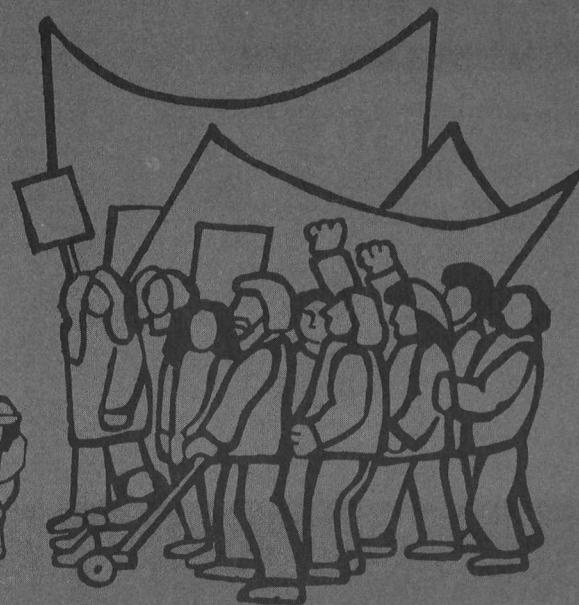


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THE WITNESS



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MYTHS ABOUT DEATH Charles Meyer

Letters

'Hedonism' challenged

Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning in his January response to WITNESS letters about the homosexual issue, says he was intensely moved by the anguish conveyed.

The bishop said that some Episcopalians must have unequivocal assurance that "their church will not disintegrate into hedonism," if homosexual demands are satisfied. It troubles me that the bishop chose to use "hedonism" without some qualification, for the implication seems to be that hedonism and homosexuality are synonymous. Homosexuals, like everyone else, are varied in their makeup. They, too, are business professionals, politicians, athletes, authors and artists; yes, and clergy. They too are scholars, and good citizens and can be friends with as genuine affection as that which we are told existed between Daniel and Jonathan. They have the same sensitivities and dreams common to most, and also enjoy the pleasures of this life — as we all do — but is this necessarily hedonism?

The bishop says he is a leader but then qualifies this by saying it is not his nature or within his right as bishop to "yank" or "dictate." But can't he express how he personally feels? *Revelations* cautions us to be either hot or cold and warns against being lukewarm — or a mugwump. Even if his honest opinion should come down decisively on the side of caution and censure where Gays in the church are concerned, at least everyone would know how to proceed.

How is it that the Episcopal Church has spoken so boldly on such issues as apartheid, Star Wars and Nicaragua, and yet begs for more and more time for study and dialogue on this issue, which has been bandied about in the public arena now (in psychological studies, church conferences of all denominations, and TV talk shows galore) since the early 1960s? Can nothing positive at all be gleaned from these?

As Barbara Harris states in her fine column on the bishop's response, "The prophetic pastor must speak to dispel the myths (about homosexuality) so the truth may be known."

Fundamentalist conservatives are continually reminding all of us (which is their God-given right) that St. Paul tells us homosexuals will never be admitted to heaven. But why don't our bishops and priests, when occasion may arise, also add that Christ himself never alludes to the matter, and that none of the major or minor prophets have made it an issue? At least this might bring a little balance into the picture.

I think we all appreciate the bishop's sincere desire to treat all fairly. But it is within his power, and I believe it is his duty to ensure (and actively encourage) the right of every sheep in his flock to expect unqualified acceptance and respect.

John Manola
Wilmington, Del.

Applauds PB

We are in the debt of THE WITNESS that the exchange of correspondence with the Presiding Bishop on homosexuality has taken place. Even the *Living Church* has picked it up, and recognized its value.

The discussion of homosexuality has touched every city and hamlet of this country. It often comes up in my pastoral calls on parishioners in their homes.

When I am asked "Do you believe in ordaining homosexuals?" My reply is that I believe in ordaining persons who feel called of God, and the church feels are responsible persons about their lives and the ministry they feel led to conduct. I make it clear that we do not ordain a sexual orientation, whether it be hetero or homo.

I did appreciate Barbara Harris' "Speaking the truth in love." However, "a leader does not seek consensus, he or she makes it," is a bit simplistic.

Leadership is a difficult ministry with which most of us have wrestled through our ministry. Sometimes it does seek consensus where consensus is the need. Sometimes it is prophetic, speaking into a situation when the prophet feels the word burning like fire in her/his bones. The problem is knowing when is the time for each. I feel like a friend of mine who said, "It would be far easier to begin the sermon, 'In the name of Joe, Stella and the kids,' than to say, 'In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit.'" How presumptive to feel that one always speaks with the authority of the Divine Name.

It appears to me that leadership is that fine line between being so far ahead that those whom you would lead can't see you, and falling back into the crowd and conforming to their life style. I applaud the Presiding Bishop for trying to lead.

H. Paul Osborne
Pampa, Tex.

Kudos for anniversary

Your January issue announcing your 70th anniversary year was terrific. In appreciation I am enclosing a check for \$70. You certainly have continued the courageous stance taken by the early editors and people like Vida Scudder. I loved the last paragraph quote from Bishop Irving Peake Johnson on the back cover; I am sure that those words still ring true.

Also, I did so much appreciate your open dialogue with the Presiding Bishop about lesbians and gays. Barbara Harris' column as usual hit the nail on the head.

When I first read the response from Bishop Browning I was vaguely disturbed. He "waffled" and took the safe way out by not offending people. He does not mention that 10% of our population is gay.

I had the opportunity of giving a presentation about homosexuality at the Philadelphia Board of Education

recently. I spoke as the mother of a creative, sensitive child (now an adult) who has been abused and scorned because of her sexuality. I also spoke as a former teacher who knows how important it is to help the gay child in school. In addition, I spoke as one who has worked for years for peace, justice and understanding of all peoples.

We, as a society, and especially those of us within the church, have a lot to do to educate and sensitize the public about homophobia. Only then can we all be whole.

Mary Austin
Philadelphia, Pa.

New church birthing

Once again I honor THE WITNESS for the continuing dialogue with the Presiding Bishop on the issue of homosexuality. Thanks especially to Barbara Harris for her clear and forceful analysis of Bishop Browning's response.

At present our church is focused on itself as an institution. I'm not certain that it was ever much different except in fits and burps. It is interested in preservation, and the Presiding Bishop reflects that interest in his definition of his office.

The prophetic and pastoral ministries of the church are particularly narrowly conceived at this moment.

We are entering a new era, a refinement of the Renaissance. Now the image of God is, literally, in the individual, rather than in the gathered, worshipping community founded by Christ. It is a moment of individual exploration and search for dignity and power. It is not a time, particularly, for strong institutions.

The withering controversies of the past few decades have diminished the church's hold on individuals, primarily, I think, because the church gathered has continued an ancient behavior, namely, the willingness by majority vote to trample a minority. Contemporary reality is such that all our insti-

tutions have lost moral authority by engaging in this type of activity. It has just been renewed by the Vatican in its hateful document on homosexuality. But it is carried out on local levels in all denominations.

The hope for justice, and the passionate commitment to each individual as the image of God are not likely to be found when the church as institution is scrambling to recover what has been lost. It may be that the Presiding Bishop is correct — the only thing to hope for is that we share our pain.

Some of us, however, are tired of sharing pain, and staying with those whose high calling in life is agony. Some find the divine revelation within the individual, and the possibility of celebrating that so compelling that it has to happen even as the usual forms are allowed to pass away. There is a new church being born at this moment — in the eddies and backwaters, out of focus, out of view — that's where the thrill of life is and is to be found.

Richard Kerr
San Francisco, Cal.

PB fails on two scores

In his recent letter concerning homosexuality, the Presiding Bishop argues that "the pain on both sides is real; neither side has cornered the market on anguish." The *two* sides he refers to are gay and lesbian Episcopalians, and Episcopalians "disillusioned and confused about their homosexual sisters and brothers." He says that he believes that his ministry is to build bridges between the two sides.

I believe that this view is both morally and theologically inadequate. While it may be true that people who oppose homosexuality experience pain and anguish, their pain is not morally equivalent to that of the gay man or lesbian. Current study makes it plain that gay men and lesbians do not choose their homosexuality, any more than heterosexual persons choose to

be heterosexual. The gay man's or lesbian's suffering may include being denied housing, or a job, or visitation rights with one's own children, and being cursed, or spat upon, or beaten, or even murdered — all of these acts being justified on the basis of something one did not choose — who one is.

But being anti-homosexual does not in itself produce any of these consequences, and the suffering involved is not related in the same way to one's very *identity*. Thus even to imply that the anguish on the two sides is somehow equivalent is morally inadequate.

Secondly, I find it difficult to see our Savior as teaching us in all cases to build bridges. Christ calls oppressors to judgment; he does not try to get them to "enter into dialogue (with the oppressed) for mutual understanding and acceptance." Thus, I believe that the view expressed in the Presiding Bishop's letter is also theologically inadequate.

I am not urging insensitivity to the anguish experienced by anti-homosexual people; I do urge less insensitivity to the very real differences between that suffering and that of gay men and lesbians. We ought to oppose oppression and abuse in whatever circumstances it occurs, seeking not rapprochement, but justice.

Clyde Nabe
School of Humanities
Southern Ill. U. at Edwardsville

Women in sexist role

Re Suzanne Hiatt's December article on the consecration of women bishops: It is not just the men we are fighting, especially the bishops. It is women too.

We are not all united in the cause of equality for women. Some of the strongest opponents of ministry by women, both lay and ordained, comes from other women who are locked into the traditional sexist role and cannot see

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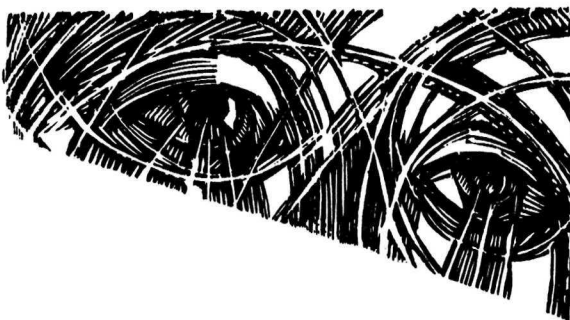


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A questionable U.S. Attorney General

Our guest editorial this month is by the Rt. Rev. H. Coleman McGehee, Jr., Bishop of the Diocese of Michigan and former chair of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

Attorney General Edwin Meese represents an alarming and dangerous approach to the legal system of the United States.

I speak from three perspectives: as a former law student myself; as a former Assistant Attorney General of the State of Virginia; and as a religious leader.

When I was a law student, I was taught in Constitutional law that there are three Constitutions: the Constitution as it is written; the Constitution as I interpret it, and the Constitution as interpreted by the Supreme Court of the United States — the law of the land.

Attorney General Meese, however, has encouraged public officials to disobey Supreme Court decisions with which they do not agree on the grounds that those decisions apply only to the parties in the cases decided.

As a former State Assistant Attorney General, I am astonished at a recent statement made by Mr. Meese that, "If a person is innocent of a crime, then he is not a suspect." I can imagine such a statement being made by an official of South

Africa or a Latin American dictatorship, but by the Attorney General of the United States? Mr. Meese apparently believes that only criminals become police suspects — and this belief is not mere rhetoric, it is the basis for everyday deeds on his part. These deeds are based on the dangerous view that most constitutional guarantees which protect the accused are merely obstacles to law enforcement.

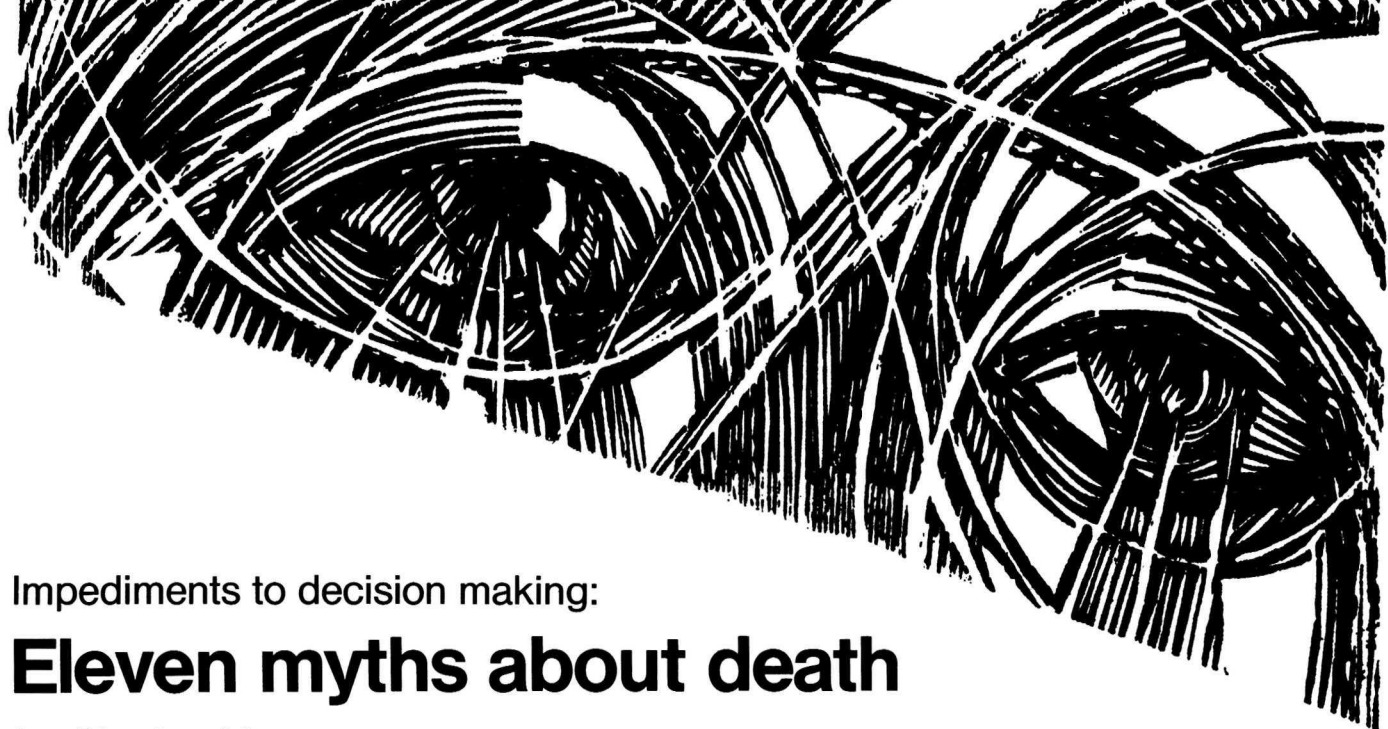
As a bishop, I am appalled by the views advocated by Attorney General Meese in the area of Church and State, which our ancestors were so careful to separate. Edwin Meese advocates teacher-led prayer sessions in the public schools even though our public school children represent a multiplicity of religious and non-religious backgrounds. Their families are assured, in our democracy, of protection against the imposition of any particular religion or religious beliefs. Edwin Meese also advocates direct governmental financial support to teachers in religious schools although decision after decision in the courts of our land have prohibited public funds in sup-

port of such religious activities.

As a religious leader, conscious of the civil and human rights of all persons regardless of race, color, creed or nationality, I am shocked that Edwin Meese opposes the Voting Rights Act of 1982 which outlaws discrimination; that he opposes a 20-year-old executive order which promotes minority employment in the Federal Government; and that he continues to work at slowing down civil rights enforcement.

By all of these actions, Edwin Meese is knowingly or unknowingly (it matters not) dismantling the fundamental freedoms that the Constitution and Bill of Rights guarantee each one of us; the integrity and independence of the Supreme Court of the United States; the ancient maxim of "innocent until proven guilty;" the separation of Church and State; freedom of speech, and the hard fought gains of the Civil Rights Movement.

The question in my mind is: Should such a person be serving as the Attorney General of the United States? ■



Impediments to decision making:

Eleven myths about death

by Charles Meyer

From Baby Doe to gerontology, medical decision making in the area of withholding, refusing or withdrawing life support has become increasingly difficult. New technology has had the most obvious impact as patients, families and physicians are offered more and ever newer diagnostic and life-prolonging equipment. CAT scanners are being supplanted by Magnetic Resonance Imagery using no radiation. Lasers are treating everything from eyes to arteries. Twenty week fetuses that were considered untreatable are now kept alive with new respiratory equipment.

But even though technology has increased our treatment options for trauma and long-term illnesses, it is usually *not* the determining factor in making decisions. Rather, there exist a set of subtle, extremely powerful myths about death which inform and direct our choices regarding life support.

These myths are indicative of the collective beliefs about life and death in U.S. culture. They are frequently used as impediments to decision making.

Whether based on medical tradition, social obligation or religious teaching, the death myths influencing our decisions are indelibly embedded within the collective psyche. They flash through our minds when the doctor

tells us the patient's condition is poor. They are the screens through which we hear the diagnosis of serious illness. They are the standards against which we weigh our response to a terminal prognosis.

The death myths most prominent in our culture are:

1. Only old people die. Conversely stated, "Young people should not die." Neither assumption is true. Anyone who has experience in hospitals knows that death is no respecter of age, and there is no guarantee of lifespan given with conception.

Further, it is ageism at its worst to think an old person has "lived his/her life" and is more accepting or more deserving of death than a younger counterpart. In fact, it is entirely possible for the situation to be quite the reverse; the aged person may be more vital and have more to live for than the youth.

This myth can result in young persons being subjected to extraordinary efforts from intubation to chemotherapy just because they are young, or old persons prematurely being denied further treatment because they are old. The myth also serves to reinforce our own wish for a long life, and to defend against our fear of our own death coming "prematurely."

Whether we like it or not, people of *all* ages die. Each death is sad, tragic, acceptable or a relief based on the quality of the person's life and the kinds of relationships

The Rev. Charles Meyer is Assistant Vice President, Patient Services, St. David's Community Hospital in Austin, Tex.

s/he has had. Each situation, therefore, needs to be evaluated on *those* criteria, not on a myth that presumes it is “okay” for old persons to die, perhaps intimating that the elderly want to die or even ought to die.

2. Medicine can cure everything. Even in the face of long-term illness when the patient is finally about to die, panicked family members frequently ask “Can’t you *do* something?” This reflects a strong expectation that medicine can find and cure all illness and physicians are or should be omniscient.

Most physicians do not act to reinforce this image. The myth persists because we want to believe that drugs, medical technology, and their physician purveyors can prevent or cure the effects of disease, aging and self-inflicted injury (smoking, diet, lifestyle).

In addition, the medical community has frequently oversold the efficacy or advisability of a particular technical or therapeutic “breakthrough.” Thus, particularly Western cultures have acquired unrealistically high expectations of what technology can do. The current promotion of the artificial heart is the latest example of such a media event. Heedless of the availability, advisability and ruinous financial cost of such a device, the heart is proffered as another example of medical technology’s ability to cheat death — and so this myth is reinforced.

It is more honest to be realistic with patients and ourselves about the limits of tests, treatments, medications, and prognoses.

3. Life is always the highest value. The initial presumption in nearly any accident or illness is always in favor of preserving life. But once the patient is stabilized and the prognosis is clear, other considerations take effect. It is at this point that the meaning and quality of life as the *patient* experiences them are of the highest value in making the hard decisions of treatment and life support.

However, most family members or friends do not know what the patient values because they’ve never talked about what the patient wants done in terms of life support, organ donations, or experimental treatments. It is almost as though people hear this myth as a religious command — an injunction from God to keep breathing.

In fact, in nearly every religious system, while longevity is highly prized, it is not nearly as valued as the virtues of love, faithfulness, forgiveness and compassion. It is the ability of the patient to participate in these quality activities that ought to be the standard for life support decision making.

To presume that life is of the highest value supports our own refusal to see death as an acceptable outcome for the patient — and for ourselves.

4. Money should not be a consideration. Many people believe it is crass and insensitive to give the cost of treatment any weight in medical decision making. In our “bottom line” society they emotionally recoil at the prospect of finances determining treatment, preferring to spend “whatever is necessary” to save the life of a loved one.

But what of the young couple whose baby is dying, yet can be kept alive a few more hours or days in our high tech Intensive Care Nurseries? Or the elderly woman maintained by a respirator in ICU whose husband is barely subsisting on Social Security? And what of the use of medical resources devoted to these dying patients (not just for comfort but for continuing active treatment that is much more than palliative) that could be used for taking care of other, curable patients, for research, or for reducing hospital costs for everyone?

The honest, if uncomfortable, truth is that money is *already* a consideration. It will continue to play an even greater role as healthcare rationing becomes a reality given a limited amount of resources and a virtually unlimited demand.

Yet, sensitively done, consideration of the family’s or patient’s financial situation is a *very* caring gesture, as is weighing the effect of treatment on the cost of healthcare to the entire community, indeed to the nation.

5. Death is evil. Death means failure. While the church is responsible for promoting the former myth, the medical/healthcare profession is responsible for the persistence of the latter.

Many people, desperately attempting to make some kind of logical sense out of their illness, have been told by the religious community that good is always rewarded and evil is always punished. They then extrapolate that since they are sick or dying, they must have done *something* bad to incur the punishment of a wrathful God.

In fact, sickness and death are *amoral* occurrences. They have nothing to do with good/bad, right/wrong, punishment/reward. We get sick. We die. Welcome to Earth. The death rate here is 100%. One out of one dies. The only thing “good” or “bad” about death is the manner in which one responds to it. Death, like any other amoral occurrence is merely an *occasion* for good or evil to become manifest. That manifestation is shown in our *response* to the event, not in the event itself.

Likewise death has nothing to do with failure. Assuming one has done everything necessary (not possible, but necessary) and the patient’s condition is said to be “incompatible with life,” it is understandable that the person dies. The death has nothing to do with the ability of the physician or nursing staff. In fact, it seems the height of

arrogance to assume that we (patient, family or physician) have “failed” when death, a natural process, has followed its normal route.

This does not imply that death is not often sad, angering, relieving, unfair, or crushing. It is all this and more in emotional terms. The problem arises in treating death as though it should not happen, denying it as a logical, even acceptable outcome of the patient’s illness.

Death might more easily be tolerated if we saw it as a form of *healing*. Death as healing transposes its symbolic meaning from that of evil enemy to that of an acceptable, and at times even welcomed, friend.

6. Where there’s life there’s hope. This myth is patently untrue. Where there’s life there is quite often the opposite of hope — agony, fear, excruciating pain, anger, frustration, loneliness and despair. The sentiment really expressed here is that where there is biological activity there is reason for optimism that the person may recover, even against all odds.

The questions to be asked are: “What is life?” and “What is hope?” Is life merely the exchange of air being forced into stiffening lungs, or blood being pumped inside a human cavity? Is it biological activity mechanically produced or substantially supported? Again, the quality of life standard (as judged by the patient if competent or by the patient’s significant others if incompetent) applies. Increasing numbers of people believe that life is not life if there is no quality of relating, of experiencing and enjoying, of being.

“Hope,” also, is quite often confused with “optimism.” Optimism demands the patient get well (not just better) and return to the former state of health. The meaning of hope, on the other hand, was expressed by a cancer patient who commented: “It’s okay with me if I live and it’s okay with me if I die. Because either place I’m loved.” Hope implies that death is as acceptable an outcome to one’s condition as life. Hope embraces and affirms both life and death as parts of a greater whole of existence. Hope sees life not as a problem to be solved but as a mystery to be lived, and death as a part of that mystery.

7. Suffering is redemptive. Some people will refuse pain medication, withhold the palliative measures needed to increase comfort, or deny the existence of pain because they see the suffering as cleansing, deserved, or redemptive. Usually based on a conservative theological or philosophical tradition, followers of this myth conquer their own helplessness in the face of illness and death by assuming discomfort and pain are spiritually or psychologically helpful to the patient.

It is sometimes true that suffering can be an occasion for

redemption, for the healing of memories, relationships, hurts, fears or guilts. Pain and illness often are the precipitators of change in behavior or perspective on the person’s lifestyle. But suffering is also quite often the occasion for unquenchable bitterness, debilitating despair, collapse of faith and disintegration of personhood.

Once again, in an attempt to make sense of an illness, people want to believe there is some purpose, some plan, some reason for the horrible suffering they or their loved ones are enduring. But suffering as related to illness in the hospital is as amoral as the virus, bacteria or bodily condition that is its cause.

8. You don’t die until your number comes up. This myth reduces God to the clerk in the deli section of the local supermarket. The implication, of course, is that God personally decides the time of death for each individual based on some unknown formula having something vaguely to do with guilt, suffering, retribution and, only occasionally, with mercy. Thus it is thought to be inappropriate to make life support decisions because the person will die when God is ready.

The truth is that people largely choose their time of death. People die around anniversaries, birthdays, holidays, meaningful days for them; and they often wait to die until their loved ones leave the room. To believe this myth is to posit an all-controlling, capricious God, and to avoid responsibility for life support decisions.

9. It is God’s will. This myth covers everything from birth defects to hemorrhoids. It assumes powerlessness and futility on the part of patients and families to decide life support issues. Yet people would rather believe it than to accept personal responsibility for illness or the capriciousness of disease. This myth is not only a convenient method of avoiding the life support issues, but also reinforces a system of healthcare that leaves all decisions in the hands of the medical practitioners.

In fact, it is theologically inconsistent to believe that a loving, compassionate God wants people sick or dead.



Probably the best discussion of this myth is found in Leslie Weatherhead's book entitled, appropriately enough, "The Will of God."

10. Pulling the plug is suicide/murder. Many people refuse to make a decision to withdraw hydration, nutrition or respiratory maintenance because they believe such an act constitutes murder. Likewise, to designate a personal directive such as a Living Will may seem tantamount to suicide. The underlying presupposition is that it is improper to take any control over one's own death. To do so is to usurp the power and prerogative of an all-controlling God.

In fact, not to decide is to decide. Not to make a Living Will or withdraw artificial support mechanisms is to decide to abdicate responsibility. It is to relegate the burden of decision making to someone (physician, hospital, committee, court) less qualified to make it, and refuse to accept our ability and responsibility as "co-creators with God" to share in the rational determination of our destiny.

One could just as easily argue that *not* to "pull the plug" or make a Living Will designation is to stand in the way of Nature, God or the normal procession of life to death.

11. To die of dehydration or starvation in a hospital is inhumane, cruel and immoral. When many people think of food and drink they imagine sitting down at a table with barbecue and beer (at least in Texas we do.) But that image is vastly different from the reality of the dying patient, or even the vegetative non-dying patient, who is maintained by artificial nutrition and artificial hydration.

Instead, picture blue humming boxes sucking high calorie pastel liquid from bags and bottles and forcing it through clear plastic tubing into the patient's nose or directly into the stomach or intestine. This artificial support is parallel to the use of a respirator that artificially pumps air in and out of failing lungs.

For increasing numbers of people, to die of dehydration or starvation while being kept comfortable with the large array of palliative drugs is far preferable and much more humane than the prolonged dying by incessant medical intervention that is demanded of patients by misinformed relatives and practitioners.

It is clear that these death myths at one time served a proper and meaningful role in medical decision making. As a part of our previous presuppositions about life, death and medicine, these myths stood to call all the available resources to the service of life at any cost. At a time when the technological armamentarium was minimal and the major courses of treatment were palliative, the myths prescribed and underscored the medical/legal/theological ethical system of their day. But current technology has changed the perspective about and meaning of the con-

cepts of life, death and medicine. As these concepts are revised in light of even newer treatment options, we will need to develop a different, more flexible set of "death myths" to guide our decisions.

Different from the old, the following guidelines facilitate, rather than impede, decision making in the area of withdrawing, withholding, or refusing life support.

- **Aggressively seek information.** Good decisions begin with good facts. Patients and families need to talk to the physician, and listen actively, critically when s/he answers. Many families complain that their physician did not tell them everything, when in fact they themselves did not want to hear and did not listen.

They need to ask as many questions as necessary. The physician works for them and they have a right to know all of the information gathered. They are also free to get a second opinion, or even a third given the time constraints. Many physicians will request or encourage another opinion anyway. Having heard their best experienced conclusions as to diagnosis and prognosis, the decision regarding treatment and life support is then up to the patient/family.

- **Aim for a balance.** If the patient is competent, one ought to consider first what s/he wants done. If the patient is incompetent it will be up to the significant other to determine what the patient would want done. In every situation the wishes of the patient should be given priority and honored wherever possible.

Next, balance off the wants and needs of the patient with those of the family. It is important that no unilateral decisions be made. Both the desires of the patient and the desires of the family/significant other need to be considered and a consensus carefully reached. Sometimes it is appropriate to consider the needs of the larger community as well: e.g. Will this expenditure of healthcare (respirator, neonatal or ICU bed space, dialysis, heart surgery) limit the available resources for less catastrophically ill patients?

- **Consider the ethic of love and the ethic of need.** Jesus' suggestion that we love our neighbor as we love ourselves implies putting ourselves in the position of the person from whom life support is about to be withdrawn. What is the most loving thing to do (for the patient, family, community) in this situation?

Another major ethical premise of the Old and New Testaments is always to come down on the side of the needy, dispossessed and helpless. It may, of course, be difficult to determine who is the most needy in the particular situation. (Is it the dying infant, the grieving family, the respirator-bound adult, the anguishing spouse?) But, combined with the ethic of love, the ethic of need can be a helpful tool for clarifying decisions.

- Can does not imply ought. This clearly revolutionary maxim is nearly anti-Western. The West was built on “can implies ought.” If we could build a railroad across the country, we ought to do so. If we can put a person on the moon, in a space station, on another planet, we ought to do it. Our new medical technology, however, is permitting us to do things that in some cases we ought not to do.

Boundaries will have to be carefully drawn using this statement as a guide, particularly in the realm of life support decision making. When faced at the bedside with a decision about withdrawing, withholding or refusing machines, I.V.’s or CPR, this maxim may assist many persons in allowing death to take its natural course.

- Be there. Continuity and support are vital. Whether you are the caregiver or the significant other, don’t just make the decision and leave. Often families decide to withdraw treatment and then quickly absent themselves from the scene. Likewise caregivers participate as helpers in the high drama of the decision making and then find other things to do.

While the decision is itself important, it is of equal import to support that decision with contact and constant support. Be by the bedside of the dying patient, or the patient who has made a withdrawal or withholding of treatment decision. Agonize with them, cry with them, remember with them as they lay dying. Of course it is difficult to be present as the wishes of the patient or family are carried out, respirators removed, dialysis stopped. But for all involved — patient, family and staff — it will help preserve the dignity and love with which the decision was made.

- What is medically or legally right may not be ethically right. Just because a procedure is medically “indicated” or legally “propitious” does not mean it is the procedure or action of ethical choice. Such decisions are frequently relegated by default to medical and legal personnel on the assumption that these persons have some expertise in determining the appropriateness of a particular action.

Patients and families, especially in a crisis, may turn first to external guidelines from physicians or attorneys hoping to find some solid ground on which to base their opinion of what is “right.” Often it is only after some confusing, disappointing or conflicting medico-legal advice that they begin to ask what is “right” for *this* person, given who s/he is and what s/he wanted.

It seems clear that the basis for moral decision making must be primarily other than legal and medical, though those disciplines may offer helpful information. The place to start is with the desire of the patient.

- Death is a form of healing. As stated earlier, rather

than the evil enemy to be battled at any cost, death can be seen as a form of healing; a logical, even welcome alternative to a debilitating life. To view death in this manner requires a broader perspective on life, and assumes an attitude of acceptance of both life and death as a part of a larger existence. The more we view death as an acceptable form of healing, the more we will treat our terminally ill patients with the respect and dignity that their dying demands.

- The Bible is not a model for morality. It is a mirror for identity. There is not much information about respirators in Genesis, Leviticus, or Revelation. It is clearly inappropriate to look to the Bible to tell us specifically what to *do*. It is, however, important to look into the Bible as a mirror to see who we *are*, to determine what kind of covenant people we are with our peculiar God, to watch how we interact with God and one another, and to use that information to make our ethical decisions more in line with that historical tradition and reality.

- Examine your own death. How many people reading this article have: a legal, binding will? A durable power of attorney? A Living Will? Made their funeral arrangements and paid for them? Made a decision regarding organ donation? Are registered with an organ bank or procurement agency so that donation is likely to happen?

Often those persons who claim to be on the forefront of assisting others in ethical decision making have done little regarding their *own* death. Studies have shown that if people have not faced these issues in their own lives, they are much less likely to even *hear* persons who are in crisis or dying allude to them.

If we are to be truly helpful to others in exploring the ethical implications of life support decision making, it would be well for each of us to make our own decisions first.

The issues discussed here are not theoretical or rhetorical. The question is not “if” we will have to make these decisions, especially about life support, but “when?” Some 70% of American deaths now occur in healthcare institutions. That means that death is frequently medically assisted and decisional, rather than spontaneous or “natural.” As this medicalization of death continues to grow, we will be forced to make life support decisions more often, either at the time of the dying, or in an advanced directive such as a Living Will.

Preparation, especially at the parish level, through education, dialogue, and decision making *now* will facilitate our decision. If we do *not* make our choices and preferences known now, then others will make the decisions for us, and we will deserve the kind of technocratic terminal healthcare we will get. ■

Short Takes

'New poor' unique

A major Catholic relief agency reported recently that during the past three years it has awarded more than \$2 million in grants to two groups — industrial workers and farmers — that it classifies as the "new poor."

According to the report by the Campaign for Human Development, adjustments in the U.S. economy — a shift from an industrial-based economy to one with more service orientation — and a major agricultural crisis have left formerly productive workers unemployed. The industrial workers, said the report, have formed organizations "to protect their jobs or obtain new ones." They seek such measures as job training, plant buy-outs and a halt to home mortgage foreclosures. Family farmers have formed organizations to achieve moratoriums on bank foreclosures, change commodity market practices and form buyer-seller co-ops.

The two groups of "new poor" are unique, said the report, in that factory workers have accumulated some "capital" in the form of work skills, good work habits and home equity. Similarly, farmers have acquired "capital" in farm land and equipment. Current economic conditions, however, have rendered the factory workers "unemployable." Farmers are "income-poor" and "are likely to be forced off the land."

Religious News Service 3/11/86

Hold that tiger

A scholar, resting beside a roadside, awoke to see the tail of a large tiger protruding between the rocks beside him. He screamed, waking the tiger, who growled, as he grabbed its tail and held on fiercely until help came in the form of a passing Buddhist priest with a heavy stick.

The priest refused to kill the tiger with his staff because he did not believe in killing anything. The scholar asked if the priest would hold the tiger's tail while he did the killing. The priest agreed — but the scholar began to walk away. "You have convinced me. I shouldn't kill anything." And he left the priest holding the tiger by the tail.

NCC's Ecu-link 1/87

There never was a good war
or a bad peace. **Ben Franklin**



Aids for prison ministry

Did you know that

- the majority of women in prison are young, poor, unskilled, women of color, single and mothers of dependent children;
- the arrest and incarceration of women has nearly doubled since 1974;
- property-related, not violent, crimes account for virtually the entire increase;
- nearly 20% of all persons arrested in the United States are female?

These facts are included in an excellent pamphlet providing guidelines for those involved in ministry to incarcerated and post-release women, published by the Justice for Women Working Group, National Council of Churches. It includes tips on how to start a ministry, how to help women in the pre-sentencing, incarceration, and post-incarceration phase, and tips on training volunteers. Prepaid price for the 6-page brochure (1 to 24) is 20¢ each.

A more comprehensive 191-page training manual entitled *Women in Jail and Prison*, published by the same group, is available for \$9. Marge Christie, noted Episcopal laywoman, was part of the original consultation that led to the writing and publication of the manual, representing the Episcopal Church in the effort.

To order either publication, make check payable to NCC, Women in Prison and send to NCC Justice for Women, 475 Riverside Drive, Room 572, New York, N.Y. 10115 (212-870-2385).

Two views of life

If we look at our life as some precious treasure we must hoard, the demands made by others of our life are like losses. And death is a final loss, a final failure to hold on to our life. But if we look at our life as a treasure we must share, every service we give to others is a fulfillment of our life's purpose. And death is the final giving, the total giving.

The Rev. Edicio de la Torre,
Catholic priest imprisoned by Marcos
Quoted in *The Other Side*

Quote of note

People generally quarrel because they don't know how to argue.

G. K. Chesterton

Slim compensation

The U.S. Department of Labor is rewriting the laws of physiology and anatomy, mandating which of our body parts are essential and which, in the long run, don't count. Civilian federal employees injured on the job recurrently receive medical benefits and reimbursement for missed work time when they lose any of about a dozen body parts, such as legs or eyes — plus a lump sum to compensate for the lost part. According to anonymous sources within the government, the DOL is considering axing the lump sum for those organs deemed "not necessary for the production of income." The targeted parts? Lungs, penis, testicles, tongue, breasts, and larynx. Nothing an ordinary worker couldn't do without.

Dollars & Sense 3/86

Famous last words?

The Iran scandal prompted the Rev. James J. Doyle, professor of theology at King's College, Wilkes-Barre, to submit the September, 1986 cover of *Fortune* magazine as a Short Takes item. It features a beaming portrait of Ronald Reagan next to the President's words, "Surround yourself with the best people you can find, delegate authority, and don't interfere." The cover story title is *What Managers Can Learn From Manager Reagan*. We are indebted to Doyle for this entry, and welcome submissions from other WITNESS readers who may come across similar ironies related to current social issues.

Why fast for Lent — or anytime

by Glenda Hope

Fasting is a spiritual discipline common to every major religion and many smaller ones. Yet it is considered foreign, even weird, to many of us. But fasting is a way to raise questions about what we take for granted. Properly approached, it can help us expose those phony hungers we now experience as so real and urgent that we feed them to the neglect of our *real* hunger.

A religious fast is not the same as dieting or weight watching, as admirable or necessary as that may be. The fast as a spiritual discipline is always undertaken in the context of prayer and reflection, and for most of us, is best done in community. When I know that there is at least one other person abstaining from food or drink, except water, for 24 hours, it helps me resist the temptation to focus on the unpleasant feeling in my stomach.

Neither does fasting have anything to do with spiritual pride. There is a danger in doing it just for the act of achievement. Nor is it a sign of greater spiritual strength over those who are not fasting. Rather, it is undertaken in a spirit of repentance, of knowing that there are many phony layers of hunger and false satiation that I need to cut through before I can be in touch with my genuine hunger.

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 pastor of Seventh Avenue Presbyterian Church.

Fasting undertaken in the context of prayer and reflection — not just as a grim act of will or a pious exercise — is a means to greater freedom. That is what was happening with Jesus in the wilderness during his long fast. John of the Cross said that it matters not whether the sparrow is held by a chain or a thread. Whatever the restraint, it keeps the sparrow from flying. And so with us. Fasting can be training for flight, an exercise for liberation.

Let me give a few examples — certainly not of the depth experienced by Jesus after 40 days, but perhaps closer to the life experience of most of us.

I am part of a covenant community which corporately undertakes bi-weekly fasting. The first day, I rather quickly began to argue with myself about its validity, even its rationality. Why was I doing this? I don't really eat that much, nor do I spend much money on food. Even if I gave the money to the poor, it wouldn't help much. I work hard and need to be nourished, etc., etc.

What suddenly came clear was the strong feeling that I was *entitled* to eat whenever the least bit hungry. Clearly, it would not endanger my health to go 24 hours without food; and it would improve my health to go that many hours without coffee. No, the feeling of entitlement was the key. For most of us, immediately available food is not regarded as a gift but as a right, even while others starve. We have lost the sense of wonder and the gift of gratitude. We no longer honestly pray, "Give us this day our daily bread." We de-

mand it or take it unthinkingly. Fasting may help us restore some sense of wonder, of thankfulness, of delight for even the simplest food.

Again, on one fast day, I went to the supermarket. There surged within me an almost irresistible impulse to go up and down the aisles grabbing things and piling them into my basket, eating some in the process. Everything — including things I have never bought and probably never will — looked not just appealing but essential. What well-schooled, mindless consumers we are — captives to an economy geared to glut and hedonism. Fasting, if it helps to free us from that consumer captivity, is training toward liberation.

Another reflection that came to me after the supermarket experience was this: What must it be like to know all those tempting foods are there and that you will *never* be able to buy them. know that your children are never filled, are being stunted by malnutrition? Day after day you may only look at those shelves, not touch. Fasting is a way to help us establish some small empathy with the hungry of the world, to imagine what is their daily despair.

Consider El Salvador: According to statistics, almost 75% of Salvadoran children under age 5 suffer from malnutrition. At heart of the misery is an extremely inequitable distribution of land. More than 40% of the nation's peasants are landless, and some 63% of families lack water; 33% live in one room shacks.

"We must seek ways to make the dis-

tant sufferings of hunger concrete enough in our own lives to make us know our world includes the suffering poor," Edward Farrell counsels in *Disciples and Other Strangers*. "The world of the suffering poor includes *us*, the suffering rich. Fasting is not a matter of our helping or loving those who are needy. It is a matter of knowing how each of us is needy. The slave-making forces at work in our world exempt no one. Fasting is an act of resistance against our own slavery. It is not a good deed, but an act of self-interest in its most profound sense."

Which leads me to note that fasting may reveal how much of our eating and drinking is nothing more than habit, not a necessary intake of nourishment. Which of us does not worry about weight? Neither is eating necessarily relished, savored as sensual pleasure; nor is it necessarily a source of thankful prayer, of sharing with those we love or those in need. Just an unthinking habit which has taken us captive. Paul notes that as a Christian, "there are no forbidden things for me, but I am not going to let anything dominate me."

What does dominate me? Moving beyond eating and drinking as habit I can begin to ask, where else in life have I abdicated thoughtfulness and control? Why am I about to make this pur-

chase? Is it something I want or need or will even use? Or am I behaving as a well-trained captive consumer? Why am I watching this TV show, really? What is my genuine hunger?

A sensitive man told a wonderful story recently in our church. For a period of time he regularly went to the movies, never questioning that. It became a habit. Then he got involved with some people who were interested in knowing his thoughts, in calling forth his creativity, in sharing his warmth and love. He saw that his real hunger was not for watching someone else's fantasy projected on a movie or TV screen, but for interacting with others — thinking, creating, questioning, growing, giving, living, loving. Now if he goes to a movie it is because he chooses to do so, not because he unconsciously expects it to satisfy some deeper hunger.

Each of us has that same sort of story to discover, that hunger to touch, that restraint to break. Fasting is a means to discover the restraints which keep us from flying.

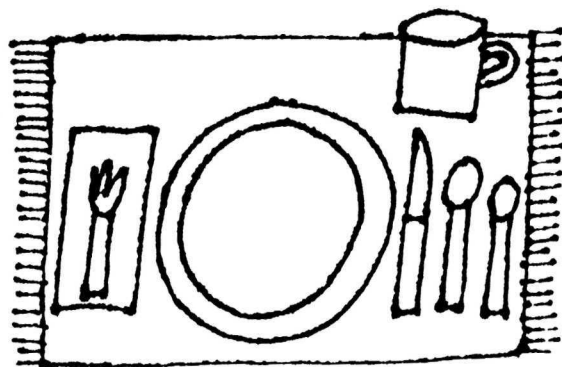
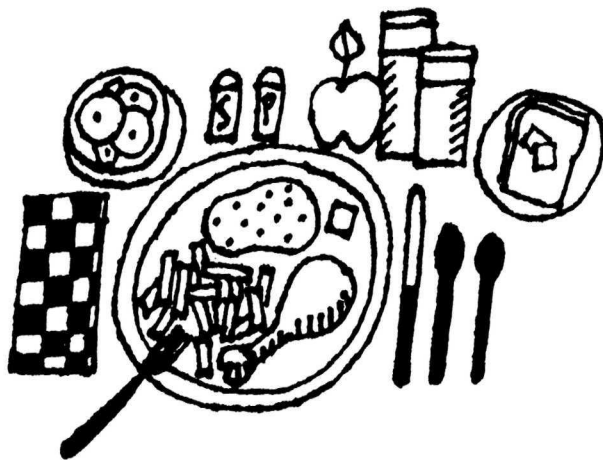
Fasting, carried out with prayerful reflection, in some inexplicable way may allow us to touch the deepest hunger of all, to become more aware of the false gods we substitute for the Living God. I believe this is what was happening with Jesus in the wilder-

ness. He was tempted to lesser ways than the way of self-giving love. He was tempted to use his power to dazzle, to establish himself securely, to operate within the world's accepted hierarchical order with himself at the pinnacle and others subject to him, rather than to live and work toward the egalitarian peaceable commonwealth of God. He was tempted to comfort rather than courage, to reasonableness rather than risk, security rather than total self-giving love.

He refused. It was not a once-for-all refusal. It never is. He would spend much time in fasting and prayer throughout his life, because he knew how easy it is to lose awareness and find a false hunger with spiritually empty calories.

His answers show he knew that our deepest hunger is the hunger for God. Food did not rule him, nor comfort, nor the temptation to dominance, nor ease, because he knew clearly what his real hunger was. Farrell has said it well: "When something or someone greater is present, we forget food. Lovers grow thin. Fasting is a sign of someone, something greater in our psychic center and consciousness. It uncovers our hidden capacities for greater strength, greater freedom. Fasting creates room within, enabling Christ to fill us with his hunger, his thirst."

Our world is hungry for Christians



who develop enough imagination to be able to put themselves in the places of those who are hungry for food and pure water and who cry, "Give us this day our daily bread." Our world is hungry for free people, willing to join together in regular, sustained, reflective spiritual disciplines which issue in purposeful action for the liberation of others. The world is not hungry for any more religious people willing to sit tied to a perch, chirping.

Fasting is not an end, it is a way. It is not a goal, it is a vehicle for getting there. It is not an act of heroism nor self-deprivation. Fasting is a way to experience our own frailty and mortality in a culture which denies that death is a reality. "Now that we know how to fly planes the size of mountains, it is time to learn to walk again. Now that we know how to prolong life indefinitely, it is time to learn to die again," James Carroll suggests in his book, *Contemplation*. Only then will we be truly free. Fasting is a way to help us confront our mortality without flinching, to look at the nothingness of death and know that God is in the center of it.

And it is a way of experiencing in our bodies some solidarity with the last, the least, and the lost. Clearly, this happened for Jesus. Having embarked on the way of genuine discipline, he came "armed with the power of the Spirit," proclaiming: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor; God has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord."

Such a clarity, such a calling, are the dangers of prayer and fasting. To be "armed with the power of the Spirit" is to be unable any longer to sit around chirping, tied down. Once you have flown, there is no turning back. ■

Pearls

To women aware in male institutions

**You are pearls:
you began
as irritants.**

**The ocean pushed
your small, nearly
invisible
rough body
through an undetected
crack in the shell.
You got inside.**

**Happy to have a home
at last
you grew close
to the host,
nuzzling up
to the larger body.**

**You became
a subject
for diagnosis:
invader, tumor.**

**Perhaps your parents
were the true invaders
and you were born
in the shell —
no difference —
called an outsider
still.**

**You were a representative
of the whole
outside world,
a grain of sand,
particle of the Universe,
part of Earth.
You were a growth.**

And you did not go away.

**In time
you grew
so large,
an internal
luminescence,**

**that the shell
could contain
neither you nor itself,
and because of you
the shell opened itself
to the world.**

**Then your beauty
was seen
and prized,**

**your variety valued:
precious, precious,
a hard bubble of light:
silver, white, ivory,
or baroque.**

**If you are a specially
irregular and rough
pearl, named baroque
(for broke),
then you reveal
in your own
amazed/amazing
body of light
all the colors
of the universe.**

— Alla Bozarth-Campbell



Self-fulfillment: with a little help

“Self-fulfilling” is defined as “attaining fulfillment by virtue of having been predicted or assumed beforehand.” Why is it, then, that some folk find it necessary to work so hard at helping self-fulfilling prophecy along?

The question is prompted by a recent spate of miniscule ads that appear with regularity in a popular church journal. For the past several months, insertions have warned: “The election of women as bishops threatens to split the Anglican Communion. Remind your bishop of his duty to bind us together, not divide, by sending him a piece of string.” Alternate insertions have called attention to the fact that the election of women as bishops may happen soon and a registry of those who oppose such a step, clerical and lay, is being compiled. The sponsoring organization then requests support for its work.

The tone of the ads would suggest that they are only part of an overall campaign to whip up sentiment against the natural elevation of women to the episcopate, which is implicit in the now neutered canons governing ordination. A mere \$20 will get you a subscription to the organization’s newsletter which, I am sure, gives the full “scoop” on the “dangers and evils” inherent in such elections. The ads, however, remind me of the flogging to keep alive such controversies as use of the 1928 Prayer Book.

Now I am aware that there is real

opposition to women bishops in some quarters, just as there is continuing opposition to women priests and deacons some 12 years and 700 or so ordained females later. However, these particular opponents of women in the episcopate need to bear in mind a couple, three realities.

No matter how many opponents register, formally or otherwise, any election and subsequent consecration that take place will express the clear desire of a majority. Given the election and concurrence process by which this Episcopal Church operates, it would be well nigh impossible to impose the will of any minority on the larger body.

For those of you who have just joined us for the umpteenth singing of this refrain, the election of a bishop in the Episcopal Church in the United States requires concurrent *majorities* on four levels. Within a diocese the person elected must receive the *majority* vote on the same ballot of the clergy of that diocese as well as the lay deputies from all the congregations of that diocese. In some dioceses a two-thirds majority in both orders is required by local canons. The candidate must then receive the *majority* vote of the priests and lay people who make up the Standing Committees of *all the dioceses of the Episcopal Church*. Finally, a *majority* of all the bishops with jurisdiction must give their approval. Failure to achieve *majority* support on any of these levels

would prevent consecration from taking place. That sounds to me like overwhelming support for anyone elected — male or female.

Secondly, divided opinion throughout the Anglican Communion on the role and place of women in the ministry of the church already has been evidenced by the decision of several provinces to ordain women and others, notably the Church of England, to decline to do so. Refraining from electing women as bishops is not likely to heal these existing divisions as more and more churches struggle with and seek to resolve the question in light of their own clergy needs. The Anglican Communion continues to hold together in its loose confederation of branches. Lambeth 1988 will, in all likelihood, be a replay of previous once-a-decade conferences as regards reaffirming the inviolate autonomy of each church within the communion to govern its own internal affairs and to determine who is to be its ordained clergy.

All of which leads me back to the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral. That four point resolution, now intact 100 years, specifically upholds “The Historic Episcopate, *locally adapted* in the methods of its administration *to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of His (sic) Church*.” Anybody care to mess with that? ■



Holding Canterbury accountable

by Richard Mansfield

I believe that the Church of England's refusal to allow women priests of the Anglican Communion, ordained abroad, to celebrate the sacraments in English churches is a momentous decision with far-reaching implications. This is the first time, to my knowledge, that a province of the Anglican Communion has officially voted not to accept the legitimate sacramental ministry of ordained clergy from another province of the communion.

Ironically, at the very time the Church of England and other Anglican Churches are negotiating with the Roman Catholic Church for acceptance of our orders, our "Mother Church" is now saying that the orders of some of the people in other Anglican Churches will not be accepted within its jurisdiction. Just when the Anglican Communion is trying to sponsor substantive ecumenical agreements with other communions, our own communion has now sustained a major division within its own house.

How can we witness to Christian unity in general and the acceptance of each church's orders in particular when we have this basic disunity and division in our own communion? The

implications of the decision demand a call to solidarity with our sisters.

For example, I received a note recently from a priest-friend in England, mentioning that he would like to arrange a clergy exchange with a priest in our church for a couple of months. Actually I had been thinking of such an arrangement for myself. I have been granted a three-month refresher leave by my parish and diocese to do some writing and I wanted to spend some of that time in Europe.

An exchange with a Church of England priest would prove a worthwhile experience and make this financially feasible as well. But I cannot. And I am going to write my friend and say to him that as much as I would like to be helpful, I cannot be involved in finding him an exchange. In fact, I will encourage him not to come to the United States.

If my sisters cannot avail themselves of such an exchange neither can I. It would be like patronizing a lunch counter or belonging to a group or club that only serves or accepts White Anglo-Saxon persons and excludes Blacks and Jews. Therefore, I cannot promote or accept any invitation to perform my sacramental ministry in the Church of England when it refuses to accept the sacramental ministry of my sisters. The decision actually raises questions about whether any of us in the Episcopal Church should invite Church of

The Rev. Richard H. Mansfield, Jr., is a Canon of Christ Church Cathedral, Hartford, Conn. and former Dean of Bexley Hall Seminary.

England priests to perform their sacramental ministries in any of our churches.

This saddens me greatly. This decision also might have implications for Lambeth Conference a year and a half from now. Should our bishops go? If they do, should they practice their sacramental ministries while there? If not, should Lambeth take place? A number of years ago the General Convention of our church had to change its site when it was learned that many of the original location's hotels would not accept Blacks. Our church, in effect, said we are not going to meet in a place that will not accept all of our people. It is not an identical analogy, but in principal, is it all that different? There are no women bishops (yet) but a bishop celebrates Holy Communion by the fact he is ordained a presbyter as well as a bishop. Should our bishops be meeting in a province of our church that refuses to accept some of our presbyters because they are female?

This is the issue of ecclesiastical integrity and moral conscience that has unfortunately been thrust upon us by the General Synod of the Church of England. It threatens the very existence of the Anglican Communion. How can we say that we are in communion with each other if we do not accept each others orders? There is, in fact, no order as well as no communion. And we in this church must not think we have full

communion with the Church of England if our sisters' orders in this church are not accepted.

The Church of England has a perfect right to decide for itself whether it will ordain women. And it has decided to ordain women as deacons. But its Synod cannot say that it is in communion with us if it does not accept some of our order by not accepting some of our ordained priests. They cannot have it both ways. There will be some who will argue that we broke communion with the Church of England by breaking with tradition and ordaining women. Or they will argue, probably wisely, that if members of the Church of England permit women priests from other Anglican churches to practice their sacramental ministry it will force them to ordain women. But none of these arguments change the fact that the Church of England has disrupted the ecclesiastical order, communion and unity of the Anglican Communion.

I hope that the Church of England can somehow reverse this unfortunate action. And until it does, I hope that every member of our church, especially male presbyters, no matter how they personally feel about the ordination of women, will stand in solidarity with our ordained sisters to protect the integrity of our church's orders and its moral conscience. ■

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THE WITNESS, now celebrating its 70th year, might have died in Chicago in 1918 had it not been for the Rev. Charles J. Shutt, who kept the publication alive even as his own health was deteriorating.

Shutt, who served as managing editor under Bishop Irving Peake Johnson, was the only professional journalist on staff at the time, having worked on newspapers in New Orleans and as editor of the *Iowa Churchman*. In the first years of THE WITNESS, Shutt did all the editorial work from his rectory at St. John's Church, Mankato, Minn. THE WITNESS was then sent to Hobart, Indiana to be published in tabloid form.

When THE WITNESS combined its editorial and publishing operation and moved to Chicago, Shutt went with it, even though he was suffering from a rheumatic condition which was affecting his voice. The managerial and mechanical areas became Shutt's responsibility and he held the paper together during the Johnson years. To meet deadlines he frequently went to the plant to set type.

Shutt was 57 years old when he died of pneumonia in 1920. He had been a member of the Board of Editors of THE WITNESS from its inception in 1917.

These facts came to light when Charles Shutt's son, Philip, wrote THE WITNESS recently to say that at 79-years-old he might be "the only living contact with the early history of the magazine."

Phil Shutt was to follow in his father's footsteps, both in the ministry and as a



Charles J. Shutt



Philip L. Shutt

journalist. The younger Shutt worked on the magazine under William Spofford's term as editor.

Now historiographer for the Diocese of Springfield, Phil Shutt told THE WITNESS in a telephone interview, "I've always been a little nonplussed about my father's contribution to THE WITNESS. I have often felt his journalistic skills were not remembered or valued. When we moved to Chicago, World War I was still going on and I was only 10 or 11 years old, but I remember how pressured my father was. And certainly my mother's memories corroborated this."

Shutt said that he had sent the only photo of his father to St. Luke's, Des Moines, where his father was second rector. Thanks to Ginger O'Keefe, parish secretary, the photo was made available for this issue that we might celebrate the unsung editor's life and ministry.

Phil Shutt's own career with THE WITNESS as News Editor under Bill Spofford began ingloriously when he arrived late for work the first day. At that point THE WITNESS had moved to New York. "I got lost on the subway," he said. "The office then consisted of two rooms in a second story loft on Liberty Street near the Wall Street area. My duties covered not only writing but also handling subscriptions and advertising."

"In addition, I served as surrogate for Spofford on occasion at meetings of the Church League for Industrial Democracy. It was my first experience with an alleged communist group," he laughed. "Coming from the conservative biretta belt in the Midwest, which was so anti-communist, it was an eye opener for me."

Was he ever fearful of being harassed by the government because he attended

comes to light through son

CLID meetings?

"Never," he said. "I was probably rather naive. This group's activities might have been described as left-wing, but I didn't see anything bad about it. But there was a spasm of red-baiting at the time, and Bill was called before the McCarthy committee."

Several other incidents stand out for the former WITNESS news editor, most connected to the Episcopal Church General Convention in Philadelphia in 1946. They reveal that the social gospel message of the magazine was not appreciated in all church circles.

"I had been graduated from Nashotah the year before I signed on with THE WITNESS, and I remember attending a dinner meeting of the Alumni at General Convention. During introductions I stood up and said I was news editor of THE WITNESS. That was followed by groans and cat-calls — a rather uncharitable reaction, I felt.

"I was officially assigned to cover the House of Bishops, but I had also made a crude sign to take with me to display samples of the magazine. We had not made formal exhibit arrangements, and we were finally granted a space in a dim hallway near the bishops' meeting place. There we set up shop, my sign prominently displayed. But I don't recall having many visitors there," he laughed.

"Another experience was even more telling. Two meetings of a partisan nature were scheduled, one of the so-called Anglo-Catholics and the other of evangelicals. Because I knew my editor was at the latter I opted for the Anglo-

Catholics. I thought, as a Nashotah graduate, I would be welcome. But when I attempted to get in, I was peremptorily dismissed by Clifford Morehouse, who was editor of *The Living Church* at the time.

"That made me mad. So I found a window from which I was able to look into their smoke-filled room. There was Bishop Wallace Conkling of Chicago expounding some argument, and I knew some of the clergy and laity. So I wrote a WITNESS article including names of the principals involved. The story created a mild sensation."

Shutt also recalled bumping into Bishop William Scarlett, for whom an Episcopal Church Publishing Company award is named, sitting on the steps at the Bellevue Stratford hotel. He was in "a sandy suit and his red tie

— the hallmark of the bishop."

"I remember a story told about when he went to apply for his auto license, accompanied by a priest-aide who was wearing a collar. The Roman Catholic policeman motioned the priest to the front of the line, saying, 'This way, Father.' But the priest demurred. 'I'm sorry, but I'm with the Bishop of Missouri,' he said, pointing to Scarlett in his red tie, 'and I can't leave him.'"

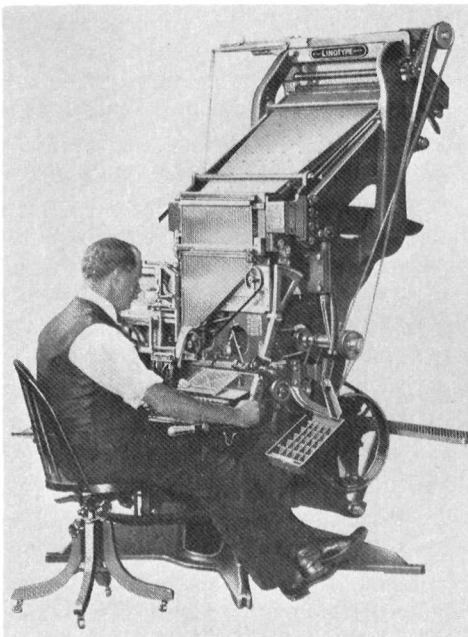
After Shutt left THE WITNESS, he returned to his Midwestern roots, disenchanted by "the aridity of the Eastern establishment." In his working career, Shutt has also served as reading clerk in the Iowa House of Representatives and as chair of the Young Democrats of Iowa during the Roosevelt years. He served in the Episcopal church as a priest for eight years, and before he retired in 1973 he had pursued a career in teaching. Until last year, he was warden of St. Andrew's Church, Paris, Ill. "I'm a perpetual acolyte," he said.

What does he think of THE WITNESS today?

Shutt candidly admits he does not always agree with the editorial policy. "I can accept women priests pragmatically, but not theologically," he says, and adds "I'm sure it's because I am approaching 80 and doubt I can change my opinions.

"However, while I don't agree totally, I believe THE WITNESS has a function in our national church to nudge our social conscience and this it does admirably. I enjoy reading the magazine, and I wish you the very best for the years which lie ahead."

— Mary Lou Suhor



On liberating the middle class:

The great American TV ad scam

Liberation theology is not confined merely to Christian reflection on the poor of Latin America or Africa, nor only on women and minorities in the United States. It is a call for liberation of that vague but real mass called the American middle class.

Clearly, by comparison with Third World peoples and those nearly destitute populations of the United States, the various segments of the middle class are not poor.

But even Latin American liberation theologians go beyond material considerations to unmask the deeper meaning of poverty: continuing deprivation of human dignity. It is here that one could legitimately maintain that the masses of American people are held in de-humanizing poverty.

The list of major areas of organized life in the United States that carry out the agenda of oppression is too lengthy for discussion here. Only one will be singled out for elaboration — TV advertising and its role in institutionalized injustice and cultural impoverishment.

TV advertising symbolizes most of the things that need to be said about technology, education, business, corporatism, predominant values, national goals and priorities, government and the political process. The same crude techniques which we piously deplore when used by fascist regimes to inculcate ideology and myth into the psyche of the masses are employed daily and with impunity by Madison Avenue's ad hucksters.

The worst form of political-cultural brainwashing is not to know the full extent of one's own predicament, or not to know it to any extent at all. The U.S. people, especially those still too young to remember a time without TV, have been pummeled mercilessly into submission by advertisement for almost 40 years, about the same length of time it takes a totalitarian regime to get its message across so that it will stick.

Permanently turning off their TV sets is not a viable option for the vast majority. They are as dependent upon it

as are hostages to captors. For countless millions, the Big Brother of TV — even perversely enough, the ads — is a welcome moment of total passivity after a hard day of working for the very corporations who throttle the public at night and through the entire weekend. Working America labors to earn enough money to buy the products that pay for the ads that push those same products on behalf of the same corporate masters for whom America works. A treadmill like that would be the envy of any dictator.

The techniques are no secret. They are aimed shamelessly at working on the viewer's guilt, sense of shame, anxiety, desire for superiority, sexual fantasies, vanity and natural tendencies to admire and emulate celebrities from the sports and entertainment worlds. The ads also nag away at the public's hang-ups about socio-economic status.

The pitch and pace of many ads is frenetic to the point of hysteria. There are booms, bangs, smashes, crashes and explosions reminiscent of the battlefield. Frantic voices command captive audiences that they *must* buy the product *now* or forever be consigned to the netherworld of the out-of-step — the worse thing that can happen to a middle-class American.

Most ads are in the form of endlessly repeated commands. "Buy it, America;" "Fix it, America;" "Look out, America, you're losing your competitive edge." The commands are frequently sugared over with catchy tunes and childish slogans. They are drummed into the memory, sometimes year in and year out, until they become an integral part of the millions of brainwashed robots who, sooner or later, do exactly what the marketeers have commanded. By now the viewers do it spontaneously and willingly.

Further, TV ads are a microcosm of similar assaults on human dignity in major areas of American social life. Cloaking themselves in the pious mantle of First Amendment freedoms while hammering the public with mindless slogans like "We do it all for you;" "You're in good hands, America;" "We bring good things to life;" "Winning is everything;" and "Free enterprise," the corporate pushers and their Madison Avenue con artists have succeeded in creating a new generation of narcissists. The millions of obedient souls do what they are programmed to do —

Bernard E. McGoldrick is professor of political science at California State University, Fresno.

by Bernard E. McGoldrick

consume things. From Vancouver to Miami, Bangor to Galveston and Duluth to New Orleans the hucksters and their bank-rollers have created an American Gulag of languishing shoppers dying slowly of consumption. No value is too sacred, no human relationship too personal or poetic to be pressed into the service of the commercial culture to "reach out and touch someone."

"The U.S. people have been pummeled mercilessly into submission by advertisement for almost 40 years, about the same length of time it takes a totalitarian regime to get its message across so that it will stick."

Nor does there seem to be any difference or consequence between advertising toothpaste and advertising the latest body count each night as newscasters solemnly describe the murdered and the mangled. We now have Wall Street Business Briefs which interrupt and pre-empt other equally unimportant fare on TV. After all, we must know, what the high rollers are winning or losing in that peculiar Wall Street ritual which we are to believe decides our fate not only in the marketplace but in life itself.

Even politics is seen as an extension of the advertising business. This is the case not only during campaigns; day-to-day governmental policymaking and debate is geared toward "selling a program or a decision." The *images* of political parties, programs and policymakers have become more powerful than those parties, programs or persons themselves.

Even fantasies like Star Wars are described by political con-artists in such ad-world hype as a "selling point" in the Administration's efforts to intimidate the Russians into buying more time on this planet.

Whether it be TV ads or shows or news — they are all the same money-making fantasy acted out by the same people. Whether it be the nuclear terror or the robotization of education, medicine, government and politics, there is a common thread running through — a definition of the

human person that is incompatible with the gospel of human freedom.

In place of the sweet balm of community, the suburban middle class has bought into a mythic social contract that turns people into objects to be bought and sold in the market. And even child abuse is not confined to physical battering. Taking advantage of small children to hawk diapers and soda pop on TV is thought "cute."

Another dimension to TV advertising appears to have escaped much criticism: The depressing spectacle of the prostitution of artistic talent. The advertising industry has almost completely taken over recruitment and advancement of talent in popular music, song writing, dancing and basic acting. Aspiring young artists in America, with years of self-sacrificing discipline, training and dedication behind them, must now serve an indentured servanthip, if they are among the few "lucky" ones, in shoving everything from soup to nuts down the ever-consuming throats of the American people. Things have degenerated to the point that the level of talent and performance in the ads is frequently higher than what one finds in the main shows squeezed in between. Even old and respected artists have succumbed to the allurements of big bucks. The artistic and entertainment communities have hired themselves out to the new class of pimps, the TV ad executives.

It is beyond the limited scope and purpose of this article to discuss what passes for news and entertainment on American TV. This wasteland has been traversed by critics for many years. It is clear, for example, that many TV shows are propaganda pieces aimed at winning favorable public reaction to the police and medical professions. The military also buys more than its fair share of prime-time entertainment hours in its efforts to identify itself with the very best in American manhood and womanhood.

The American people are not "mad as hell" at TV ads or the TV industry and they are beyond shouting from the roof tops "we won't take it any more."

If this state of affairs — summed up for encapsulation purposes in TV ads as a symbol of political and cultural impoverishment and oppression of the masses of the American people — does not qualify the United States for liberation, then nothing ever could. What is held in bondage by the corporations and their TV lackeys and the faculties of Business Administration is the dignity of the human person. It is also the same human dignity which American propagandists ceaselessly remind us is held captive under communist regimes. But since our bondage is protected by a Bill of Rights, it is viewed as freedom — the freedom to die of an overdose of consumerism and high tech chips. The worst of all illusions is to live and die never having

known what it might mean to be a human being.

It is necessary but insufficient for the organized churches to issue pronouncements on the evils of nuclear weapons and of laissez-faire capitalism. It is helpful and encouraging to know that similar missives are in the works on the evils of sexism. But such admirable preachments never confront the situation at its foundations. Church assemblies and conventions in the United States, especially those of more liberal persuasion, are playing the pluralism game. They appeal to that very process which guarantees that the vested interests will continue to control and perpetuate the functions of the great un-culture. For that process is not democratic to begin with. It is a process that ostensibly invites all viewpoints and philosophies but which at the same time systematically excludes a radical Christian challenge.

Christian challenge in America must be muffled, polite,

courteous, constructive, cooperative and patriotic. A good Christian is a good Boy or Girl Scout. If not, then Christian prophecy soon learns that the velvet glove of open-market pluralism contains the iron fist of authoritarian and, thus of anti-democratic self-interest. The mainline liberal churches, like their right-wing fundamentalist brethren, stop at the water's edge when it comes to talk of Christianity defined as liberation from cultural oppression. This stands to reason. They are an integral part of that oppression.

The church is always an Exodus church. It cannot accommodate itself, as it has in America and the rest of the West, to a phoney pluralism that forever protects the powerful from the masses of the weak and culturally deprived. A place to begin might be a national preaching campaign against TV ads! Merely symbolic? Well, isn't symbolism what it's all about? ■

Letters . . . Continued from page 3

beyond it. These women are still in positions of power in our parishes and dioceses, exercising their ministry as they view it. And *their* ministry does not include sexual equality at all!

This lack of unanimity needs to be addressed when talking about feminine support for ordained ministry for women, especially consecration to the bishopric. Women are not a united block (nor are the men united against us).

Marsha Ziegler
Cornwall-on-Hudson, N.Y.

Accessibility to aid all

Your December guest editorialist, Cyndi Jones, makes a good point. Too many still assume that the Tiny Tims of our society are relatively easy to carry around and they probably won't survive anyhow. So why go for accessible public transportation?

Of course, there was no public transportation in Tiny Tim's day. Maybe if Bob Cratchit had advocated for such, a benefit to the whole of society could have come about while striving to help one segment. This must be part of our current campaign, to help all segments of society — the infirm elderly, mothers and fathers with strollers, hale men

with push carts, etc. — become able to enter our buildings!

Partnering, collegiality, working together — this is the name of the game!

Harold Wilke
Healing Community
White Plains, N.Y.

Women priests praised

Increasingly the Episcopal women priests are making a difference in the U.S. prisons. Two of our peace activists who were sentenced to federal prisons in West Virginia and Texas wrote, "The very first full day we were in prison, we were invited by Episcopal women priests to join their prayer groups."

You can imagine what news like this means to the family and friends of newly incarcerated residents. Praise God for the 750 Episcopal women priests and for the church that risked prophecy!

Sr. Margaret Ellen Traxler
Institute for Women Today
Chicago, Ill.

Lauds Cueto, Guerra

I was very happy to learn in a recent **WITNESS** of the release of Maria Cueto and Steven Guerra from prison. It is most gratifying to know that there are still people around who truly live the Christian

life (even in adverse situations) rather than be content to merely wear it on their sleeves. Maria and Steven are living proof of this. God bless them both!

Cliff Nyberg
Seattle, Wash.

Towards authentic lives

Thank you for the discussion of issues and ideas facing us as Christians trying to live authentic lives in today's complex and, in many ways, confusing world. Two basic premises were addressed in the October issue. In "Contemplation: not for mystics only," Glenda Hope directs our attention to the relationship between the psyche and the transcendent God; and in "Apocalyptic theology and the Right," Peter Stiglin reminds us of historical and social facts that we must face as responsible members of the community of God's people.

Carolyn W. Reynolds
Santa Rosa, Cal.

'Looked forward to'

This is my "most looked forward to" magazine. The superb writing and clear thinking on the great contemporary issues are much appreciated.

Lois Waller
N. Little Rock, Ark.

A STUDY PACKET

THE CASE FOR DIVESTMENT

Prepared by
The Episcopal Church Publishing Company



Apartheid is a sacrilege and the church can be a tremendous power in destroying it. That was a central theme running through Desmond Tutu's sermon during his enthronement as first Black Anglican Archbishop of Capetown.

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.

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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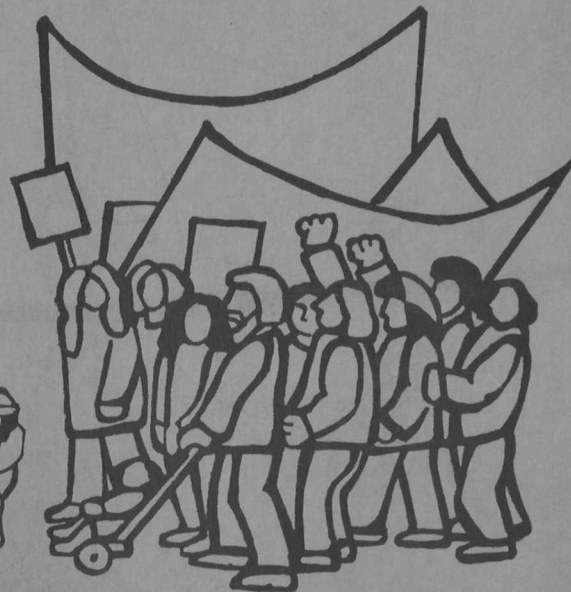


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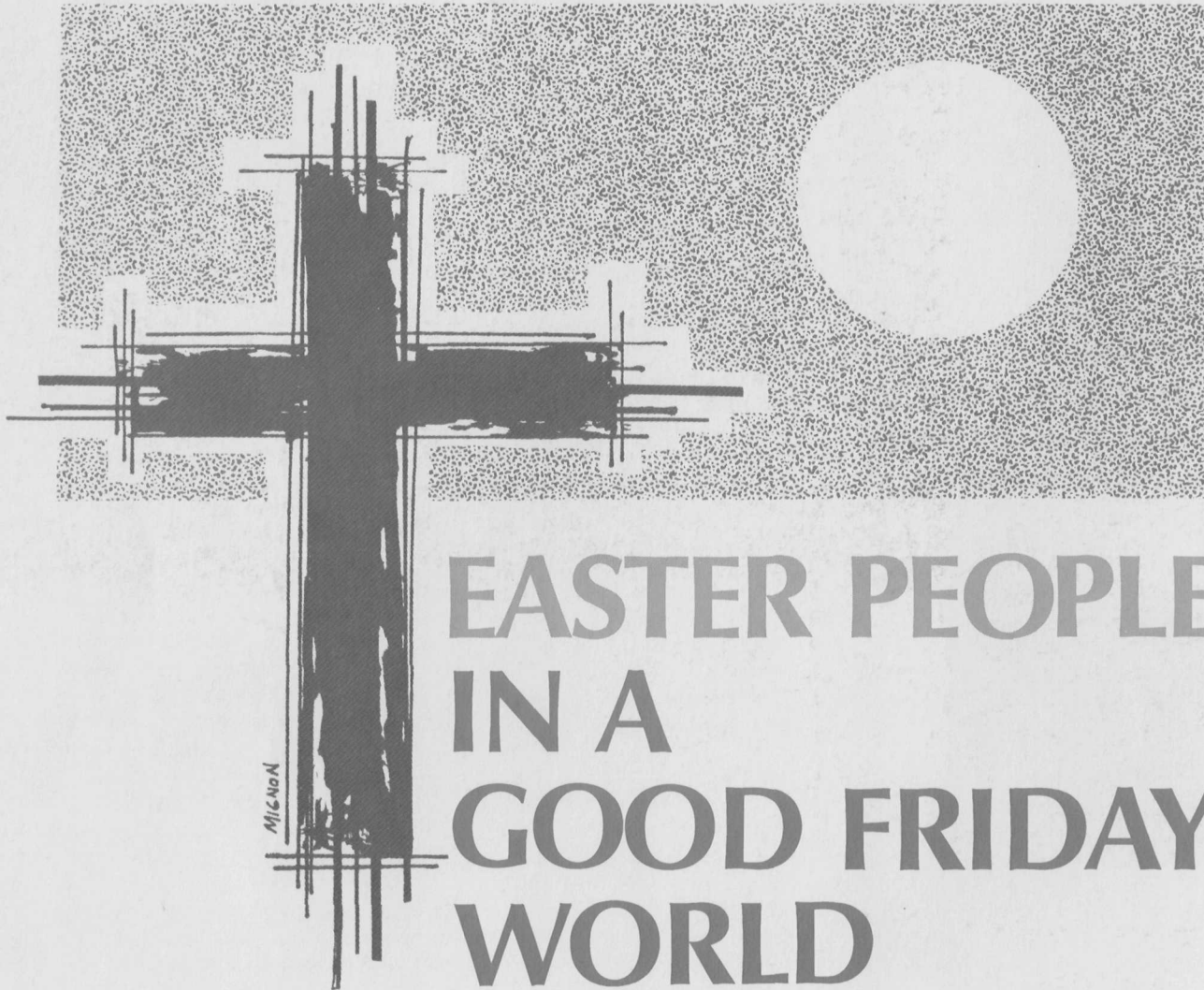


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THE WITNESS



EASTER PEOPLE IN A GOOD FRIDAY WORLD

John and Margie Gilbert
Max Surjadinata
Bill Stuart-Whistler

Letters

Kudos for study guides

First, belated commendation on your two books, *Must We Choose Sides* and *Which Side Are We on*. (See back cover.) Over the years I have read many books analyzing private capitalism as to its inherent flaws and the resultant inequities and suffering. Your books are tops in their simplicity and perceptiveness in indicating an unworkable economic system. We are a society that desperately tries to bring relief to the victims of our socio-economic system without any in-depth thought as to the basic reasons for the victims in the first place.

Second, I want to salute THE WITNESS for courageously pleading the struggles of the oppressed in the Third-World countries. This past summer I was a member of a fact-finding group that visited Honduras and El Salvador with the explicit purpose of documenting the feelings of the people themselves. As with one voice they underscored the wrongness and brutality of American policy and military intervention, and that our presence was compounding the torture, the assassinations, and was accentuating the economic plight of the majority. We pledged solidarity with their struggle and are raising our voices loud and clear to bring an end to our nation's murderous intervention.

To combat terrorism is to understand the conditions that evoke terrorism. "Elie Wiesel's Blind Spot" by Norman Solomon in your February issue speaks eloquently, with inescapable impact, to the underlying problem in the Middle East. It is in understanding the struggle of the Palestinians, and their search for justice, that violence in all its forms can best be understood.

Melford Pearson
Noblesville, Ind.

Won over to WITNESS

As one who was unhappy with the early issues of THE WITNESS in its latest incarnation because it seemed to have an almost exclusive concern with the place of women in the church, I want now to express my increasing appreciation for the magazine and, in particular, the February issue.

Not only did I find the whole issue interesting from the opening Letters to the Selby article, but I especially appreciated Mary Sudman Donovan's article. What a great group of women she wrote about and what a contribution they made to the life of the church — indeed, to all life. I shall always be grateful for Vida Scudder, Deaconess Colesbury and the host of women who were companions of the Order of the Holy Cross, all of whom were at once concerned about the social gospel and the rich spiritual life of the Church.

The latest issues of THE WITNESS are now laid tenderly beside *Sojourners* as the magazines that speak to me with the deepest religious meaning.

Finally, I just got up from my desk to look at a photograph on my wall of Bill Spofford, Sr. Inwardly, I said to myself, "Bill, you would be proud of THE WITNESS today."

The Rev. Charles Martin
Canon, Washington Cathedral

Resource for USSR talks

Thank you for the excellent issue of THE WITNESS on the Soviet Union. It makes a great addition to my resources as I share the story of my 1986 trip there with the NCC peace delegation. I was especially glad to get Paul Valliere's words in print. He reported to a diocesan convention here in Evansville and we had a good visit.

I will be returning in July with the leadership training group and then

again in 1988. This has become a full-time job of interpretation! I am finding it very exciting and rewarding to educate away some of the myths and stereotypes.

I look forward to future issues of THE WITNESS.

Bruce Naylor
Evansville Council of Churches

God in U.S.S.R., U.S.?

Recently Phil Donahue hosted a show in the U.S.S.R. with about 100 Russian young people in attendance. At one point he asked, "How many of you believe in God?" Three or four hands were raised slowly. One could almost hear the TV audience in America sigh sadly (and contemptuously): "There you are! What hope is there for world peace with that nation of atheistic barbarians?"

Let's reverse the situation. Suppose Phil would do the show in our country — specifically in the state of Georgia. The audience contains a number of K.K.K.s (or their sympathizers). He asks the same question: "How many of you believe in God?" The result is almost exactly reversed — all hands are raised with the exception of a few. Now — frankly — do you feel better about the hope for world peace?

The Rev. Eldred Johnston
Columbus, Ohio

Bill Buckley gets sub

In the 1930s there were some myopic, isolationist church leaders who failed to recognize or speak out against the horrors of Nazism. They counseled restraint, urging that Europeans be allowed to work out their own problems, that America not meddle in the affairs of others.

It seems that history does, indeed, have a way of repeating itself. Today a

third of the world's population is oppressed and brutalized by various Communist regimes. Tens of millions have been murdered. Singled out for special persecution in these countries are our brothers and sisters in Christ, who are being imprisoned, tortured and murdered for choosing to serve God rather than men. And how has THE WITNESS responded to this evil? You have either absolved it through silence, or — in some cases — defended it.

I do not care to subscribe to a magazine that purports to champion justice and human rights, yet steadfastly refuses to condemn a system that is morally equivalent to Nazism. So, instead of renewing my subscription to THE WITNESS, I am extending my subscription to *National Review*, which, although not explicitly a religious publication, presents a more Christian perspective on world affairs than THE WITNESS does.

Grant Macdonald
Kerrville, Tex.

Rationalizing God's law

Remove me from your subscription list. Your magazine is in error with regard to both scriptural authority and with thousands of years of Judaic/Christian understanding regarding homosexuality. It is clear God's intention for the use of our sexual gifts is within the bonds of heterosexual marriage. No other sexual relationship is described with approval in the Bible. Just because we have a problem in certain areas (lying, stealing, sexual promiscuity) does not mean God's laws and intention is changed — His commandments remain our standard to live by and the church is in danger of "giving in" to popular opinion here, where we need rather to stay true to the

revealing of the Holy Spirit in the Word.

I know your staff is sincere, but I do hope you will pray fervently for God's leading in this and study the Word asking for His revelation in this. It is too easy to rationalize around God's perfect laws.

Kathryn Master
New York, N.Y.

Analysis thoughtful

The January WITNESS is very good. Being one of the "hardcore" unemployed of Appalachia, I do like to see what people are thinking about and doing in our region. I especially liked the article, "Appalachia: U.S. Third World" by Jim Sessions, and the thoughtful analysis of the whole issue. We are too often the victims of hastily put together government and church policy/analysis.

Bob Rossi
Morgantown, W.Va.

Prisoner seeks prayers

A few months ago a very dear brother in the Lord subscribed to have THE WITNESS sent to me. I am a prisoner.

I am also a minister of the Gospel here under the most adverse of circumstances. My "boys" are all unique — unified only in the fact that we are all in prison and lacking seriously in hope in some instances.

This is a request for *prayer* and not on any small scale. You see prison is a crime in itself. It is common knowledge that prisons are supported by tax dollars. Every time a taxpayer turns around he/she is informed it will cost more to keep society safe from these incurable criminals. The costs continue to rise year after year and there seems always to be little or no progress in relation to the criminal justice system.

The system itself is the greatest con-

tributor to what is called the criminal mind. Men are crowded into a prison with little or nothing to stimulate character building, the greatest need for bringing change to the fallen one. I am not talking about sophisticated processes which entail elaborate scientific answers — simply establishing a policy of common courtesy, with some role models capable of showing an example of what it feels like to rest at night because the day was useful in establishing positive results.

Next we face the fact that nothing happens to change the ever-growing problem of crime. It is a fact that most people who enter prison become recidivists. The possibility of successfully staying out of prison for ex-prisoners is slim to none. What does this say to you?

I see very young men sexually abused, innocent men slain for no good cause, officials as corrupt as any prisoner here, and it tears at my heart that support of this comes from the working taxpayer. My work here is that of intercessory prayer and I ask you to support this work by joining me in this prayer for the prisons and prisoners. Maria Cueto and Steven Guerra are the freshest resource right now because they have tasted the poison of this well and know I tell the truth. Ask your readers to make a sincere commitment to pray for the lives that are destroyed within the system as we know it. *Please!*

David Hannah
Jefferson City, Mo.

Prophetic alternative

What a joy to receive a subscription to THE WITNESS, that fine periodical of the "alternative" press which speaks prophetically to us all.

Mary Luke Tobin
Denver, Col.

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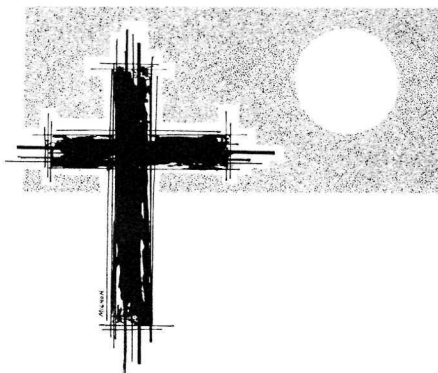


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Credits

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Auschwitz # B-7815 protests to IRS

WITNESS reader Joel C. Taunton of Seattle came across a poignant letter from Bernard Offen, former inmate at Auschwitz, to the IRS recently and forwarded it to us. We contacted Mr. Offen for permission to print his powerful message:

To Internal Revenue Service:

The guards at Auschwitz herded my father to the left and me to the right. I was a child. I never saw him again.
He was a good man. He was loyal, obedient, law-abiding. He paid his taxes. He was a Jew. He paid his taxes. He died in the concentration camp. He had paid his taxes.

My father didn't know he was paying for barbed wire. For tattoo equipment. For concrete. For whips. For dogs. For cattle cars. For Zyklon B gas. For gas ovens. For his destruction. For the destruction of 6,000,000 Jews. For the destruction, ultimately, of 50 million people in World War II.

In Auschwitz I was tattoo # B-7815. In the United States I am an American citizen, taxpayer # 370-32-6858. Unlike my father, I know what I am being asked to pay for. I am paying for a nuclear arms race. A nuclear arms race that is both homicidal and suicidal. It could end life for 5,000,000,000 people — five billion Jews. For now the whole world is Jewish and nuclear devices are the gas ovens for the planet. There is no longer a selection process such as I experienced at Auschwitz.

We are now one.

I am an American. I am loyal, obedient, law-abiding. I am afraid of the IRS. Who knows what power they have to charge me penalties and interest? To seize my property? To imprison me? After soul-searching and God-wrestling for several years, I have concluded that I am more afraid of what my government may do to me, mine, and the world with the money if I pay it . . . if I pay it.

We have enough nuclear devices to destroy the world many times over. More nuclear bombs are not the answer. They do not create security; they have the opposite effect.

I do believe in taxes for health, education, and the welfare of the public. While I do not agree with all the actions of my government, to go along with the nuclear arms race is suicidal. It threatens my life. It threatens the life of my family. It threatens the world.

I remember my father. I have learned from Auschwitz. I will not willingly contribute to the production of nuclear devices. They are more lethal than the gas Zyklon B, the gas that killed my father and countless others.

I am withholding 25% of my tax and forwarding it to a peace tax fund.
Yours for a just world at peace.

Bernard Offen
Petaluma, Cal.

Resources

Readers wishing information about tax resistance can write to the following:

The National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee, P.O. Box 30084, Seattle, WA 98103, a coalition of more than 90 local and national peace groups, offering support and counseling to those who refuse to pay for a nuclear holocaust and the slaughter of Third World peoples.

Conscience and Military Tax Campaign, 4534½ University Way N.E., Seattle, WA 98105.

Episcopal Peace Fellowship, 620 G St. S.E., Washington, DC 20003 (202) 543-7168.

National Campaign for a World Peace Tax Fund, 2121 Decatur Pl. N.W., Washington, DC 20008 (202) 483-3751.

Confronting the national security state

Moved by an editorial she had read in *THE WITNESS*, Margie Gilbert some time ago submitted a brief article entitled, "Family Life in the National Security State." She identified herself as the wife of a former employee of the National Security Agency, and emphasized that the emotional strain on NSA-connected families was overwhelming, that divorce rates were high, and psychological counseling frequent. Sensing that the story could be further fleshed out, Robert L. DeWitt, senior contributing editor, and Mary Lou Suhor, editor, subsequently interviewed Margie and John Gilbert at their home in Corinna, Maine.

THE WITNESS learned that John Gilbert joined the National Security Agency as a likely place to serve his country. It was almost a matter of coincidence that a friend had sent him application forms for NSA in 1962; he and Margie had wanted to get back to Europe after having spent three years abroad when John was in the Army in Germany. They had felt like social misfits upon their return and could not adjust to life in the "Big PX" as they called the United States. John applied to NSA and was accepted.

Then came an opportunity to go to England in 1967 and the Gilberts resided there three years. He was on an exchange program in which agents in NSA and its counterpart in England switch jobs, for an intercultural learn-



Margie and John Gilbert at their home in Corinna, Maine

ing experience. In England, John found himself as middle man in an internal political squabble during the Czech intervention. The military element in England was fighting the civilian element and John was chosen to come up with a dispassionate answer not colored by British politics.

His solution merited him a promotion and "most favorable performance" ratings, so that when he returned to the United States, he was assigned to a promising, and lucrative area of work.

But Margie was deeply disturbed. The Vietnam War was raging and even

before the couple left for England, she was conducting her own research about what was happening. She began going to demonstrations sponsored by Clergy and Laity Concerned About Vietnam (now CALC). She bought *The Guardian* at newsstands, fearful that to subscribe would jeopardize her husband's security rating. She did subscribe to CALC's *American Report* and the *Post American*, forerunner to *Sojourners*. Although an unlikely Pilate's wife, she began questioning everything about U.S. politics, about John's job, and "that's really what started it," they both agree.

Ex-NSA agent, wife tell of ordeal

Robert L. DeWitt: Can you expand on how you began to question your role with the National Security Agency, John?

John: Two things were going on parallel in time — the intensity of the Vietnam war, rising public consciousness about what was happening, demonstrations — and my deeper involvement and increased responsibility in the NSA. I was caught in a schizophrenic situation because I had uneasy feelings about many government policies. Margie and I would sit at home and talk about what was happening in the war, the lying, the whole works. And I would have one set of opinions about that.

Then I'd go to work and a magic button would push and say, 'O.K., you're at the office now. You don't talk about what you're doing, this is a secure area.' I would become a different person. Suddenly now I am dynamic office manager and I'm doing all kinds of clever things and people are listening to me.

Margie: And I wasn't. When John would tell me that his work was fun, I could never understand it, because all I could see were the consequences.

RLD: What was it that captivated you about working in intelligence?

John: I was always trying to uncover pure facts, digging to find answers. Then I would give those answers to the people who make government policies and they would act on the information, supposedly. My job was to make that information as clean and accurate and unbiased as possible.

RLD: You said policy makers would act on your information, supposedly?

John: I remember a high level briefing with several representatives of Joint Chiefs of Staff at the Pentagon. I gave a detailed report on how the Soviet Union planned to fight a war in Central Europe, if it should happen, based on war games they had played over a period of time. When you looked at the material dispassionately you could see their whole strategy was based on defense. They expected NATO to attack them and they had plans to counteract. This had been so consistently a part of their military exercises that it couldn't possibly be a sham to throw the West off track, because their forces were trained to react along

defensive lines.

When I finished, two of the guys got up and said, "See, Charlie, I told you those Russians are getting ready to attack. Sure, they make it look defensive but you can also turn around and make it offensive just as easy. Charlie, we've got to watch it." And out the door they went. That may have a certain contemporary ring to it. That's when I started thinking I ought to get out of the system.

Mary Lou Suhor: Margie, what did you mean when you said you weren't listening to John?

Margie: Well, at first we were at odds. I kept trying to drag him to meetings and demonstrations where I was hearing things that made me question our policies in Vietnam, and sometimes John wouldn't agree with me. It was only when we went to hear Dan and Phil Berrigan that we both started coming closer together on our questioning. The Berrigans and Thomas Merton were my life raft in those times. We've just seen the movie "Platoon." That seems closer to the Vietnam experience than the propaganda the government was disseminating. One of its themes is that we Americans have to look at our dark side and accept it, forgive ourselves and each other and move on. Otherwise, we'll repeat the war again in Central America.

MLS: John, you used the word "schizo" to describe how you were torn over your role with the NSA. As I recall, the Berrigans were also worried about the mental health of the policy makers you gave your information to, whom they feared were paranoid or xenophobic. Would you comment?

John: Yeah, it seems ridiculous to say all those guys are crazy, but . . .

Margie: Not anymore!

John: In all seriousness, I think there is a psychology that builds up in that closed, cloistered military world. It's the officers club and headquarters and their own quarters — that's about the extent of their social life and exposure to the world. They go from one military base to another on the opposite side of the world but they meet the same people. They might get away for a year or two, then through reassignment they're linked up again. They talk to each other, reinforcing their own opinions. I think under those

conditions it really is possible for a type of mental illness to develop. Instead of functioning rationally and relating to the world as it really exists, they relate on a set of artificial terms of their own manufacture and that's living in a fantasy world. The danger, of course, is that their actions in that fantasy world can obliterate the real world.

RLD: Did you think the peace demonstrations were effective during the Vietnam War?

John: In the beginning I was skeptical that they could have any impact on national policy. But when Johnson decided not to run again, it became clear that the Administration was listening. I was also reluctant to go to demonstrations because of the effect it might have on my clearance status.

RLD: They were taking a lot of photographs out there.

John: Oh, yes. And that wasn't a foolish consideration because when I came up for clearance renewal I had to fill out a personal history. When it was time for the interview and the lie detector test the security guys were primed for me. They accused me of having radical publications in my house. Over past years we had subscribed to *Newsweek*, and suddenly *Newsweek* wasn't on the list any more. Instead, it's *CALC's American Report* and *Post American* and other things.



Then they asked me what demonstrations my wife and I had attended. There was a lot of tooth-sucking going on by those two guys, with nobody smiling much. This went on for 2½ hours one Friday afternoon, and as I drove home I was thinking, was there anything I forgot to include? That's the kiss of death, to hide anything. When I got home I told Margie which demonstrations I had reported. She said I didn't go to that one, I went to this other one, and that one, and I had made a hash of it.

MLS: Margie, how were you reacting to this?

Margie: I was angry they were even questioning what we were doing, and then I became frightened because I wondered where they were getting that information. They must have been checking the mail or phones. Both of us agonized over that weekend.

John: It was the most miserable couple of days in my life. I was worried I had given them false information, unwittingly, and was I in trouble. We sat down and tried to

sort it out. Then I thought, this is still a sort-of free country. This is crazy! So the next morning I told them I had mistakenly given them wrong information and my wife and I had made a correct list. "But damned if I'm going to give it to you," I said, and put it back in my pocket. "It's none of your business. All you have to worry about is whether I'm selling or giving away secrets, and I'm not doing that. You guys have a sticky job, especially since Ellsberg released the Pentagon papers, but you either have to take my word that I'm not giving away secrets or fire me." Then I got written up and put into security files.

RLD: Did you find that out through the Freedom of Information Act?

John: Not through the FOIA. A separate act covers government employees. When I inquired, this guy gives me a big pile of stuff but says, "I have to tell you that certain documents have been taken out, and all I can say is who controls them and the dates." I ended up with two pages of documents which had been removed by the Navy Department, the Army, a whole bunch of investigative organizations, all various dates, and obviously some of them dealt with attendance at demonstrations.

MLS: Were there files on you, too, Margie?

Margie: I wrote to the NSA but they said they didn't have anything, so I didn't pursue it. But what I did write for was transcripts from the Congressional hearings about government infiltrations into groups like Clergy and Laity, the American Friends Service Committee, and other peace groups which had been spied upon even though they were conducting perfectly legal activities. Have you ever seen it? It's inches thick.

RLD: In retrospect, would you say that in your case the system worked? The procedures in screening and surveillance?

John: That's right. I'm not working for them anymore. And I was careful to burn all my bridges behind me so even if I wanted to, there would be no way I could ever go back. But another aspect of it was although I could look at my security file and see I was a "bad guy" in their terms, when I looked at my personnel file which dealt with how I did my job, the two seemed to be about different people. I consistently got outstanding performance ratings and early promotions.

But the whole thing kept building in my conscience. I still have that picture of Oppenheimer. He was the key man in building the atomic bomb and he ended up saying, "What have I done? I've created a monster!" I was getting

that feeling. The everyday work was fun, the task of analysis and organization and discovery. It was like doing a crossword puzzle. But the significance hit when I went to my other life. On my way home, the moral judgments began to bother me about what I was doing. It was as though I was trying to serve two masters.

RLD: Let me change the subject a bit. Margie, you wrote **THE WITNESS** that there was a sense of conflict between things about your native culture, the United States, and those where you were temporarily residing. Could you elaborate? What kind of attraction in German or English culture did you feel was running athwart of what you were about? When John was studying Russian war games what were you doing?

Margie: Well, John couldn't tell me anything about the work, whether we were here or overseas. But early on I became curious about Russian culture. I began reading their famous authors, including some of Karl Marx and Lenin. Then I turned to music. I became fascinated with the beauty of their culture, and began to see the Russian people as human beings. I couldn't feel towards them as an enemy. Then I started studying Chinese. I took a course at Catholic University on Chinese philosophy. We later asked the teacher if he would teach us the language. I kept thinking how much better it would be if we were exposed to different languages and music and literature. It's so senseless to be fighting over our little boundaries, saying we're better than you are.

And living overseas gives you a different perspective of what's happening in your own country. Just being exposed to British news media was interesting because they had fewer axes to grind in reporting about Vietnam. Some of the Americans there were angry. They thought the British media were biased in reporting the war.

MLS: You also wrote that it was difficult to be in touch with your friends abroad. Why was that?

Margie: When we were in Germany our landlady's daughter used to babysit for us, and we became good friends. She could speak English and I wrote to her and our landlady too after we got back. They called John in to Security and suggested we stop corresponding.

John: I told them my wife was the letter writer, that our babysitter had married and sent pictures of her husband; it was on that level. They said, "Well we can't make your wife

stop corresponding with them, but we can make you wish that she did."

MLS: Have you read James Bamford's book about the NSA, *The Puzzle Palace*? The book indicates that it's such a secret operation that NSA means No Such Agency.

John: I read it with great interest because it mentions some of my contemporaries, but it doesn't come across with the exciting aspects of NSA — what attracts people to work there. Quite clearly he tapped into people who knew the agency well, many of the descriptions are what I remember. But he also might have been consciously spoon-fed information to present a picture that things aren't as bad as they seem, to diffuse the problems.

MLS: What about the book's description of civilian and military struggle for control?

John: There was for a number of years civilian/military conflict about who would dominate, but now, to a large extent, civilians are working harmoniously alongside the military. There will always be a certain tug-of-war because the military believes that martial things are incomprehensible to civilians because they haven't been to West Point, which is sheer rubbish. But the military and civilian elements in NSA and the Pentagon have buried the hatchet. They have found that cooperation helps them to achieve higher levels — in budget and overall goals. That merger is frightening.

Eisenhower used to talk about the military-industrial complex, but now there is no separation between the two. What drives the two together to a great extent is the size of contracts.

MLS: Are you referring to the so-called "revolving door" between them?

John: Right. Civilians in the government and military officials administer the contracts and upon retirement they step into a \$100,000 a year job in industry because they have the contacts in government and the Pentagon. And civilians have moved from NSA to the industrial side and back again. The revolving door works constantly.

RLD: You have no fear of saying these things publicly now?

John: Well, I think we've both reached the point where, to a large extent, we don't care. Our convictions have become stronger.

Margie: The fear is gone and a sense of humor has come back.

John: Today there seem to be many people questioning the system. Things are challenged routinely now that would never have been dreamt of, say, 25 years ago or in the



McCarthy era. People can understand better what's happening in El Salvador and they spot the softness in an alibi, as when General Haig said, "Maybe those nuns were running a roadblock, and that's why they got shot." Some years ago, people might have bought that, but now it's seen as ridiculous. I think that's very promising.

Margie: Looking at recent events, it seems as though the government has not changed. Our leaders are still playing 'gate' games. Watergate, Contragate, Irangate. But I see hope in people-to-people exchanges. Here in Maine Samantha Smith's visit to Russia was a poignant time for us. How refreshing to see the Russian people through the eyes of a child! There are now plans for an exchange program between University of Maine students and Russian students. And I attended a seminar in September sponsored by Physicians for Social Responsibility where I heard Soviet scientists and doctors who had treated the victims of Chernobyl share their experience. Ironically, another speaker on the program was Admiral Noel Gayler, former director of the NSA.

RLD: What is your denominational background?

John: We were brought up Catholic in Milwaukee. We were high school sweethearts.

Margie: We were influenced by the Young Christian Workers movement, in which you applied the Gospel and principles you were studying to daily work.

MLS: Where do you get your courage to speak out?

Margie: I love reading the Gospels, ever since I was a child while I used to read them during Mass when I became bored. That's pretty much where I center all my thoughts and feelings.

John: Most of my strength comes from Margie. I'm not saying that to flatter her. She seems to delve more into things. She'll be vacuuming and come talk to me about something she was thinking about. When I'm out there tuning up the car, I'm not thinking about El Salvador or nuclear weapons. Or when I'm working in the garden, I'm thinking about putting in seeds, pulling weeds, not about where this world's going.

I have to admit I probably would have continued in the NSA for a long time. The pay was good. I was virtually assured of continuous promotions, there were lots of perquisites. It was a tremendous relief after having had to struggle with family budgeting and keeping little envelopes with totals written on them about how much we had for what. With NSA if I wanted to buy something I simply laid down dollar bills.

RLD: Where do you work now?

John: At the woolen mill. I work as director of personnel. I've also been a bobbin stripper, a weaver, a percher, a lab technician and a dyer.

Margie: Several of us have worked in the mill at one time or another. I was spinning, our son was weighing yarn.

John: For a while we were back to those little envelopes, but now the future seems a little brighter, economically. In a way, talking about leaving the NSA is like watching old home movies. Looking back, it pales in comparison to some of the things we've been through since. It might sound like a dramatic decision to some, but for us it was only an inevitable step on a path of growth. ■

The assassination

Surveys say that most Americans
who were alive at the time
can remember exactly where they were
when they learned President Kennedy was shot.

I grew up Republican.
I was for Nixon in 5th grade.
My best friend was for Kennedy.
We'd argue. "Kennedy's so liberal,
he'll give America to the Russians."
He'd scream, "Nixon needs a shave."
Kennedy won, I was told,
because he was slick, handsome,
and his father had money.
Nixon lost because he needed a shave.

Shortly before Thanksgiving,
as we sat in 6th period English,
the principal came on and asked us all
to go to our homerooms.
There, he told us the president had been shot.
A girl in front of me began to cry,
and turned to me and said, "I can't believe
someone would do this. Can you?"
I stared at my knuckles and shook my head.
At 2:00, the principal told us he had died.
The bus was quiet that day.

A week later, someone told me
the thing we should remember
is how peacefully power was transferred
from Kennedy to Johnson.
"It doesn't happen that way in Russia,"
he said.

I remember trying to tell myself
that was what mattered.

— Mark Littleton

The story of Ahinoam

Based on the Book of Samuel

by Sharon Swedean Muhlenkort

It's time for me Ahinoam, wife of King Saul, to raise my voice. My husband and my sons are dead. Killed on the battlefield on the same day. Enough mourning. I will keep silent no longer! Too many women have mourned quietly. For us who lose our children there are no borders. We are all sisters and brothers. My name, Ahinoam, means lover of my sister and brother.

All this fighting and for what? Because different people live differently. And now I am left with my daughters Merob and Michal, and my son-in-law David.

I spoke with my husband on many occasions about all this fighting. And I said to him, "Saul, why is it that whenever Samuel, priest and judge, comes to you with an order, he begins 'Thus says the Lord' and then you take whatever he says as the word of God? The only word of God. Did it ever occur to you that the voice that Samuel hears is not the voice of the Holy One? What kind of a God is it that would say 'Do not spare anyone. But kill men and women, children and infants, oxen and asses.' Samuel tells you to kill children and you do it! . . . I know he's the priest. You keep telling me that, but Saul, God

speaks to you too. What voice do you hear?

"I hear voices. I hear the voice of a gentle, loving God. Do you remember Saul when Michal was born and how you held her in your arms — so preciously — and you said, 'Blessed be the Name of the Holy One . . . who creates such wonder!' That's the God that I worship, Saul. Can you hear the voice of that God?"

"Why do you only see God as something like yourself, a King, a warrior, someone who kills! Might God be something like . . . myself? I know it sounds crazy, but might God be something like me? One who knows the pain of losing one I love . . . and who can hold another tenderly . . . and who knows anger, but anger for needless death . . . Can you hear the voice of

that God, Saul?"

I said these things to Saul on many occasions and he said to me, "Ahinoam, if anyone knew that I, King Saul of Israel, allowed my wife to speak to me in this manner!" And I said to him, "Saul! Don't be talking to me like that, I'm your wife!" And he would laugh at me. But he would not listen. And now it's too late for him or for my son Jonathan.

We're waiting for a new King to be anointed — David — whom my son loved as he loved himself. I remember when I first saw David. It was before he married my daughter Michal. He was brought into our house because Saul was tormented by an evil spirit. David came and played his harp — so beautifully! He comforted my husband. I had never seen a man have that kind of an affect before. He brought peace into our home. And my son Jonathan and he became as brothers. And David held his love for Jonathan more precious than his love for women. Now David and I grieve the death of Jonathan together.

This makes me feel there is something special about such a man; that through his music or through his grieving or in the voice of his wife Michal he too will hear the voice of a tender God. And through listening to such a voice, David son of Jesse of Bethlehem would be for all a King of peace! ■

Sharon Swedean Muhlenkort is a free lance writer based in Berkeley, Cal., where she is working on her master's degree at the Franciscan School of Theology.



Easter people

How can we be an Easter people in a Good Friday world? The biblical readings during Easter week reveal that many of Jesus' disciples hid themselves and were afraid of the consequences of Calvary. Similarly, I believe that many of us are held back by fear as we try to witness in a pastoral way to the risen Christ.

For example, an ecumenical group of Canadian clergy got together recently in Calgary to meet with a representative from Nicaragua. In the past, our churches had given humanitarian aid as well as moral support to that besieged country.

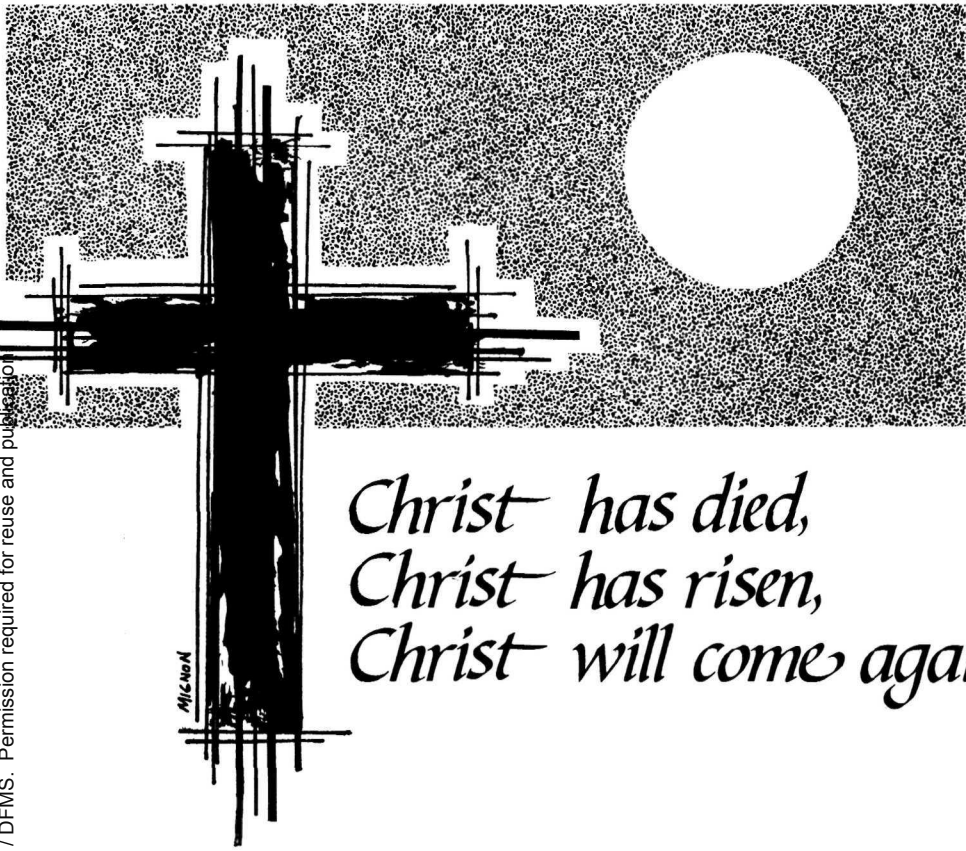
At one point, one pastor spoke up: "I really don't know if I should preach on those prophetic, social themes that Scripture calls me to preach about; to say to my congregation that God has a 'preferential option for the poor;' to say that churches throughout the world are recognizing the inseparable connection between justice and spirituality; to say that God is with the oppressed. Most of my members are very conservative, part of the status quo."

Another pastor, from a prestigious church, replied: "Of course you can — if you're ready to move on to another congregation!"

Everybody smiled.

The incident has stuck in my mind. During the fat years there is a hardening of the spiritual arteries. During the lean years, we're skinnier in accoutre-

The Rev. Max B. Surjadinata is coordinator of social ministries for Calgary Presbytery of the United Church of Canada. He was a Proctor Fellow at Episcopal Divinity School in 1982.



*Christ has died,
Christ has risen,
Christ will come again.*

"During the fat years there is a hardening of the spiritual arteries. During the lean years, we're skinnier in accoutrements, but perhaps we're dealing with real human needs."

in a Good Friday world

by Max Surjadinata

ments, but perhaps we're dealing with real human needs.

The church is confronted with a choice, just like Moses. Moses could have chosen to live in Egypt, like a prince, with all the benefits, or to live in the desert with the people.

I have begun to inquire of my colleagues why there is such reluctance among us to speak out prophetically. One common response is that most pastors are simply overwhelmed with congregational demands. These "pastoralia" perhaps unwittingly, force them to adopt a managerial role, that of keeping a plant running smoothly. I was uneasy with this response, although it is certainly understandable.

As pastors we do have a pastoral and prophetic role. Prophets were heirs of the religious tradition, rich and full of theological insights, as well as of moral values and social relevancy. The central concern of the prophets was God's relationship and dealings with people. The characteristic prophetic words, "*Thus says Yahweh*" have their origins in the speech form used by a messenger carrying out the master's commission, rather than simply trying to comfort and please the recipients.

And I thought about those who, as Jeremiah describes them, "heal the wound of my people lightly, saying 'Peace, peace,' when there is no peace" (*Jeremiah 6:14*).

Drawn to the Bible for answers to my questions, I was especially caught by the scene described by Ezekiel (33:30-32) where God says: "As for you . . . they come to you as people come, and

they hear what you have to say, but they will not do it, for with their lips they show much love, but their hearts are set on their gain. And behold, you are to them like one who sings love songs with a beautiful voice and plays well on an instrument, for they hear what you say, but they will not do it."

Why are we such that, as Reinhold Niebuhr once cynically remarked, we "look and act for all the world like cute altar boys who have no idea that the mass in which they are participating is a dramatization of tragedy"?

As clergy, do we fear *people* more than we fear the One who commissioned us to lead? Do we depend more on those who provide our "bread" than on the One who provides, sustains, and nurtures our life?

Are we not called to follow Jesus, and like him to embody his words and emulate his deeds to people around us, so as to convince them that as Jesus was God's love personified, the church ought to be God's love organized?

In all this ruminating, I recalled words from Karl Barth that I have kept close to my heart since my heady studies in systematic theology years ago at Episcopal Divinity School: "The pastor who does not believe that in this congregation . . . including those men and women, widows and children, Christ's own congregation exists, does not believe in the existence of the church. *Credo ecclesiam* means that I believe that here, at this place, in this visible assembly, the work of the Holy Spirit takes place."

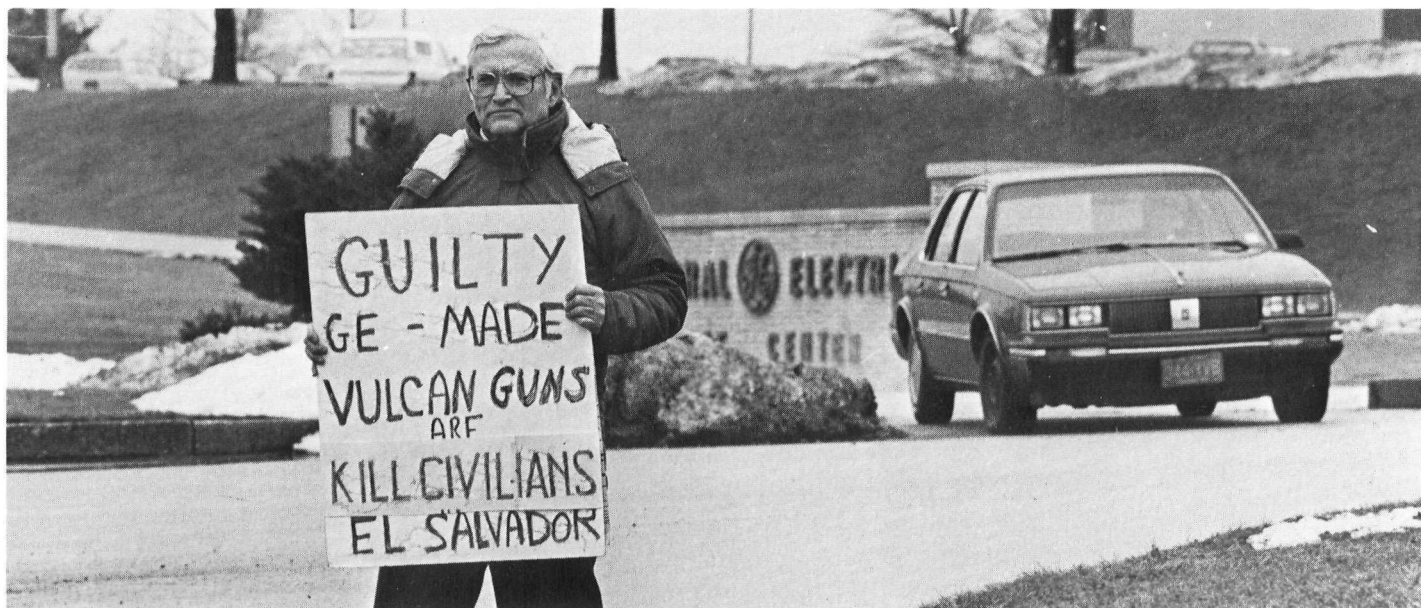
Then I knew. Though called to edu-

cate and lead the people, to elicit faith among those to whom we are charged, we often lack faith ourselves. I remembered how Peter, walking on the water to meet Jesus, was overcome with doubt and fear, and sank. I thought of how his name in our time has been used for phrases like "petering out" — running dry, giving up.

As clergy, we too often fall captive to our fears. What if the Gospel promises actually come true? Would we still have our jobs? If people truly believed and acted out their belief in faith and practice, would we not become obsolete?

Do we really dare risk ourselves for the sake of the Gospel, dying to selves in order to be resurrected in the lives of all the people? Suppose we took seriously the words of the late Archbishop Oscar Romero of El Salvador in his final homily before he was assassinated: "One must not love oneself so much as to avoid getting involved in the risks of life that history demands of us, and those who try to fend off the danger will lose their lives, while those who out of love for Christ give themselves to the service of others will live, like the grain of wheat that dies, but only apparently."

Clergy are called to be those who remember the promises. We are accompanied by the God who promised to be with us, beside us, and ahead of us, as well as within us, the God who said that "Those who put their trust in God shall never be put to shame." Our words and lives should incarnate the life of the one who is "the Word made flesh," the one who showed us that "perfect love casts out fear." ■



Bill Whistler pickets GE. at a peace demonstration

Former employee haunts GE

by Susan E. Pierce

Why did Bill Stuart-Whistler give up a secure, well-paying job at General Electric Corporation to join the struggle against the arms race?

"Because saying 'I do a little defense work' is like saying 'I have a little cancer,'" Whistler said. For 28 years, he had worked as an engineer at GE, designing guidance and tracking systems for the military. But one day in 1980, he left, feeling he could no longer in good conscience work on military contracts. He now does non-military research for the University of Pennsylvania, and has devoted much of his time to protesting his former employer's policy and practices.

General Electric is the fourth largest military contractor in the United States. More than any other contractor, GE is involved in the research, development and production of weapons components for every nuclear weapons system either currently deployed or planned for deployment. GE consumes about \$13 million of the public treasury each day in war preparations.

That is why each week, Bill Stuart-Whistler and fellow

members of the Brandywine Peace Community maintain a vigil at GE's Philadelphia offices. Whistler feels it is a "moral imperative" to protest GE's involvement in the arms race. "Many, many millions will die if this madness is carried to its logical conclusion, which is to blow up the world," he said.

Whistler's resignation from GE was not a spur-of-the-moment decision. He had thought, prayed, and wrestled with the conflict between his growing belief in disarmament and the work he did for the military. Several experiences influenced his journey toward peacemaking. One such was after he witnessed a nuclear bomb test in the South Pacific. The power of what he saw disturbed him, as did a story he heard afterward. A worker went on to the bombed and devastated island-target after the blast. Not expecting to find anything living, he found a pack of rats that had taken refuge in a storage bunker. The rats were crazed with fear and had been completely deafened by the explosion.

That eerie report summed up the unpredictable power of nuclear weapons, Whistler said. "It indicated to me that it's impossible for man to think everything out."

During the Vietnam War years, in the late '60s and early

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

'70s, Whistler became increasingly involved in the anti-war and anti-nuclear movements. He became more personally engaged when his brother-in-law was arrested during a raid at a draft board in Camden, N.J. in 1971, and Whistler raised money for the defense. Issues raised by the trial, as well as events surrounding Daniel Ellsberg's release of the Pentagon Papers also served as a catalyst toward his resignation.

In 1978, Whistler went to a memorial at the United Nations marking the anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima. "What I saw there led me to realize the effects of nuclear bombs on people. I was then in the satellite business at GE's King of Prussia, Pa. Space Division. From 1974 until 1977, there was a strong push for commercial satellite work. Then things changed. GE started bidding for military contracts, and was heavily involved in defense work by 1979."

The final mental alchemy which motivated him to leave was effected when, in 1979 he was asked at a meeting of the Brandywine Peace Community to donate blood that was to be used in a protest action at GE. "Then I witnessed five friends of mine from Brandywine arrested for chaining shut the doors of Building 9, for which they were later sentenced to 30 days in jail. The act of giving blood, seeing my friends arrested, these things came together and that was when I decided to leave.

Still, Whistler admitted, he struggled with it.

"I had a conversation with a friend that went like this:

'I can't leave.'

'Why not?'

'I'd have no money.'

'Why can't you get another job?'

'I guess I could.'

Then I did find another job."

Even though he no longer works at GE, he is a stockholder and continues to attend meetings where he patiently tries to persuade the company to get out of the weapons business. "We receive a polite reception from the Board of Directors, less from the stockholders, and we get about 2% of the vote," he said.

He also sent an open letter to his former GE colleagues, pointing out:

While many GE products do indeed "bring good things to life," there is at least one aspect of GE's manufacturing that in no way can do this. It is the production of neutron generators at the Pinellas, Fla. plant. These devices are used as triggers on every H-bomb made. In this way, the GE logo is placed on every nuclear device in the U.S. nuclear arsenal.

This fact may be new to you and distasteful to you.

Many faiths have declared it is a sin to build a nuclear bomb. Now you find that your own company is a nuclear profiteer: what can you do?

His letter then outlines possible action alternatives within and outside the company.

Reaching people is difficult, however, Whistler admitted. "I have friends of 25 years from GE who are absolutely convinced of the 'Peace through Strength' philosophy. For most people it comes down to maintaining life styles, and it's hard to unsell that."

But he doesn't condemn his former co-workers. "A distinction has to be made. People are good. It's the company and its policies that are immoral."

The Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) or "Star Wars" particularly disturbs him. "GE's Star Wars headquarters are at Valley Forge. In fact, GE's recent moves in the marketplace, like the acquisition of RCA, are designed to put GE in a better position to bid for Star Wars."

At a recent stockholders meeting, Whistler introduced a resolution asking that GE expertise and talent not be used for the militarization of space and called for the company to get out of the Star Wars business. GE responded that though the arms build-up is a matter of concern, "the national interest requires the production of weapons."

Whistler feels otherwise: "One of the reasons this country is no longer competitive in commercial markets is because 50% of all research money is going to defense work. When there is a technological breakthrough in private industry, it's sold to the military."

Bill Stuart-Whistler also draws connections between the effect the arms race is having on this country and how it has shaped U.S. foreign policy. As a member of Witness for Peace and EPICA's North-South Dialogue, national groups opposing U.S. involvement in Central America, he has made two trips to Nicaragua which made him realize that Central America "is a microcosm of the arms race."

In Nicaragua, he said, the situation is clearer. "It's not global, therefore more focused. It's easier to understand the direct effect of a misguided U.S. program. Reagan battered down Congress to get aid for the Contras. In light of the Iran-Contra affair, you can see the chicanery very clearly. When the CIA wasn't allowed to aid the Contras, the National Security Council took over."

"Killing is going on in our name in Central America," said Whistler, and there is another kind of "institutional" killing going on in the arms race. "It's two-edged," he said, because not only are the weapons themselves capable of causing death, but "the money robbed from social programs for arms is killing. Most defense industries are not labor-intensive, so there's high unemployment. And it's

taking money from the programs for the old, the young and from education.”

Constantly active as a peacemaker since he left GE, Whistler has been arrested numerous times in non-violent protests. He says he draws his strength from his involvement in various peace communities. Besides being a member of Brandywine, he is on the board of the Plowshares Committee, is a member of the Montgomery Alliance for Nuclear Disarmament and the Montgomery County Center for Peace and Justice, and, as an Episcopalian, on the Peacemaking Task Force of the Diocese of Pennsylvania.

He has one mission concerning his former employer that he especially hopes to accomplish. “If there is anything I would strive for, it would be to get GE out of the business of making hydrogen bombs in its Pinellas, Fla. plant. Nuclear energy is like a genie gone mad. Look at Chernobyl. Some little valley in Norway got a total overdose of radiation even though it was hundreds of miles away. It should be a warning to everyone that no one is safe from nuclear weapons. If nuclear arms were used, those who would die would be people who had no part in the decision. The world would be ruined. We’ve got to find another way. It’s a moral imperative.” ■

Why INFACT boycotts GE

Occasionally, a peace activist asks me, “Why should we support a campaign to boycott General Electric? Of course, GE is involved in the manufacture of all kinds of nuclear weapons. We know they make neutron generators or triggers essential to a nuclear warhead and they make parts for the MX, the Trident submarine, the B-1 bomber and others. But after all, policy is made by the President and Congress. Contracts are then awarded by competitive bidding to companies whose responsibility is to carry out policy, not make it. GE is just doing business in the ordinary American way and is not a cause of the arms race.”

Unfortunately the modern method of doing business is to sell products to Congress and the Pentagon. GE’s permanent staff in Washington works full-time to persuade Congress, the Administration and the Pentagon to purchase services and contracts from GE.

Evidence for this comes from various sources but is summed up in the *Washington Post*: “With a staff of 120 housed in offices that cost \$1.3 million a year to rent, GE’s Washington Headquarters has established corporate beachheads in almost every branch of government . . . to lobby on aircraft engines, aerospace radar, electronics, flight simulators and weapons systems.” (5/13/85)

Robert Welch, GE’s Chief Executive officer, told a stockholders meeting in April, 1985 that “GE spends millions of dollars every year working hand in hand with the government to establish policies which are good for the nation and good for the company.”

Salesmanship has changed with the com-

plexity of modern technology. The simple sales pitch has been superseded by a system of subtle contracts with everyone from the military engineer who actually understands the system in question up through the chain of command to elected representatives. Pentagon brass must make recommendations to Congress and the President about high-tech systems which they do not fully understand themselves so they depend on briefings that come from the contractor recommending the system. The contractor who can provide the best answers to tough questions asked by Congress has the inside track. That is how Welch can say, “General Electric works hand in hand with the government to establish policies . . .”

Efforts to move this country toward a policy of life and peace rather than suicide cannot ignore the President and the Congress, but if we think we can achieve our goal without tackling the industrial side of the military-industrial complex, we are as naive as our critics sometimes call us.

Since President Eisenhower’s warning over a quarter of a century ago, the military-industrial complex has developed to the point that no decisions on purchase of new weapons are made by government without the input of industry.

The U.S. military is so dependent on companies such as GE that even criminal convictions such as those that occurred in 1985 result in a minor and temporary slap on the wrist. Not a single contract is lost by the offending company.

Some might say, “Why single out GE? Aren’t there other companies who contribute

equally to the nuclear madness?” The decision to start with GE is tactical, not moral. At present, GE is the one company with a huge volume of nuclear weapons work that also has a large consumer division. With a successful advertising campaign, the company has created a positive image: “We bring good things to life.” That image gives us something to aim at. It is at best a half (quarter?) truth and the boycott campaign is an effort to set the record straight. Further, GE is recognized around the country as a well-run company. If we persuade them to refuse nuclear weapons contracts it will set the example for many others.

INFACT is an acronym for Infant Formula Coalition, an organization founded 10 years ago when large numbers of people in the Western world became concerned that Third World mothers were being persuaded by Nestle to use infant formula though they did not have access to clean water nor the income necessary to insure a regular supply of the formula. Nestle’s salesmanship included free samples of infant formula distributed by women dressed in uniforms to mothers who had experienced the skill of uniformed nurses but knew nothing of the consequences of temporary interruption of breast feeding.

INFACT’s recent successful boycott forced Nestle’s to stop unsavory sales practices in Third World countries. This action gave INFACT valuable experience in altering the policies of a major corporation which can now be used in the campaign to boycott GE.

— Irving Hollingshead
Boyertown, Pa.

Short Takes

Institutional greed deadly

Our nation has allowed the so-called "military/industrial complex" to take over the direction of our national destiny. There is no other explanation for the proliferation of nuclear warheads to the point where we can now destroy the world many times over. There is no other explanation for the manufacture of a useless weapon like the MX. There is no other explanation for the overreaction to a leftist government in Nicaragua.

The war machine has its own momentum and the real engines are the defense industries and the military. Time and time again their "experts" have been proven wrong, but time and time again the government has been afraid to stand up against them. The greed is not exactly greed on the part of individuals who lead these giant corporations. Rather, it is institutional greed, which, like institutional racism, is hidden but deadly — perhaps more deadly than overt greed. When I talk about institutional greed, I am talking about the solemn responsibility of management to make as much money as possible, within the law, for shareholders. If they do not fulfill this obligation, they are relieved of management. However, some corporate leaders cannot help but go beyond legitimate profit-making and become infused with a lust for power.

The military also are greedy in behalf of their own services — Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps. They may consciously feel that they are doing things because their country needs this defense, but in fact the evidence is quite clear that they, too, are on a "power trip."

The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Jr.
Bishop of New York

Sought after society

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



"Hey, I'm sure it has lots and lots of peacetime applications!"

Women and AIDS

Unlike gay men who have been alerted to the issues and can learn about safe sex practices, many women at risk of getting AIDS are unaware of its ability to cross lines of sexual preference or gender. The women most at risk are those with the least resources. Black and Hispanic women in urban areas are in the highest risk group. There are, for example, 757 women with AIDS in New York City. The AIDS mortality rate for Black and Hispanic women is four times that of white women according to the NY City Dept. of Health. For all women between the ages of 25-29 in New York City, AIDS is the leading cause of death.

Women who are exposed to the AIDS virus receive the fewest social services. Generally speaking, they have no safety net. They often have poor nutrition and little or no access to health care. The lack of information about risk behaviors may lead to more cases of AIDS. Women with AIDS, like all AIDS patients, are likely to be ostracized from work, school or jobs, but unlike gay men, a straight woman won't have the support of a whole subculture.

Kathleen Gavin
New Directions for Women 2/87

Quote of note

Security is mostly superstition. It does not exist in nature. Life is either a daring adventure or nothing.

Helen Keller

2 bishops in FBI files

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has admitted to the *National Catholic Reporter* that it has been keeping files on two prominent U.S. Catholic "peace bishops."

The FBI stated in a Feb. 2 letter, "Reference is made to your pending Freedom of Information-Privacy Acts requests pertaining to (Detroit Auxiliary Bishop) Thomas Gumbleton and (Seattle Archbishop) Raymond Hunthausen. Documents pertaining to your request have been located; however, before release can be made, they must be reviewed to ascertain if they warrant classification under current standards."

The FBI's letter was a response to NCR's Freedom of Information Act requests, filed in September 1986 (with the approval of the bishops concerned), that sought to establish whether the FBI was spying on Catholic bishops who have spoken out against the U.S. nuclear arms buildup. NCR is awaiting replies to other FOI requests.

Jim McManus
National Catholic Reporter, 2/20/87

Case for divestment

The Rev. Kingsley Smith, of Towson, Md. sent the following item for the Short Takes column. It is excerpted from a letter he sent recently to John R. Opel, chair of International Business Machines:

Dear Mr. Opel,

On Feb. 12, 1986, I wrote to report to you that the Vestry of Trinity Church had sold our Endowment Fund shares of IBM as "a protest against our participation in the present unjust racial policies of the South African government."

Last fall IBM withdrew its operations from South Africa. Accordingly, on Jan. 9, 1987 the Vestry has purchased shares in your company in recognition of your change of policy.

Now it happens that we sold the shares at 138 and 1/8 in 1986 and purchased them at 122 in 1987. We had been prepared to accept a loss of value, but "God works in mysterious ways." Our net gain on the transaction was \$1,712.50, money which we will use to enlarge our program of outreach and benevolences.

Kingsley Smith, Rector

To Ricardo, with love:

Requiem for a priest with AIDS

by Lu Stanton León

Many times I've been embarrassed for my church, cringing at acts of intolerance, angry when fear and ignorance fly in the face of love and compassion.

Those emotions faded in the memory of Nov. 18, 1986, when the Rev. Ricardo Dominguez Palomares was buried. The intensely emotional event gave me a permanent picture of the church at its best, a reminder of why I'm proud to be part of the Episcopal church, proud of Ricardo and what he taught me.

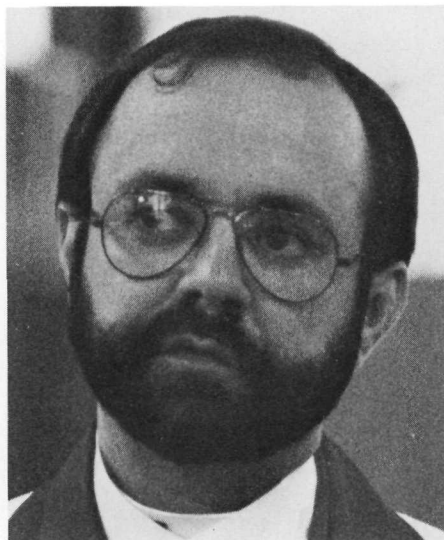
Ricardo died from AIDS. It was nine months from diagnosis to death, a time that poignantly overlapped the nine months from conception to birth of our daughter, Sofia.

Ricardo was my husband's cousin, but that doesn't adequately describe their relationship. They were more like brothers, confidants. Both Luis and Ricardo were Episcopal priests, and they turned to each other for support, guidance, and laughter.

As children they had lived beside each other in Cuba. Both immigrated to the United States in 1961 with a group of Cuban children who were sponsored by the Episcopal church. As adults they visited often and spoke by phone — in Spanish and English — at least once a week.

We never considered the possibility that Ricardo would develop AIDS, which shows our incredible naiveté. He was gay and therefore in the high risk group; but AIDS was still an unknown demon to us. Now we know it too well.

Lu Stanton León is a reporter for *The Record*, Hackensack, N.J. The above article is reprinted with permission from the 2/11/87 issue of *The Record*.



Ricardo Dominguez Palomares

It's the cruelest of diseases, because it deceives you into thinking that you beat it. Although we knew it always culminated in death, more than once we were tricked into believing that maybe just this once . . .

"I think we're praying for more than grace here," I remember one friend saying when Ricardo was having a particularly good week.

We never heard Ricardo say that. He had made his peace with death. Throughout his sickness he lent support to distraught friends. He listened as they worked through their grief.

When Luis visited him at Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore shortly after the diagnosis, he came back terribly depressed. Not just about Ricardo, whom we didn't think would live until the end of the week, but because Ricardo was the only patient in the AIDS ward with visitors. The other rooms were filled with young men, alone and dying.

No cards, no flowers, no hope.

Ricardo was rarely alone. Visits were frequent from friends and members of his congregations at Chapel of the Holy Evangelists and La Mission Episcopal Hispana in East Baltimore. And then there were his friends from the University of Maryland in Baltimore County, where he was a professor, and his friends from General Theological Seminary in New York.

The nurses finally had to start screening visitors, so he could get some rest. No one, it seemed, shut him out. None of his friends pulled away in fear. Everyone touched, hugged, laughed, cried.

He continued his work at his English- and Spanish-speaking congregations, struggling, blue-collar parishes that gave him loving support. Members of the hospital staff spoke to them about AIDS, how you get it and what to expect as the disease progressed.

Because he was rapidly losing stamina and energy, many of Ricardo's church visits and counseling sessions were done by phone. Out of consideration for those in the congregation who quietly may have feared contracting the disease, Ricardo led the eucharist on Sundays but let someone else pass out the bread and wine.

He was in and out of the hospital throughout the summer. But when he reentered in November, he knew he'd never go home. Luis received a call from Ricardo on a Wednesday saying this was it, come say goodbye. My husband caught a train that day and spent the afternoon with Ricardo before catching the night train back. Ricardo died the next day. He was 42.

With goodbyes said and death such an obvious relief from the suffering that Ricardo endured, I didn't look forward to the funeral as anything but a necessary ritual. We had mourned for so long.

I certainly didn't expect to be comforted by the funeral service. I never dreamed it would help crystalize what the church means to me.

But it was Ricardo's party, and he was always quite the host. During the last months of his life he had planned every detail — who would preach, who would read what from the Bible, the songs that would be sung, who would carry the casket.

Eighty-two priests, including three bishops, filed into the Cathedral of the Incarnation in Baltimore that day. (The bishops in the procession were A. Theodore Eastman of Maryland; his assistant, Barry Valentine; and his

predecessor, David K. Leighton.) In a building that seats hundreds, people were standing in the aisles.

And as Ricardo had wanted, it was a celebration of life, not death.

As the Rev. Canon Edwin G. Bennett so eloquently put in his sermon, "If this service is nothing but a celebration of Ricardo's life and does nothing for our own, we have missed the point.

"I said earlier that we gathered here as the church to make absolutely clear again the truth of God by which we live. And that truth is the gospel we proclaim, enshrined in the promise we heard — the love and care of God for *all* his people, no matter who, no matter what."

He continued: "And I know that many in this cathedral today live in fear of the plague that afflicted Ricardo — the fear of getting sick, the fear of being rejected because of your sick-

ness, the fear of being alone when you most need the love of friends.

"But let this service this morning be witness to the fact that you need not be afraid — we have heard the gospel message — and as you are not excluded from the love of God, so you are not excluded from the love of those who love and serve the Lord."

Of the hundreds gathered in that cathedral, not one hesitated to drink from the common cup.

I often think of that service and Ted Bennett's words. I often think of Ricardo, picturing him not sick, not in his clerical collar, but leading a conga line during a cookout in our Paterson home.

I miss him. He died as he lived, with dignity, grace, and faith. As my husband said in a letter to his parish shortly after Ricardo's death, for us the world is a dimmer place without him.

Trinity welcomes homosexuals

by Robert W. Cromeey

Trinity Church, San Francisco, is 60% gay men and lesbian women in membership. Most of these adult Christians have chosen to be Episcopalians in the last five years. They number 90 of our 150 members. We have no children as members right now. Worship on Sundays is at 11 a.m. Adult education takes place on Sundays at 10 a.m. and Thursdays after a 6:30 p.m. potluck supper. In our parish, 130 persons have pledged \$130,000 to the life and work of the church for 1987 — an average of \$1000 a year or \$19.23 a week. A goodly number accept the standard of the tithe as the basis for their giving.

As a straight, married priest and rector I am privileged to be friend and pastor to this congregation. Many, not

all, trust me with the deepest parts of their sexuality, personality, relationships and spirituality. In visiting, dining, and in my office men and women come to me with their wondrous secret, painful, joyous, and delicious lives. Many say they have never talked with a straight person about their personal lives. I am deeply honored that they do that with me.

Richard calls for an appointment. He has AIDS. His parents know and are supportive but they live in the East and do not have much contact. Richard tells me he has been an actor, a male prostitute, a waiter, and a world traveler. He has fear in his eyes. He knows that he is 32 years old but he will not live a lot longer. I feel tears well up in

my eyes as I hear him plan his life as a trip from one treatment to the next. He is thin, bones showing through his face and a gentle smile.

Thomas calls. He has been to a meeting in the large corporation where he works. A management trainer from Atlanta makes a snide remark about gays in San Francisco. Thomas asks to see this man privately and says, "I am a gay man. I have lived with Robert, my beloved companion, for 17 years. You have insulted me and the city in which I live. I am hurt and resent your behavior." The trainer was abashed, apologized and made amends. Other people in the course made it clear to the

Continued on page 23

THE WITNESS CELEBRATES YEARS

1927 to 1931:

The mood in America in the latter half of the 1920s was confident and capitalist. The economic depression that had followed World War I was over; the stock market was booming, with trading and speculation going on at a furious rate.

Technology was changing society radically as well. Europe suddenly became closer when Charles Lindbergh made the first transatlantic flight in 1927. The dominance of the automobile brought into prominence the two major oil-producing states, California and Texas, and was later to alter the destinies of little-known desert sheikdoms in the Persian Gulf.

Communications were becoming much more sophisticated. "Talkies," or sound motion pictures, made their debut in 1927 with Al Jolson's "The Jazz Singer." By the end of the decade, millions of people went to the movies every week, and films along with the media giant of the age, radio, became a major influence on American society.

Women were also making greater strides. New labor-saving devices in the home were giving some women more freedom, and equality of the sexes was given somewhat more consideration, now that women had the right to vote. In 1928, Amelia Earhart showed women could master technology by repeating Lindbergh's feat across the Atlantic. Bessie Coleman, daughter of a Black mother and a father who was part Indian, had already accomplished the remarkable feat of becoming the only licensed Black pilot in the entire world in 1922.

Intellectual and artistic brilliance blossomed. In America and in Paris, American writers, playwrights and poets like Gertrude Stein, Ernest Hemingway, Eugene O'Neill and Ezra Pound created a literary revolution.

In the Black community, culture was flourishing. Countee Cullen, Claude McKay, Langston Hughes and others were leaders of the Harlem Renaissance. Bessie Smith and Duke Ellington, to name a few, were spreading the gospel of jazz across America and around the world.

Americans were bursting with pride about their country. Everything looked bright and prosperous. Writer Lincoln Steffens said, "Big business in America is producing what the Socialists hold up as their goal — food, shelter and clothing for all . . . it is a great country this; as great as Rome." And President Hoover proudly exclaimed, "We in

America are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of any land."

But this prosperity had its price, as social reformers, labor leaders and advocates of the poor knew well. THE WITNESS was one of the voices of protest against the cult of materialism, racism and xenophobia.

In its pages, and through its support of the Church League for Industrial Democracy, THE WITNESS advocated for the rights of working people. The labor movement had fallen on hard times in the late 20s. It was considered un-American to be against big business — the mood of America was conservative and labor unions smacked of "Socialism and Bolshevism." It was during this time that feisty Mary Harris . . . "Mother Jones" — rose to prominence as a leading organizer of the United Mine Workers in West Virginia. She died in 1930. After hard-won gains in the unions, through bitter and bloody battles at steel mills, coal mines and textile mills, the economic slump of 1921-22 weakened the unions as people feared for their jobs.

THE WITNESS was against the often-brutal suppression of labor organizing and strikes by big business. The magazine appealed to its readers to give money and supplies to help the beleaguered textile workers on strike in Marion, N.C., victims of violent strike-breaking tactics, and striking miners in West Virginia.

THE WITNESS deplored the racism and religious bigotry of the era. The magazine pleaded for peace as well, and supported the ratification of the Kellogg Pact, which proposed to outlaw war forever.

Despite voices of caution, by the end of the 1920's, the general mood was that life would only continue to improve. Even Prohibition hadn't slowed the country down, though it had created mob warfare and was at the root of such violence as the 1929 St. Valentine's Day Massacre (THE WITNESS, in good Episcopalian fashion stood restrainedly for the right to have a cocktail.) The stock market was booming — what could go wrong?

In October of 1929, everything went wrong. The stock market, weakened by the over-expansion of credit, unrestrained speculation and wealth concentrated in giant corporations, crashed. Millions of investors lost their savings overnight; businesses failed by the thousands,

From boom to bust

factories shut down and millions of people became unemployed. The economy was headed straight down. President Hoover believed that the economy would recover on its own; he held that relief was the concern of private charity and local government. But his measures were so inadequate that by the early 1930s, the number of unemployed had climbed to over 12 million (out of a population of roughly 124 million). And the news from overseas was equally ominous. The U.S. Depression seriously affected European countries, Germany in particular. Economic disasters were exploited by Hitler and his National Socialist Party as they began to take over the German government. France, facing its own brand of fascism, was worried by a newly aggressive Germany and began construction of the Maginot Line. The Maginot Line, concrete barriers meant to stop the Germans, later became a symbol of inadequacy as the invading German war machine rolled around it and into France.

And in the Far East, the Japanese were invading Manchuria. But if the beginning of the 1930s was a time of empire building, it was also the beginning of the end for some colonial empires. In India, Gandhi launched a major campaign against British rule. And in Vietnam, a

young student named Ho Chi Minh, recently returned from France, joined the revolt against French occupation of his country.

In Central America, the United States was strengthening its hold on Nicaragua. In 1926 Hoover sent in the Marines to suppress liberal opposition to the conservative government in power. The Marines, despite the efforts of liberation fighters like Augusto Sandino, were to stay on into the 1930s.

Blacks suffered under intense racism. The Klan had wide-spread power and influence. In 1929, the year Martin Luther King was born in Atlanta, Ga., there were 10 lynchings in the United States.

By 1931, America had serious problems. Hundreds of hunger marchers descended on Washington, D.C., but were turned away from the White House when they tried to give President Hoover a petition calling for employment at a minimum wage. The byword of the day was, "Buddy, can you spare a dime?" And relief would not come until Hoover's Republican, pro-big business administration was voted out and replaced by Franklin D. Roosevelt and the "New Dealers." Excerpts from THE WITNESS during the Boom to Bust years follow:

Platitudes about peace

"There is still talk about renouncing war, and pious platitudes about universal peace are on every one's lips. But there has been no real progress toward the abolition of war. Locarno agreements and Kellogg pacts are mere eye-wash to bamboozle the people while statesmen carry on their secret negotiations to prepare for the next war. We are back again in the atmosphere of intrigue and suspicion which existed before 1914. Every nation which fought against the Central Powers is busy increasing the effectiveness of its fighting power. There is only one test of a nation's sincerity for peace and that is its willingness to disarm. When they do that they will prove that their paper

agreements to renounce war are something more than a mask to hide their military preparations and their secret diplomacy." (The Honorable Philip Snowden, member of Parliament, Labor Party, quoted in THE WITNESS 1/17/29)

Contra-what?

One of the amusing incidents in connection with Bishop Furse's sermon was the difficulty in having it broadcasted. There is, apparently, a law against the use of the word "contraceptives." In any case Mr. Hobbs, head of the publicity department, had to get a special permit from Washington to have the sermon on the air because the Lord Bishop had that word in his pre-

pared sermon. And then, after all the bother, the good man omitted from his sermon the paragraph dealing with the subject. (William B. Spofford 9/24/31)

A lesson in economics

There is nothing about the world we live in so important for us to understand clearly as the secret of the kink in the capitalistic system, which throws people out of jobs and makes unemployment and hard times. It is the cause of poverty; it is the cause of crime; it is the cause of competition for foreign markets, and therefore of armaments, and therefore of war — and if there is anything more horrible than modern war as we saw it some 12 years ago, I don't know what it can be . . .

We have today in America every means and opportunity for the production of plenty and comfort for every person in the country who is willing to work. There may be a few idlers, a few defectives who are not willing to work; I am not talking about those. I am talking about involuntary poverty, and I say that we have the means of producing plenty for everybody who wants work. We have enormous tracts of valuable land and we have great agricultural machines and we can produce every kind of food in abundance . . .

This system of producing the world's goods for private profit cannot continue indefinitely. The crises become more severe, and the only reason why they don't become completely unendurable is because of the fact that in between we have wars. It must be made as plain as possible that the peoples' salvation, their peace, their happiness, their chance in life depend upon understanding the system under which we live and acting in concert, politically, industrially and through educational channels to change from a senseless, dog-eat-dog scramble for private gain into planned production for the social good. (Upton Sinclair 9/24/31)

Lynching statistics

A new low record for lynchings was set in 1928, with a total of 11. The previous minimum was 16 in 1924. Forty years ago the number was 175. (2/28/29)

Disarmament deciding factor

"If the nations of the world have been facing bankruptcy, it is time to acknowledge fairly and squarely the enormous folly of military budgets to such propositions as they now exist among the six great powers. These budgets total two billion five hundred million dollars annually.

"If America is to lead as she should in reducing the payments on war debts and in modifying terms of these payments, she should equally take the lead

in demanding that all the nations involved simultaneously and proportionately reduce their military budgets. When the proposed renewal of the moratorium comes up next year, the deciding factor should be, not the renomination of Mr. Hoover, but the promise of definite decisive action by the World Conference on Disarmament to be held in Geneva." (Bishop Stewart of Chicago, quoted in THE WITNESS 7/23/31)

20¢ per baby girl

A woman in China just on the point of throwing a little baby girl into the river was interrupted by a Sister from a Roman Catholic mission, some little time ago. The mother would not desist from her purpose until the Sister in desperation offered her 20¢ for the baby, the whole amount she had with her at the time. The woman took it at once, left the baby and disappeared. Next day several women came to the Convent, with babies for which they asked 20¢, and that has become the standard price at that place. (7/23/31)

Member blacklisted

Judge Florence E. Allen of the Ohio Supreme Court was blacklisted last spring by the Daughters of the American Revolution. In spite of this fact she was a speaker before the Cleveland chapter the other day, being a member of it. (9/27/28)

The miners' strike

Many church people are interested in the plight of the miners of West Virginia. As a result of appeals that have appeared here and elsewhere there has been sent to the relief organization in Charleston the sum of \$2500, raised among church people. Also a great deal of secondhand clothing has been sent to the union headquarters, located in the Old Kanawha Bank Building, Charleston.

At the moment the miners are on strike. Every effort was made by their leaders to arrange a conference with the coal operators to settle their difficulties and work out standards for the industry. The operators ignored these efforts. The miners then walked out. And just that you may know what it means to be a striking miner, or the wife of a striking miner, allow me to relate a story or two . . .

When the infant daughter of Mr. and Mrs. E. H. Gunnoe of Prenter died in a Charleston hospital on July 6, Gunnoe was refused the use of the camp ambulance to come and get the little corpse, though the ambulance was bought by the miners themselves from their burial fund. The superintendent told Gunnoe that the ambulance now belonged to "future employes" of the company.

A medical examination of 150 children in the mining camps at Gallagher and Ward shows them to be grossly under weight and suffering from anemia, skin infections, worms, and all the ills that follow undernourishment, according to Dr. Ruth Fox of the Fifth Avenue hospital of New York City who has been in the field with a corps of assistants. "We haven't had any fresh meat in 11 months and can get so little of what we do eat — beans, potatoes, white bacon, and flour gravy — that we eat only twice a day," one mother told her.

This isn't pleasant reading. But then if Christian people are not to protest over such a situation I do not know who will. Many of you have helped generously. If there are others who are able to do so money sent to the office of the Church League for Industrial Democracy, 154 Nassau Street, New York City, will be forwarded at once to a responsible relief agency in the coal fields. (William B. Spofford 7/23/31)

— Susan E. Pierce

Continued from page 19

trainer that his anti-homosexual remarks were not appreciated in that seminar. Thomas said that three years ago he would not have said a word. But after coming to Trinity where social justice, human rights, and bold speaking are proclaimed, he felt he could not let such narrowness happen without challenge.

Worship in the Holy Eucharist is our central action at Trinity. Immediately after people receive the sacrament, they may if they wish go to the side altar and receive the laying on of hands and the anointing with oil for the sick. They may request it for themselves or in the name of someone they care about. Eight members of our parish have AIDS and many have friends or lovers who have AIDS.

Our worship is a combination of traditional prayer book and liturgical style. We use vestments of the season, incense on occasion, strong preaching, a warm hugging passing of the peace, a sense of joy and lightness combined with seriousness at the Great Thanksgiving and Blessing of the Bread and Wine. Tears are often in evidence. The Prayers of the People are laced with personal intentions for the sick, families, friends, lovers, children absent from us, those in prison, and a healthy regard for the nations of the world and the desire for peace and concord.

Many gay/lesbian people have been driven from the church of their childhood by anti-homosexual prejudice and cruel pastoral judgments from the clergy, the laity and fundamentalist preachers on T.V. They are attracted to Trinity because I talk about sexuality and homosexuality as a gift to us from God. Trinity is a sex positive church. We rejoice in our sexuality in the same way we are happy to be Americans. They are both gifts to us. We did not

earn them. We were given them outright. People do not hear guilt-inducing, anti-sexual sermons or teaching, which deny the basic beauty and dignity of human beings. People say, "I never thought I would hear from a church pulpit that it was a gift from God to be gay/lesbian, or that the church should perform the marriages of homosexual persons to each other." Well, they hear that at Trinity.

AIDS has taken its toll of members of Trinity. Three active members have died. Others have the disease and more will contract it. Men in their mid 20s have lost eight to 10 friends, also in their 20s. They have faced the death of friends before the deaths of their parents or grandparents. There is a fear of intimacy and sex because they may be lethal. "Safe sex" is widely practiced.

When members of the parish do get AIDS there is a great rallying around. Food, clothing, money, love, support and physical company are made available to those struck by the virus. Food is prepared in the church kitchen and delivered to the homes of those patients who cannot prepare their own meals. We presently feed 100 people a day throughout the city. They do not have to be church members to receive this food.

In addition we have "Our Place," a living room for people with AIDS. It

meets Monday through Saturday from noon to 6 p.m. The choir room is set up as a comfortable lounge. Many people with AIDS cannot work, so afternoons stretch long and lonesome. At "Our Place" patients can come and watch TV, chat, play cards, talk, and have some company until supper time.

No one wants Trinity to be an all gay/lesbian parish. Everyone wants a good mix of people to be in the membership. No one wants to create another ghetto. My own view is that we will welcome all people who come to Trinity. We will take whomever God sends us. A characteristic of churches that grow is that they have a certain homogeneity. Perhaps Trinity will grow and develop with a strong base of homosexual persons. That is O.K. with me.

Eighty percent of the Sunday morning congregation at Trinity is male. That is not the average in the traditional Episcopal churches in the United States. These men and the lesbian women that come to Trinity are on a spiritual search. Some want a set of values different from the ones they have now. Others want to deepen the values they already possess. Many are looking for the intimacy of committed love relationships. Many see that following Jesus is the key to true humanity and intimacy with God. Others want a world where love, forgiveness, and peace are the central values. Money, competition and dominance are often destructive when sought in and for themselves. There is a desire to connect to God and the universe. The Sacraments are important as vehicles to that sense of awe and wonder resting in the hearts of most people. Our members are seeking freedom from the oppression they experience in straight society. We are making a downtown, urban parish grow, pay its own way and care for the people of the city. I am indeed grateful to be the rector of Trinity Church. ■

CORRECTION

Jeannette Rankin was mistakenly described in the February WITNESS as serving as a Congressional Representative from California. Rankin, the first woman to be elected to the U.S. Congress, served from 1917 to 1919 as congresswoman at large from Montana. In 1949 she was elected to the House of Representatives for one term. She voted against U.S. participation in World War I, and was the only member of the House to vote against entering World War II.

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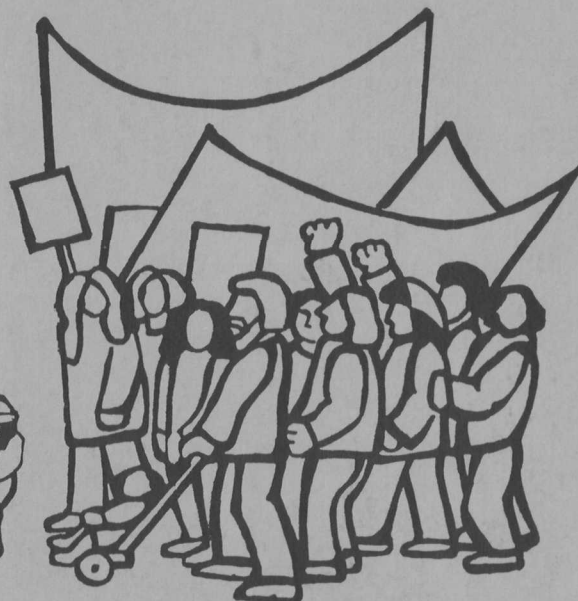
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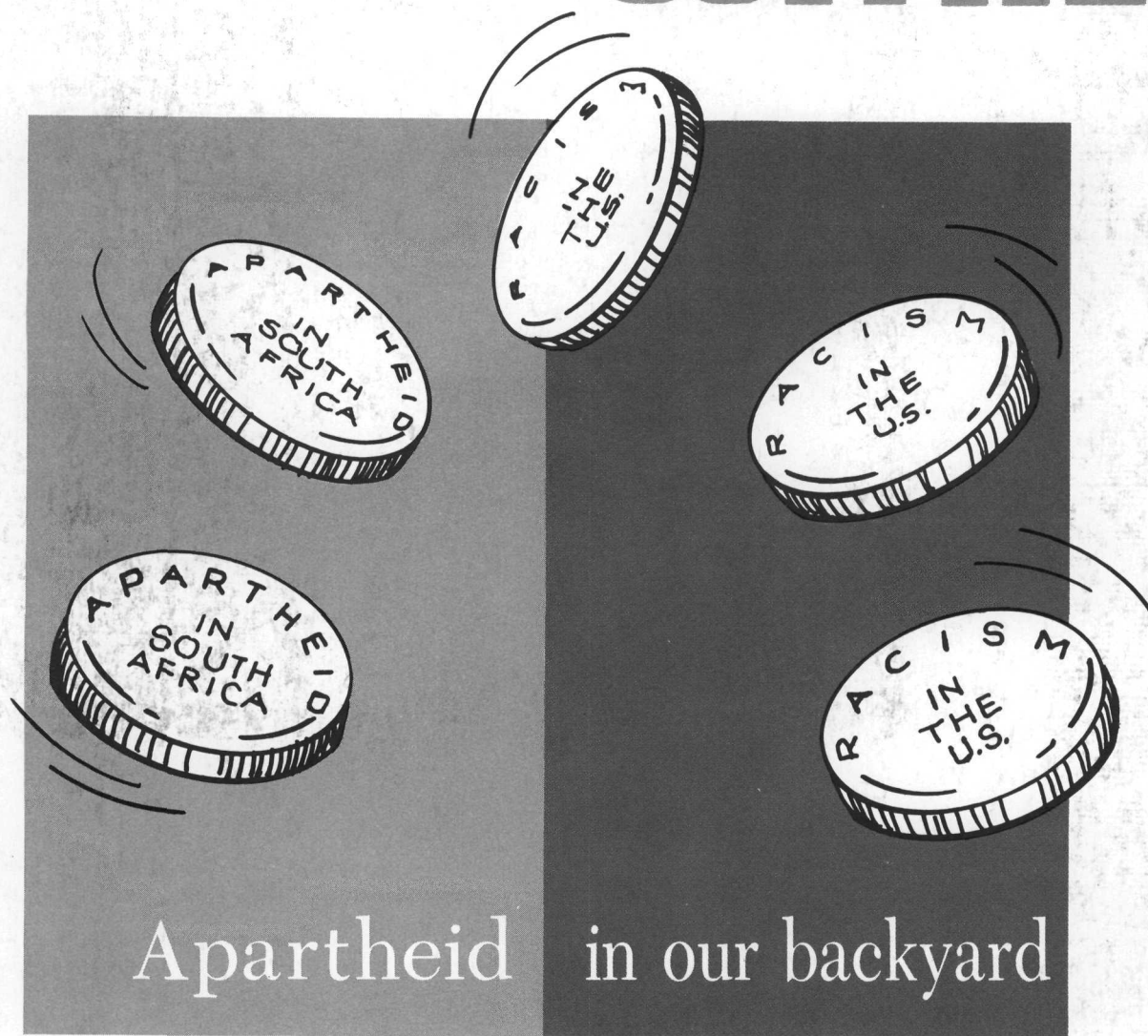
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THE WITNESS



Jacqueline Williams
on South African Youth

Malcolm Boyd
Edmond L. Browning
and Pauli Murray's
autobiography

Letters

Reality of dying

Thank you for publishing Charles Meyer's excellent article "Eleven Myths About Death". I encounter these myths repeatedly in my pastoral work, and it is astonishing that so many people have confused their cultural beliefs and understandings with theological truth. It's good to have in print such a lucid and clear explanation about the reality we all face in dying.

The Rev. E. Francis Morgan, Jr.
Athens, Ohio

Helped family at death

For the past 13 years, I have worked in long term care, the professional name for what used to be termed "homes for the aged." Never, in all those years, have I read an article as excellent and realistic as "Eleven myths about death" by Charles Meyer in your March issue. I cannot thank you and the author enough for the truth, the liberation, that the article has given me and some of the employees of the Church Home here. But the gratitude does not stop there.

At the same time that I was digesting the article, a long time resident of the Church Home became critically ill. This member was a close friend. You cannot work with people for a length of time without beginning to feel that they are family. In my case, I feel that I have many grandparents and the residents another grandson.

My friend's family faithfully came to the home to see their mother over the next few days, but it was not long before she died. In that short period of time, the family had to agonize over decisions that were not outlined in their mother's living will. Daily I would see them, and feel their pain as if it were my mother and I was making decisions and living with the seemingly endless wait that accompanies terminal illness.

I was able to share the article in THE

WITNESS with them before their mother died. The relief that I saw in them was a sight to behold.

After their mother died, they came to the Home to arrange her funeral with our administrator/chaplain. I will not be able to attend the funeral, and most likely will not see this family again. However, I was able to have a few words with them before they left. Their final words to me were words of gratitude — for the help that this amazing article ministered to them at their time of need, then and now.

T. Bruce Robson
Director of Foodservice
The Church Home (Episcopal)
Chicago, Ill.

To aid grieving parents

I have just finished reading "Eleven Myths About Death" by the Rev. Charles Meyer in the March WITNESS. As facilitator of a support group consisting of parents who have had a child die in our hospital I think the article would speak to these people and that it should be made available to them.

The group called "Parents Grief Discussion Group" meets for eight weekly sessions and we usually organize three different groups a year. Consequently we would like your permission to make copies of the article for distribution now and for future groups.

The Rev. Anne P. Baltzell
Minneapolis Children's
Medical Center

Wants three more

Enclosed is a check for three additional copies of the March issue. It is one of the best ever. Charles Meyer's article on myths about death is superb. I want to share it with friends and relatives, some of whom are involved in hospital ministries.

The article by Bernard E. McGoldrick,

"The great American TV ad scam," expresses a problem of our society which too many of us want to ignore: the power of TV over the minds of Americans on so many levels. Also, I enjoyed the article by Glenda Hope on fasting since I have in the past attempted to encourage fasting and prayers as a discipline for Christians. This inspires me to incorporate it into my life once more.

Judy Yeakel
Langley, Wash.

For Contadora articles

I found the story by Lucy Phillips-Edwards to be deeply moving. The work she and her husband are doing is a profound witness for peace.

But we also need group action, such as the work of the "Beyond War" movement, which sponsored the closed TV program featuring the presidents of four Contadora countries and their work in seeking a new agreement among the Central American countries. Such a movement needs our support in spite of our government's refusal to cooperate. I hope that THE WITNESS will feature some articles on "Beyond War" and the Contadora movement.

Randolph Crump Miller
Yale Divinity School

(For the record: Lucy and Jim Phillips-Edwards are in Nicaragua as part of a group, now a growing movement, called Witness for Peace. In less than three years, WFP has sent more than 2,000 U.S. citizens from every state, in delegations of 20, to Nicaragua. Delegations go down monthly, paying their own way and back. They live and work with the people, visit sites of Contra attacks, and interview victims. Thus did Lucy document and photograph the Contra ambush described in the February WITNESS. The Claymore mine cited by Lucy, which claimed six lives, has been used in many other instances against

Nicaraguan civilians, and is made in the United States. Some 50 million people have read over 1,000 articles, interviews and op-ed pieces by WFP volunteers in local and regional papers, exposing U.S. aggression in Nicaragua. And 400,000 people have heard over 8,000 WFP presentations to church and community groups. WITNESS readers who wish to volunteer — short or long term — for WFP should contact Witness for Peace, 198 Broadway, Room 302, New York, N.Y. 10038. Future issues will carry news on the Contadora process.—Ed.)

Editorial hits home

The extracts from Gregory Bergman's "The 1920s and the 1980s" in your February editorial brought back many memories for one who lived through the decades.

I was one who was making less than one-third of the basic annual income for necessities. I saw farmers and workers — union and non-union — excluded from the somewhat false prosperity of the 1920s; I lost a close young friend in that early invasion of Nicaragua. My parents, grandparents and I lived through that glorious (?) 12 years of Republican rule from 1920-32 losing our home, moving from one rental to another, although never starving. The Ku Klux Klan flourished in my state of Indiana, until their Grand Dragon was convicted of murder and given a life sentence. Perhaps today's resurgence may be somewhat curtailed by the recent court award in Alabama; but the controversies of the Scopes trial in 1925 seem now to be repeated in that area of the country.

All of these events would indicate that history has an uncanny way of repeating itself. It seems to go in cycles; both good and ill. Hopefully this recounting of our history may be more than a nostalgia trip. However, if we can't learn from the mistakes of the

past, then they may well be repeated. As the editorial states, it is imperative that those of us who do profess a serious faith in a God of justice and peace, do have one major moral and civic duty, not only this year, but in every year of our lives when the national priorities at home and abroad are acting against, and not for, the common good. I only hope that THE WITNESS editorial strikes deep into the hearts and minds of many, and thus directs their efforts along the lines suggested.

Charles D. Corwin
Colonial Beach, Va.

Retrieved Spofford issues

I noted with interest your intent to highlight the 70th anniversary of THE WITNESS in your Advent letter to subscribers. That reminded me of a project of mine in 1974. I had the job of deciding what was worth retrieving from Bill Spofford's old printing plant in Tunkhannock, Pa. I spent two days in the cold sorting through the disordered remnants. In the process I laboriously put together a full file, lacking a very few issues, of THE WITNESS from the beginning of the Spofford years.

Somewhere in Ambler they are all tied in bundles. Maybe they are of some use, and, since it has been some time, you may not even know they exist.

The Rev. John F. Stevens
League City, Tex.

(We found the bundles referred to by former staff member John Stevens in our basement in Ambler. These, along with early volumes from Bishop Irving Peake Johnson's day, forwarded by the Rt. Rev. John Hines, former chair of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, have provided a wealth of research materials for our 70th anniversary series. We are grateful to Stevens for his frigid two days in Tunkhannock.—Ed.)

Spirit unfolding

I particularly like the historical ruminations you're doing for the 70th anniversary of the magazine. As a people and a church we are generally so ignorant of our history that we not only make the same mistakes time and again but also breed a peculiar chronological chauvinism — thinking we can solve all those problems our ancestors muffed and bring in the Kingdom now. The tricky part about studying history is avoiding hopelessness on discovering that women and men have been grappling with the same issues since, apparently, time began — or at least since THE WITNESS started publication! But I begin to think that once we can turn humble enough to recognize that our age is not the first to have been graced with insight, then in fact we can begin to see that through all those cycles and struggles there has been movement, growth, a continuous if often hidden unfolding of the Spirit among us. Then we can bear witness.

Pamela W. Darling
General Theological Seminary
New York, N.Y.

Brought up on Spofford

My warmest wishes go to all the gallant staff of THE WITNESS. 'Twas a shocker to be reminded in your Advent letter of our mean military presence in Nicaragua back in '28. (And we speak of the challenge of CHANGE?? The challenge of NOT-changing is greater!)

I was brought up on "dear ol' Bill Spofford" as my father, the Rev. Rollin D. Malany, used to call him, and attended Antioch College with a daughter of his. THE WITNESS has shaped my thinking and my life in important ways, and indeed, continues to!

Virginia S. Malany-Meloney
Syracuse, N.Y.

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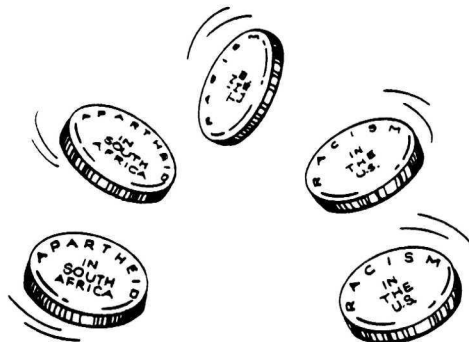


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Two sides of the same coin

Prexy Nesbitt, in a recent monograph entitled *Apartheid in Our Living Rooms*, points out that apartheid — pronounced apart-hate — literally means “apart-ness” in Afrikaans, but does not merely mean “segregation.” He explains:

Apartheid cannot be reduced to a series of unjust laws and a situation wherein the Black majority is denied its civil rights as guaranteed by a constitutional framework. Nor can apartheid adequately be projected by the statistics we can easily summarize:

- 87% of the land mass is reserved for Whites; 13% of the land for Blacks;
- 8.5 million Black South Africans denaturalized since 1976;
- 136 Black children, on the average, die from hunger each day in South Africa;
- 3,372,900 Black South Africans have been removed from areas designated “White” between 1960 and 1982;
- during 1983 alone, there were 262,908 pass law arrests for violations of the passbook, which all Africans over 16 must carry and which specifies one’s color . . . the equivalent of 720 arrests a day or 30 an hour . . .

While these horrendous facts are indictments of an evil system, Nesbitt emphasizes, statistics do not breathe

and bleed. People do. And apartheid is “a highly organized and sophisticated system in which a minority population systematically strips and then wilfully exploits a majority population.”

To give a flesh and blood example, it is this system which threatens the life of Anglican youth worker Jacqueline Williams, if she returns to her homeland after a U.S. lecture tour. (See page 6.)

A chronology of U.S. involvement with South Africa shamefully implicates this country in the box accompanying Williams’ interview.

But the U.S. connection goes further. The Reagan Administration’s foreign policy as it affects South Africa can be regarded as a logical extension of its oppressive attitude toward domestic race relations.

A hard won three decades of progress in school desegregation and employment have deteriorated as Reagan has effectively dismantled the Civil Rights Commission and his Administration has opposed fair housing laws, extension of the Voting Rights Act, and affirmative action to create the permissive atmosphere that racism is in fashion again. As Nesbitt’s monograph title indicates, we have come full circle

to face “Apartheid in Our Living Rooms.”

Excerpts in this issue from our 70-year history reveal that THE WITNESS took on reporting of racism as a priority in the days when lynching was in vogue and Jim Crow was institutionalized. We now view with similar urgency the exposure, in coming months, of racism in its hydra-headed forms.

In his monograph, Nesbitt quotes a representative of the African National Congress:

South Africa is like a man who owned a house besieged by a cyclone. When he closed the front door, the wind blew in the back. When he shut the windows, the roof blew off. And when he tried to build a temporary covering, the walls caved in.

THE WITNESS joins Nesbitt in his conclusion: “The cyclone is blowing, too, in the United States, and it affects us all.”

Resources: *Apartheid in Our Living Rooms*: U.S. Foreign Policy and South Africa, Midwest Research, 343 S. Dearborn St. Room 1505, Chicago, Ill. 60604, \$4.00. [ANC quote from Jennifer Davis, “South Africa: The Cyclone is Coming,” *The Progressive*, February 1985.]

South African Jacqueline Williams:

'Reality for us is war, jail'

by Marshall Hoagland

Jacqueline Williams is a 29-year-old Black South African with a message reminiscent of Moses calling out to pharaoh to "... let my people go!"

The message she has been sharing with the American public during the last seven months highlights the struggle in South Africa as it applies to Black women, to the inferior educational system for non-Whites, to the suffering caused by the uprooting of families when the wives and children are moved to the homelands, and, especially, as it applies to the youth in South Africa, both Black and White.

As Williams describes the current situation to university groups, anti-apartheid rallies and church groups, she stresses that the young people of South Africa have gone through a harrowing formative period during the past 10 years.

"I joined in my first demonstration when I was 13. We grow up at a very early age in South Africa and become politically involved at an age when most youth are still being nurtured and cared for by the adults around them. The reality for us is war and jail.

"In most countries, when a young child is asked to draw a picture, it would be of a house, or flowers, or animals. This is not true of children in my country. They would probably draw a picture of a policeman chasing a Black person."

Williams recalls vividly one en-



Jacqueline Williams

counter she had with the police at age 18.

"It was in June 1976, the time of the first national boycotts in honor of Soweto Day. Our high school had organized a demonstration in solidarity with Soweto. As we marched, the police surrounded and detained about 250 of us, but they singled out my older sister and me and a friend and arrested just the three of us and put us on trial. We

were found guilty and would have been put in jail, but our parents paid a fine, over our objections, so that we could stay in school."

The most painful part of this experience, for Ms. Williams, was the disillusionment she felt stemming from the actions of a young White policeman with whom she had been acquainted in her Anglican youth group.

"He was one of the White boys that I especially liked. When he was conscripted, he became a policeman instead of a soldier. When we got arrested, there he was helping the other side to punish us. It really opened my eyes because I found out what his commitments were. When it came to making decisions, he was against us in this time when my sister and I were suffering. We tried to discuss this in the youth group afterwards, but they didn't want to hear us; so we just gave up."

As a child, Ms. Williams lived in the Eastern Cape section of South Africa which she describes as the most politically active area in the country in the struggle to get rid of apartheid. She had also attended the Anglican church regularly and, at the age of 16, decided that she wanted to have a close relationship with God. This exposure to political and religious activities influenced her decision to put her faith into action during her last year of high school. She joined a special volunteer program started by the Anglican Church in South Africa to bring youths of all races together in a desegregated youth ministry called NYLTP (National Youth Leadership Training Program).

After a training period in basic human

Marshall Hoagland is a free-lance writer based in Suffern, NY who also works as bookstore supervisor for the national headquarters of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

relations, these "Nomads," as they called themselves, traveled throughout the Black, White, Colored, and Indian parishes in teams of two, one White and one non-White. While staying together in private homes within the parish where they were working, they started youth groups and looked for new leaders. Williams noted that it was difficult to find housing in both the Black and the White areas. Few Black homes had enough room for two more people and there was tremendous social pressure against Whites who would have a Black person in their home who was not a servant. Consequently, they often had to stay with the priest.

During the first months of this program, an incident occurred which had a profound influence on Ms. Williams.

"One day we heard that one of the Black members of our group was jailed by the police. A few days later, he was dead, supposedly from jumping out of a barred fifth story window. We were shocked as it was the first indication by the government that they really didn't like what we were doing. I was only 19 and I didn't realize the danger nor the intensity of the government's dislike of our ministry. I didn't think of myself as a radical at that time — I just thought of this activity as visionary of what was right for all persons. It was a very exciting two years in NYLTP but also very depressing because you never knew when it was your turn."

It was later learned that there was an informer planted by the government in the group, Williams said. During the next few years she broadened her horizons with a degree in theology from St. Paul's Theological College in Grahamstone, South Africa and through travel in Europe under the auspices of the Anglican Church and the South African Council of Churches. She also became more outspoken in publicizing the evils of apartheid.

"I'm being subversive, according to

Chronology: U.S. involvement in S. Africa

1905-1910—Ford Motor Company and Otis Elevator initiate American Corporate investment in South Africa. California goldminers help open South African gold fields.

Dec., 1952—U.S. abstains on first U.N. resolution condemning apartheid.

1954—South Africa joins the U.S., Britain, and European states in forming the International Atomic Energy Board.

1955—Simonstown Naval Cooperation Agreement guarantees the United States access to South African naval and air facilities in time of war, whether or not South Africa is a belligerent.

1957—U.S. and South Africa sign a 20 year agreement providing for cooperation in the field of nuclear research.

March, 1960—After Sharpeville massacre in South Africa, the U.S. steps up its verbal condemnation of South Africa's policies and joins a unanimous U.N. resolution condemning apartheid as a threat to world peace.

June, 1962—An agreement is announced between Washington and Pretoria whereby the U.S. is allowed to set up a military space-tracking station in South Africa in return for agreeing to sell South Africa arms "for use against Communist aggression."

1969—Kissinger writes National Security Study Memo #39, placing economic and strategic interests in South Africa above human rights concerns.

Oct., 1977—U.S. vetoes U.N. motion to impose general economic sanctions against South Africa.

Nov., 1977—U.S. supports arms embargo against South Africa.

Dec., 1979—U.N. adopts by large majority 17 anti-apartheid resolutions. U.S. votes no on 8, abstains on 3.

June, 1980—U.N. Security Council calls for full implementation of the arms embargo. U.S. abstains from vote.

Jan., 1981—Two weeks before Reagan's inauguration, his ex-campaign manager, John Sears, registers with the Justice Department as a paid foreign agent of the South African Government. His fee is \$500,000 per year.

Feb., 1982—Reagan relaxes export controls, allowing trade of computers, helicopters, and airplanes with the South Africa military and police.

Jan., 1984—American Friends Service Committee report asserts that the Reagan Administration has allowed more commercial military sales (\$28 million) than in the last 30 years combined.

Sept., 1985—Public and congressional pressure forces President Reagan to impose an executive order forbidding bank loans to the SAG and limiting computer and nuclear trade with South Africa.

Feb., 1986—The Reagan administration commences a covert military aid program to the anti-government rebels in Angola known as UNITA.

June 18, 1986—The House of Representatives approves by voice vote HR 997, demanding total disinvestment of U.S. companies and a complete trade embargo against South Africa.

Aug. 15, 1986—The Senate approves 84-14 a selective sanctions bill against South Africa.

Source: Coalition for a New Foreign & Military Policy (Washington, D.C.)

the laws of my country, when I try to get others to go against the apartheid system instituted by the South African government; and I may be jailed for it when I return," she said. "I left home just two days before the last state of emergency was declared, and I've been told that government officials have come to my office and have taken some of my papers."

The focus of her struggle has narrowed over the years as she has become convinced that the majority of South African Whites are not able or ready to listen to her message.

"I almost feel silly about the beliefs that I had earlier — that I could change the attitudes of White South Africans. Now I feel that these people have made a decision not to change.

"The Whites have co-opted a few of us into the White educational system, and they think that's good — as long as we are trained to be 'good Blacks' — that is, ones who will accept their educational system which makes us masters, too, and doesn't deal with the whole idea of equality for everyone.

"Freedom, justice and liberation is the end goal for each person. Each human being should experience this. It's not just something for a certain kind of person; it's the will of God for all people. I relate this to Christ's teaching when He said, 'I came that you may have life and have it more abundantly' — not just ordinary life but abundant life.

"Since oppression is something that is organized, we need to become just as organized and work hard if we want to be liberated. We need to avoid distractions and not be satisfied with half a loaf. We must not be content with mere reform. We will only be happy when we are really free."

As she considers the future, Williams indicates her strong desire to work more closely with non-White parishes and young people who are receptive to

change.

"I worked among White adults and youth for six years and they had many opportunities to change. Few, if any, showed any lasting change; but in a Colored parish where I worked the young people there have become leaders in trying to change the system. How do I explain that? Do I kid myself and say that Whites are changing when they really aren't?

"I've become very suspicious of super-spiritual people who believe in healing but not justice. In my late teens I was already disgusted with the White people's hypocrisy and their view of God.

"My idea of religion is to be conscious and compassionate about the needs of people and, at the same time, to feel powerful through the presence of a higher power as we fight for life in the true sense. I'm feeling powerful as a South African with a vision of true life even in the face of death. We are experi-

About divestment

What does Jacqueline Williams tell groups that believe economic sanctions and divestiture would hurt South African Blacks?

She answered the question at Earlham College, during her recent lecture tour: "First and foremost, they're not being honest with themselves. The reason people don't divest is that they are afraid they will lose money."

"Some people also believe that if multinational companies leave, the Black people will suffer. But these companies employ only 5% of the workforce. In Port Elizabeth, where Ford, General Motors, VW, and Bavarian Motor Works operate, the unemployment rate among Blacks is 48%.

"The multinationals employ 600,000 workers — 400,000 Blacks and 200,000 Whites. But percentagewise they employ more Whites. The Black work force is 8.1 million, and the White 2.1 million. They also have more Whites in managerial positions. So the people who would suffer the most would be the Whites, if the multinationals leave."

encing a living death under the present circumstances; so we would rather die than continue this kind of life. Every day, when I walked to work down the street in Johannesburg I was told in all sorts of ways that I was not a worthy person. I was violated in every possible way."

She also believes that, in order for White people in South Africa to change, they will have to feel some of the deprivation of the non-Whites — that they will have to feel robbed to understand how they have robbed the Blacks. Explaining that this did not mean she was advocating a violent revolution, she does not rule out the possibility of violence on both sides in the future.

"Bishop Tutu and Beyers Naude are from an older generation," she said, "but the younger Blacks are not as willing to try to work out a compromise within the present system. The youth are saying 'We want liberation now — not for our grandchildren!' And because the government is trying to impose an inferior Bantu education on us, the cry is, 'Liberation — then, education.' That's why the young people are boycotting the schools."

Ms. Williams message is clear and unequivocal:

"The South African State is greedy for my land, my energy, and my person. I come from a situation where we are ruled by a group of thugs. I don't want to work with the present government; I want to get rid of it. South African President Botha must go. Black youth are preoccupied with the question of what system can be put in place of the present one. We want to institute a process that will be more humane for everyone."

Jacqueline Williams' tour of the U.S. has officially ended. It was sponsored by the South Africa Linkage Program, based in Nyack, N.Y. Williams has not yet decided whether to return to South Africa at this time. Her family fears she will be jailed immediately upon her return. M.H.



Racism & the radical religious right

The dismaying level of bigotry-motivated violence during 1986 and the early months of this year is a grim reminder, if indeed we needed one, that blatant racism is again on the rise in this nation. Forsyth County, Georgia, and the Howard Beach section of New York cannot be written off as islands of bigotry in a sea of tolerance. In truth, no region of the country, rural or urban, was exempt from racial violence over the past year.

Incidents ranging from deadly assaults on minority motorists and pedestrians to firebombings of the homes of Blacks, Asians and Hispanics and a string of robberies to finance even more assaults, assassinations and paramilitary activities of White supremacist groups have been chronicled by the Center for Democratic Renewal in a recent issue of its publication, *The Monitor*. Add to this the fact that radical bias on college campuses is re-emerging at an alarming rate. At both elite private northern colleges and large state universities, incidents of racial violence and intimidation rival anything seen at Ole Miss and other southern schools during the 1960s.

The root of much of this violence can be traced directly to the radical religious right. The rapid, unchecked emergence of movements such as Christian Identity, also known as Kingdom Identity, Kingdom Message or,

simply, Identity, theologically and politically undergirds White supremacy. It lends a cloak of respectability to such organized groups as the Aryan Nations, the Ku Klux Klan and the Posse Comitatus, as well as to scores of individual followers who pass on their racist beliefs to family, friends and neighbors.

Christian Identity contends that the people of Northern Europe — white Anglo-Saxons — are the Lost Tribes of Israel. Jews, on the other hand, are considered to be Children of Satan while Blacks and other people of color are judged to be “pre-Adamic” or some lower form of species than that of White people. The movement includes self-defined ministries that consist primarily of tape and booklet sales, but there are “ministers” who regularly broadcast on AM radio stations all over the country, seemingly undeterred by the Federal Communications Commission.

Some of Identity’s major tenets, thoroughly examined in a new booklet published by the National Council of Churches, reveal a racial view of the Covenant between God and God’s people. To wit: problems besetting the United States are the result of “race mixing” and interfaith cooperation between Christians and Jews — both sins; mainstream Christian clergy are “Satanic agents,” and the United States is defined by the Constitution as a

“Christian Republic,” opposed to both communism *and* democracy.

By wrapping racism in religion, these far (out) right groups seek to enlist God in the cause of bigotry and proffer a “Christian rationale” for denying the rights of Jews and people of color. Meanwhile, well known media evangelists of the New Right bring the same intolerance — albeit more implicit than explicit — into the homes of millions of viewers. Their beliefs, draped in the red, white and blue bunting of Christian patriotism, amount to a kind of constitutional fundamentalism.

Unfortunately, mainstream Christians — especially those of a more liberal bent — tend to dismiss this spiritual orientation as a marginal phenomenon, unconnected to the issues of the day. It represents a clear and present danger, however, especially when so many domestic and foreign policies of the central government would seem to legitimate abuses of minorities. Rather than shrug off the radical religious right as harmless fanatics or simply “kooks,” mainline churches would do well to appropriate some of their vast resources to some effective electronic and print media counter programming. How about a TV return to an honest to God “Old Time Gospel Hour” that exposes the racism of these religious scalawags and carpetbaggers? ■

New minimum wage essential

by Manning Marable

Good news on the political front is that the Iran-Contra scandal has hurt Ronald Reagan so severely that the conservative administration may be forced to capitulate to Democratic Party and AFL-CIO demands to raise the minimum wage. Since the Reaganites came to power in 1981, the federal minimum wage, set at \$3.35 per hour, has remained the same.

At that level, the 7 million people earning the minimum wage or less earn at most \$6,968 per year. When a full-time worker earns less than \$7,000 annually, it's almost impossible to provide the essentials of a decent life for one's family. The federal poverty level for a family of four is currently \$10,989; for a two-person household, it is \$6,998. Today's minimum wage rate would have to be increased to \$4.61 per hour to

make up for the deterioration in inflation since 1981.

Senator Majority Leader Robert Byrd has predicted that Congress would hike the minimum wage rate. Senator Ted Kennedy, head of the Senate's Labor and Human Resources Committee, has accurately stated: "The minimum wage is not a living wage, and it is not a decent wage in which a fulltime job means a lifetime of poverty." Democratic Representative Mario Biaggi has proposed legislation which would elevate the current minimum level to \$5.05 by 1991, and index the rate to one-half the average hourly earnings level. Currently, the minimum wage is only 38% of the average hourly wage.

On the defensive, the administration now lacks the political muscle to eliminate the demands for higher minimum wages. In previous years, Labor Secretary William Brock has deplored and ridiculed calls for hiking the minimum wage. But at the AFL-CIO's winter meeting in Florida, Brock insisted to

reporters that the administration had not "made any decision" regarding the minimum wage. "We haven't even addressed it at the Cabinet level."

Regrettably but predictably, the ideologues of the ultra-right are attempting to hold-the-line on wage increases to the working poor. Prominent conservative journalists and economists alike — most of whom earn salaries in excess of \$50,000 — are pretending to advocate the interests of poor folk and the unemployed by keeping the lid on their wages.

Chicago Tribune columnist Stephen Chapman recently charged that higher wages for the working poor would force thousands of businesses to "transfer their operations overseas to take advantage of cheaper labor," or simply to "go out of business." Chapman insisted: "Raise the price of oil, and people use less of it; raise the cost of unskilled workers, and companies will employ fewer of them. Raising the minimum wage helps workers who keep their jobs

Dr. Manning Marable teaches political science and sociology at Purdue University and is a contributing editor of *THE WITNESS* magazine.



Workers who tote pushcarts in New York's garment center are mostly Black and Latin, without a union



Piecoworker in a men's suit factory

Minimum wage history, stats

The minimum wage was established in 1938 by the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA), which also mandated the 40-hour workweek. The FLSA was a key piece of the New Deal legislation which developed as a response to the economic crisis of the Great Depression. At the time, higher wages were seen as a safety net for the whole economy, not just for individual workers and their families.

New Dealers argued that a minimum wage would help to guarantee that households had enough purchasing power to keep the economy moving. Higher purchasing power would boost aggregate demand for goods and services, which in turn would stimulate economic growth and create more jobs.

Since 1938, Congress has voted to raise the minimum wage six times. The argument of minimum wage supporters that the wage floor be set at 50% of average non-supervisory wages was generally accepted by lawmakers. As a result, the real value of the minimum wage rose until 1968 and even held steady through the 1970s, despite high

inflation. But once Congress stopped increasing the minimum beginning in 1981, its real value started to fall. Today, the purchasing power of a minimum wage job is at its lowest level since 1955.

Of the 7 million minimum wage workers in the labor force today, almost half are part-time workers. Contrary to what is commonly believed, the majority of workers earning the minimum wage — 70% — are adults, not teenagers earning extra spending money. Of the 7 million who earn \$3.35 per hour, half are part-time workers and the majority are women. Three out of ten are heads of households.

Another 6 million workers earn between \$3.36 and \$4.00 per hour. (These figures probably underestimate the size of the low-wage labor market since they leave out undocumented workers and others who work in the underground economy — often for substantially less than the minimum wage.)

From *Dollars & Sense*, 4/87
and *Markup*, National Council
of Churches, 3/87

— at the expense of those who get laid off and those who are never hired, because their value is less than the cost of employing them.”

One recent study by the Federal Reserve Bank of Chicago argues that a reduction in the hourly minimum wage for teenagers would greatly decrease youth joblessness. Bank economists assert that a 25% cut in wages for youth would increase the number of low-paying jobs by as much as 36%.

These arguments and other conservative apologetics for lower wages simply don't square with basic facts. It is true that higher labor costs can lead to higher prices, and many bosses tend to reduce the number of workers in response to increased wage rates. However, lower wages also contribute to increases in welfare rates, street hustling, petty crime and drug traffic, because

people frequently will resort to anti-social activities if that is the only way in which their children are going to eat and survive. If a working mother with several children cannot provide for housing, day-care, food, electricity, medical bills, clothing, etc., from the meagre wages she receives at a dead-end job, she'd be foolish *not* to resort to welfare. Higher wages give the working poor greater self-respect.

What's the hidden agenda of the Reaganites who want to cut the wages of young workers? Conservatives are not ignorant. By reducing wages for teens, youngsters will be given jobs which generally go to semi-skilled low waged adults. In the struggle to keep their jobs, adults will be forced to tighten their belts and take wage cuts as well. It's time to fight for a decent living wage for all. ■

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The dream can't die: Reflections

You can't kill a dream. It resists all the devised methods of killing. Attempts to murder a dream, in fact, vastly prolong its life.

The greatest dream is about freedom. The dream is cumulative. Dreamers are always dreaming other people's dreams as well as their own. No one knows where one dream ends and another begins, when each is part of the dream.

Martin Luther King's voice was heard around the world when he uttered his unforgettable words in the nation's capitol: "I have a dream." King and his dream were the theme of a recent cartoon by Paul Conrad, who portrayed a scene of urban decay populated by hungry, homeless people on a deserted street. The caption posed a poignant question: "Was Dr. King only a dream?"

What *has* happened to Martin Luther King's dream? It has suffered a serious setback, according to a Jan. 15 article in the *Los Angeles Times*: "Black America faces high unemployment, poverty, the erosion of past gains and 'a

Malcolm Boyd is writer-priest-in-residence at St. Augustine by-the-Sea Episcopal Church, Santa Monica, Cal. and president of the Los Angeles Center of PEN, the international association of writers. His two most recent books are *Half Laughing/Half Crying: Songs for Myself* and *Gay Priest: An Inner Journey*, both published by St. Martin's Press.

resurgence of raw racism' as a result of Reagan Administration social and economic policies, the head of a major civil rights group said. Releasing the National Urban League's annual report on the status of Blacks, John E. Jacob, president of the league, said Blacks have been the victims of 'morally unjust' national policies that have widened the gap between rich and poor, Black and White ... 'The result is a national climate of selfishness, and a failure of government to take a positive role in ending racism and disadvantage.'"

It is essential that those of us who were part of the civil rights movement strive to keep that dream alive in our own generation, our own era. And, to cherish the roots of the dream in our past.

I remember a spring day in 1965.

Volunteer civil rights workers from different parts of the United States were crowded into Brown's Chapel in Selma, Ala. We listened to a combination of civil rights leaders, one after the other.

"They have used their tear gas and made us cry, but Blacks have cried for a long time," said the Rev. Ralph Abernathy.

John Lewis of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee spoke next. "Sunday afternoon I was beaten by

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Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning issued a strong call to combat racism during his address to the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church at the end of last year. Excerpts appear at right, pointing out that institutional racism is of grave concern to representatives of the Native American, Hispanic and Black communities.

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company and THE WITNESS concur, and future issues of the magazine will monitor manifestations of racism — in society in general and in the church in particular — as social justice and peace constituencies work toward an agenda for General Convention.  
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'Struggle of apartheid not

I want to share with you that I have a sense coming out of all that I have experienced in the last 10 months that no greater challenge faces the church than that of racism. In my sermon at the recent meeting of the House of Bishops, I shared my growing awareness that we must not be tricked to think that the struggle of apartheid is limited to South Africa.

The struggle is with the pernicious evil of institutional racism. The greater

question before us is not, necessarily, how we support the anti-apartheid forces in South Africa, but how will we confront the racism that pervades all human society? Are we prepared to work for a United States and a world where all people of every color are enabled to play an equal part or will we continue to view non-Whites as expendable at points of political and economic forces? The struggle against racism is dramatically engaged in

on the civil rights struggle

by Malcolm Boyd

a state trooper and knocked down. Quite a few other people are still in the hospital with broken legs and arms, fractures of the skull and other injuries. The march to Montgomery is a legitimate form of nonviolent protest to demonstrate to the nation that Blacks in the Black Belt are denied constitutional rights. We don't have clubs or guns but we have our bodies."

Wearing blue jeans, James Forman spoke intensely and quietly, and set a different mood. "I think we have to get ready for the long haul. We have paid our dues. When we say that we want the right to vote, we're not begging. We are demanding our political birthright."

The crowd in Brown's Chapel was aroused by the Rev. James Bevel: "The price of killing niggers is going up. There comes a time when the prophets have to preach. There comes a time when Jesus has to face Pilate. Today is that time. I'll tell you one thing: There never has been a resurrection without a crucifixion. Those of us who have been enslaved know that the price of freedom is going up."

It was very late when Martin Luther King came into the pulpit. He looked tired but confident and assured.

"Pilate's greatest sin wasn't that he didn't know what was right but that he lacked the moral courage to stand up for



From right: The Revs. Earl Neil, Malcolm Boyd, Quinland Gordon and an unidentified priest at bombed Black church in McComb, Miss., 1964.

limited to South Africa'

South Africa, no question about it, but it is being fought around the world: in the Middle East, in Southeast Asia, in Sri Lanka, Central America, and as we know even in many parts of this country.

The issue of institutional racism keeps coming forward as I travel and as I meet with churchpeople in this country and representatives from abroad. When I met with the national leadership of the National Commission on Indian Work and other repre-

sentatives of the Native American community, the issue of racism was one of their greatest concerns. When I met with members of the representatives of the Hispanic community in the Southwest, the issue was racism. When I met on several different occasions with the Union of Black Episcopalians, the issue was racism. I am sure that when I meet with the leadership of the Asian-American community the issue will be the same. The issue is

— Edmond L. Browning

racism but and often that issue is translated into different means: Quality education, medical care, employment, housing, social services.

In the Episcopal Church we must practice what we preach and teach. Indeed, there is no more effective way of preaching and teaching. We must find more effective ways for the Episcopal Church to influence public policy regarding institutional racism through the force of our own example

right,” he told us. “We have known the long night of police brutality. We must let it be known all over the world that we won’t take it anymore. I would rather die on the highways of Alabama than make a butchery of my conscience.”

I watched him closely from the front row. “It’s better to go through life with a scarred body than a scarred soul.” Ideals *were* possibilities, he was saying, and pragmatic ones. He roused my weary body and soul to renewed action. He stirred impulses that warred against my narrow self-interest and fear of an involvement that could be costly.

It is extremely dangerous that a majority of Americans probably do not know what the civil rights movement was about; are not aware of what has been lost because they do not understand what was previously gained, or how.

Blacks were denied the right to vote. Schools were segregated. Blacks and Whites could not sit at a lunch counter together, or use the same public restroom facilities. Churches were segregated; jobs in the workplace were generally open to Blacks only at the lowest levels of pay and opportunity. There were few Black role models in politics, religion, the media, society in general.

For a few of us who voluntarily became involved in the civil rights struggle, it was a mystifying experience, something like Marco Polo’s, or going to the moon.

*I was afraid
standing guard in the shadows
a freedom house in McComb, Mississippi
3 A.M. October 1, 1964
night watch
17 hate calls, 8 death threats
16 bombings rocked McComb this summer*

*no arrests made
tense when I heard a sound
footsteps, a car, a dog*

*I was afraid
bunking with a Black freedom rider
in a Black home in an Alabama town
wrong side of the tracks
listen to the stillness of the night outside
wind blows through leaves like paper
moonlight shines through heavy foliage
shadows move across the window
my heart pounds
will they torture us when they drag our bodies
out underneath the trees?*

*I was afraid
driving at midnight through rural Mississippi
only White in a car filled with Blacks
suddenly, a car looms up behind us
lights blinding
see only white faces
we are civil rights workers
who are they?
car stays behind us, abruptly speeds past,
vanishes into the night
but at a fork in the road,
there it is again
lights turned off
waiting
now it follows
along deserted, eerie road
pass through ghostlike towns*

and the credibility of the teaching process itself. I was struck by a recent interview in *The New York Times*, with the Roman Catholic Auxiliary Bishop of Brooklyn. Bishop Joseph M. Sullivan said: “The major problem the church has is internal. How do we teach? As much as I think we’re responsible for advocating public policy issues, our primary responsibility is to teach our own people. We haven’t done that. We’re asking politicians to do what we haven’t done effectively ourselves.” I cannot agree more with that statement.

In 1982 the 67th General Convention requested every diocese and local congregation to create a Committee on Racism, with assisting material to be provided by the staff of the Episcopal Church Center. Let me recall the agenda identified by that Convention:

- To study, identify and confront the root cause of racism in all people, systems and institutions; to produce educational programs and to advocate economic and political reforms, working with religious and other groups in

the community;

- To lend support for truly desegregated communities, schools, and houses of worship;
- To encourage, recruit and deploy minority people in all professions on a non-discriminatory basis, particularly within the church;
- To apply a collective imagination for the creation of new jobs, including training programs in job skills and work discipline, that are characterized

*lights of TV sets
flash behind half-closed windows
fear local police
as much as danger on the dark road*

Voter registration was a basic issue in McComb, Miss. in 1964. I was present at a Black community meeting when Mrs. Alyene Quin said: "The only thing I'm asking you who haven't registered to vote is, please, go down to register. I'm asking 200 people to register, I have gone down three times but I haven't passed the tests. But I'll go every month until I pass."

Few Blacks were registered in Pike County, Miss., and its largest town of McComb. The psychological hazard of registering was formidable. It meant getting dressed up in Sunday best clothes, then traveling to Magnolia eight miles away, and entering its county courthouse. The courthouse was a holy of holies of the segregated way of life, with its creed of White supremacy, and color bars as sacraments. A would-be voter, seeking to register, had to face police cars, cops with walkie-talkies, and even a paddy wagon crowded onto the scene. All this, before getting near the casuistically-tricky registration test itself.

"We are just captives and can't move at all," a Black woman in nearby Jackson told me, as we sat in a home which had been bombed the night before. "Discrimination goes on around here by law. The people who come in to open up the situation give us moral support, and then the whole world hears about it."

Racial hatred and discrimination were by no means confined to the southern part of the United States. They were found virtually everywhere. In the summer of 1965 I

was standing on a street of fire-gutted buildings, shattered glass and strewn debris in Watts, the Black poverty ghetto of Los Angeles. Soldiers stood nearby, tensely holding their guns ready. "Pretty soon I'll be 30," a young Black woman told me. "I don't want to sweep floors all my life." A young Black man told me: "I don't know what to do about the future. I don't know what to tell Whites they should do. I'm not sure it can make any difference anymore." But he concluded: "I wish Whites would listen. I wish Whites could hear."

I remember that Martin Luther King once said: "People often hate each other because they fear each other; they fear each other because they do not know each other; they do not know each other because they cannot communicate; they cannot communicate because they are separated." *This is apartheid*, whether in South Africa or the United States. This is the separation one can find between the inner-city and suburbia, in schools and on campuses, in virtually every level of American life.

Is there a solution, a way out of the maddening dilemma? It can be discovered only (King said) "in persistent trying, perpetual experimentation, persevering togetherness."

We mourn the death of beloved dreamers. We are grateful to them for sharing the dream with us. But we, too, must be dreamers — giving new life to the dream by our own commitments and lives.

The dream has become a heritage that we, as a people, hold in common. Our task is to mold a lifestyle which speaks stronger than words, awakening new dreamers from self-preoccupation into the great mutual involvement of the dream.

The dream can't die. ■

by equality of opportunity — from top to bottom.

The action of the 1985 General Convention moved the intention of this resolution further in Resolution A140a by advocating Affirmative Action procedures throughout the Church. This resolution requested that the dioceses report "annually their participation in such procedures to the Executive for Administration and to the Committee on the State of the Church, using a form prepared by the Personnel Com-

mittee and Department of the Executive Council."

As a mark of my intention to address the issue of institutional racism and to have the Episcopal Church set an example, I promise immediate implementation of these resolutions. I am pleased to report that according to our affirmative action report of Sept. 15 — and we still have a long way to go — the over-all Church Center staff of 211 is now 56% female and 44% male — a shift of slightly more than 2% toward the female side. Both exempt and non-

exempt staffs now show this change. Of the exempt staff, 60% are now lay-people. By the end of 1987, we will have completed an extensive training-educational program on institutional racism and its behavioral manifestation for all members of the Episcopal Church Center staff.

It would be precipitous for me to establish unilaterally a program and agenda to address institutional racism. I do think that it is appropriate for me to state that this is a priority for the months ahead. ■

Perfecting our strategy

by Pauli Murray

One day during class discussion, in a flash of poetic insight, I advanced a radical approach that few legal scholars considered viable in 1944 — namely, that the time had come to make a frontal assault on the constitutionality of segregation per se instead of continuing to acquiesce in the *Plessy* ["separate but equal"] doctrine while nibbling away at its underpinnings on a case-by-case basis and having to show in each case that the facility in question was in fact *unequal*. In essence I was challenging the traditional NAACP tactic of concentrating on the *equal* side of the *Plessy* equation.

One would have thought I had proposed that we attempt to tear down the Washington Monument or the Statue of Liberty. First astonishment, then hoots of derisive laughter, greeted what seemed to me to be an obvious solution. My approach was considered too visionary, one likely to precipitate an unfavorable decision of the Supreme Court, thus strengthening rather than destroying the force of the *Plessy* case. Spottswood Robinson, the young Bills and Notes professor, who had graduated several years earlier with the highest academic record in the history of the law school and whose encyclopedic knowledge of case law inspired awe among students, not only pooh-poohed my idea but good-naturedly accepted my wager of \$10 that *Plessy* would be overruled within 25 years. None of us dreamed that the Supreme Court would deliver a death blow to the *Plessy* doctrine, in *Brown v. Board of Education*, not 25 but only 10 years later.

Opposition to an idea I cared deeply about always aroused my latent mule-headedness, and I chose for my seminar paper the ambitious topic "Should the *Civil Rights Cases* and *Plessy v. Ferguson* Be Overruled?" An inexperienced third-year law student was hardly equipped to deal adequately with an enormously complex constitutional problem which would later tax the best efforts of scores of legal scholars, but Andy Ransom, delighting in what he must have thought of as my naive audacity, egged me on and even extended the deadline for my paper to the end of the summer following graduation.

As I wrestled with the legal aspects of segregation that spring, the Howard Chapter of the NAACP, again sparked by Ruth Powell, decided to renew its "non-violent direct action" campaign against Jim Crow, this time at downtown Washington restaurants. Local groups like the NAACP, the Minorities Workshop, and the Institute of

Race Relations had lobbied for the District of Columbia civil rights bill during the fall and winter, with discouraging results. The House bill was bottled up in committee and only 15 signatures had been obtained on a discharge petition. The Senate version was virtually certain to die in the District of Columbia Committee, chaired by Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo of Mississippi, the most rabid anti-Negro voice in Congress. The student activists, having tasted victory the previous spring, were impatient with delays, and warm weather brought another upsurge of restless energy. They were determined to dramatize the issue by demonstrating the technique that had worked at the Little Palace.

This time the campaign was directed against one of the three local cafeterias in the John R. Thompson Company chain, specifically the one located at 11th St. and Pennsylvania Ave. N.W. Thompson's was selected because of its convenient location, its moderately priced food, and the fact that service was maintained on a 24-hour basis. If Thompson's Jim Crow policy could be broken down, it would be of special benefit to thousands of Negro government workers during the hours when government cafeterias were closed.

Once again I was asked to serve as student adviser. Our preparation was more rigorous than it had been the previous year, because now we were entering "foreign territory," outside a Negro neighborhood, and we did not know what hostilities we might encounter. In our literature we stressed that "intelligent showmanship and an attitude of good will on the part of the demonstrators is calculated to minimize antagonism and to 'swing the crowd on our side.'" Student participants not only were instructed in picketing and public decorum but also were required to sign a written pledge accepting the philosophy and discipline of the Civil Rights Committee. Volunteers who felt they might not be able to maintain self-control under provocation were assigned to tasks, such as making signs and posters, that would not expose them to confrontations with the police or the public. The pledge declared in part:

I oppose . . . discrimination . . . particularly where such exclusion is not sanctioned by laws, as contrary to the principles for which the present World War is being fought . . .

I conceive the effort to eliminate discrimination against any person because of race or color to be a patriotic duty and an act of faith in the American boys who are fighting for the Four Freedoms in foreign lands, and who have every right to expect a fuller share of these freedoms when they return home . . .

I understand the aims of the Civil Rights campaign to be the opening up of places to Negroes through the art of persuasion and good will, and the developing of public

From the book, *Song in a Weary Throat* by Pauli Murray. Copyright © 1987 by the estate of Pauli Murray. Reprinted by permission of Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc.

opinion to extend the privilege of service to all members of the population. I understand further that there is no law enforcing segregation in Washington, D.C., and that I may enter any public place and remain there so long as I conduct myself in a lawful and proper manner.

I therefore pledge to serve in whatever capacity I am best fitted — whether picketing, “sitting in” restaurants, making posters and signs, handing out leaflets, or speaking.

I further pledge to abide by the rules and regulations of the Civil Rights Committee in carrying out this campaign; to do nothing to antagonize members of the public or the management of public places; to look my best wherever I act as a representative of the committee; to use dignity and restraint at all times; to refrain from boisterous or offensive language or conduct no matter what the provocation; and to do or say *nothing* which will embarrass the committee or the university.

The demonstration began at 4 p.m. on Saturday April 22, 1944. Following the pattern of the previous year, we began to stroll into Thompson’s in twos and threes, separated by 10-minute intervals. When we were refused service, we carried our empty trays to vacant tables, maintaining strict silence; students had been instructed not to be drawn into verbal harangues and all questions were referred to a designated representative. Three white participants polled the customers inside the cafeteria and found that of ten people questioned, seven favored serving Negroes and only three objected. Outside, we set up a picket line, walking in single file far enough apart not to block the sidewalk and carrying signs, one of which read: “Are You for HITLER’S Way (Race Supremacy) or the AMERICAN Way (Equality)? Make Up Your Mind!”

Our picket line quickly attracted a large crowd, heavily sprinkled with men and women in uniform. Most of the onlookers were white. Although some of the soldiers yelled catcalls and one woman spat as the pickets passed, others, including some Wacs and Waves, cheered and called out words of sympathy. Neither jeers nor cheers brought any outward response from our pickets. Several police officers stood by, watchful but not openly hostile.

A dramatic moment occurred when six unidentified Negro soldiers, smartly dressed and wearing corporals’ and sergeants’ stripes, filed into the restaurant, requested service, were refused, took seats at empty tables, pulled out *PM* newspapers, and began to read. At nearby tables a dozen or more white soldiers and sailors were eating. The Negro soldiers had no connection with our student group, but their act of solidarity was the high point of our demonstration, underscoring the message of one of our signs outside: “We Die Together. Why Can’t We Eat Together?”

Within an hour, 56 demonstrators, including the six

Song in a Weary Throat

Pauli Murray’s
autobiography



What would you give to spend a weekend in the challenging presence of a pioneer Civil Rights activist and feminist, who achieved heady heights from the unlikely starting point of being born the granddaughter of a slave?

That adventure can be yours by acquiring the late Pauli Murray’s autobiography, *Song in a Weary Throat*, just out from Harper & Row (hardback \$23.95).

Pauli Murray was, indeed is, a national treasure. Widely revered in Episcopal circles as the first woman of color to become a priest, she had, during her lifetime, fought Jim Crow and later, as a feminist, Jim’s cousin, Jane Crow. Poet, attorney, frequent visitor with Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, co-founder of the National Organization for Women, Pauli Murray was from her student days a Civil Rights activist.

She and several women students from Howard University organized the first sit-in that successfully desegregated the Little Palace, a small diner in Washington, D.C. in 1943. It was one of the earliest uses of the non-violent tactics that Martin Luther King, Jr., was later to employ.

In the accompanying excerpt from her book, Pauli Murray describes how the strategy at the Little Palace was perfected to desegregate a restaurant in a busy, downtown area in the District of Columbia, escalating the use of non-violence as a viable method to achieve social justice.

Pauli Murray died in July of 1985. She had previously been informed that the Episcopal Church Publishing Company had named her the recipient of its Vida Scudder Award. It was presented, posthumously, at an awards dinner during the 1985 General Convention of the Episcopal Church, and accepted by her nephew, Michael Murray — the last of many honors she was to receive during her lifetime.

Negro soldiers, were occupying tables. From time to time the manager approached members of the group, pleading with them to leave. The student representatives were polite but firm in their refusal to go without being served. Later the district supervisor of the Thompson chain arrived, but his bluster was equally unsuccessful. Then two white MP's entered the restaurant and asked the Negro soldiers to leave. The soldiers replied that they were waiting for service. When the MP's were unable to dislodge the Negro GI's, they left and returned shortly with a white lieutenant wearing an MP armband, who apologetically asked the Negro soldiers to leave "as a personal favor so the Army won't be embarrassed in case of an incident." As the designated representative of the demonstrators, I pointed out to the lieutenant that if the Army was afraid of being embarrassed, it should request *all* military personnel to leave. We won a small victory when the MP's cleared the restaurant of all men in uniform.

Within four hours Thompson's trade had dropped 50%. The management put in frantic calls to its main office in Chicago and finally, at 8:30 p.m., was ordered to serve us.

They were so anxious to be relieved of our presence that when two waitresses balked, the manager and district supervisor quickly took their places.

It is difficult to describe the exhilaration of that brief moment of victory. So far as we knew, nothing like it had happened before in the city of Washington. As a Civil Rights Committee representative declared: "With this technique we hope to tear down some of the stereotyped impressions in the minds of our white fellow citizens and to evoke their respect. We want to demonstrate our good will, but at the same time we are equally determined to secure our rights."

The most abiding gain, however, was in our own self-respect; unfortunately, our weeks of planning and tremendous effort created scarcely a ripple beyond 11th St. and Pennsylvania Ave. For all the excitement of that Saturday afternoon in the heart of downtown Washington, a few blocks from the White House, the local metropolitan press ignored our exploit. The only mention I saw of the incident in a white newspaper was in I. F. Stone's *PM* column a week later . . . ■

Disabled monitor 'civil rights'

by Cyndi Jones

The month of May marks the 10th anniversary of what has come to be known as the Civil Rights laws for disabled citizens. And since the legislation has yet to be fully implemented, progress, or the lack of it, over the next years will be closely monitored by the disabled community.

Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, together with its sister legislation, Public Law 94-142 — the Education of All Handicapped Children Act — did not become law without struggle. It took four years, three presidents, and a determined national organization — the American Coalition of Citizens With Disabilities — to get the regu-

lations signed after the Rehabilitation Act passed in 1973.

Joseph Califano agreed to issue the regulations after a 22-day sit-in at the San Francisco offices of Health, Education and Welfare, along with sit-ins in eight other regional HEW offices. The regulations were published May 5, 1977.

Section 504 stated that no otherwise qualified handicapped person will be denied access to federal programs because of their disability. PL 94-142, otherwise known as "mainstreaming," said that handicapped children must be educated in the "least restrictive environment" or mainstreamed. Just because a child happened to be disabled, did not mean that the child automatically needed to be in a "special" school. This legislation is to the disabled community what the *Brown vs.*

Board of Education decision — ending segregation in schools — is to other minorities.

But to understand the issue, one really has to understand what it was like before. Disabled children were routinely bused across their city to go to segregated "special" schools. Many of these schools were no more than glorified babysitting services. This resulted in disabled children graduating, after 12 years of "education," without an elementary education and no marketable skills.

The mainstreaming legislation was intended to insure a quality education for handicapped children. But what it accomplished was much more. It helped change the way disabled individuals see themselves. Disabled individuals weren't expected to lead independent productive lives. Disabled adults did

Cyndi Jones of San Diego is publisher of *Mainstream*, a national journal by and about handicapped people.

not have access to public transportation and most frequently did not have a quality education so finding a job was difficult. Many federal, state and local government offices were inaccessible as well, denying disabled individuals access to their elected officials, so we couldn't even complain about the poor education, the lack of public transportation or the inaccessible polling places.

Over the last decade and a half, in conjunction with the passage of these two pieces of legislation, major changes have made life easier and, in fact, livable for persons with disabilities. Modern medical technology is making it possible for individuals to survive serious injury or illness. The development of the motorized wheelchair and lift-equipped vans have rapidly changed the self-perception of many disabled individuals. Imagine the sense of freedom experienced when changing from literally being pushed around, to having the ability to go wherever you want to go, whenever you want to go. Most people take this for granted, but for disabled individuals it was a major breakthrough. Also, the space technology created increased opportunities for severely disabled individuals to lead independent lives, such as the ability to drive highly specialized vehicles, and the providing of computerized environmental control systems for their homes so that they could answer the phone, or turn on the radio without assistance.

Of course, nothing happens in a vacuum. This newfound independence for disabled individuals meant new demands on the outside social system. What good is the freedom offered by a motorized vehicle if every street corner has a built-in barrier, commonly called a curb? Thus began the push for curb cuts. It also became apparent that public transit was non-existent if one was disabled. Thus began the push for accessible public transportation.

To people who are not familiar with the disabled experience, it is a different world. So many things that are taken for granted, are either not available to disabled individuals, or have a high price, either financially, physically, emotionally or spiritually.

The trick is to get your needs met and at the same time maintain your dignity, to participate in mainstream activities, and yet not have to give up your independence in order to join in.

For example, friends ask you to go to church with them on Sunday, not thinking about how someone in a wheel-



chair gets in the church. Is the front door accessible or do you need to use the back door? What about the seating arrangement — does the wheelchair user sit in the aisle or the back or the front of the church? Where does their ambulatory friend sit — next to them or behind them? How do they receive communion? Do they go forward, is the altar rail accessible? Are there bathroom facilities or should you refrain from liquids until you get home? What about the coffee hour?

All these questions are not just a problem on Sunday, but are a way of life for the individual who has a disability. They apply whether you are

shopping, or going to college; if you are going to the theater or a friend's house for dinner. It is no wonder that many disabled people just stay home. The logistics alone are enough to drive you crazy, and just when you think you've got it covered there is the person who parks his or her car so close to your van that you cannot use your lift.

But the church has some unique issues to deal with. Instead of only seeing disabled individuals as recipients of ministry, the church needs to incorporate disabled communicants as partners in ministry. Everyone has gifts to be shared, and the job of the church is to utilize these varied gifts. In our church, St. David's, San Diego, disabled people are chalice bearers, lay readers, Sunday school teachers, vestry persons. They go on retreats, and do out-reach ministry at mental health facilities and convalescent homes. They work on the budget and capital fund drives. Basically, they participate in all aspects of church life.

When we have meetings, we "think access." We try to take the burden of access off the disabled person, and put it in the planning process where it belongs. Access is the issue of the convener, not the attendee.

But let's get back to the initial purpose of mainstreaming — remember those handicapped kids? The ones who are being educated in "regular" school? It has been 10 years now and some of these kids are graduating from high school or soon will be. These kids have different expectations from us "old" folks. They *expect* to have access. They expect to be allowed admittance to wherever they want to go, or, at least, not to be discriminated against on the basis of their disability. These next few years are going to be exciting as 40 million disabled Americans await the real outcome of PL 94-142 and Section 504 — and seek tangible results from mainstreaming. ■

In the early 1930s, the United States and, indeed, most of the world, was deep in the grip of a devastating economic depression. The Great Crash of '29 had wreaked havoc on American society. Millions were out of work. In 1932, the average monthly wage was 60% of the average wage in 1929. That same year, some 12 million were unemployed in the United States and 30 million were out of work worldwide; starvation was reaching disastrous proportions in the U.S.S.R. Farm foreclosures, bank and business failures continued at a rapid rate in the United States as the Depression hit bottom.

Times were desperate and revolution from either the right or the left seemed a possibility. THE WITNESS was among the social forces which believed that capitalism, which had brought so much misery on the world, would be replaced by a new social order that combined Socialist, Christian and Democratic principles. It was a courageous stand to adopt at the time, when reactionary groups like the

Ku Klux Klan and even the American Legion were actively, and in the case of the Klan, violently opposed to such "Red" ideas.

When Franklin Roosevelt assumed the Presidency in 1933, he inherited a battered and confused country badly in need of social reform. Blacks and working people were still terribly oppressed. THE WITNESS kept a constant and outraged record of lynchings each year and called continuously for government and church leaders to condemn the practice. The bitter coal strikes in Kentucky were carefully documented by THE WITNESS and in its pages, readers were asked to send aid to the beleaguered miners.

Roosevelt's rapid reforms through the National Relief Act, the Works Project Administration and other social programs gave Americans hope that the country would recover peacefully from the turmoil of the Depression. But while many people were enthralled by Tarzan and little Shirley Temple at the movies, ominous events were taking

Re Lehigh Valley wages

The Rev. Paul Cotton is the chairman of the code committee of the Bethlehem unemployed citizens' league. He recently revealed the following figures about workers in the Lehigh Valley of Pennsylvania. For sanding a radio cabinet a worker receives 1½¢; for doing a whole bedroom suite they receive \$1.50. He presented the record of one worker who labored from 11½ to 12 hours a day, six days a week, with 8 hours on Sunday and received \$3.50 a week, and a room, with the boss owing him two months' wages. (12/28/33)

Of war and profits

In support of the recent legislation to keep the United States neutral in the event of another war, Senators Nye and Clark cited hitherto unpublished correspondence between President Wilson and Secretary of State Lansing. The correspondence is further proof that

we entered the conflict for financial reasons.

The Allies had made great purchases of war materials. The loaning of money to belligerents had been considered inconsistent with our policy of neutrality, but neutrality was not permitted to stand in the way of economic interests, the Senators point out. The President finally acquiesced in "the necessity of floating government loans for the belligerent nations, which are purchasing such great quantities of goods in this country, in order to avoid a serious financial situation which will not only affect them but this country as well."

McAdoo, Lansing and Wilson agreed with the big bankers that if loans were not made to the Allies, not only would Americans lose business but there would be a depression. The first loan of the House of Morgan, amounting to \$500,000,000, followed within a month. Commenting on these loans, Andre

Tardieu declared that "from that time on the victory of the Allies had become essential to the United States," and President Wilson, who "had kept us out of war," and had been re-elected largely on that issue, found good moral reasons for getting us into it.

(William B. Spofford 9/12/35)

Worst year for lynching

The year just closed was the worst year in the crusade against lynching since 1922, according to a statement just issued by the Federal Council of Churches. The total number of victims were twenty-eight, 12 more than in 1927, 17 more than in 1928, 18 more than in 1929, 7 more than in 1930, 15 more than in 1931 and 20 more than in 1932. There are but five states that never have had a lynching: Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont, while there is no record of a lynching having taken place in Maine

The gathering clouds of war

by Susan E. Pierce

place overseas.

In Nicaragua, the United States withdrew its occupation forces, but only after installing Antonio Somoza as head of the National Guard, which gave Somoza the chance to execute Augusto Sandino in 1934. Britain suppressed colonial protest in India by jailing Mohandas Gandhi. And the most frightening and disturbing signs that the fragile world peace might be ending was the increasing aggression by Germany and Japan.

Hitler became Chancellor of the German Reichstag or Parliament in 1933, his Nazi party having won a majority the year before. By 1933, the Nazis had built Dachau, the first concentration camp, and were burning books by Jewish authors and ruthlessly attacking Jews, leftists and labor unions. Japan, having invaded Manchuria in China in 1932, withdrew from the League of Nations in 1933, and by 1936, was openly conquering China.

As the situation grew worse in Europe and Asia, THE

WITNESS steadfastly continued to call for peace and condemned each new outbreak of belligerence, such as the Italian invasion and annexation of Ethiopia in 1935-36. And when civil war broke out in Spain, THE WITNESS staunchly supported the elected government, even though it was accused of being "communist" and "atheistic."

But by 1936, even THE WITNESS, as strong for peace as ever, was beginning to surrender its optimism. Germany, having repudiated the Versailles Treaty, invaded the Rhineland and formed the Rome-Berlin Axis with Italy. In the Dec. 31, 1936 issue, editor Spofford wrote, "War is said to be unavoidable by the smart people," but he could not refrain from adding a small note of hope: "It is encouraging to learn that Premier Leon Blum of France told the head of the United Press the other day that a general war in Europe can be avoided if the three democracies, Great Britain, France and the United States, work together to prevent it." Excerpts from THE WITNESS appear below:

or New Jersey since 1886.

The statement concludes by pointing to the federal anti-lynching bill now before Congress, President Roosevelt's scathing arraignment of lynchers, and the protests of newspapers, church groups and women's organizations against the evil, as an indication that the public conscience has been stirred afresh by this national menace. (3/1/34)

Fighting Jim Crow

Bishop William Manning of New York has entered the Battle of Harlem and shares the hero's toga with the rector of All Souls', the Rev. Rollin Dodd, who has refused to make of his parish church a Jim Crow affair.

Seven of the 12 vestrymen did not want to have Negroes allowed at the services. They told the rector so. He told them that he was there to minister to the community and that there was no place for racial discrimination in

the Church of Christ. The majority of the vestry cut off the rector's salary. That failed to do the trick so they closed the church and padlocked the doors, announcing to the world that it was for the purpose of making repairs. One Sunday the service had to be held in a hired hall.

But last Sunday Bishop Manning marched up to the door of the church. He couldn't get in. Dodd asked him if the door should be forced. The reply came in a loud voice, "Certainly." So the door was forced, in spite of threats of the vestry that they would call for the arrest of anyone who forced their way in. The service was held, with Bishop Manning preaching the sermon and literally reading the law to the vestrymen. (William B. Spofford 11/3/32)

Mrs. Frothingham vs. Einstein

If it was the idea of Mrs. Randolph Frothingham, of the Beacon Hill

Frothinghams, to make her country ridiculous she has succeeded. She was the lady who informed the State Department in Washington that Albert Einstein, eminent scientist, should not be admitted to this country, even though he was invited here to carry on his research. He was, so she said, "affiliated with more communist organizations than Josef Stalin himself." So the State Department instructed our representatives in foreign countries to question him carefully before giving him a visa to enter the United States.

He refused to be questioned. Instead he informed the world that if he did not receive his visa within 24 hours he would not come to our shores. In less time than that the State Department issued a statement to the effect that Mr. Einstein had been questioned as to his opinions, that he was deemed a suitable person to mingle with us, and that

the visa has been granted.

Thus does Mrs. Frothingham, with apparently the hearty cooperation of our State Department, make us look very silly indeed. The whole trouble started of course many years ago. Had the Indians who inhabited the rock-bound coast of New England only boasted a properly organized State Department the Beacon Hill Frothinghams never would have been allowed to land. We would then have been saved, not only this present embarrassment, but also the embarrassment of the D.A.R. black list for which this lady was largely responsible, upon which was engraved as undesirable citizens such people as Jane Addams, Bishop Brewster of Maine. Bishop Parsons of California and others equally eminent. (WITNESS Editorial, 12/15/32)

Oriental in the U.S.

That there are approximately 300,000 people of Oriental birth or parentage living in continental United States, and other interesting facts regarding Orientals residing in this country, is revealed in a study which has been prepared in connection with the General Convention. Of this total Oriental population, 80,000 are Chinese, the majority of whom live in the region of San Francisco Bay, the men outnumbering the women eight to one. There are 140,000 Japanese, more than half of whom, the study shows, are American born. Here, too, the men outnumber the women, but not nearly in the same proportion as the Chinese. The Japanese centre of population is Los Angeles. There are about 65,000 Filipinos, nearly all of them young men.

The Japanese live in town and country; the Chinese are mostly city dwellers; the Filipinos are a migratory group who follow seasonal occupations or work in domestic service or in hotels.

Discussing living conditions among these groups, and excluding the few Chinese and Japanese of the higher class who are profitably engaged in business, Bishop Bartlett, executive secretary of the department of Home Missions, and bishop of North Dakota, who directed the study says: "In the cities the Orientals are almost invariably compelled to live by themselves in the worst sections, constantly surrounded by evil influences. Even if they resist evil, they have nowhere to turn for decent recreation, much less for religious help." (8/23/34)

A STUDY PACKET

THE CASE FOR DIVESTMENT

“We face a catastrophe in this land and only the action of the international community by applying pressure can save us.”

The Rt. Rev. Desmond Tutu

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*.



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Short Takes

1 of 4 functionally illiterate

Jonathan Kozol in *Illiterate America* wrote that between 1640 and 1700 the Puritan literacy rate was between 89 and 90%. They wanted to read their bible! Today, in some cities, 40% of the adult population is functionally illiterate. In the American population generally, Kozol estimates that one of four individuals is functionally illiterate. One million teenagers between 12 and 17 can't read above the third grade level.

Every year high schools across the country graduate 700,000 functionally illiterate students—and another 700,000 drop out every year. A study by the National Assessment of Educational Progress found that only two out of five students across the country could draw correct inferences from a set of facts. Only one out of seven could write a good essay. The problem, according to this study, cuts across the board from poor kids in inner-city schools to affluent children in suburban schools.

The Evangelical Outlook Vol. 24 #1
Evangelical Education Society

The church is near but the road is all ice; the tavern is far but I'll walk very carefully. — Russian proverb

Youth camp in Holy Land

A four-week ecumenical camp experience in the Holy Land for English-speaking youth aged 14 to 20 is scheduled July 2-Aug. 2, with St. Margaret's Hostel, on the mountain overlooking the City of Nazareth, as home base.

Campers will explore the rich and varied cultures of communities residing in the Holy Land. Activities include sightseeing at traditional holy sites; visits to a Bedouin camp and an archaeological dig; a kibbutz camp-out; and volunteer programs including planting on a farm, helping in a refugee camp, working in Christian institutions. Sports, music and dance round out the events. An interfaith dialog with Christian, Muslim and Jewish youth will end the program.

Fee for U.S. youth, including airfare and insurance, is \$2100 from New York. Brochures are available from the Rev. Canon Riah Abu El-Assal, rector, Christ Evangelical Episcopal Church, P.O. Box 75, Nazareth, 16100, Israel.



All Under One Roof

Sen. Lowell Weicker of Connecticut will open the Under One Roof Conference with an address on "Politics, Religion and the Constitution" Thursday, June 4, at the Clarion Hotel, St. Louis. The conference, to run through June 7, will bring together Episcopal networks covering a wide range of social justice and specialized ministries.

Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning will celebrate and preach at the closing Eucharist. Sixteen Episcopal groups — including members of The Consultation and the Episcopal Church Publishing Company — are sponsoring the event, which will provide an opportunity to get a "snapshot" of new program ideas, current social and political issues, models of ministry or particular skills.

Registration fee is \$50. For further information and a registration brochure, contact Nancy Deppen, Public Policy Network, Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017.

Not like the South

"The South African story is very dramatic. Many people think that it's like the civil-rights struggle in the United States, but it's not. Racism and white supremacy are so entwined in government doctrine there. There's no question about human rights because there's nothing that guarantees human rights. There's no room for a nonviolent struggle there, as there was in the South here."

Ora Mendels

Author, *Mandela's Children*
Quoted in *Phila. Inquirer* 2/10/87

Woman bishop? Here's how

I recall a significant moment during the process of episcopal elections in our denomination when the probability of electing a woman to the position of bishop appeared absolutely nil. Nevertheless, in our jurisdiction the clergywomen gathered for prayer each night. We experienced the presence and power of the Holy Spirit in our midst.

We saw our movement from the perspective of the nature of the church of Jesus Christ and its witness. It was far more than an individual "winning a race." Women of faith had reached out across the country, convincing men to join them in order to express the need for the church of a resurrected Christ to be absolutely and completely inclusive in all areas of its life in the world. This movement should acknowledge the call, gifts, and graces of all persons, regardless of sex, race, or culture, to serve with authenticity. We felt we were about the business of newness of Spirit, calling the church to renewal of witness.

A young male minister who had joined us on one evening is said to have reported, "Don't worry about the women. They are no problem. They are just having a prayer meeting."

It is because of such prayer meetings that I am now a bishop of the United Methodist Church. As a Black woman, I long ago learned of the faith of a people enslaved, who dared to believe in a resurrected Jesus.

Bishop Leontine Kelly
***Sojourners* 4/87**

Quote of note

Some women wait for something to change and nothing does change, so they change themselves.

Audrey Lorde

Help yourself

Extra commas can cause problems of their own, as the news service of the Anglican diocese in Canterbury, United Kingdom, recently illustrated.

"Look out, here he comes!" was the headline the news service gave to an excerpt from an article in the *Southwark News*: "Afterwards, the bishop walked among the crowds, eating their picnic lunches."

***One World* 3/87**

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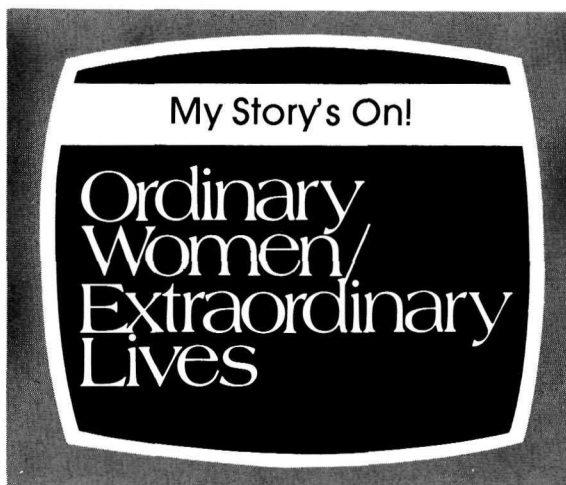
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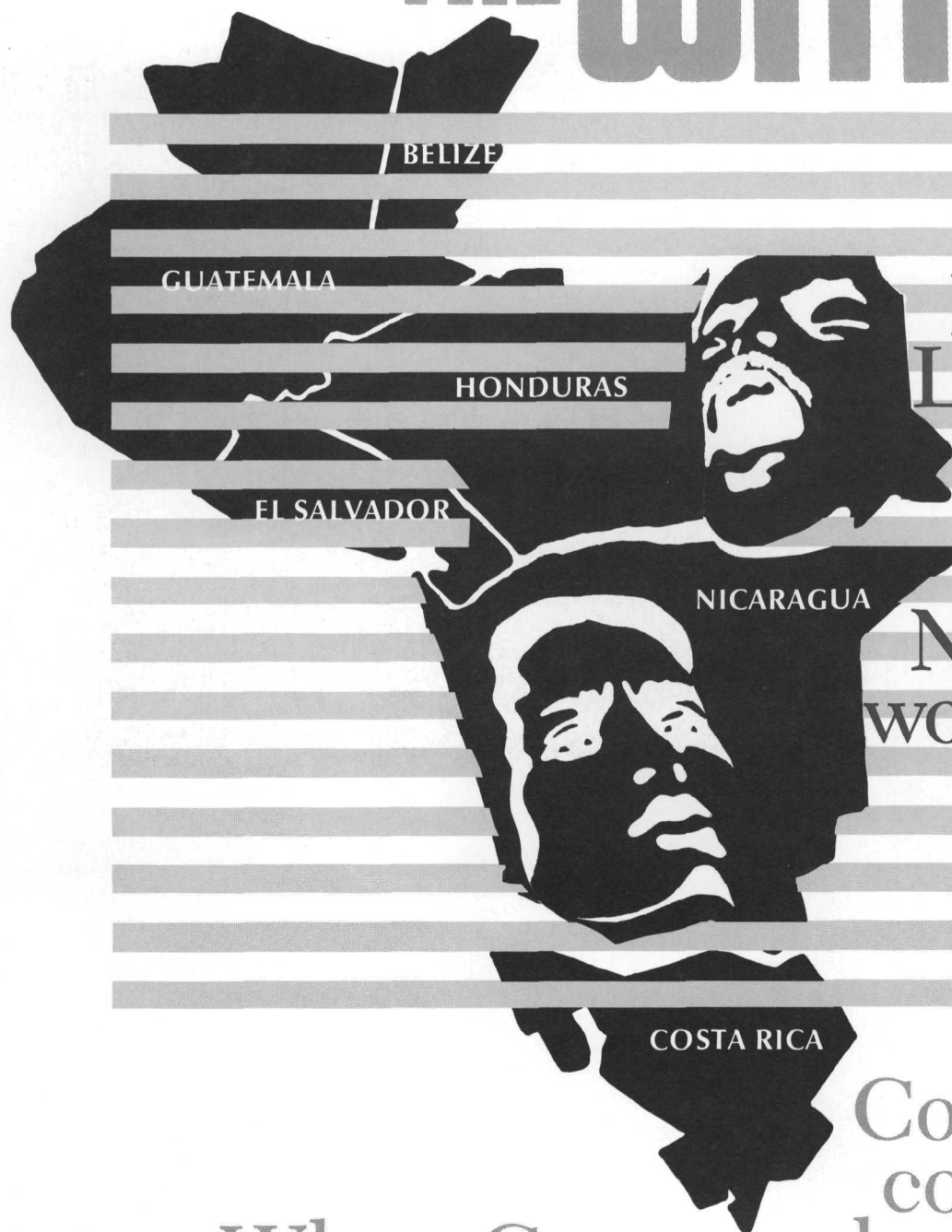
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THE WITNESS



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GUATEMALA

HONDURAS

EL SALVADOR

NICARAGUA

COSTA RICA

Honduras:
Launchpad
for war

Denise Stanley

Nicaraguan
women...and
children,
too

Mary Lou Suhor

Confronting
covert acts:
When Congress had courage

F. Forrester Church

Letters

Wrong end of telescope?

The Rev. Richard Mansfield's article "Holding Canterbury accountable" (March) is looking at the problem through the wrong end of the telescope. Indeed there is a major division within the Anglican Communion, but it is the American/Canadian/New Zealand/etc. provinces which have caused it, not the Church of England. *We* are the ones who have changed the nature of the sacramental ministry, and we should not be surprised when other portions of the church refuse to recognize the novelty. Indeed, many of our own members do not recognize it either. If people are starting to worry about disunity and division, I suggest they were warned about it long before the change, and they chose to ignore the warning.

And when Canon Mansfield says "a bishop celebrates Holy Communion by the fact that he is ordained a presbyter as well as a bishop" he has it backwards again. A priest celebrates, holds office, exercises oversight, only because he is ordained by a bishop, as a deputy of that bishop. Bishops came before presbyters in the church, and the latter order developed only as a necessity when the burden of oversight grew to be too much for one bishop in an area.

When he says "There are no women bishops (yet)..." he is obviously expecting it to happen soon. Dissention and disruption will only be multiplied in this case. A number of bishops throughout the Anglican Communion have said they cannot attend Lambeth if a woman claiming episcopal orders is present; if this happens, it will be her novel ministry which has disrupted things, not long held beliefs of others. The Church of England has not said it does not recognize the orders of men ordained in the historic ministry even from provinces which have changed the nature of that ministry, but when

the time comes of recognizing the orders of men "ordained" by women, there will be total disruption and ecclesiastical integrity will have disappeared. And the burden of such disruption will be on those who have made the change, not on those who cannot accept it.

**Dorothy W. Spaulding
McLean, Va.**

Mansfield responds

I understand that the Church of England's Synod has just approved the ordination of women as priests. The Church of England has now joined "the American/Canadian/New Zealand etc. provinces" in recognizing this "novelty." Surely now the Church of England should be able to remove the restriction against women Anglican priests practicing their sacramental ministries in England. The word "novelty" is Ms. Spaulding's unsuccessful attempt to trivialize the growing and significant realization by our church of our oneness in Christ. The nature of the sacramental ministry has not been changed. It has only been fulfilled by making ordination a possibility for all God's people regardless of gender.

Bishops in our church today first were enabled to celebrate the eucharist as priests. I hope that neither priests nor bishops in our church will celebrate communion in the Church of England when some of their ordained colleagues are unable to do so. That is a real issue of "ecclesiastical integrity."

I am not surprised by, nor do I fear dissension or disruption. But I do challenge those who espouse our Anglican Communion and Christian unity through acceptance of each other's orders when one of the provinces in our communion refuses to accept the orders of some clergy in other provinces. Mrs. Spaulding suggests that some bishops will not attend Lambeth if there

is a woman bishop present. I suggest that our bishops should stay away from Lambeth because it is being held in a province of the Anglican Church that refuses to accept the orders of some of the priests that they have ordained. But if they do attend, I certainly hope they, in solidarity with our sisters, will not practice their sacramental ministry while they are in that province.

**The Rev. Richard H. Mansfield, Jr.
Hartford, Conn.**

Harris columns powerful

Kudos to the Rev. Barbara Harris for her consistently provocative, profound theological message. She tackles the tough issues with verve, tenacity and integrity. She makes us *think*. Her January and March columns have been especially powerful. Thank God and THE WITNESS for her.

**Nell Braxton Gibson
Executive Assistant
to the Bishop of New York**

Meese threatens freedom

Bishop Coleman McGehee's guest editorial in the March issue of THE WITNESS astutely spotlights a fact of which many church leaders in this country seem unaware: the policies of Attorney General Edwin Meese pose a danger to the religious freedom of us all.

As the Bishop points out, Meese's apparent lack of understanding of the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution is leading him to dismantle some of our most important rights, as well as the wall of separation between church and state. By his support for government-sponsored school prayer he denies the basic tenet that even the most vocal opponents of church/state separation recognize in the First Amendment: a prohibition on establishment of religion.

Meese stands, however, as a representative of the entire Reagan administration, which seeks to have the government support religious education through tax deductions and direct subsidies, leading to destructive entanglement between church and state and the destruction of public education; and which wants to legislate religious morality through the constitutional amendment process. Nothing could be a greater threat to the vitality of the church; nothing could be more destructive of the freedom of conscience we all enjoy under the Constitution. Bishop McGehee deserves our thanks for his timely warning. Let us hope it is not too late.

Dr. Robert L. Maddox
Executive Director
Americans United for Separation
of Church and State

Stimulating thoughts

Charles Meyer's essay, "Eleven myths about death" in the March WITNESS was the most thought-stimulating piece I've read in many moons.

Nowadays the optimist/pessimist dualism seems intensified to harsh polarity in our society. We are tempted to opt for the here-and-now of material things, rather than ardently seek spiritual insight.

"We are poor, silly animals," reflected Horace Walpole. "We live for an instant upon a particle of a boundless universe, and are much like a butterfly that should argue about the nature of the seasons, and what creates their vicissitudes, and does not exist itself to see an annual revolution of the sun."

What a glaringly optimistic contrast is contained in Joseph Addison's familiar lines:

"It must be so; Plato, thou reasonest well, / Else whence this pleasing hope, this fond desire, / This longing after immortality? / Or whence the secret

dread and inward horror / Of falling into nought? Why shrinks the soul / Back on itself, and startles at destruction? / 'Tis the divinity that stirs within us; / 'Tis heaven itself that points out an hereafter / And intimates eternity to man."

William Dauenhauer
Wickliffe, Ohio

Negative models in control

I have consistently enjoyed THE WITNESS copies supplied to me by a San Diego subscriber, so I now wish to subscribe on my own. Excellent articles! I am a Roman Catholic priest who has had salary cut off because of my constant sermons on women priests. I hope a retired Catholic bishop will soon ordain some Catholic women. Through the Holy Spirit the feminine will save the church and this planet.

Negative masculine models are in control everywhere. Male and female alike need feminine consciousness; soul intuition! We have no feminine theology so we don't know what a female priest or bishop would look like. Let us imagine together so we can hope.

The Rev. Neil Voigt
San Diego, Cal.

For spiritual people only

When I first read a flyer covering your publication it seemed worth while to see what might be written in it and so I subscribed. Yesterday the first issue came and I found that you write about the same things as all religious publications. That is you are only interested in the world, things like peace, treatment of homosexuals, etc.

Jesus recognized that those people who had been given to him by his Father were not of the world. Spiritual people are not of this world but almost no one is concerned or interested in spiritual things.

Arndt & Gingrich wrote that a spiritual man "possesses the divine pneuma, not beside his natural human soul, but in place of it;" This can be the case only when a person has laid down his life so that God can make his crucifixion with the Anointed One reality, and having been reborn he is filled with all the fulness of God.

Nothing else matters in a person's life until he has allowed God to bring him to this state. It is therefore useless to consider anything else until people are in this state. God can do his will only in these spiritual people. Anything done by, in, or through unspiritual people is of the evil ones and has the nature of sin.

Charles H. Bergsland
Sequim, Wash.

WITNESS to archives

As archivist for the Society of the Companions of the Holy Cross, I want to express my appreciation for the reprinting of excerpts of Chapter 10 of Mary Sudman Donovan's book, *A Different Call*, in the February WITNESS ("The feminist dimension of the Social Gospel"). I would like to order two copies for our Adelywood Library.

Ruth S. Leonard
Boston, Mass.

Kudos on anniversary

For the last five years I have subscribed to your magazine. Yours is perhaps the only national publication in the Episcopal Church educating our society on the many issues confronting it and our church in particular.

Whether I agree or not on your approach I always read your publication with interest and expectation. In this your 70th anniversary my most heartfelt congratulations.

The Rev. Canon Herbert Arrunategui
National Hispanic Officer
Episcopal Church Center

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Losing our own country

"Some Episcopalians — such as Vice-President George Bush, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, Rear Admiral John Poindexter, Lt. Col. Oliver North — all of whom are members of our church, support our government's efforts (in Nicaragua). What we must remember as we seek to understand the situation is the fact that the Episcopal Church in Nicaragua is a part of our church community, as much as the Diocese of Vermont or the Diocese of Maine. Thus, when we speak of the Contra war supported by our government, we are speaking of a war prosecuted against another country, Nicaragua, which includes a diocese of our own church. I can think of no more important task for the Standing Commission on Peace for the Episcopal Church to address than that situation in which Episcopalian is killing Episcopalian.

**— The Rev. Nathaniel Pierce, Chair
Episcopal Church Standing Commission on Peace**

Nat Pierce, reflecting on the "Episcopalian connection" to Contragate, above, points out an anomaly in the present debacle where government officials are secretly funding terrorist warfare — in essence, Christians are helping to kill Christians. Pierce and other Peace Commission members met in Managua in March and visited with human rights, church and press representatives, including those who supported and those who opposed the Sandinista government. Afterwards, Pierce reported:

I could find no one who felt that conditions under the Somoza regime were better than what people were experiencing under the Sandinistas. Clearly the poor are better off today than they were 10 years ago and the government continues to place a high priority on dealing with problems of housing, hunger and illiteracy.

I could find no one who supported the war of the Contras. (Emphasis his.)

The present leadership of the Nicaraguan government is intensely patri-

otic. As one person said, "This is not a Marxist revolution, it is a Nicaraguan revolution run by Nicaraguans.

I returned to the United States with a keen awareness that we are not receiving a clear picture of the situation from our own press. On several occasions, we were told of the importance of visiting church groups who then returned to the United States to give a first hand report of what they had seen and heard.

Nicaraguans, even while engaged in war, have patiently and graciously hosted church and other U.S. people-to-people groups which have traveled in great numbers to establish what is truth and what is propaganda. But when U.S. citizens have to venture overseas to search out facts, a second anomaly surfaces — and that is the use of the codename, *Project Democracy* by the National Security Council for its bizarre, immoral covert operation.

As Ron Goetz pointed out in a recent issue of *The Christian Century*, "Government via covert activity is inherently

undemocratic . . . Policies arrived at and carried out in secret make an intelligent exercise of one's franchise to vote in a liberal democracy as impossible as the communists claim it to be — for in such a situation one can never know what the real issues are. Democracy requires that the state's powers be severely limited. There are things that a democracy must forego which a totalitarian state can — indeed must — do. For the sake of democracy we must sacrifice such 'guarantees' of state security as secret police, political arrests, secret trials and torture, and even the macho self-image we conjure up for ourselves by means of covert activities."

Heretofore, U.S. peace delegations have gone to Nicaragua in droves, fearing that Nicaraguans might lose their country under present U.S. policy. But the recent revelations about U.S. military adventurism reveal a different scenario: It is we in the United States who are in danger of losing our own country. ■

Acting on faith, not fear:

When Congress had courage

by F. Forrester Church

Watching the Iran-Contra affair unfold, I cannot help but wonder what my father, Frank Church, for 24 years a senator from Idaho and outspoken critic of covert actions, would be saying if he were still alive. My guess is that his response would be little different than it was 12 years ago, when he chaired the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. "The United States must not adopt the tactics of the enemy," he wrote in his introduction to the committee's report on assassinations. "Means are as important as ends. Crisis makes it tempting to ignore the wise restraints that make us free; but each time we do so, each time the means we use are wrong, our inner strength, the strength which makes us free, is lessened."

In 1974, during my first year in the doctoral program at Harvard, my father and I spent an evening discussing theology and history with George Huntston Williams, Hollis Professor of Divinity and my faculty advisor. Shortly thereafter, one theme that Williams identified as recurring throughout the ages emerged as the cornerstone of Frank Church's own critique of corporate and governmental lawlessness during his investigations of multinational corporations and of the American intelligence agencies.

"George Williams, one of the much beloved professors of theology at Harvard Divinity School, once said to me something that I have always remembered," Church said during an interview for *Parade* magazine. "'Choose your enemy very carefully, for you will grow to be more like him.'" After World War II the Soviet Union became our perceived enemy and we undertook to contest with the Russians everything in the world. To justify emulating their method we said we had to treat fire with fire. And in the process, of course, we've become more like them. In a

free society that can go only so far. We become our own worst enemy if we bring down a free society in the very name of defending it."

Church applied Williams' principle first to illegal and immoral corporate business practices abroad. In 1975, he conducted the first in-depth investigation of illicit connections between multinational corporations and foreign governments. In a series of blockbuster revelations, his Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations exposed the following:

- Exxon parceling out \$27 million in illegal political contributions in Italy in return for economic favors from the government;
- Gulf Oil doling out \$4 million in illegal corporate contributions in Korea;
- Northrop paying an agent \$450,000 for the purpose of bribing Saudi Arabian generals;
- United Fruit slipping the president of Honduras \$1.2 million to lower the export tax on bananas;
- Lockheed making illegal payments to government officials in countries around the globe — in Europe, in Asia, in the Middle East, and in the Far East — amounting in the aggregate to many millions of dollars.

In addition, Church released a complete list of U. S. firms on the Arab boycott list.

One after another, corporate executives confessed the truth of the committee's findings. There was a notable lack of contrition. As my father noted at the time, "All of this wrongdoing is acknowledged by straight-faced executives who say they had to break the law in order to get the business. The excuse, after all, is written plainly in the adage, 'When in Rome . . .' But the excuse is hollow. The bad habits of Rome were brought home to America. The roster of companies that made illegal corporate contributions to the Nixon campaign in 1972 includes many of the companies which have turned to bribery abroad. If we condone bribery of foreign officials we will sow the seeds of corruption in our own land."

F. Forrester Church, newly named weekly columnist for the *Chicago Tribune*, is pastor of the Unitarian Church of All Souls, New York City. He is the author of a personal biography of his father, Sen. Frank Church, entitled *Father and Son*. His latest book, *Entertaining Angels*, was released last month by Harper & Row.

Again, the Williams principle pertains here. In Church's own words, "We must never accede to the rationale, in foreign policy or in business, that we must become as corrupt as those we come up against."

The bridge from Church's chairmanship of the Multinational Subcommittee to that of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence was his investigation of ITT's secret offering to the CIA of a million dollars to prevent Salvador Allende, lawfully elected by the people of Chile, from becoming president. As Jerome Levenson, chief counsel for the Multinational Subcommittee, observed, "Church knew they weren't going to do a damn thing on [CIA Director Richard] Helms or [Secretary of State Henry] Kissinger, but he pushed it. The rest of the committee just wanted it all to go away. He was the only guy who pressed on. The State Department and everyone was urging him to stop and he just blasted them all to get where we did. The net plus is we exposed as issues things that had previously been sacrosanct."

My father's single most important and sensitive assignment during his 24 years in the Senate was the chairing of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. "It's not at all clear that the public will fully appreciate the need for an investigation of this kind," he said in May, 1975, just after the committee's work had begun. "It's necessary for us to look very closely and critically at some of the activities of the CIA and FBI and other agencies," particularly covert activities of the sort that had been "glamorized after a whole generation [fed] on a constant diet of Missions Impossible."

Vice President Rockefeller published his own report, assuring the American public that the CIA's transgressions were "not major." Senator Church disagreed. He said that he and Rockefeller both had hard evidence of CIA assassination plots. Church preferred the word murder. "I don't regard murder plots as a minor matter," he said. "Ours is not a wicked country and we cannot abide a wicked government. If we're going to lay claim to being a civilized country we must make certain in the future that no agency of our government can be licensed to murder. The President of the United States cannot become a glorified godfather."

The last week of November, 1975, the Church committee released its findings on CIA assassination plots. Drawing on nearly 10,000 pages of sworn testimony taken from more than 100 witnesses over 60 days of closed-door hearings, the report outlined five CIA attempts, all unsuccessful, upon the lives of foreign leaders: Cuba's Fidel Castro, the Dominican Republic's Rafael Trujillo, Vietnam's Ngo Dinh Diem, Congo's Patrice Lumumba, and General Rene Schneider of Chile. The methods used by the CIA in



The late Sen. Frank Church and President Jimmy Carter

these attempts, as well as its agents' ineptitude in carrying them out, lent a kind of amateurish James Bond quality to its exploits. In the case of Castro, for instance, there were poison cigars, skin-diving suits dusted with lethal powder, even seashells charged with explosives to be laced in Castro's favorite diving grounds.

Church characterized the CIA as a "rogue elephant." Though there was little clear evidence either way, most in

the press and the agency itself argued that the CIA was just following executive orders and would be both constitutionally and practically incapable of initiating policy on its own.

The committee was unanimous in its findings, but Senators Barry Goldwater of Arizona and John Tower of Texas did issue a minority report dissenting to its publication. "The wholesale foraging of the Congress into the details of foreign policy and the intelligence services upon which it depends can only serve to give comfort to our opponents and to embarrass our friends," Goldwater said.

Church disagreed. "A basic tenet of our democracy is that the people must be told of the mistakes of their government so that they may have the opportunity to correct them. We believe that foreign peoples will, upon sober reflection, admire our nation more for keeping faith with our democratic ideals than they will condemn us for the misconduct itself. Moreover, whatever the possible short-term detriment to our reputation abroad, it will be far outweighed by the constructive result at home of enabling the American people to fully understand what was done secretly in their name. Revealing the truth will strengthen our political system, which depends upon an informed public, and will help reestablish the trust of the American people in the candor of their government."

Among the other abuses of power within the intelligence services Church uncovered during the course of his investigation were the use by the Internal Revenue Service of a staff to gather intelligence on American citizens simply because they disagreed politically with the Nixon administration; the illegal accumulation by the CIA of 7,200 files on American citizens because they dissented on the Vietnam war; and illegal mail-opening programs by the CIA directed against Americans between 1950 and 1973. In his own file, Frank Church was surprised to find a letter that he had written to his mother-in-law from Moscow in 1971.

Though my father managed to enact a law against assassination by any agency of government, most of the reforms he recommended, including radical limitations to be placed on covert action, were scuttled before his legislation reached the floor.

Openness, of course, is inconvenient, especially to people in power. Conservative philosopher Sidney Hook laments "how fragile a self-governing democratic society is . . . For its very own rationale encourages a constant critical approach that its enemies can exploit to weaken it." In his book *How Democracies Perish* Jean-Francois Revel warns that not only is a democracy "not basically structured to defend itself against outside enemies, [but also] democracy faces an internal enemy whose right to exist is written into

the law itself." We are frequently told that the U.S. press is insufficiently patriotic, insufficiently anti-Soviet, and too objective. Such critics would feel right at home in the Soviet Union, where the press filters current events through a red lens as suits its ideological taste.

New Republic columnist Michael Kinsley sums up the "new Patriotism" and its accompanying argument in favor of a new *Realpolitik* in these words; "nations like America are too decent and humanitarian for our own damn good." He goes on to add, "I wish that the putative defenders of American liberty and democracy would show a bit more enthusiasm for these fine things. Instead, they criticize America's openness, its idealism, its raucous dissent as unsuitable to this cold world."

Because of my father's Intelligence Committee work, he was unable to enter the 1976 race for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency until early Spring. Though he won four primaries, his late successes were insufficient to stem the Jimmy Carter tide.

But I do remember so well that crisp day in March, when, standing on the steps of the historic red brick courthouse in Idaho City, Frank Church announced his candidacy for President. His supporters, many of them clad in blue jeans and wearing cowboy hats and boots, went wild. More than 2,000 of them cheered and waved placards that read: RETURN TO GREATNESS, and A TIME FOR OLD-FASHIONED HONESTY and CHURCH FOR PRESIDENT. "The pioneers of the early west were men and women of uncommon strength and faith," Church said. "They had the strength to endure the hardships of life in the wilderness. And they had faith enough in themselves and the future to overcome their fears."

Much of Church's announcement was a point-by-point rendition of the liberal agenda, complete with a few of the "small is better" twists that distinguished the new Democratic rhetoric from that of the Great Society days. But he opened and closed with his one distinctive and most cherished theme.

It was 1976, the Bicentennial year. Church's obligatory invocation of the Founding Fathers called forth the vision of a very different America from that traditionally celebrated in Fourth of July speeches. "In stark contrast with contemporary Presidents, our Founding Fathers were a different breed. They acted on their faith, not their fear. They did not believe in fighting fire with fire; crime with crime; evil with evil; or delinquency by becoming delinquents. They set themselves against the terrors of a totalitarian state by structuring a government that would obey the law. They knew that the only way to escape a closed society was to accept the risk of living in an open one." ■

- Democratic government under Jacobo Arbenz overthrown in CIA-backed coup (1954).

- U.S. military aid, cut off in 1977 by Carter Administration because of human rights violations, resumed under Reagan Administration — \$35.3 million in 1986-87.

- Guatemala has only 3% of Latin America's population, but it has 40% of Latin America's disappeared — 40,000 by the end of 1986.

- Two percent of the landowners own 70% of cultivated land.

- 15,000 non-combatants were killed between 1978-86.

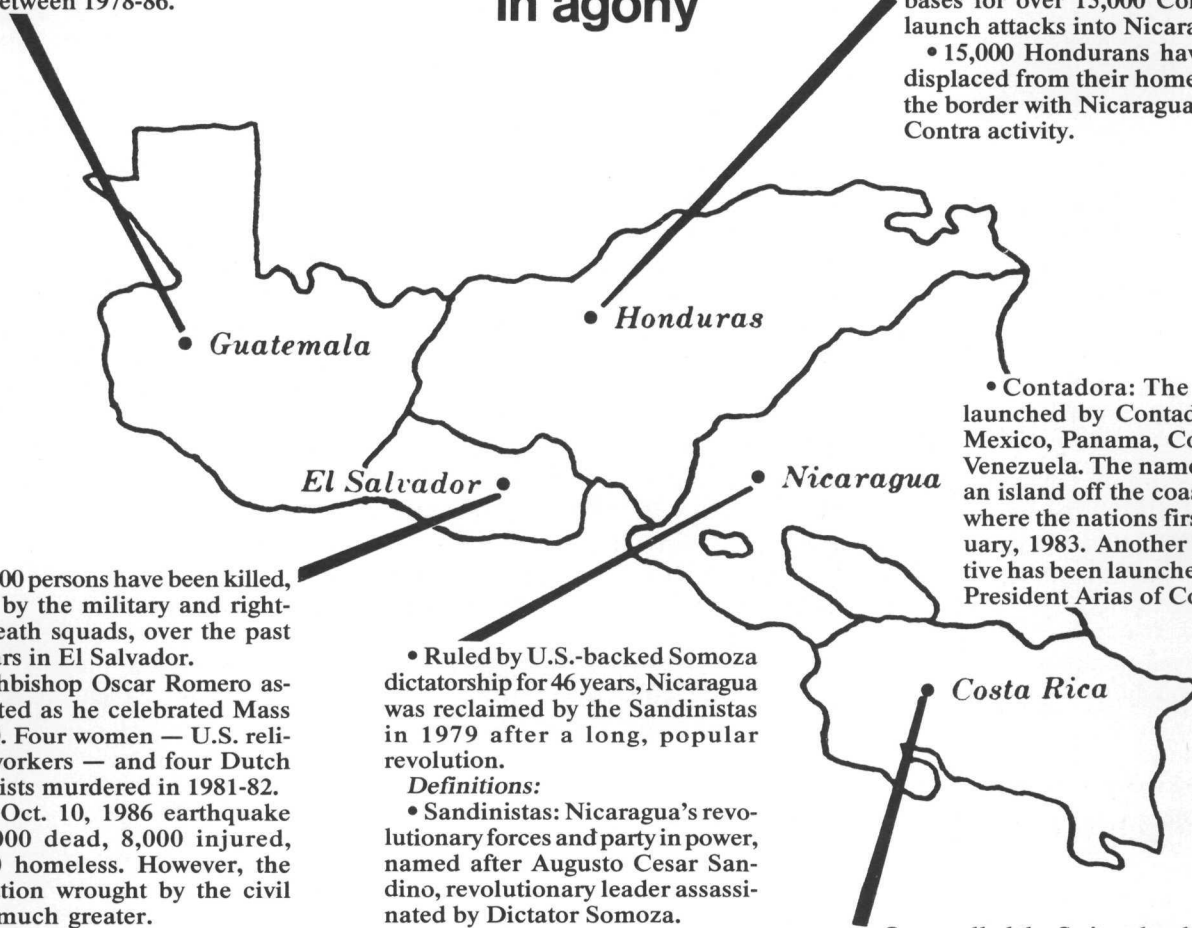
U.S. intervention, Central America in agony

- Honduras is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, except for Haiti. Per capita income is \$162/year. The top one-fifth of the population commands 70% of the national income.

- Honduras is the center of U.S. military operations in Central America. Between 1983-87, 70,000 U.S. troops have been trained in military maneuvers there.

- The U.S. has helped to establish bases for over 15,000 Contras to launch attacks into Nicaragua.

- 15,000 Hondurans have been displaced from their homes along the border with Nicaragua, due to Contra activity.



- 50,000 persons have been killed, chiefly by the military and right-wing death squads, over the past five years in El Salvador.

- Archbishop Oscar Romero assassinated as he celebrated Mass 3/24/80. Four women — U.S. religious workers — and four Dutch journalists murdered in 1981-82.

- An Oct. 10, 1986 earthquake left 1,000 dead, 8,000 injured, 200,000 homeless. However, the devastation wrought by the civil war is much greater.

- The Reagan Administration has given over \$1 billion in economic aid and over \$700 million in military aid to El Salvador, which is bombing its own people.

- Ruled by U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship for 46 years, Nicaragua was reclaimed by the Sandinistas in 1979 after a long, popular revolution.

Definitions:

- Sandinistas: Nicaragua's revolutionary forces and party in power, named after Augusto Cesar Sandino, revolutionary leader assassinated by Dictator Somoza.

- FSLN: Acronym for Frente Sandino de Liberacion Nacional, the army which toppled Somoza.

- Contras: The forces backed by the Reagan Administration, which calls them "Freedom Fighters." Largely comprised of former National Guardsmen from Somoza's regime and known for their violence and brutality, they are trying to recapture Nicaragua from the Sandinistas.

- Contadora: The peace effort launched by Contadora nations: Mexico, Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela. The name comes from an island off the coast of Panama where the nations first met in January, 1983. Another peace initiative has been launched recently by President Arias of Costa Rica.

- Once called the Switzerland of Central America, Costa Rica is facing runaway inflation and the worst economic crisis in its history. Some 70% of the population lives below the poverty line.

- Costa Rica has a \$4.1 billion foreign debt.

- Costa Rica abolished its army in 1948; however, the U.S. has been pressuring it to re-establish an army.

- In May 1985, U.S. Green Beret advisors began training units of the Costa Rican Civil Guard on a base 10 miles from the Nicaraguan border.

Why Ben Linder is dead

by Norman Solomon

Ben Linder has been laid to rest in far-off Nicaragua. Here in his home town of Portland, Ore., mourners are struggling with intense grief and seething anger.

Media coverage has described how Benjamin Ernest Linder, 27, was working as a mechanical engineer at a rural hydroelectric project when he died April 28 at the hands of Contra guerrillas fighting against the Sandinista government.

But as the glare of publicity fades, those of us with personal memories are left to ponder the meaning of Ben's death. The night before he was buried in the Nicaraguan countryside, we were among a thousand Oregon residents who gathered to light candles at dusk in front of the Federal Building in downtown Portland. Together we sang, we listened to speeches, and we cried.

I met Ben in 1977, when he participated in protests against a nuclear power plant near Portland. At age 17, he conveyed gentleness and a quiet determination that remained with him. When our paths crossed again in the early '80s, he said he'd become very concerned about the situation in Central America.

For people who knew Ben even slightly, the media accounts inevitably seem pale. No narrative can dispel the painful noncomprehension of his death.

Why would anyone want to kill Ben for working to provide electricity to a small village in an impoverished country? In a personal context, it makes no sense. At a political level, however,

it is part of a grim reality: Unable to gain much of a foothold, the Contra forces — termed “the moral equal of our Founding Fathers” by Ronald Reagan — have increasingly turned to terror tactics and disruption of the already-destitute Nicaraguan economy. Contras purposely target health-care workers, teachers, clergy and engineers laboring in the provinces to help peasants learn how to make progress against grinding poverty.

With a degree in civil engineering, Ben Linder went to Nicaragua in 1983 to begin working on small-scale electrical projects. His salary amounted to \$13 a month. “He brought electricity to clinics to keep vaccines cold, to light schoolhouses and to light farmhouses,” recalled a friend who had visited him.

Of course he knew that he was in a war zone. And he knew that the area had become a war zone because of U.S. government policies. He became the first U.S. volunteer to share the fates of many thousands of Nicaraguan civilians murdered by the Contras.

Such carnage is likely to increase during the next several months. Early this year, Contra leaders say, their troops were down to a few bullets per week. But a new infusion of U.S. aid has brought a wealth of ammo and much else. Now the blood will flow again in torrents.

Ben Linder caught some of the first shrapnel of the resupplied Contra army. We may never know whether the fusillade that killed him was financed by profits from the U.S. arms sales to Iran, or one of the private funding sources from North America, or a CIA conduit developed by Lt. Col. Oliver North when he was running amok in the



Ben Linder at work in Nicaragua.

White House basement.

Six months into the Iran-Contra arms scandal, it's all too easy to forget that — far away from Washington — real people are suffering and dying now because of White House policies in Central America. Congressional hearings promise to be exciting and suitably dramatic. But while past malfeasance undergoes scrutiny, large quantities of weapons and ammunition are moving from the United States into Contra base camps.

Those who still support aid to the Contras may not have given much thought to John Linder's words: “The U.S. government killed my brother. The Contras killed my brother. Ronald Reagan says he is a Contra. My brother's death was not an accident. His death was policy.”

Yet Contra boosters may find it more disquieting to consider the statement issued by former Contra leader Edgar Chamorro in the wake of Ben Linder's death.

“The Central Intelligence Agency is very much in control of the Contras,” Chamorro said. “The CIA is sending a message to those in the international community who provide political support for Nicaragua that they are no longer safe there. The CIA and the Contras are killing the best, the people who want the best for Nicaragua.”

Ben was one of those people. That's why he's dead. ■

Norman Solomon is a Portland-based writer, co-author of *Killing Our Own: The Disaster of America's Experience With Atomic Radiation* (Dell).

Nicaraguan women, and children, too:

When tears are not enough

by Mary Lou Suhor

We were headed from Managua to Yalí, near the Nicaragua-Honduras border, on March 6, and had stopped at the fourth military checkpoint enroute to see if any Contra activity had been reported in the area.

A bearded Sandinista, rifle in hand, circled our van bearing an AMNLAE insignia, designating it as a vehicle of the Nicaraguan women's association. Examining its passengers, he showed no outward curiosity, but must have wondered why an international delegation of 20 women, most from the United States, was heading deeper into the war zone. As we proceeded, some soldiers waved back at us; one spit at the van.

The angry soldier could not know how much we *gringas* on the van understood his gesture. No matter how peaceful our intentions, that Nicaraguan soldier would be protecting us from Contras outfitted by our own country to carry on a bloody war.

Our destination was a war orphanage in Yalí, where we would be distributing toys and supplies. We were a delegation of church women in Nicaragua to bury the ashes of a remarkable U.S. feminist and ecumenist, Sister Marjorie Tuite, who had befriended Nicaragua during 14 visits and was much loved in that country. But activist that she was, Marjorie would never have brought an ecumenical delegation to Central America just to bury her remains without putting us through the paces of an unforgettable six days.

At the end of our brief stay, we had not only met the war orphans, but also with women's delegations from Matagalpa and Yalí; attended International Women's Day activities in Managua; visited a Granada law office named after Tuite which advocated for women's rights; stayed in a barrio and shared the plight of the people who were without water for three days; visited Christian base communities which hosted Margie's ashes; met with women in government structures; and oh, yes, participated in Marjorie's burial. She would have loved it.

Marjorie Tuite, a Dominican nun, was ecumenical action officer for Church Women United and coordinator of the National Association for Religious Women when she died in June of last year. She had a reputation for making connections to help women understand how various types of oppressions are linked. She was a good judge of their political awareness, and would lead them to more sophisticated levels of analysis.

For example, she launched a U.S. appeal to help the 15,000 war orphans in Nicaragua, to which there was little objection. Then she could raise the question — Why do war orphans exist? — and move on to enlightening audiences about the role of U.S. intervention in Central America.

Her consciousness raising was so successful that church women were eventually to provide funds for a new Toyota van for AMNLAE, which, coincidentally arrived during our visit. We were told by Silvia McKewans of the AMNLAE directorate that on its first journey it transported Miskito women from the Atlantic Coast to Managua's International Women's Day festivities.

Our delegation was also donating a \$5,000 check for war orphans, boxes of furry toys, and school supplies.

Youth is a hallmark of Nicaragua. Even its revolution is only in its eighth year. Nicaragua has a population of 3½ million people. The *median* age is 15, and 1 million are under 8 years old. The Contra war has orphaned thousands of those children. It has also been responsible for 2,000 amputees, the majority of whom are women and children.

In Yalí we caught up with some of war's victims. Since the school year was between sessions, children converged around us, clowning for the cameras.

Then Maria Lourdes Taleno, the psychologist in charge



Nicaraguan war orphans anticipate contents of gifts being opened by U.S. women's delegation. See reactions next page.

of Yali's orphanage, appeared. She is 25 years old, and when construction on the site is complete, she will be supervising a project caring for 150 boys and girls, aged 7 to 15, orphaned by war. Forty children have already arrived. Administered by the Nicaraguan Department of Social Welfare, the project offers total care as well as part-time care for local children who have family in the area but need supervision while adults work. Psychiatric treatment is provided for children traumatized by the death of one or both parents, or by torture, or by some other war horror. Children relate to families in the area in a process similar to adoption, and their progress is monitored for six months. Clearly, at 25 Taleno faces a situation that would challenge an experienced senior in her profession.

Before leaving, we presented our gifts. The children's faces, the wonderment in their eyes when the furry animals appeared, will live with us forever. But even as I photographed the happy scene, tears threw me out of focus as I realized that a teddy bear would never replace a lost parent. And we strongly needed to press Marjorie's question, Why, indeed, are there war orphans?

Enroute back to Managua we discovered Juana Centeno, 52 years old and the mother of 13 children (the average Nicaraguan woman has between five and six). Juana is one of six women who launched a restaurant in Matagalpa named "Heroes and Martyrs Anonymous," in honor of those who died and are still dying for their country.

She quietly appeared before Mireya Silva, our AMNLAE guide, and asked if she might tell how she and her friends had set up the people's *comedor* in which she had just served us a lunch of tortillas, beans and salad.

Juana's daughters had gone to the mountains with rifles to fight with the Sandinistas against Somoza. She lost one of her 13 children in the revolution. Each member of her restaurant collective had experienced personal losses during the war, and had made a pact to take care of each other. "From that moment, we took our place in the new society," she said. They received some financial aid from Holland, thanks to workers from that country who stopped in to eat. "We work from 6 in the morning to 8 at night, and we have been so successful that we are about to open another business," she said. She made a plea to our group: "In each country where we live there has to be a light for those who live in darkness. Transmit that light. Do not accept bad government or you will become part of the human evil. Carry the message to your people from this collective that here we have all kinds of freedom, including religious freedom. No one here manipulates anyone."

It was apparent that Juana was not accustomed to



Top to bottom: Toys from U.S. women delight orphans, as Maria Lourdes Taleno, their director, distributes furry animals; Juana Centeno and son Guillermo, 13; in sociodrama, Nicaraguans tell U.S. visitors, "all we hear is blah, blah, blah and the war goes on."



addressing visiting delegations from abroad. Her voice trembled throughout, although she spoke without hesitation. A member of our group commented, as we left, how Juana Centeno was typical of the women we had met whose message compels them to speak out. "Two buttons were missing from her blouse, her hair was a bit disheveled from long work hours. Compare this to the women who meet foreign delegations in the States — concerned about their appearance, well-groomed, anxious about their self-image. I think of Nancy Reagan as the anorexic, well coiffed symbol of these women," she said.

The next day we had a dramatic meeting in Matagalpa with women who painfully shared their stories of death, mutilation, torture, and kidnapped loved ones at the hands of the Contras. Most of us had heard or read such accounts, but to look into the eyes of our Nicaraguan sisters as they described their grief — one had lost six sons — was like being operated on without anesthetic. Josefa Echevarria, Angela Justan, Soltera Martinez, Esperanza Cruz and a long litany of others testified to war's demonic manifestations.

Then the meeting took a surprise turn. The Nicaraguan women put on a sociodrama that anticipated our response — portraying caricatures of women who had come their way before, had promised to go home and work for peace — yet the war raged on. The stereotypes of the sincere activist, who vowed opposition to U.S. intervention; the copious note taker who put down every word, pledging to publicize Nicaragua's plight; the ethnic radical who declared solidarity — were all acted out by the women with such amazing accuracy that we could recognize them in Spanish before our interpreter translated the dialogue. "All this blah, blah, blah," our translator ended, "and the war simply continues."

And when the delegations returned to the safety of the United States, the Nicaraguan women had only to look forward to further visiting delegations to whom they were invited to tell their painful stories all over again — only now the stories recounted additional deaths, more women widowed, further destruction.

We responded as best we could, with nervous laughter during the drama (I recognized myself as the copious note taker) and later with tears, sharing stories of our own arrests, civil disobedience, participation in demonstrations, as we tried to convey how much of a struggle this was, trying to change U.S. policy. The sociodrama unzipped a lot of frustration about the war, both from us and from them.

In welcome contrast, International Women's Day in Managua uncorked an air of festivity as womanspirit

soared. Here we reveled, watching trucks and buses and vans disgorge women in droves from every province who had come to celebrate their unity, strength, sex, and the fruits of their work.

The women carried banners and slogans and many provinces brought musicians to announce their arrival. Our group, carrying tiny flags reading "Delegation Marjorie Tuite," had seats of honor among visiting international delegations.

Music and chanting rocked the sports coliseum where the event was held. A dancer supporting a 12-foot papier maché figure of a woman entertained the crowd. Nicaraguan officials headed by Tomas Borge, minister of the interior and last living member of the FSLN, filed in with women delegates. Sandinista Council member Bayardo Arce left the procession and danced through a selection with an AMNLAE official, to the crowd's delight. But the festivities had a more serious side.

Nicaraguan women had comprised more than one third of the Revolutionary Sandinista Army which toppled Somoza. Yet they still experience job discrimination, violence in the home and sexual abuse in a traditionally *macho* society. The Sandinistas have done much to transform Nicaragua since Somoza's overthrow — women have benefited most from literacy programs, health care and day care. But they still work a double day, inside and outside the home, and many have been deserted by their men. Overall, 48% of families are headed by women; in urban areas, the figure rises to 60%. Some 85% of single mothers work.

While women presently hold down a majority of health care and civil defense jobs, they are underrepresented in government leadership posts, filling only 31% of these positions. One of the most notable women leaders is Commander Doris Tijerino, head of the Sandinista police force and Vice Minister of the Interior.

Women comprise 25% of the unionized Nicaraguan workers, but focus their concerns differently. In a recent study by the Rural Workers Association, (ATC) one woman worker expressed it this way: "Men want pay raises to drink more or to keep a mistress. Women are concerned about social wages, distribution centers to provide basic goods for their families, health clinics, schools and running water so they don't have to walk miles to a river to wash clothes."

Part two of this article will describe the latest Sandinista proposal to bring about a more just society for women; the work of the women's law office in Granada, and the burial of Marjorie Tuite's ashes in a Nicaraguan cemetery of heroes and martyrs. ■

A Nicaraguan History

15 B.C.	Nicaragua is settled by Indians from Mexico and the Caribbean who live together in racial harmony for 1500 years.
1502	Columbus lands in Nicaragua and claims the west coast as a colony of Spain. The English colonize the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua.
1500-1800	Nicaragua lives under colonial rule. Most of the native Nicaraguan population is wiped out by disease, killed in conquest, or traded to other countries as slaves by Spanish and British colonists.
1821	Nicaragua gains independence from Spain.
1838	The present day Central American nations of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica and Nicaragua unite to form a short-lived republic.
Mid 1800s	United States seeks exclusive rights to build an interoceanic canal across Nicaragua. U.S. mining and fruit companies appropriate land and set up multinationals.
1856	William Walker, a U. S. military adventurer from Tennessee, leads a force of mercenaries into Nicaragua and proclaims himself president--a presidency which the United States government recognizes as legitimate. Eventually, Walker is run out of Nicaragua by populist forces.
1909	400 U.S. Marines invade Nicaragua to overthrow its president--Jose Zelaya--and to install Adolfo Diaz, the United States' choice for president.
1912	U.S. marines occupy Nicaragua for 20 years to keep Diaz in power. A peasant, Cesar Augusto Sandino, leads popular opposition to the marines presence, challenging the U.S. forces until they finally leave in 1933.
1933	Before the marines withdraw from Nicaragua, they train an armed native Nicaraguan National Guard and set up Antonio Somoza Garcia as its commander.
1934	Somoza executes Sandino and 300 prominent Sandinistas and assumes total control of Nicaragua.
1934-1956	Somoza takes personal ownership of most of the resources of Nicaragua. As he builds up his family wealth to an estimated \$500 million dollars, Nicaraguan peasants become some of the poorest people in the world.
1956	Anastasio Somoza is assassinated. Luis, his oldest son, takes power.

Source: Quixote Center, Hyattsville, Md.

1961	The Sandinista National Liberation Front (F.S.L.N.) forms. The party is named in memory of Cesar Sandino. Catholic Delegates of the Word and local peasants join FSLN members in peaceful protests against Somoza rule across the countryside. Peaceful protests are brutally repressed by the National Guard.
1967	Ambitious Anastasio Somoza, Jr. takes power from his older moderate brother, Luis. He claims the presidency and resumes the tight control his father exercised.
1972	An earthquake destroys the capital city of Managua. Foreign relief pours in from all over the world. The money never reaches the victims of the quake. Somoza and the National Guard keep most of it for themselves.
1977-1979	Hatred for Somoza grows in all sectors of Nicaraguan society. The FSLN peasant-based resistance becomes full scale armed rebellion. The National Guard massacres civilians, bombs schools and hospitals and destroys factories, following Somoza's orders. Casualties from the war climb to 100,000.
July, 1979	Opposition by peasants gains support of business, labor and church people. This broad-based coalition forces Somoza out of the country. Members of the National Guard also flee, but not before looting the National Treasury and leaving Nicaragua with a huge foreign debt.
1980	People form New Nicaraguan Government of National Reconstruction. UNESCO and World Health Organization praise Nicaragua's efforts to improve health care and literacy levels.
1981	Bands of counter-revolutionaries, largely consisting of Somoza's former National Guard, begin attacking Nicaraguan border villages. The "contra" army is conceived, directed and armed by the United States Central Intelligence Agency.
1984	Nicaragua holds its first free elections.
1985	The U.S. government appropriates \$27 million in "humanitarian" aid for the "contra" army attacking Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan government responds by filing against the United States in the World Court.
1986	Numerous reports surface of gross human rights violations by the "contras." The U.S. government appropriates \$100 million in logistical military aid for the contras. Meanwhile, the World Court rules in favor of Nicaragua in their case against the United States.

'Come and get me'

If there is one thing I learned about myself during the Vietnam experience it is that I'll be damned if I'll send my son to die on foreign soil for some political notion of the party in power. Believe me, this has nothing to do with lack of patriotism. In fact, it has everything to do with patriotism. I can show no greater love of my country than by fighting to keep its young alive.

At the same time, I know myself, I'm anti-war, but I'm not a pacifist. If it's Dec. 8, 1941 -- I'm there. But Vietnam? Laos? Cambodia? Nicaragua? El Salvador? *Hah!* Come and

get me, coppers, you'll never take me alive. Call it being selective, call it common sense, call it the legacy of Vietnam.

Clark DeLeon

The Philadelphia Inquirer 1/5/87

Quote of note

I believe that if we had and would keep our dirty, bloody, dollar-soaked fingers out of these nations so full of depressed, exploited people they will arrive at a solution of their own . . . and if unfortunately their revolution must be of the violent type because the "haves" refuse to share with the "have nots"

by any peaceful method, at least what they get will be their own, and not the American style, which they don't want and above all don't want crammed down their throats by Americans.

General David Shoup
Commander, U.S. Marine Corps
1960-63 and winner
of Congressional Medal of Honor

Surprising statistic

By the year 2000, 83% of all young people between ages 15 to 24 will be living in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Maryknoll 3/87

Quixote Center's 'Quest':

Waging peace in Nicaragua

A group which takes its name from an "impractical" dreamer is waging a peaceful campaign against the Reagan Administration's policies in Nicaragua. The Quixote Center — named after the great romantic figure of Spanish literature, Don Quixote — is carrying out an ambitious program of humanitarian aid to the people of Nicaragua.

The program — Quest for Peace — is a massive relief effort, coordinated by the Center, and designed to counteract U.S. support for the Contra rebels, whose constant attacks have caused widespread suffering and destruction of civilian lives and property in Nicaragua.

According to staffer Kathy Lewis the Quixote Center, based in the Washington, D.C. area, is "a broad-based faith-oriented organization involved in making connections with people in Nicaragua." A program like Quest for Peace, whose current goal is to match the \$100 million in recently appropriated Congressional aid to the Contras with food, clothing and medical supplies, is "an opportunity for people of faith to resist U.S. government policies in creative and productive ways." As of May 1, the Quest had received \$35 million in donations towards the \$100 million goal, Lewis told THE WITNESS.

The Quixote Center first appealed to U.S. groups and concerned individuals to donate medical supplies for shipment to Nicaragua in 1983. By 1984, \$2.4 million in donated supplies had been sent to Nicaragua. In the summer of 1985, when Congress voted to send \$27 million in aid to the Contras, the Center launched Quest for Peace, and collected \$27 million in donated sup-

plies by June 1986.

Today, donations toward the new \$100 million goal come from all over the United States. At the Center's warehouse, the supplies are gathered and shipped to Nicaragua. To handle the flow on the other side, the Quixote Center built two warehouses on the campus of the Jesuit University of Central America in Managua. Distribution of supplies throughout Nicaragua is coordinated by the University's Institute of John XXIII.

The aid is chiefly destined for Nicaragua's rural poor, who most often bear the brunt of Contra attacks. And the supplies are distributed directly to those in need, instead of being passed through agencies or government offices. Typically, a person connected with a church or community group is responsible for delivering the supplies to his or her village. Small regional warehouses and resource people have also been established throughout the countryside, so that aid can be rushed as quickly as possible to rural communities after a Contra attack.

Quest is careful to consider needs and to give aid that is appropriate. For example, Nicaragua suffers from a chronic shortage of medical supplies due to the Contra war, the U.S. trade embargo against Nicaragua, and lack of foreign capital to buy supplies. In 1985, it was reported that there was almost no aspirin to be had in Nicaragua.

The Quixote Center immediately started a campaign to ship 5 to 10 million aspirin tablets to Nicaragua. Donations poured in from people throughout the United States, and over



Staffer Kathy Lewis
Quest for Peace

80 million aspirins, along with basic medical supplies like gauze and bandages, were distributed among Nicaragua's poor.

The Quixote Center also gives assistance to self-help projects in Nicaragua. When the Center learned that 70 Nicaraguan women were trying to operate a pottery co-op and fruit canning factory outside the city of Estelí, the Center helped them find materials to build kilns and contributed \$8,000 to the project. The project's aim is to build a facility that will produce ceramic canning pots to use in preserving the tons of fruit produced yearly that would otherwise rot. The pots and also ceramic tableware will be produced using appropriate technology. Since the war makes the supply of electricity unreliable, the factory will use manually-powered potters' wheels and wood-fired kilns and stoves.

The Center has also collected seeds and other agricultural supplies to enable the people to grow their own food, and has helped build medical clinics and hospitals throughout Nicaragua. The Center constantly solicits donations of medical supplies of anything from blood bags to centrifuges to keep the hospitals and clinics operating.

Other programs coordinated by the Center include "Project: Clean Your Desks," which asks U.S. students to donate spare school supplies such as paper and pencils, which are so scarce

in Nicaragua that students must often take notes in the margins of old newspapers.

The work of the Quixote Center and the Quest for Peace has received support from religious groups across the United States. Roman Catholic Bishop Thomas Gumbleton of Detroit is a national spokesperson for Quest for Peace, and Quest has received endorsements from prominent Episcopalians. Kathy Lewis, herself an Episcopalian and the daughter of WITNESS contributing editor Jim Lewis, noted that Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning and Bishop Paul Moore of New York and John Walker of Washington have all been supportive of Quest for Peace.

Quest for Peace recently got a big boost from religious and peace groups during the April 25 Mobilization for Peace and Justice in Central America and South Africa in Washington, D.C. A caravan of 42 trucks, filled with donations, traveled from 21 states to be part of the protest against Reagan Administration policies. The trucks, some from as far away as Alaska, drove along the Mobilization march route and then delivered their cargoes to the Center's warehouse.

The resulting "packing party," which yielded three tractor trailer-sized loads

of supplies, was "a wonderful celebration," said Lewis. "It was very empowering to put action behind the protest in a concrete way. Bishop Gumbleton blessed each load before we sent it," she said.

While the Center serves as a clearing house and shipping point for Quest for Peace donations, Lewis explained that the staff would also like to see groups shipping donations themselves.

"We find that it's not hard to raise humanitarian aid. People can raise that more easily than money," she said. But she pointed out that the cargo containers necessary to do the shipping are expensive — \$6500 a piece — and fund raising is necessary to get the aid to Nicaragua.

Sometimes even when supplies are found, controversy arises when funds are solicited to ship them. Lewis cites the example of what happened when her father found a donor with a warehouse full of medical supplies in North Carolina.

"He got \$5,500 towards shipping costs from Episcopalian donors, but there was some controversy. After all, North Carolina is Jesse Helms country", she said.

The U.S. government has cast a doubtful eye on the Center and Quest for Peace activities. The Internal Revenue Service has audited the Center,

and questioned its right to a non-profit status. In December 1986, two U.S. Customs agents armed with subpoenas appeared, demanding all the records — financial, shipping and correspondence — of Quest for Peace on the grounds that they were searching for evidence that Quest was a cover for arms smuggling to Nicaragua via Costa Rica.

The Center staff — with the help of the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York City and U.S. Congress people Steny Hoyer and Barbara Mikulski — was able to head off Customs seizure of the records. When Customs finally reviewed the inventory of supplies, it was found that none of the items violated the U.S. embargo on shipping to Nicaragua.

The Center eventually wants to become less involved in the shipping of supplies to Nicaragua and more involved in helping groups do their own shipping and keeping track of Quest activities around the country. The Center is always in need of donations to carry on its work. Monetary contributions, or questions about materials to be shipped to Nicaragua (do not send *any* supplies without querying about packaging) can be addressed to: The Quixote Center, P.O. Box 5206, Hyattsville, MD 20782. (301) 699-0042. ■

Vignettes from recent sojourners to Nicaragua

A visit to Radio Insurrección

Before the earthquake in 1972, houses stood in the now empty lot across from the Cathedral in Matagalpa. Somoza didn't bother rebuilding the damaged areas and, since the revolution, Daniel Ortega has had other priorities. Today the cleared lot is an early morning marketplace.

After a 6 a.m. weekday Mass, I stood on the Cathedral steps noting the patience of those who waited to buy oranges, onions and carrots. Then, looking toward a row of nearby buildings, I saw an antenna and a sign: *Radio Insurrección*. For me it was a

magnet.

I entered the lobby, introduced myself and asked to speak to the station manager. He came at once, an obliging gentleman who, without hesitation, accommodated my request to see the broadcasting facilities.

A young woman engineer was transmitting a taped newscast. The control room was tight and the small studio was dark.

Javier Ramos Rugama had studied communications at the Sandino Institute. After graduation 15 years ago he worked in radio, and is now with the state-owned radio station in Matagalpa — one of 17 syndicated

stations, boasting a union with 850 working members.

The station broadcasts 24 hours. Its programs include international, national and local news, music, practical information for women and for campesinos. Some programs are educational and informational. One, for example, stresses the importance of punctuality and time management. Another focuses on health care. In general, the station aims to advance the policies and goals of the Sandinista government.

Consonant with that is the station's effort to discover local artists, poets, crafts ex-

perts. Reporters from the radio stations attend festivals in the towns and countryside to identify people who contribute to the culture or who are able to share the collective memories of a region. Those individuals are invited to the radio station to express their interests. From 1 to 3 p.m. members of the audience are encouraged to call in their questions and reactions — perhaps to debate. According to Ramos Rugama this participatory radio allows Nicaraguans to air their tensions, to recognize their own creative citizens and to learn from the experience of publicly voicing their opinions.

"You look across the open lot to the Cathedral," I said. "What is your relationship with the Catholic Church?"

"It depends," he answered. "The pastor, Padre Guillermo Frenzel is of German descent, but was born here. When he has time on Sundays, he has access to the station. In the program Christ Today, he speaks about the Scriptures. He announces the sacramental events and church activities for the coming week."

"What about the claims by Cardinal Obando y Bravo that the church is experiencing censorship and persecution?" I pressed.

"I respect the cardinal," he replied. "I don't see him as an enemy. The cardinal and other members of the hierarchy have their own interests to protect. Their primary interest is the institutional church. We understand that."

The political clash between the Catholic hierarchy and the Sandinista government is undeniable, he explained. "But that does not affect my relationship with God or lessen my faith. I am solidly with the revolution, but I go to Mass and practice my religion. The priests are themselves divided. Some see religion as a form of liberation; others as a way of controlling the faithful."

— **Camille D'Arienzo, R.S.M.**
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Marjorie Tuite Delegation 3/5-10, 1987

Searching for water

Too often we find ourselves at Nicaraguan wakes, funerals or memorial services, and the painful process of taking testimonies from survivors often follows. Some days we spend looking for water. . . .

The first day we experienced a water search was last March, the hottest, driest month of the Nicaraguan year. We were in the Witness for Peace house in Estelí. At 9 a.m., Frank, Sara, and Bob (three WFP

longtermers) arrived from six dusty days without lights or water for showers in San Juan del Rio Coco. When we opened the door, Bob said not a word but marched past us for the shower like a man possessed. He was lucky — 15 minutes later the lights went out. On subsequent occasions we would be wiser, rushing for the nearest water faucet, buckets in hand, the moment the lights failed. We just forgot that the water in Estelí is pumped electrically! The Contras blow up an electric tower and our priorities quickly present themselves with great clarity. First and most important is water to drink. After that, everything is luxury . . . clean clothes, clean dishes, clean bodies, clean floors, clean toilets . . . all so much vanity except for the blessed liquid which heals the dusty, parched throat.

Estelí is a city of 70,000 people, in a region of 320,000, all without lights or water when the power lines are blown. So, the next morning at five, off we went bleary-eyed in a neighbor's truck with pails and buckets from the entire neighborhood. A relative of our landlady had a small farm on the outskirts of the city. The farm had a hand-drawn well. People face days without lights or water by sharing and organizing in their neighborhoods.

Our most recent (and fourth) such experience was this March, again during the hottest, driest month. When the Contras blow up electric towers, it just makes life tougher here. People must use the river, which is a cesspool in the dry season. Children get sick. Coffee processing plants stop. Gas stations can't pump gas. Health problems, more transportation difficulties, more economic losses. All of this becomes for the Nicaraguans not a prelude to surrender or revolt but rather another opportunity for more sharing, organizing, ingenuity, patience, determination, heroic deeds by ordinary workers . . . and even more humor.

— **Jim & Lucy Phillips-Edwards**
Estelí, Nicaragua
Witness for Peace

With La Posolera refugees

From Waslala we traveled about 7 kilometers to a refugee resettlement village of La Posolera. The village had about 300 people, at least half of them must have been under 12. For some, this was the third village they had moved to in hopes of protection from the Contras. While in La Posolera we lived with families, interviewed — as always — and did some physical work.

Many memories of La Posolera stand out vividly. Our meeting base was a school — a one-room building with simple desks, and a small blackboard. The school windows were covered with chain-link fencing so that grenades could not be thrown in. I recall seeing the face of another member of our delegation drop as we heard this. His face reflected the pain I felt in my gut. On the walls of the school were the names of "the fallen," seven killed in a Contra attack on the village last April, and in a Contra ambush of one of the village trucks in September. One of the victims of the April attack was a 70-year-old man whom the Contras took while he was bathing just outside the camp. He was later found beheaded and dismembered in the hills outside the village. We were free to move about the area, but were cautioned to keep aware of the nearest bomb-shelter. One family had two bomb-shelters, one was obvious, and one was hidden from view — this was because in the past the Contras had been known to throw grenades into bomb shelters with women and children.

With all these emotionally packed days behind us, it was good to do some physical work. One morning we stacked truckloads of lumber where the villagers were planning to build new houses and a day-care center. The government had dropped the wood off, but we had to carry it to the building sites. The next day we helped villagers clear shrubs, grass, and small trees off the hill that led down into the village. The Contras had come in from these hills during the April attack, and the villagers wanted to clear away any cover the Contras could use.

Our last morning in La Posolera, we took part in their Sunday liturgy. As part of the service, our delegation made crosses which we carried to the places where the men had fallen during the attack, and to the homes of those killed in the ambush of the village truck. As we prayed, accompanied by many of the villagers, I became aware of how real this "way of the cross" was for these people, our friends, the families of "the fallen." The reading of the Gospel that Sunday was from the first chapter of John, where the Baptist points out "the Lamb of God," the innocent lamb whose suffering would bring redemption even to those who put him to death. Perhaps, I thought, the innocent suffering of the people of Nicaragua might help bring redemption to the people of North America.

— **The Rev. Mike Fedewa**
Battle Creek, Mich.

WFP Delegation 1/10-22, 1987



Human suffering — new growth industry

Let's hear it for that good old American entrepreneurial spirit that has spawned myriad business ventures from A to Z: art-by-the-yard, belly button brushes (mink), frisbees and hula hoops to mini-marts, porn palaces, tanning salons and zip-lock freezer bags, which neither zip nor lock. That spirit is alive and well and currently thriving on human suffering.

Two of the latest fast buck enterprises on the American scene vie for top honors in the area of gross insensitivity. Prime candidates for the "Marie Antoinette Let 'em eat Cake Award" are the creator and marketer of Bag Lady Dolls and the whiz kids who are trying to sell reassurance to an AIDS-worried heterosexual community with questionable testing schemes and state of the art "AIDS-safe" dating services.

The Bag Lady Doll scam purports to raise consciousness about the plight of the homeless while charging anywhere from \$40 to over \$100 for shabbily dressed caricatures of a growing number of women in this country. The Boston-based manufacturer, his own consciousness presumably heightened, even sent a whopping \$100 contribution to Rosie's Place, a local shelter for the homeless. With equal aplomb, Rosie's Place returned his largesse with a thanks, but no thanks.

Meanwhile, in the brave new world of AIDS entrepreneurs, posh offices house such outfits as suburban Detroit's Peace of Mind Club, Ampersand on

New York's Upper East Side, Chicago's American AIDS-Free Association, Compatibles of South Burlington, Vt., and Adults in Distress (AIDS, get it?) in suburban Dallas.

Peace of Mind Club offers an AIDS testing package for \$99 which includes a red-plastic laminated card with photo ID and reads AIDS Tested Only. A white card, however, which sells for \$349 indicates that the person has been tested for AIDS and ten other social diseases. A top of the line gold card shows that the person has been tested for all diseases every three months. Cost, a modest \$649.

A Detroit barmaid found that her \$99 Peace of Mind card also entitles her to a minimum 10% discount at more than three dozen area merchants, including a popular local bar, a tanning salon and a limousine service. The outfit, in business a little over three months, already has held a full scale social event and slated for the future are Peace of Mind Cruises, rafting trips and holistic health services. Six percent of all revenues, Peace of Mind owners claim, will be donated to AIDS research.

The National Voluntary Immune Registry in Tacoma, Wash. will ship a "specimen mailer" to anyone who sends them \$30. The idea is that a sample of blood sent back to Tacoma is tested for the presence of the AIDS anti-body. If the test results are nega-

tive, the person's name will be entered on the "national registry" and he or she will be sent a laminated card with name, specimen date and validation number. "AIDS-safe" is emblazoned on the card.

By contrast Ampersand does not hand out cards, offers no discounts nor does it organize any social events. In this dating service, applicants fill out a five-page biography and make a videotape of themselves that other Ampersand members can watch. The only difference is that to become a member you must bring a statement from your doctor attesting that you have tested negative to AIDS within the last six months. Cost — only \$600.

Holding to the private enterprise theory that bigger is better, these fledgling operators are already talking franchise operations and cartel. For \$25,000, prospective investors can own 49% of a Peace of Mind chapter with 51% retained by the Detroit owners. Says one of the owners, "Once we put together a cartel we can open up a city in 29 days."

As with any marketing transaction — caveat emptor. Who does the testing? How private are the results? What's to stop someone from sending in someone else's specimen or simply printing up a batch of phony cards?

Such marketing schemes seldom, if ever, are guided by ethical concerns, and this should give the community much pause. ■

Honduras: Launchpad for war

by Denise Stanley

The continuing war in Nicaragua between the Sandinistas and the U.S.-backed Contra forces has exacted a heavy toll from the Nicaraguan people. But the Contra war has also drawn in neighboring countries. One of these is Honduras — often looked upon as a U.S. puppet in Central America. I believe that the Honduran people have received insufficient attention as pawns in the geopolitical conflict. In this article, I will address three controversial political-economic issues, from the perspective of one who has served in the field as a missionary. They represent common misconceptions often portrayed in the media, or by the Administration and lobby groups.

Myth #1: The U.S. military presence is helping the Hondurans.

Americans have traditionally reached out to those in need. Our country has provided aid to Central Americans for many years. But more recently, under the premise of providing protection from “communist” Nicaragua across the border, there has been a growing U.S. military presence in Honduras. As a missionary concerned about peace and justice, my interest lies in how best to support the impoverished campesinos. And the vast sums of money the United States is pouring into the local economy through military exercises and civic action programs is not an effective way to help the rural poor.

In the past six years, Honduras has received over \$325 million in U.S. military aid, with another \$61.2 million set for 1987. Since 1981, the United States and Honduras have conducted some 55 joint military exercises, and more than 70,000 U.S. Army and National Guard troops have “toured” Honduras. About 5,000 U.S. military personnel remain in Honduras at any given time, but that number grows during maneuvers — as when 40,000 U.S. troops are scheduled to participate in the 1987 Solid Shield exercises off the

Atlantic Coast. And the 1987 General Terencio Sierra exercises involve National Guardsmen, U.S. Army regulars, and Honduran personnel. The National Guardsmen will come from 11 states in groups of 500-600 to serve in two week rotations, involving some 5,000 U.S. Guardsmen.

Explaining the need for a large military force in Honduras, U.S. Gen. John Galvin said, “Our presence is necessary to demonstrate to the Sandinistas that they should stay at home. U.S. forces are ready to fight shoulder-to-shoulder with the Hondurans.”

The object of joint exercises, says the military, is to “acclimatize U.S. troops to the zone and improve cultural relations between the two countries.” Improving relations is achieved by providing medical services to nearby villagers and undertaking small community projects such as digging wells and repairing roads.

In spite of goodwill gestures, Honduran reactions to the U.S. soldiers are mixed. In Comayagua, near the Palmerola base serving as coordinating center for U.S. military activities, prostitution has increased, there are rumors that soldiers engage in sex with minors, and the spread of AIDS has scandalized the nation. Protest marches and denunciations by public figures against U.S. military presence are more frequent. In the village of Yoro, where I lived for some time, U.S. soldiers and helicopters frightened some villagers and offended others, but many of the village children played war games, imitated the soldiers, and learned to panhandle money from foreigners.

Despite problems, a recent Gallup-U.S. Embassy poll showed that 65% of urban Hondurans favored the U.S. military presence. Also, many rural Hondurans consider anything from the United States to be superior to what Honduras offers. Historically, the United States has dominated Honduras socio-economically for years, so the arrival of the U.S. military does not surprise people.

On the surface, due to U.S. concern about poverty and possible communist influence in the region, military exercises with a humanitarian component appear logical.

But as thoughtful Christians, we must look at long-term effects — how the United States has militarized the country and created dependence on U.S. charity. Self-help strategies and long term solutions are the most effective

Denise Stanley has lived and worked for several years in Honduras as Missionary Associate with the United Church of Christ, and is currently a volunteer with CODE — an Ecumenical development agency founded in 1982 by several Honduran evangelical churches. CODE's community development work concentrates on areas of health, agriculture, small industry, and training of village leaders, evangelical pastors, and Catholic lay workers.

answers to Honduran problems, but increasing military dominance has made this impossible. For example, I worked with a development program in Yoro which tried to train local health workers. But the campesinos said it was better to visit the American doctors at the nearby Oso Grande Military camp. What will the people do for health services when the Americans leave?

Civic action programs are part of an overall military strategy in Honduras — a public relations effort to win “the hearts and minds of the people.” From living among the campesinos, I know that most rural people look up to the U.S. military and the handouts. This, combined with the popularity of violent movies like “Rambo” and “Top Gun,” and little exposure to newspapers or radio, has conditioned the impoverished and mostly illiterate campesinos to accept U.S. demands. Now with increasing weapons stockpiles, the availability of airfields, and transport facilities, Honduras is an ideal place from which to launch a war. Forced recruitment of Honduran youth, taken from movie houses, street corners, buses, and even church services, has increased. Further, the Honduran military-defense budget continues at \$135 million per year, 10% of the budget, while health services are being cut, and Honduran poverty worsens.

And human rights organizations state that the militarization of Honduras has produced greater repression. Kidnappings, death threats, bombings, and torture of “communist subversives” or those critical of the U.S. presence now appear in the news. Reports of the arrest of Catholic Delegates of the Word (lay catechists) who were critical of the U.S. military have been filed as well.

If the U.S. presence leads to war, and Honduran blood is shed, the responsibility will be ours as American citizens. Christians should be studying the legality of U.S. military presence, the use of National Guard units in Honduras, the funding of military construction sites. Study, prayer and church reflection can be the first steps toward moving beyond the myth of military presence as a positive contribution to peace in the area.

Myth #2: U.S. economic aid has helped the Honduran poor.

The second poorest country in Central America and a key U.S. ally, Honduras seems to be crying for U.S. aid. In rural areas, approximately 70% of the people are malnourished, infant mortality is 128 per 1000, life expectancy is age 60, 55% are illiterate and the average per capita income is \$162 (U.S.) per year.

To enhance stability and democratization of the region, the Kissinger Report on Central America recommended increased aid. From 1981 to 1986 Honduras received

\$638.9 million in economic aid, administered by the Agency for International Development (AID).

AID claimed that by 1986, its programs had helped thousands gain employment, increased agricultural production, and vastly improved education, health, housing and business. U.S. funding now exceeds 10% of the Honduran gross national product.

However, despite massive amounts of aid, the average farmer and urban dweller are poorer than they were 10 years ago. Between 1981-86, per capita income fell 14%.

From personal experience, I know that many families in the poorest regions eat only tortillas with salt, augmented, if at all, by a few beans. Honduran agriculture and livestock yields are among the lowest in Latin America. Housing loans are out of reach to the majority. An education beyond the third grade is only a dream for most children, and poor health is an accepted fact of life.

Several reasons account for the large gap between the upbeat AID statistics and grim reality:

Corruption and biases in AID programs have been condemned by Honduran government officials, now questioning why the funds do not go to programs for the poor, but instead to wealthy private schools and business associations. Reportedly, as much as 50% of the aid is skimmed off for private gain, and ex-presidents and ministers have constructed luxurious homes with the funds.

AID's philosophy of emphasizing supply-side economics and free enterprise also does not benefit the rural and urban poor. Agricultural exports and duty-free zones are promoted instead of basic food production and Honduran government budget priorities are heavily influenced by AID's National Development Plan for Honduras.

The final blow to the Honduran economy is the continuing regional crisis. The Contra presence along the border with Nicaragua has caused displacement of thousands of people and the loss of millions in coffee revenues. The Contras and U.S. troops in Honduras have tarnished the country's image abroad and diverted foreign investment. National savings have decreased, while capital flight to banks in Miami and Europe has increased.

Basically, there is a large gap between AID's desired goal of economic stability and the increasingly disruptive influx of military aid and troops to the region.

Myth #3: The Contras are not a major problem in Honduras.

Americans are now familiar with the effects of the Contras on Nicaraguan people. Human rights organizations have denounced and documented the numerous destructions of property, tortures, and murders carried out by the Contras

in Nicaragua. This Contra activity alone leads one to question U.S. financial support of these so-called "freedom fighters."

Often North American and European observers blame the Hondurans for "renting out" their territory for Contra excursions. Internationally, the Honduran government denies the Contra presence. But increasing numbers of Hondurans are becoming anti-Contra as the negative effects of the 15,000 Contra presence in their country become more obvious.

For example, the Contra presence has caused the displacement of thousands of Honduran families along the border, created more corruption in the Honduran military, and contributed to the rise of terrorism and human rights violations.

The plight of the displaced has received much press coverage in Honduras. By late 1986, over 15,000 Hondurans had fled the zone along the Nicaraguan border. This area was called "New Nicaragua" due to Contra military control, land and business purchases, and even the changing of village names in the zone. Few government officials complained, as the continued flow of U.S. aid was considered essential. Finally, the displaced coffee growers of the zone began to organize, and are planning to visit Washington, D.C. to demand indemnity for losses in the war zones.

The social effects on the Hondurans in the war zones have been great. Some 40-50,000 Nicaraguans have actually moved into deserted houses; this civilian population — mostly Contra families — are considered refugees while the Hondurans remain displaced. Honduran farm families have had their livestock and crops stolen by the Contras, while some Hondurans have been killed or maimed by mines placed in the zone.

Earlier this year, the Honduran press ran contradictory stories on the departure of Contras in this zone, reporting that 400 Contras had moved back to Nicaragua and that the Honduran army now controlled the area. However, the local Board of the coffee producers and the Committee of Displaced People denied that the zone was clean of Contras and fit for rehabilitation. Most of the displaced Hondurans remain without adequate food, shelter and assurances that it is safe to return to their borderlands.

With regard to military corruption, recent revelations in the U.S. press and publication of the Tower Commission Report have created controversy within Honduras. In August, 1986, Honduran security forces stormed the house of Nationalist Party deputy Rodolfo Zelaya. This led to investigation of his profitable supply network of "humanitarian aid" (clothing, food, and some arms) to the Contras through his Supermarket Hermano Pedro and the desire

of the Honduran Army officials to get a piece of that business. This was followed by U.S. Rep. Michael Barnes' revelation that two large checks (one for \$450,000) of the Contra humanitarian aid funds had been endorsed directly to the Honduran Army.

Further, in late December, the *Miami Herald* revealed that Israel had shipped arms to the Honduran Armed Forces, who then sold them at a higher cost to the Contras. It was estimated that over \$3.3 million in arms sent to Honduras were routed to the Contras.

The Contras are now very disliked within Honduras. Almost every government official, church worker, urban professional and farm leader with whom I have spoken is critical of the Contra presence. Paid advertisements by peasant organizations and worker unions against the Contras are common in the newspapers and three peace marches have taken place this year. Despite security risks, Hondurans are expressing their opinions on the issue of sovereignty.

As U.S. Christians, we must continue to protest the destruction and loss the Contra war is causing to the Nicaraguan people, but we should also include the effects the war has had on Hondurans. In both countries, innocent victims abound, and the present stalemate does not paint a bright future. ■

HOME

The following was written by Anna Lee Stedman, a member of the Whitefish Peace Alliance in Columbia Falls, Mont., after she spent five weeks in Nicaragua with groups of performing artists there.

Home.

I am here. Maybe

and I feel as though I will suffocate in the blubber
of words around me

or drown in a vat of attitudinal twinkles . . .

These saccharine motives around me

seem so whimsical that bitterness etches
a smile on my mouth

How I want to leave again. Just leave.

Home.

And when I try to say what I've seen and heard
it is often dismissed
blankly

missed and changed with the subject . . .

not always, but more often than not.

And me feeling like a fish with the guts split open
spilling on the rocks

nerves flailing and banging away

As though clinging to a past life, I lay

peering at the knife with a glazed eye.

Anna Lee Stedman

By the end of the 1930s, the shadow of war was spreading across Europe and Asia. Americans watched with increasing apprehension as Hitler's armies swallowed up country after country and the Japanese pushed further across China. The United States hoped to stay out of war, comforted by the fact that it was separated by two great oceans from the troubles abroad. This country had its own problems to deal with. Unemployment was still widespread, a legacy of the Great Depression. Thousands of dispossessed farmers and agricultural workers, as those immortalized in John Steinbeck's 1939 novel, *The Grapes of Wrath*, drifted across the West in search of a chance to make a living.

Labor was still struggling for workers' rights. During the winter of 1936-37, over 500,000 workers engaged in the new, and illegal, tactic of sit-down strikes. In the violent Republic Steel strike, four workers were killed and 84 injured in a confrontation with police and company strong-arm men. The Roosevelt Administration, over the objections of conservatives and big business, began to respond to workers' needs. The Fair Labor Standards Act, which raised the minimum wage, set lower maximum work hours and banned child labor, was passed in 1938.

If fascism comes to U.S.

If fascism comes to the United States it will not come through the action of the German-American Nazis or any other group of hyphenated Americans, charmed by foreign ideologies. It is more apt to come from men who boast of being 100% Americans. Our economic system breaks down. The government steps in to provide relief to the millions who suffer. The cost runs into the billions. Taxes mount to cover the costs. Increased taxes threaten profits. The time then comes when leaders of business must choose between profits and democracy. If they choose profits, which I reluctantly say is probable, we have fascism, whether we call it by that name or not. If they choose democracy and freedom we will have more "New Deal" rather than less — and surely

everything indicates that the tide is running the other way today.

Fascism will not come to the United States through the preaching of Hitler's doctrines by German-Americans decked out in uniforms and sam-brown belts. The leadership will be in the hands of those who, preaching an undefined "Hundred Per Cent Americanism" will probably vigorously denounce both Hitler and Mussolini, the while leading us into their camp. (William B. Spofford 3/23/39)

Re Dollars and sense

R. Stanley Dollar, shipping magnate, gave away his daughter in marriage in an Episcopal Church in San Francisco the other day and before the service expressed the wish that the seamen's strike might end in order that she and

THE WITNESS continued its tradition of informing readers of social, religious and political conflicts and of the movements to address those wrongs. The magazine also kept a watchful eye on the growing fascist movements around the world. It exposed the propaganda of lies and hate propounded by anti-Semites like Charles Coughlin, a Roman Catholic priest from Detroit whose radio sermons and writings railed against an "international Jewish conspiracy."

Editor Bill Spofford also educated his readers about the activities of the Dies Committee, the earliest form of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). HUAC, which was set up to investigate "un-American" activity by Communist, Fascist, Nazi and other organizations, became a vehicle for "red-baiting" and harassing those who supported Socialist movements or stood up for workers' and minority rights. Spofford, himself, was to be hounded by HUAC.

But one of the greatest issues of the day, which pitted the forces of progress against the forces of reaction, was the Spanish Civil War. This conflict began in 1936 when right-wing forces rose up to overthrow the republican government which had replaced a monarchy. It divided Amer-

the bridegroom might enjoy a happy honeymoon trip to the Orient. This brought a letter from John Schomaker, striking seaman, who addressed Miss Dollar as follows: "The striking maritime workers are much interested in your father's public announcement expressing the hope that the strike may be settled in order that you and your husband may have a honeymoon to the Orient. Although none of us have plans for extended honeymoons at sea, we do have reasons of our own for wanting strike settlement and we join your father in his wedding wish to you. We would like to get back to work and those of us who are married would like once again to be able to supply our wives and children with adequate food, clothing and even some of the minor comforts and luxuries of life. If you

The roar of bombs

by Susan E. Pierce

icans politically, socially and emotionally.

The Spanish Civil War was almost a holy crusade. The Republicans or Loyalists stood against Hitler and the Franco Fascists, corrupt priests of the immensely powerful Catholic Church, landowners, the military elite, and other privileged. The Nationalists or Fascists were against Marxism, labor, the landless and opponents of the Church. *THE WITNESS*, fiercely Republican, recorded the sufferings of the Spanish people and called on its readers to send aid and support to the Republican cause.

Through reports of missionaries in the field, *THE WITNESS* brought news of the devastation wrought by the Japanese Army in its conquest of China. The magazine repeatedly called on the U.S. government to end its profitable trade in munitions and goods with Japan, and warned readers that they could not ignore this conflict taking place in distant countries.

Always a staunch advocate of peace, *THE WITNESS* tracked the growing evil of the Nazi empire and came to the sad realization that peace was no longer possible. Spofford was particularly shaken by the arrest of Pastor Martin Niemoller, a German Protestant theologian who

could persuade your father to grant our minimum demands we could get you to sea in a hurry, and we believe it might increase the happiness of your trip to know you had helped 40,000 maritime workers back to work, including the very workers who will be making your trip a safe and pleasant one." (2/11/37)

Seeks Negro vote at GC

The Negro went to General Convention with high hopes. He knew that the Bishop of Southern Ohio, and the committee that worked with him, had opened the doors of Cincinnati to the Negro so that the most gracious hospitality greeted all delegates and visitors with a Christian love that is seldom enjoyed in public places.

As I heard testimonials of faith I

thought of the 50,000 hearts that beat for Jesus Christ behind black faces that cry for a chance to go on. They know they have churches of their own. They know they have here and there a representative field worker. They know that the church has opened schools for them in the South which have blessed many a young life with hope and courage. I thought not only of those 50,000 Negroes, but I thought of *not one* in General Convention, save Bishop Demby — without a vote and with little voice. It was impossible to miss the surprise, the dismay, on the faces of the people to whom I called attention to this fact. They could not believe that no Negro priest, no Negro layman, was in the House of Deputies to represent 50,000 loyal church people.

More Negroes attended these sessions

spoke out against the Nazis. He followed Niemoller's case and urged his readers to be aware that there were many others like Niemoller, interned in concentration camps because of their resistance to the Nazi regime.

By 1940, *THE WITNESS* was openly calling the American people to wake up to the atrocities of the Fascists in Europe and the Japanese in Asia. Spofford condemned America's "look-the-other-way" isolationist stance and U.S. industry's willingness to make a quick buck by selling arms and supplies to aggressor nations. *THE WITNESS*'s pleas to Americans echoed the words of British author George Orwell, who wrote in 1937 after returning from fighting with Republican forces in the Spanish Civil War:

"Here it was still the England I had known in my childhood . . . the familiar streets . . . the red buses, the blue policeman — all sleeping the deep, deep sleep of England, from which I fear we shall never wake until we are jerked out of it by the roar of bombs."

In 1941, the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor and America awoke to the roar of bombs. Once again, *THE WITNESS* watched attentively as the world went to war. Excerpts from *THE WITNESS* follow:

of General Convention than we have ever known. Clergy and laity were there from the tip of Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, from New Orleans, Chicago, Detroit, New York, as far east as Cambridge, Mass. It represented sacrifice.

Let the new Commission on Negro Work make an impartial and devoted survey and evaluation of our present work and future possibilities. But above all, let representation and franchise and counsel be forthcoming now. (Sheldon Hale Bishop 12/2/37)

Slum house in nave

A typical New York slum house has been lifted bodily from its drab surroundings and set up in the nave of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York, as a witness to the need of slum

Continued on back cover

clearance. Under the leadership of Bishop Manning an effort is being made to unite religious and welfare agencies to press for a demand of the elimination of slums, and a conference was held at the Cathedral from Feb. 28 to March 1 toward that end. The slum exhibit, which is described as "a museum of human misery," is the largest and most comprehensive of the kind ever assembled. (3/4/37)

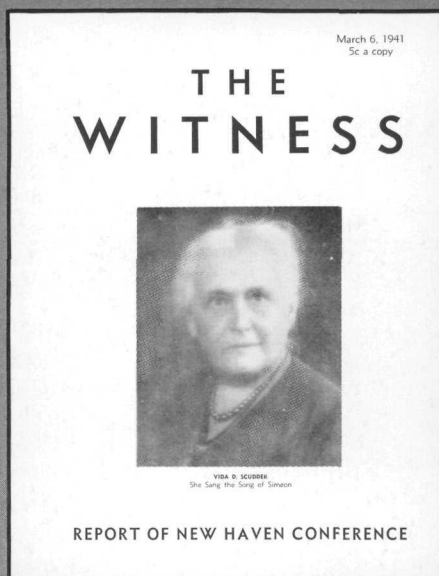
War, pots & Seminoles

The genial chairman of the local committee to collect aluminum pots and pans to further national defense called this morning. But her timing was bad. I had just read in the paper that the Aluminum Corporation had made profits out of defense orders running as high as 169% . . .

The draft boards in Southern Florida are having trouble with the Seminole Indians. These Indians have disregarded all government calls, declaring that they are not citizens and that the medicine men have answered, "No, No," to all inquiries. This has caused a great problem in that state, for the young men of draft age seem to ignore the whole question. (7/24/41)

Plight of migrant kids

At least one-third of the 2 million migrants seeking a living in agriculture are children. That means more than half a million of the nation's children under 16 years of age are living as mi-



grants, uprooted from all ties and associations with normal home or community life, their education and training in citizenship neglected.

For these children, equal breadwinners with their fathers and mothers, any chance at education must necessarily be regarded a luxury. A school superintendent in a Florida county where there is a heavy migrant concentration admitted, "Education is in competition with beans here and beans are winning out." When a freeze destroyed all the growing beans in this area last winter, many Negro children went to school for the first time. Attendance at one school with 280 desks soared to 503

pupils. For a couple of months, the school went double shift. Then, the beans ripened and the next week, the school had 20 pupils. (Jack Bryan 3/6/41)

Better 'red' than wrong

Remember way back when those of us who supported Loyalist Spain were charged with being "reds"? Now Hitler's troops are said to be in there to take Gibraltar, if they can, and Franco, the great humanitarian defender of God and the Church, has killed a few hundred thousand workers. And all Protestants are persecuted as "reds," which avoids the charge of "religious persecutions" and yet accomplishes the same results. Franco has confiscated and ground into pulp 110,000 copies of the Bible for fear the people will get ideas. He has closed all Protestant churches except one in Madrid and one in Barcelona. I don't know how much a peseta is worth in present-day American money but, whatever it is, the dictator is giving 60,000,000 of them annually to the Roman Church in Spain. He has also given the Church complete charge of education. If you want to get married in Spain you are married by a Catholic priest or not at all. *The Living Church's* Clifford Morehouse told me how wrong I was at the time for standing by the Loyalists. Maybe he was right, at that, from his point of view. But I am making no apologies in view of subsequent events. (William B. Spofford 11/7/40)

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THE WITNESS

WRESTLING WITH

GIANTS

PATRIARCHAL
CHRISTIANITY

Marianne Micks
Beatrice Pasternak

NUCLEAR
POWER

Lloyd Marbet

Letters

TV glass teat no threat

As a senior at the University of Pittsburgh at Bradford majoring in broadcasting I have a few viewpoints which conflict with those offered by Bernard McGoldrick in "The great American TV ad scam" (March WITNESS).

First, McGoldrick seems to mention a close relationship between American advertising techniques and methods of cultural indoctrination used by fascist regimes. The two are considerably different. In our culture there are increasing alternatives to advertising. In fascist regimes those alternatives are removed from easy access by the majority. Today there are a great number of cable choices with a variety of programming that do not pound the message of materialism. People have only to change the dial setting to PBS or Arts and Entertainment or to others.

Additionally it is not television that has created this predicament. Even without television middle class America would buy products to improve standards of living. Many ads try to point out reasons *why* people should purchase the product. McGoldrick seems to underestimate the intelligence of middle class America. We are not zombies under the control of Madison Avenue sorcerers nor do I feel we are destined to become such. The condescending attitude taken in the article seems to me to indicate a docile populace ready to do naively whatever the glass teat tells us. It seems to assume a nation where there is never any fighting back.

As a final aside I would like to mention a source of propaganda that has no controls and works on a confused and often somewhat naive segment of our populace. Namely course registration books which every college uses. These frequently have course explanations that in no way, shape or form

match reality and often provide freshmen with less useful information than even the worst commercials. Certainly advertising ethics leave much to be desired. But in my opinion they reflect our culture, they do not create it.

**Richard Gilson
Warren, Pa.**

McGoldrick responds

Richard Gilson appears to believe that, since the oppressiveness and unethical nature of TV advertising is a reflection of American culture rather than a cause of it, the TV ad industry is not to be blamed for its faithful rendition of American cultural and ethical anemia. The logic escapes me.

Gilson also thinks that the difference between fascism abroad and American corporate fascism expressed in TV ads is that Americans can flip to another network such as cable or PBS. Apart from the fact that cable and PBS are beholden to the same corporate behemoth as the regular networks, this power of the flip seems to me to be small consolation. Even prisoners have a variety of choices as to where they shall wander in prison recreation areas.

Corporate conglomerates do not pour billions each year into TV ads because they are interested in improving anybody's standard of living. Both they and the ad industry are interested only in profits.

I cannot deny that people would go on buying and selling things even if there were no such things as TV ads. Bartering and buying and selling are an ancient form of human behavior. So are some forms of advertising one's wares. But TV advertising is a colossal invasion of the sacrosanctity of the home and a relentless assault upon the psyche. The facts, moreover, belie Gilson's assertion that people do not

respond to TV ads as robots. There is a direct correlation between money poured into TV ads and manifold increases in sales.

Gilson underestimates the capacity for naivete and gullibility among the middle class, if indeed there is one in America. They bought the TV packaging of Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan. How sheepish can a people get?

I stand in awe at a broadcasting major who sees TV as a glass teat but the metaphor still leaves me cold. I am happy to agree with him that course descriptions in university catalogues are misleading, including some of the ones I have written myself. Course descriptions should be banned as unethical advertising, starting with courses in broadcasting.

**Bernard E. McGoldrick
Fresno, Cal.**

In spirit of the dream

I have been lots of things in lots of places but never a centerfold — as in the May WITNESS! This issue, as always, was superb. I commend you for your continued courage in speaking out on issues that many would like to avoid. My best wishes for your continued work and ministry — in the spirit of the dream.

**The Rev. Earl A. Neil, Executive
National Mission in Church and Society
Episcopal Church Center**

Aids justice ministry

Once again THE WITNESS has provided the essential ingredients for effective Christian ministry.

The May edition arrived on my desk just as I needed to gather nurturing and strengthening material for our Racial Justice Committee in order to renew energy and take new directions. I immediately ordered 15 copies and

have distributed them with a cover letter suggesting we sit together and absorb the hope and inspiration expressed in the piece by Marshall Hoagland and in the portion of the Presiding Bishop's address to Executive Council.

I will be looking for more on racism in future issues and will be watching to see what is planned as the agenda for General Convention takes shape. Thank God WITNESS is!

Phyllis Mucha, Coordinator
Dept. of Christian Social Relations
Diocese of Ohio

Rural deans study AIDS

As per your "Back copies available" notice in a recent issue, please send a back issue of the magazine featuring AIDS. Our bishop has asked for this subject to be discussed at a meeting of Rural Deans in the Diocese of Montana.

Arch M. Hewitt, Fifth Dean
Helena, Mont.

Re Linder head wound

With regard to Ben Linder (June WITNESS): Witness for Peace has just received a color slide of this American volunteer who was killed by the Contras on April 28 near El Cau, Nicaragua. The photo clearly shows a gunshot wound in the right temple, and appears to substantiate the testimony given by Dr. David Linder before the House Subcommittee on Western Hemispheric Affairs, that his son was shot by the Contras at a range of six to 30 inches.

The photo was taken by Ani Caroline Wihbey, Sister of Notre Dame de Namur, a registered nurse and health education worker who helped prepare Linder's body for burial. The photo has been placed with Gamma-Liaison distributors in New York.

Thank you for the excellent editor's note in the May WITNESS regarding

Witness for Peace, and for the fine articles by Lucy and Jim Phillips-Edwards. I saw their first article in the February WITNESS at our national meeting in New York, where it was being passed around with pride.

Witness for Peace currently has 42 full-time volunteers working throughout the war zones of Nicaragua. A politically independent, faithbased organization, WFP has taken some 2,300 U.S. citizens to Nicaragua since 1983.

Sam Hope, Communications
Witness for Peace
Washington, D.C.

How donate organ?

My wife and I have been trying for several years to follow the steps indicated by the Rev. Charles Meyer concerning a binding will, power of attorney, funeral arrangements, etc. in his article, "Eleven myths about death" (March WITNESS). We are in our upper 80s. The part we have been unable to complete is the part about organ donation. Virginia driver's licenses have a place for this information but my wife does not have a license.

We have discussed this matter with our local undertaker and he does not have the answers we need. I am trying to finish drawing up our "exit" plans with copies to our doctor, undertaker, attorney and family. We will have completed the task as soon as we can determine the donation of body parts. Where can we get information about organ donations?

Horace W. Coleman, Jr.
Pamplin, Va.

(The Rev. Charles Meyer suggests that those readers, like Mr. and Mrs. Coleman, who wish to donate organs should contact The Living Bank, P.O. Box 6725, Houston, TX 77005. Telephone: 713-528-2971. — Ed.)

Gratitude for Cromey

I (may) have finished weeping the tears of gratitude which came while I read Robert Cromey's article, "Trinity welcomes homosexuals," in the April WITNESS. With eloquence, he has captured Christ's total compassion as he writes about Trinity's ministry in San Francisco. All caring Christians should salute him.

Whenever I return again to that remarkable city, I look forward to worshipping among the congregation of Trinity.

Sally A. S. Michael, Past President
National Episcopal Coalition
on Alcohol and Drugs
Alexandria, Va.

Urges hospice support

I continue to be supportive of your excellent magazine which keeps me informed on the many issues about which I am unable to keep abreast in this busy world.

Bob Cromey, whose moving article in the April WITNESS describes his beloved congregation at Holy Trinity, San Francisco, is an old and dear friend. Recently a mutual friend sent a clipping from the *San Francisco Chronicle* (4/18) telling of Bob's latest escapade.

He told us in THE WITNESS article that 65% of his 250-member congregation is comprised of gay men. He also described how the AIDS epidemic has affected his church. But in the *Chronicle* article we are apprised of his bold effort, launched at Holy Trinity's Easter service, to raise \$150,000 for a down payment for a hospice for the victims of AIDS.

I commend this magnificent effort on Cromey's part and urge all of your readers to send him some money to get

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THE WITNESS

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THE WITNESS

WRESTLING WITH GIANTS

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Commentary

Under One Roof — leaks and all

by Susan E. Pierce

It was about networks and partners; it was about issues and causes; it was about visions and prophecy, and according to its organizers, it was the first stage in a process of new growth and understanding for the Episcopal Church. It was the Under One Roof Conference, which took place June 4-7 in St. Louis. But at the end, the conference proved to be heavier on information sharing than prophetic or visionary in its thrust.

Under One Roof was launched under

the auspices of the Public Policy Network at the Episcopal Church Center in New York City. The idea was to bring together all the various service and justice ministries working for social change. At first glance, it seemed strange that the institutional church would call together some of the very groups that had worked so hard to radically transform that institution. Some were skeptical about motives — that the church might be trying to defuse any potential confrontations at next year's General

Convention by co-opting the groups' strategies. Or was the conference, as Chicago educator Mattie Hopkins said in one plenary session, just another case of "meeting in fashionable hotels and discussing the poor because of our own real powerlessness to do much more than sit in fashionable hotels?" Or, on a more positive note, was it the start of a new, stronger coalition for social change in the Episcopal Church?

The conference designers hoped that it would not be just another meeting. Conferencegoers were divided into connector groups, where they could meet and exchange ideas with others who had different interests and perhaps had attended different workshops. Plenary sessions each morning attempted to examine different aspects of the relationship between politics, religion and the Constitution, as well as allow some give-and-take between panelists and other attendees.

It was fitting that Eero Saarinen's great shining Arch, built to memorialize a new energy and new beginnings, formed a constant backdrop to Under One Roof. (Filled with contradictions, the Arch is meant to symbolize that St. Louis was gateway to the West for the pioneers — the colonialists, chiefly of European descent, who headed out to take over Native American tribal lands.) Perhaps beginnings was what the conference was all about.

Asked if the conference had realized its original aspirations, Byron Rushing, one of the planners, said, "To talk about it, I have to begin at the end — we don't know what the answer is yet. What is going to come out of it is really hard to say." But Rushing and another planner, Marge Christie, were pleased about

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Bishops to hear woman theologian

Dr. Marianne Micks, professor of biblical and theological history at Virginia Theological Seminary, is the first woman ever asked to deliver the four theological meditations at the Interim meeting of the Episcopal House of Bishops.

Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning invited Dr. Micks to conduct the theological reflections Sept. 28 through Oct. 1 at plenary sessions, which will be open to spouses and staff members.

In the accompanying story, Dr. Micks describes her long career as a lay theologian in the Episcopal Church.



Dr. Marianne Micks

40 years in the wilderness

by Marianne Micks

Moses, it is said, spent 40 years in the wilderness. Jesus, it is said, spent 40 days in the wilderness. I have spent 40 years working for or with the Episcopal church.

Forty is, of course, a symbolic number. It means a very long time. Some people think it derives its significance from the fact that it is a little longer than a lunar month, the God-given way of telling time before the invention of the water clock or the grandfather clock or the digital clock. I think it acquired that significance because it was longer than a lunar month — longer than from pay-day to pay-day. And that is a very long time indeed.

My very long time working for and with the Episcopal Church has not been entirely a wilderness experience, of course. There have been great joys and great satisfactions. But enough of

those years have held thorns and thistles to make me need to describe the reality of the landscape.

It is hard now to remember what it felt like to be a happy slave before my consciousness was raised. Because I went to a woman's college I was spared the most blatant sex-object treatment my sisters in universities encountered, even in the years of World War II. I could be editor of the college paper, for example, and even stroke on the varsity crew.

But then came time to decide on a career. As a life-long Episcopalian newly awakened to the Christian faith, I was invited in the spring of my senior year in college to attend a "Vocational Conference for Women in the Episcopal Church." What were the options? Chiefly two: We could become directors of Christian education or "women

college workers." I chose the latter.

My decision meant two years of graduate study at Windham House in New York City, leading to a master's degree in "religious education," awarded by Columbia University in conjunction with Union Theological Seminary. It also meant having courses in matters Anglican taught by professors from General Theological Seminary who had to travel by subway up to West 18th Street to repeat for a handful of women the same lectures they had given that morning because women were not permitted to sit in the regular seminary classes. I still think my Phi Beta Kappa key and those of my sisters should have saved them the trip.

In 1948, when I was graduated with a shiny new M.A. degree in Religious Education, I went to Northampton, Mass. to be assistant for college work at

Smith College, my alma mater. My first Sunday on the new job, I introduced myself to the senior warden who was standing on the steps of the church. He looked at me blankly for a moment and then said, with a circular motion of his arm, "Oh, yes. You're the girl who runs this thing." In his eyes, I had come to run the mimeograph.

While at Smith, I went, of course, to a number of conferences. One I remember most vividly was held at Notre Dame. The few women present were housed in a dormitory for the male undergraduates. In those days it was cared for by habited Roman Catholic sisters. Sensitive of the sensibilities of the female intruders, the sisters had draped the urinals in the lavatory in freshly ironed sheets fastened with safety pins.

After five years, I moved on to work at the University of California at Berkeley. There I worked happily with male and female students and faculty for another three years. However, early in 1956, there came a decree from Episcopal church headquarters in New York. It was a report on new salary scales for "women workers" in the church.

In my category — college worker — the decree announced that the maximum salary available to a woman, no matter how long she had worked for the church, was \$3,600. I decided it was time to move on.

To enter a doctoral program in religion at that time, as I wished to do, one had to have completed a B.D. degree. That meant going to seminary at the nearby Church Divinity School of the Pacific (CDSP) while still working part-time at the University. CDSP evaluated my credits from Union Seminary generously, and pronounced that I could finish the necessary courses in a year and a half. So I did, working part-time the first year and scraping by on savings in order to go full time the second.

Along with one other woman in my class, Muriel James, I was one of the first two women to earn a degree from an Episcopal seminary. We accomplished this feat more or less resigned to the fact that we had to trudge a full block in order to find a restroom labeled *Women*. Just before commencement in 1957, the male members of the class met without inviting us. It was the seminary's custom to award seniors a silver cross making them members of the Society of the Celtic Cross. In our absence, the class voted that their women members were not eligible. To the great credit of the dean, they were

"The sufferings I have met in these 40 years have come drop by drop, undramatic but cumulative. The endurance I have achieved surprises even me, although it may well be linked to my predilection for eating three meals a day."

overruled. I kept the cross as a memento of that small victory until a burglar made off with it a few years ago.

Then I went to Yale. Things were beginning to change, however slowly. The Divinity School had just built its first dormitory for women. Along with the only other woman in the graduate school's religion Ph. D. program, I was able to live there for the next three years. But Yale College did not yet admit women, and the university as a whole did not really accept their presence.

The library had a marvelous browsing room where the modern literature and poetry collection was housed amid comfortable leather chairs and pleasant lighting. Women were not permitted to

enter. If one should be so brazen as to desire to read Auden or Yeats, she had to stand humbly at the entrance and request the attendant to bring the volume for reading elsewhere in the building, which meant in a hard chair at a long table in a harshly lighted and cavernous space. Needless to say, the tables down at Mory's — immortalized in "The Whiffenpoof Song," — were not open to unescorted women (or perhaps even escorted ones). It was not until a few years ago when I was invited to Yale as a part of a tenure review team for a woman theologian that I got to eat at the home of the Whiffenpoofs, as guest of the University's Provost.

Armed finally with my degree, the necessary union card for college teaching, I accepted a job at Western College for Women in Oxford, Ohio. I stayed there 14 years, advancing through academic ranks to Dean of the College and Professor of Religion.

During those years I served on two or three commissions for the national church as well as on my parish vestry and a diocesan committee or two. Two experiences remain vivid in my memory. For six or nine years I was a member of the then Joint Commission on Ecumenical Relations, one of very few women, part of the time as the only woman. During New York meetings, we used to be housed in the Princeton Club, of which our chair was a member. The subcommittee I was on met at breakfast, but women were not allowed in the club dining room at breakfast time. So I had to eat in my room. My colleagues on the committee thought that was a great joke. How could I possibly resent the fact that I had room service and escaped yet another committee meeting?

The minutes of those commission meetings were another burr under the skin for me. The list of those present invariably came arranged in hierarch-

ical order, beginning with bishops, and proceeding through presbyters to laity (male), laity (female and married) — to me. Thus they always ended the list with “and Miss Micks.” Incidentally, males with doctorates among the laymen were so designated; but not “and Miss Micks.”

Another of the national committees on which I served was a drafting committee on the Eucharist which was part of the long process of prayerbook revision. We met at Seabury Western Seminary in Evanston, Ill. Again I was the only woman on the committee so that while the men were housed in relatively comfortable quarters, I was shunted off to a fusty bedroom over the kitchen where the cobwebs did not diminish from meeting to meeting. At about six each morning the clatter of pans began below me, a reliable alarm clock about an hour before I needed one.

When my college died in 1974 of the disease fatal to small liberal arts colleges — too few students to be economically viable — I was job-hunting again. Fortunately two attractive offers came at once. I could become dean of another liberal arts college or I could go to Virginia Theological Seminary as professor of biblical and historical theology. Because of my love of teaching rather than administration, I elected VTS.

I have not regretted that decision for more than a moment in the 13 years since returning to the classroom full-time. Many good friends on the faculty have been unfailingly kind and courteous. Students have been equally affirming. Yet for 11 years I was the only woman professor in faculty meetings, the only woman professor in academic processions. The blessed arrival of a female colleague two years ago only helped to identify the isolation and loneliness of the preceding years.

Things are a bit better in this 40th

year. Yet as a participant in the Lutheran-Episcopal dialogue, I still spend about eight days a year as the only woman among some 20 or so male colleagues. This fall I went to England to the first meeting of the newly-formed international committee of Anglicans and Lutherans. This time I am not the only woman on the committee. A Lutheran pastor from East Germany is also a member. But I must report that I cried aloud during the opening service of Evening Prayer.

The New Testament lection was from I Timothy 1, including verses 12-14:

I permit no woman to teach or have authority over men; she is to keep silent. For Adam was formed first, then Eve, and Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor.

The officiant had elected not to shorten the reading even though the enormity of it had been pointed out to him. I had come a thousand miles or so, been turned around halfway across the Atlantic because one of the plane's engines had failed, and arrived five hours late in time to hear that “Word of the Lord.”

St. Paul in one of his undisputed letters tells me that suffering produces endurance and endurance produces character and character produces hope. My own experience raises serious doubts about the cause-and-effect connections in this chain, but I can identify with most of the nouns. The sufferings I have met in these 40 years in the wilderness have come drop by drop, undramatic but cumulative. The endurance I have achieved surprises even me, although it may well be linked to my predilection for eating three meals a day. My character is almost certainly warped. But the hope is real. I know that the desert will bloom. And in the interim, I know that even now there are burning bushes in the wilderness. ■

Back Issues Available:

• **Central America in agony:** Articles on U.S. involvement in the area, including F. Forrester Church, son of the late Sen. Frank Church, on his father's fight in Congress to expose CIA covert activity during the 1970s; Mary Lou Suhor's account of her meetings with women and children in Nicaragua, many of them survivors of Contra violence; and a look at U.S. military build-up in Honduras. Also: Map and chronologies detailing the history of the turmoil in Central America.

• **Eleven myths about death:** Lead article by the Rev. Charles Meyer discusses: Pulling the plug is suicide/murder; To die of dehydration or starvation in a hospital is inhumane; Dying is 'God's will'; Where there's life, there's hope and seven other myths about death which serve as impediments to decision-making concerning life support systems. In this issue also: the Rev. Glenda Hope's reflection, Why fast for Lent — or anytime.

• **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, Zal Sherwood, Anne Gilson, Dom Ciannella, Madeline Ligammare.

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WITNESS takes three 'firsts'



THE WITNESS magazine this year took three first places and was "honorably mentioned" an equal number of times in two prestigious press competitions — the Associated Church Press awards and the Episcopal Communicators' Polly Bond Awards. Winners were announced recently at the annual conventions of the ACP and Communicators, in San Antonio and Montreal, respectively.

The Associated Church Press awarded THE WITNESS a first place merit award for best feature, the Rev. Charles Meyer's "The Reproductive Revolution: Ethics of Assisted Begetting," which ran in April 1986.

Polly Bond "firsts" went to THE WITNESS for best cover and best layout of a one or two-page spread. Beth Seka of TSI Visuals designed the winning cover, "God and Mother Russia," on the November 1986 issue; and Mary Lou Suhor, editor, designed the two-page layout for Claudia Windal's article, "Way of the Cross for Persons with AIDS," enhanced by a strong graphic by Robert McGovern in the September 1986 magazine.

This year's awards bring the total of "firsts" captured by THE WITNESS over the past three years to an even dozen — eight in ACP and four in Polly Bond competition — for almost cover-to-cover acclaim.

Following are judges' comments

about the three first place awards taken by THE WITNESS:

- Feature by Meyer: "This is a factual, even-handed approach to a complex issue. Congratulations to the writer for helping to frame the debate on the ethics of artificial insemination by donor. These are precisely the kinds of no-nonsense questions the religious community should be asking about ethical implications of technological capabilities. The writer resisted the temptation to be judgmental and harsh. Instead, he chose to pry open the closed door of the laboratory, and invited readers to question if we, as a society, want to do what science has made possible. Great work."

- Cover by Seka: "Beautiful lettering and use of color. Design and art are very good." (In this category THE WITNESS tied for first place with *The Record* of the Diocese of Michigan.)

- Layout: "THE WITNESS dramatically and effectively combined the use of white space, italic and regular type faces, with a powerful drawing to present the words of the Rev. Claudia Windal in a manner that visually attracted the reader and gave them impact. THE WITNESS seemed to be proof that simple, clean design can work best and their layout won my nod for first place. Imaginative dealing with tough topic."

While no honorable mention certifi-

icates as such were presented by either group, ACP judges commended Carolyn Weathers' fictional piece, "Ruby Shopping" from *My Story's On* in the May 1986 WITNESS, which ran second to a *U.S. Catholic* piece authored by noted Prairie Home Companion humorist Garrison Keillor. Weathers' powers of description were especially lauded.

Similarly, THE WITNESS was commended in the best series of articles category in the Polly Bond competition, for the series around the theme of "God and Mother Russia." And the magazine was one of four finalists in the general excellence category — "attractive and well written" said the judges. *The Episcopal News* of the Diocese of Los Angeles, *Soundings* of Minnesota, and *The Communicant* of North Carolina were all cited here, the latter ultimately taking the award.

The Associated Church Press numbers 173 Protestant, Catholic and Orthodox publications reporting a combined circulation of 11.2 million. More than 600 entries were listed in this year's competition.

The Episcopal Communicators list more than 90 members and the Polly Bond competition is now in its eighth year. Awards are presented in the name of one of the most noted women in the field of Episcopal communications, who died of cancer in 1979. ■

De-mythologizing creation

by Beatrice Pasternak

The more I read about the controversy between *creationists* and *evolutionists*, the more certain I am that we are greatly uneducated in the history of our civilization in general, and in particular, lacking in knowledge about what we call “creation.” For example, someone recently spoke to me about the “Christian creation story.” He was mildly surprised when I reminded him that there is no one creation story that can be attributed to Christians; that insofar as our sense of needing a creation story is concerned, we embrace our Jewish heritage.

It was not until I returned to college several years ago that I first learned about the history and mythology of the pre-Judeo-Christian era. Being able to put the biblical stories into context of surrounding civilizations has given me new insight into “creation” as it appears in the Book of Genesis.

As I have studied the importance of creation stories to every civilization, including that of our Hebrew ancestors, I have learned that ours is but the latest, perhaps the last, of a long line. I would like to think that we would have more tolerance for one another if we knew more about those civilizations which preceded the Christian era. Last November I visited New York’s Metropolitan Museum of Art to view the “Treasures of the Holy Land,” on loan from Israel, and was distressed to see each item dated not in relation to the time frame of Hebrew history, but rather as it related to the birth of Christ. Why should artifacts of Jewish culture be so identified? B.C. (Before Christ) has become the common dating method, which seems to say that whatever events preceded Christ’s birth are less relevant to their own history than to what Christians date as the start of our history.

If we were to adopt the use of “Before the Common (or Christian) Era” (BCE) instead of “Before Christ,” we might realize that Christianity is an era rather than the beginning of all history, and gain new awareness of the peoples that preceded the Judeo-Christian age.

I have learned that there is a historical and mythological

basis in all cultures for creation stories, flood stories, and birth-of-a-hero stories, all of which are found in the Bible. It is difficult to be concise and dogmatic about creation stories because each one is interwoven with its own culture and those which preceded it or were its contemporaries. Many good texts discuss creation myths and make fascinating reading (see resources listed at end).

Although it was not one of my textbooks, *When God Was a Woman*, by Merlin Stone, is extraordinarily provocative in tracing the role that ancient goddess religions played in shaping Judeo-Christian attitudes towards women.

Stone suggests that the images or symbols of serpents, sacred fruit trees and sexually tempting women who took advice from serpents in the Paradise myths may have explained allegorically, and deceptively, “that listening to women who revered the goddess had once caused the expulsion of all humankind from the original home of bliss in Eden.”

For many of us the creation story in the Book of Genesis which we retain from our days as young children in Sunday school is the one in which we were taught that God created the universe and then Adam, and then Eve from Adam’s rib. We are seldom even reminded of the other version in Genesis in which male and female are created at the same time.

No one tells us, as Stone relates, of the goddess “extolled as a prophetess of great wisdom, closely identified with the serpent, the original Creatress, and the patroness of sexual pleasures and reproduction.” No one told us, as Stone does, of “the Nippurian school of Sumerian theology [which] regarded man as having been created from clay by the great mother goddess,” or of the Sumerian goddess Nammu, described as “the mother who gave birth to heaven and earth,” or the Egyptian “Isis, Oldest of Old, [who] was the goddess from whom all being arose.”

And there are more myths that Bible stories echo. For example, while the gods in Indo-European legends are immortal, gods in the Semitic myths age and die, and these are fertility myths in which the gods die and are born again or resurrected. No one had ever told me before that the purpose of “man” is, depending on the type of creation story told, either to serve or to rule. Let me tell you, it is pretty hard to read a book or sit in a college classroom and

Beatrice Pasternak is a medical secretary and freelance writer/editor in New York City. Of Jewish heritage, she was baptized and confirmed in the Episcopal Church in 1958.

suddenly have information like this come crashing around you!

Stone goes even further in her book and gets into the political realities of the Garden of Eden myth and how it is structured to support male dominance.

Stone writes, "Despite all that we know about the biological facts of birth, facts the Levites certainly knew as well, we are assured that the male does not come from the female, but the female from the male."

The Hebrews explained a new society founded only by a male god by reversing biological order to create the male first and then from him the female.

Another book, *Eve, the History of an Idea*, by John A. Phillips, details how the Garden of Eden myth transformed earlier myths. The book examines the figure of Eve as "a prototype in religion, mythology, art history and literature," unfolding "the process through which a figure that was once revered as goddess" takes on the aspects of "negative sexualization" in the Judeo-Christian and Islamic scriptures and theology. Speaking specifically of the creation myth, Phillips states that the meaning of *Hawwāh* or Eve is "the Mother of All the Living," and that "the story of Eve is also the story of the displacing of the goddess whose name is taken from a form of the Hebrew verb 'to be' by the masculine God, Yahweh, whose name has the same derivation. We cannot understand the history of Eve without seeing her as a deposed Creator-Goddess,

Court rejects creation law

The Supreme Court in June struck down a Louisiana law requiring public schools that taught evolution-science to teach "creation-science" as well. Creation-science advocates say that creationism does not promote the biblical account of the genesis of human beings, but instead teaches that there is some scientific evidence that highly developed forms of life suddenly appeared thousands of years ago and have changed little over time.

However, Justice William J. Brennan declared for the court majority that although the Louisiana law contained no references to God, a Creator, the Bible or any religion, it was enacted in the context of the historic collisions between religious movements and advocates of the theory of evolution. "The preeminent purpose of the Louisiana legislature was clearly to advance the religious viewpoint that a supernatural being created humankind."

Justice Lewis F. Powell, Jr., who agreed with most of Brennan's opinion, wrote separately that "the tenets of creation-science parallel the Genesis story of creation, and this is a religious belief" that does not belong in the public schools. But he said that the schools remain free to teach comparative religion and "all aspects of this nation's religious heritage."

and indeed, in some sense as creation itself."

In literature created during the exile of the Jewish people, when biblical stories were finally written down after generations of an oral tradition, there were other female entities. Jewish women have long known the story of Lilith, Adam's first "wife," who refused to live subserviently beneath him. She defied Yahweh by her refusal and left the Garden of Eden. It is said that after this experience, Yahweh created Eve as a more docile replacement, and Lilith was identified as a demon to be feared by both women and men.

Shekhinah, on the other hand, is revered as the feminine aspect of God's presence. As Raphael Patai describes her in *The Hebrew Goddess*, "Shekhinah is the frequently used Talmudic term denoting the visible and audible manifestation of God's presence on earth. The Shekhinah concept stood for an independent, feminine entity prompted by her compassionate nature to argue with God in defense of man."

My education about pre-biblical history came from a mid-life return to college. I am not a scholar on the subject. I am, however, a seeker of knowledge, and I am not getting any help in my quest from those in the church whom I have heard give sermons or who have led Bible study groups. I suspect some sort of ancient history, perhaps even some mythology, is taught in seminary, but information about it is not revealed in most of the preaching I have heard.

It is my opinion that those in the church who have knowledge of Judeo-Christianity's debt to the legends of ancient religions have an obligation to teach it to others. So long as we do not have an opportunity to learn the history of our own mythological inheritance, the kind of prejudice against other cultures and beliefs that is especially apparent in the arguments between the creationists and the evolutionists will continue. There are questions we ought to be asking, and I know that the answers are not a part of our Christian Education programs.

Resources

Ancient Myth by Norma Lorre Goodrich

Eve, The History of an Idea by John Phillips

The Hebrew Goddess by Raphael Patai

Middle Eastern Mythology by S. H. Hooke

Myth, Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures by G. S. Kirk

The Myth of the Birth of the Hero by Otto Rank

The Myth of the Eternal Return by Mircea Eliade

Mythology of the Ancient World by Samuel Noah Kramer

When God Was a Woman by Merlin Stone

The Epic of Gilgamesh (Penguin Classics)

One Roof . . . Continued from page 5

many aspects of the conference. For example, the planners expected an attendance of 200 or 300, but well over 500 participated.

"There was a lot of networking, understanding and commitment. It was a constant learning process. Someone said that the most oft-heard phrase was, 'I didn't know that!,'" said Christie.

The conference attempted to raise sensitivity to various issues. This was not always successful. The Friday morning Eucharist was celebrated only by White, male priests. Mistakes like these, and the fact that they were confronted and criticized very quickly, were all part of the consciousness-raising aspect of Under One Roof. As planner Christie said, "What the conference raised up was that unless something is really impressed into your psyche, you miss opportunities."

Layton Zimmer, a priest from New Mexico and moderator of the workshop on Central America, felt that Under One Roof showed the same kind of desire for progress and social change that is taking place in society at large. "Minority people have made the leap and are showing White folks that the WASP paradigm of power is not the only — or preferred — one," he said. Noting that networks between groups who share common concerns are a vital element in the struggle for change, Zimmer said, "Confrontation has evolved to encirclement, joining hands with others who struggle so that the oppressor is overwhelmed by sheer force of numbers."

There was a constant exchange of information and experience. Participants in the racism workshop were Matthew Ahn, a Korean priest and Luc Nguyen, a Vietnamese priest, both from California. They pointed out that because of wars in which the United States was involved, Koreans and Viet-



namese began to emigrate to this country. Like the Chinese and Japanese immigrants before them, their culture is not understood and their business success is bitterly resented, even by other minorities.

Because workshop planners felt that the two issues were deeply connected, several participants in the racism workshop also appeared at a workshop on Central America. Dr. Deborah Hines, president of the Union of Black Episcopalians and a panelist at both workshops, spelled out how racism at home tied into foreign policy abroad. She said, "From the Black American perspective, it's 'Global Racism.' The United States has all the money and buys all the power it needs. People of color don't have money, but together they have information. Blacks form links with people of color all over the world. We can share information, become united, and fight what's happening."

In the same workshop, people from seemingly disparate groups found a common ground. Panelist Kelsey Edmo, a Shoshone Indian, said, "History is repeating itself. Central American Indians are being subjected to the same oppression there as Indians here." Edmo's account of his people being forced onto reservations in the 1830's was echoed by the Rev. Mike Yasutake's story of his Japanese-American family's forced deportation from their Seattle home to a relocation camp during WW II.

Butch Naters-Gamarra, a Panamanian priest from Philadelphia, said, "The United States does not have the

best interests of Brown people at heart. But the theological issue is justice. The bottom line is that justice will triumph — God's will be done."

Regarded by many as the highlight of the conference was a speech by Sara Nelson, executive director of the Christic Institute in Washington, D.C. She told a group at the Partners' Network dinner that the Institute, an interfaith law and public policy center, was investigating the activities of "the secret team," a group of U.S. military and CIA officials who for 25 years have waged secret wars, overthrown governments, and have been involved in drug smuggling and assassinations.

Dynamic presentations like Nelson's and selected others in workshops and plenaries stood in sharp contrast to the inconclusive addresses given by the two featured keynote speakers, Connecticut Sen. Lowell Weicker, and Presiding Bishop Edmund Browning.

Weicker, hampered somewhat by the fact that weather had grounded his plane, spoke via a phone hook-up, his disembodied voice booming out over the hall. A maverick liberal Republican and Episcopalian, he talked about the Constitution and the importance of exercising one's right to vote — not a surprising tack for a politician to take when an election year looms. He urged his audience to "Start engaging in political activism . . . go ahead and politicize the issues you're involved in," — hardly news to the seasoned veteran activists in the audience.

Communications during the questions period looked like a scene from the "Wizard of Oz." Moderator Christie took each question, and ran behind a curtain where she relayed them to Weicker over the phone. The response then issued from above.

In the next morning's plenary, the Rev. Linda Grenz said of Weicker's remarks, "When I go to vote, I'm looking at a choice of three White upper-

class males. The system itself is set up so that government is not for the people, by the people and of the people, but is for, by and of upper-class White men. Electing new faces isn't going to help a lot. What we must be about is changing the whole system," she said.

There was a hope that Presiding Bishop Edmund Browning would put a final seal of approval on the conference, declare the church's intention for social change, and provide a context for strategies at the final Pentecost service. But the great policy statement, the clear vision never appeared. As one of the conference sponsors, the Episcopal Church Publishing Company felt, with many others, that a bold opportunity had been missed.

What Browning delivered from the pulpit of Christ Church Cathedral was a generic, marshmallow sermon that "could have been about anything," planner Rushing said. "Nobody was challenged to take a look at the meaning of Pentecost — the birth of a new church," said Rushing.

In his homily, Browning also made a point of saying he thought the church

and society at large was too preoccupied with sexuality issues. It was apparent that he had not spent time at the conference, because the issue of sexuality was largely ignored. This was a curious lapse, considering the controversy aroused by the Diocese of Newark's Report on Changing Patterns of Sexuality and Family Life, which suggested that the church bless unions outside of traditional heterosexual marriage. The topic is certain to be a major battleground at General Convention. And the dangerous erosion of gay and lesbian civil rights was given little attention, despite the fact that Integrity, the Episcopal gay and lesbian organization, had its national meeting at the conference.

Shortly before Browning's election at the 1985 General Convention, the Consultation, a coalition of diverse groups working together for social justice, challenged the church to declare itself in its original vision statement, "Odyssey in Faith." The statement said, "As we speak to issues of human concern and justice, we raise the question: Will the Episcopal Church

be an advocate for and join with the victims of injustice, allowing them to motivate and empower us with a new vision?"

The question now is, will the church under Browning's guidance be ready to act on what it has heard and to lend its heart and hands to realizing the dream of peace with justice? The true test of the success of Under One Roof is how the issues and concerns raised there are acted on, both on a parish level and on a national level at next year's General Convention.

If the impetus of Under One Roof sparks grassroots networks to work together, they could become a formidable force. The conference was an admirable first attempt, but would have benefitted from a clear agenda and a goal of producing forceful resolutions to bring to Convention.

At the very least, Under One Roof showed that there is a strong community of Episcopalians who can support each other in working to transform the church. As Rushing said, "We now know that we have enough energy to insist on change." ■

Letters . . . Continued from page 3
it off the ground.

Another reason I personally enjoy THE WITNESS is because I keep up with old friends no longer on my route. Some months ago, Jake Hamel writing on "The cosmic nature of Christmas;" now, Bob Cromey. May you live forever!

The Rev. James Guinan
Deerfield, Va.

Magazine not Christian?

I've been reading your issues of THE WITNESS for month after month now, and I'm totally convinced that this magazine has from little to nothing to do with the true meaning of Christianity.

You pamper homosexuals and lesbians. They're in sin and need help to get out of their sin, not to be congratulated. And on you go!

Jesus Christ should be the center and #1 topic of all your issues if you truly want the message of the Gospel to come through to people and really touch some hearts and move people's lives.

Gilbert Rodon, Jr.
Lansdale, Pa.

Enrolls inner-city church

Receiving a thought-provoking publication like THE WITNESS is a joy. I find myself keeping quite a few issues. I just don't want to part with them. I am

sending in a gift subscription for an inner-city church in Detroit which does not have much money but is active in inner-city problems, peace issues and Central America concerns. People there will like THE WITNESS, as opposed to my Reaganite friends.

Patricia Grimalda
Milford, Mich.

Can anything good . . . ?

Enclosed is a check for a year's subscription to THE WITNESS. I am amazed that you guys get away with publishing anything this good under the auspices of the Episcopal Church.

Tom Loughheed
Baltimore, Md.



Taking on the nuclear giant

by Lloyd Marbet

In 1986, the year of Chernobyl, the people of Oregon were presented with the first opportunity in the nation to stop an existing nuclear power plant from operating. The campaign to shut down the State's Trojan plant became a landmark in the history of Oregon's legislative initiative process, and its outcome continues to be an ongoing challenge of conscience in the nuclear marketplace.

Lloyd Marbet is a full-time anti-nuclear activist who lives in Boring, Ore. He works for Forelaws on Board, an environmental concerns group founded in 1973.

Probably no better conditions had ever existed for an outright shutdown of an operating nuclear power plant. Not only had radioactive rain fallen in Oregon after the tragic meltdown of the Chernobyl nuclear reactor, but the nuclear industry in the whole Pacific Northwest had also experienced unusual breakdowns.

In the early 1970's, the people of the area were repeatedly warned by the utility industry that severe power shortages would occur unless an ambitious nuclear power plant construction program was immediately implemented, even though the region was blessed

with an abundance of hydro-electric power.

Construction began in 1973 on five nuclear power plants known as the WPPSS (Washington Public Power Supply System — pronounced "whoops") plants in 1973. By the early 1980s, two of these plants were abandoned, creating the largest municipal bond market failure in the history of the United States. Two more plants were subsequently mothballed, threatening even greater economic failure. The one remaining plant manages to operate sporadically. On top of the WPPSS fiasco, four additional nuclear

power plants were abandoned by a consortium of private utilities after 10 years of inability to license them.

The writing was on the wall for the nuclear power industry in Oregon. The crisis had been building for years. In 1979, a near melt-down had occurred at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant in Pennsylvania, which badly damaged the nuclear industry's image. The following year, 1980, Oregon voters passed a ballot measure that prevented the construction of new nuclear power plants until the federal government licensed a repository for the permanent disposal of high-level radioactive waste.

Another blow to the industry was that consumers wholeheartedly invested in various energy conservation methods, which the utility companies had claimed would never work, in order to avoid inflated electricity rates caused by the construction of unneeded, uneconomical and unpopular nuclear power plants. As a result, the demand for electricity suddenly declined dramatically, creating a tremendous surplus — so great that it exceeded the capacity of regional transmission lines built to carry excess power to California.

By 1986, the nuclear power industry was beset from all sides. Cheap oil was again competing with nuclear power. There was growing opposition to nuclear waste being stored in anyone's backyard. Overnight, Oregon politicians became "born-again" opponents of the nuclear power industry, and took a defiant stance against the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in nearby Washington state becoming the nation's burial ground for high-level radioactive waste. It seemed certain that the people of Oregon would take the next step and shut down the Trojan plant to stop further production of radioactive waste. But events were to prove otherwise.

In the beginning of 1986 both the

peace community and the anti-nuclear community, supported by Oregon's ecumenical ministries, joined forces for the first time to gather signatures on three anti-nuclear initiative petitions. Circulating what was later known as the "Peace Packet," the coalition of activists set three objectives:

- Stop the operation of the Trojan power plant until a federal nuclear waste repository was licensed;
- Move a low-level radioactive waste dump created by a company called Teledyne Wah Chang Albany off the flood plain of the Willamette River;
- Stop the production of nuclear weapons by 1990 through a combination of tax credits and civil penalties.

Nothing of such magnitude had been previously attempted. Few thought it even possible to gather enough signatures to place the initiatives on the ballot. Nevertheless, over 270,000 names were collected — enough to place Ballot Measures 14, 15 and 16 before Oregon voters in the November 1986 general election. History was in the making — nuclear power was about to go on trial.

Operating a ballot measure campaign is no easy task. Coordinating three at once is an art form. Activists in the coalition recognized the formida-

ble tasks before them. Nothing of this magnitude had ever been attempted before. A Progressive Political Action Committee (Pro-PAC) was formed to coordinate joint activities such as leafleting, distributing lawn signs and fund raising. These strategies promoted efficient grassroots organizing, but **organizers could not foresee how the ballot measure opponents would conduct their campaigns.**

Oregon does not have a significant nuclear weapons industry. Those companies involved in manufacturing components for nuclear weapons chose not to conduct a political campaign. Instead, they focused on preparing for future litigation in the event Measure 16, which called for a halt to nuclear weapons production, became law. The peace community, denied visible opposition as a result of the companies' tactics, was thus forced to prepare a campaign against an opponent who never appeared.

Concerning Measures 14 and 15, there was never any question that they would meet aggressive opposition from the nuclear power industry. Oregon's economy became the issue and jobs-at-any-cost, the theme of the industry's campaign. In the end, the battle over Ballot Measure 14, which would shut down the Trojan power plant, set the tone. A majority of Oregonians were willing to accept the continuing problems of the nuclear power industry rather than risk even the slightest increase in electric rates. The collapse of the nuclear power industry had helped create a depressed economy in the region — now the industry was trying to save itself by exploiting the very economic fears it had helped to create.

No one in Oregon denies the considerable political and financial power of Portland General Electric (PGE), the state's major utility company. In the 1984 general election, PGE spent a

Update on fund-raising

As this July-August issue of THE WITNESS goes to press, we can report that our subscribers have put us within reach of our fund-raising goal by contributing to our 1987 effort. But we have heard from less than 300 donors as this is written.

To those who have not yet contributed to our once-a-year drive, won't you please help us to reach our goal? Many thanks!

record \$1 million to oppose a ballot measure which would have created a Citizens' Utility Board.

As the owners of the Trojan plant, PGE's strategy to combat anti-nuclear ballot measures in the 1986 campaign was simple: 1) Create a political action committee out of people in the business and scientific communities who were willing to front for PGE's interests while denying close association with the utility; 2) Use PGE contributions to finance a media and public relations campaign which emphasized the threat of billions of dollars in costs if Trojan was shut down.

In the end, PGE spent \$2.5 million on the campaign, more than doubling their previous spending record on fighting a ballot measure, and provided 99% of the pro-nuclear political action committee's resources.

A spokesman for PGE stated the company's strategy: "In order for us to win the election we think it's important for the whole state to *perceive* that they have a stake in the outcome." By spending on the average of \$4 per vote, the company managed to create that

perception quite well. All three measures were defeated.

The nationwide anti-nuclear movement is fast approaching its 20th birthday. Over that time, while it has achieved great success in creating a public awareness of nuclear hazards, no one in the movement has succeeded in permanently shutting down an operating nuclear reactor.

During the 1986 campaign, it quickly became apparent to Oregon activists that there is not a true national movement against nuclear power. While PGE was able to hire public relations firms in California and telephone solicitors in Pennsylvania, the proponents of Ballot Measure 14 received little outside financial support or organization expertise. Attempts to get outside help were frustrated. Consumer advocate Ralph Nader came to Oregon to endorse the Measure but fell victim to a news blackout. Gregory Kafoury of the "Don't Waste Oregon" Committee, an anti-nuclear waste group, traveled east to ask for help and returned with nothing. Oregon activists were forced to go it alone and in the end, accepted

the greater challenge of learning from defeat.

After the election, the peace and environmental coalition analyzed itself to determine why the election effort had failed. It was as though defeat had been snatched from the jaws of victory.

Possibly the greatest lesson for the anti-nuclear movement comes from the civil rights movement, which taught that there are no easy victories. A unified national effort is needed to coordinate information on anti-nuclear campaigns, but it is the self-determination of people struggling for change which offers the ultimate hope for success. The anti-nuclear movement can take heart from the fact that Oregon activists are already committed to try to shut down nuclear power again in 1988.

As Abraham Lincoln once said, "You can fool some of the people all of the time and all of the people some of the time, but you can't fool all of the people all of the time." For Oregon's nuclear power industry, it is only a matter of time. ■

Labor honors Pauli Murray

Four panelists intimately connected with the late Rev. Pauli Murray spoke at a luncheon in her honor arranged by the Ethnic Labor Coalition at International Ladies Garment Worker Union headquarters in Philadelphia recently. Sponsor of the event was the Ethnic Labor Coalition, which also took the opportunity to introduce Pauli Murray's autobiography, *Song in a Weary Throat*.

Panelists gathered around the book in photo are, from left to right, Karen Rouse-Watson, Murray's niece and executor of her estate; Morris Milgram, former national secretary of the Workers Defense League and current president of OPEN, a housing project working toward integrated neighborhoods; Maida Springer-Kemp, former ILGWU organizer and AFL-CIO international staffer, and Caroline F. Ware, formerly of Howard University, for 40 years a friend and mentor of Pauli's.





Civil Rights — the unsexy dream deferred

It never ceases to amaze me how the American press and public can become so fascinated with what they think are juicy scandals that some real national disgraces go virtually unnoticed. Pushed aside by the unfolding saga of Pearlygate and Tailgate, the Jim and Tammy Bakker and Gary Hart fiascos respectively, recent attempts to scuttle vital civil rights legislation have gone largely unreported and without public outcry.

After weeks of partisan delay, the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee did report out a "clean" Civil Rights Restoration Act (S.557) to the full Senate by a bipartisan vote of 12-4. The committee, fortunately, rejected all substantive amendments to the bill, including the proviso that would exempt hundreds of religiously affiliated colleges from compliance with anti-discrimination laws and an amendment to deny civil rights protection to AIDS victims.

That such legislation as a Civil Rights Restoration Act is needed at all is scandalous in and of itself. Rabbi David Saperstein, co-director and counsel of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, and Bishop William Boyd Grove, president of the General Board of Church and Society of the United Methodist Church, labeled the very title of the bill "a cause for national shame."

A conservative measure at best, the CRRA is simple enough. It seeks to

restore the hard-won civil rights gains of minorities, women, senior citizens and disabled Americans which the Reagan administration's Department of Justice and the Supreme Court have taken away. At stake are Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act; Title IX of the 1972 Education Amendments; Sec. 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975.

Under presidents Johnson, Nixon, Ford and Carter, the laws prohibiting discrimination were applied on an institution-wide basis. If one part of the institution discriminated, all federal funding was denied. The Reagan administration, however, offered a far more restrictive interpretation, applying the laws only to individual programs receiving federal funds. The Supreme Court, in turn, sustained the constitutionality of this restrictive interpretation and invited Congress to amend the legislation in order to clarify its intent. (We were under the impression that the intent of the legislation was, indeed, clear.)

As a result of Reaganism, anti-discrimination cases were dropped, new cases were not opened, investigations halted and the not so subtle message went out to nearly every recipient of federal aid — discrimination is not so risky after all.

Early efforts to thwart the CRRA legislation included a filibuster by Senator Orrin Hatch (R-UT) in the waning days of 98th Congress (1984).

In the 99th Congress, new amendments designed to split the civil rights community were introduced. The latest maneuverings sought to use the CRRA to resolve the long-standing controversy in this country over abortion. Hostile and divisive amendments such as "Tauke-Sensenbrenner," offered by abortion opponents, threatened to overtake the bill's basic goal of restoration.

The civil rights community opposed all amendments to the CRRA that would make substantive changes inconsistent with the principle of simple restoration. Similarly, the religious community, with the notable exception of the U.S. Catholic Conference, opposed the amendments. The Catholic Conference chose to support the amendments even at the cost of seeing the bill defeated, despite the fact that its general counsel concluded the legislation created no new abortion rights and would not restrict the existing religious exemption enjoyed by Catholic institutions.

Rabbi Saperstein and Bishop Grove conclude "how sad it is that less than two decades after the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., we are forced to labor long and hard to restore rights already won — and now taken away — rather than to focus on the dream still unfulfilled, of a just society with equality for all." Sadder still, the disgrace of the unfulfilled dream has no sex appeal, thus it doesn't make headlines. ■

Demonstrations expected during Pope's U.S. visit

John Paul II, easily the most peregrinating Pope in the Holy See's history, will visit nine cities in the U.S. Sunbelt and West Coast Sept. 10-19. He will face an increasingly fractious flock, torn by dissent between conservative Catholics who unquestioningly support Vatican policies and liberal Catholics who are deeply disturbed by recent papal pronouncements on homosexuality and women in the church, as well as the church's treatment of dissident clergy.

The Pope is expected to face protestors at every stop. Organizations such as the Washington, D.C.-based Catholics Speak Out (CSO) have campaigned for the Pope to set aside more time to listen to the concerns of U.S. Catholics. CSO and other groups want the Pope, among other things, to reinstate the Rev. Charles Curran, the theologian removed from his teaching post at Catholic University in Washington, D.C. for differing from Vatican doctrines on sexuality. And John Paul II's visit to San Francisco may be especially tumultuous, as the city's large gay and lesbian contingent is likely to turn out in force to protest his recent condemnation of homosexuality and the subsequent banning of the Catholic gay and lesbian group, Dignity, from meeting in churches.

On his U.S. trip, the Pope will probably avoid political issues, although U.S. Catholic bishops are hoping he will endorse their pastoral on the economy. In general, it is anticipated that he will stress traditional Catholic morality. However, during his June trip to his native Poland, he came out boldly in support of the outlawed trade union, Solidarity. He told huge, cheering crowds that Polish workers had a right to representation by free trade unions, and met with Poland's leading dissident and one of Solidarity's founders, Lech Walesa.

But his political stance condemning repression was more subdued in Chile, as David Kalke shows in the accompanying story. Kalke analyzes the behavior of the Pope and evangelist Jimmy Swaggart in Pinochet's Chile, one of the most brutal rightwing military regimes in the world.

Jimmy S. and John Paul II

When reports of widespread unrest in Chile dominated the news recently, it struck a familiar chord in me. Pope John Paul II's visit to Chile had become a flashpoint for all the anger and frustration of a people who had been living for 13 years under one of the most repressive regimes in the world. Having lived, among the people of Chile some years ago as a seminarian, I had hoped to return last year before the Pope's visit to research what his presence might mean to the Chileans.

Little did I know, when I planned my return, that the fact of abiding repression would drastically affect the outcome of my journey.

As the plane began to make its descent into the international airport in Santiago last November, memories came flooding back. It had been 13 years since I was last in Chile. My work had involved pastoral activity among the more than 15,000 Latin Americans who had come to Chile under the Allende government and were caught in Pinochet's violence, now being labeled "international terrorists." My last six weeks in Chile had been spent living in a refugee camp under the auspices of the United Nations High Commissioner's Office for Refugees and the World Council of Churches. One morning, while transferring refugees from the camp to the central office for processing, I was detained by the Chilean military along with five refugees. Within a few hours I was escorted to the airport by alleged CIA station

chief Fred Purdy and was sent back to the States on a Christmas Eve flight.

And now I was headed back.

As I sat reminiscing, the plane began circling down towards the runway. An excited European traveler leaned over and said to me, "I have come to see the Christ of the Andes. Have you seen it? Is it in Chile?"

As the flight touched down I gazed out of the window at the snowcapped Andes, reflecting on the question. Though the traveler was referring to the noted statue on the Argentine-Chilean border, the remark set me to thinking. "Where *is* the Christ of the Andes in today's Chile," I asked myself. "What has happened to Christians working with the poor who are now subjected to house searches, arrest, and deportation by the military? What will the church of the poor look like today? What has happened to those who started the Christians for Socialism movement in the early '70s?"

I also wondered what the people's expectations were about the Pope's visit.

I was not destined to learn the answers. When I deplaned with the other passengers, we were led to an area designated "Chilean International Police," to pass through immigration. I was eager to get through, somewhat anxious as I saw the uniformed men portrayed in films as perpetrators of violence against Chileans.

I handed my passport to an attendant. As soon as my name was entered into a computer, the images on the screen changed immediately, as did the expression of the official who sat behind the terminal.

A message flashed in Spanish on the

The Rev. David Kalke is a Lutheran pastor who works with the ecumenical New York CIRCUS, a ministry with Latin American refugees and exiles in New York City.

in Chile

by David Kalke

screen: Kalke, David John. *Expelled in 1973. Refuse entry.* I was swiftly taken out of line by several plainclothes policemen and escorted to the International Police offices.

A Captain Rosa asked me, "Are you really the Rev. David Kalke?"

I assured him of my identity. He said, "Hmm. Using the name of God to cover up your activities!" He left the room, leaving me in the custody of a junior officer.

This officer, whom I knew only as Victor, was more impressed with this fish just caught by the surveillance net. Victor, an evangelical Christian, was puzzled that a Lutheran evangelical pastor from the United States could cause such an uproar. He let me take out my Bible, and we read some passages from Hebrews that spoke of the tests of faith. Victor was clearly torn between his commitment to his job as a police officer for a dictatorship and his evangelical fervor.

He felt that the following year, 1987, would be an important one for his country. He said, "It will be a year that Christ will come to Chile. Jimmy Swaggart is coming to do a national revival."

My stay in Chile was all too brief. After eight hours of detention, I was put on a flight back to the States. The official Chilean story states that I was "deported as an undesirable alien."

My attempted visit was only one part of a large wave of foreign religious delegations that came to Chile in late 1986 and early 1987. Many groups came — among them delegates from the World Council of Churches, the U.S. Catholic Bishops Conference, and the Washington Office on Latin

America. But the two most important visits by religious figures were those of North American evangelist Jimmy Swaggart in January and Pope John Paul II in April of this year.

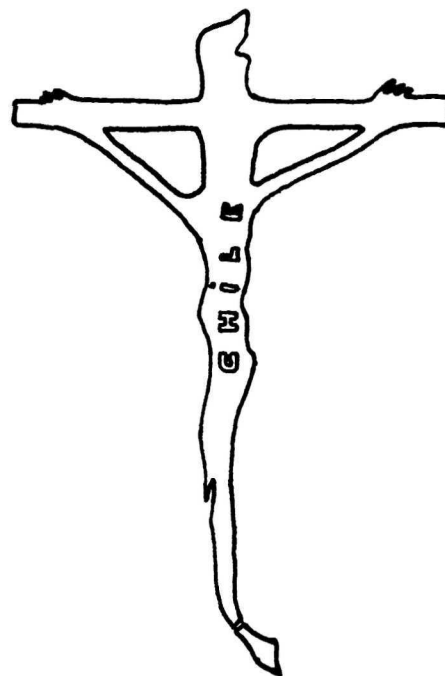
Both of these visits were carefully staged events, to appear to provide a religious arena where Chileans could express their discontent with, or support of, the Pinochet government — but under tight government control.

Swaggart's visit was intended to consolidate the evangelical churches — a support base for Pinochet — to offset the influence of the traditional Protestant churches, which came out against Pinochet when he led the military coup in 1973.

But Swaggart's trip failed to unify Chile's evangelical Protestants. The turnout for his rallies was lower than expected and his support for Pinochet angered and embarrassed many evangelicals. During one meeting, according to Latinamerica Press, Swaggart prayed: "Father, pour out a revival on Chile, because despite what the U.S. press has said about this country, here there is freedom of worship . . . I want each one of the 500 million TV viewers in the 143 countries that watch us to know I give thanks to God for the freedom enjoyed in Chile."

After a meeting with Pinochet at his summer home, Swaggart congratulated him for having expelled the devil in the bloody military coup. "History will judge what you have done as one of the great events of the century," he said.

The Pope's visit was marked by turmoil and unrest. His trip — like Chile today — was filled with contradictions. The papal visit offered a safe outlet through which popular discontent



could be expressed, while tightening the political alliances that might enable the emergence of a restricted democracy in Chile in 1988, when elections are scheduled there. The Roman Catholic Church is emerging as an important mediator in the social conflict which has characterized Chile for the last 20 years.

While the visit gave Chileans some freedom to express their feelings about the Pinochet regime, the government consistently tried to manipulate events to its advantage, and did its best to repress signs of discontent.

For the Vatican and the Chilean hierarchy, the visit was counted a success. The Pope delivered his message of the church as mediator in a conflict-torn society and managed to avoid making any statements that would embarrass his hosts.

For example, the Pope made visits to Santiago's shantytowns and listened to the testimonies of poor and dispossessed Chileans. During the Liturgy on the first full day of his visit, the Pope used a Bible that had belonged to Andre Jarlan, a priest killed in a 1984 police raid in La Victoria. However,

church officials did not permit the public mention of that fact, nor that the Bible had been presented to the Pope as a gift from Chileans in the neighborhood.

The thrust of the Pope's visit was to create a climate for the advancement of "National Reconciliation and Peace," a theological position which many believe difficult to sustain in view of the thousands and thousands of victims of repression in Chile. The Church of the Poor — which may be the true Christ of the Andes — sees this position of reconciliation as only strengthening the ties between the church hierarchy and Pinochet's government. Chile's poor and marginalized workers question the new alliances being made between the leadership of Chile's Roman Catholic Church and the emerging forces which would settle for replacing Pinochet without dismantling the dictatorship's repressive government, military, and social institutions.

When the Pope reached out on a personal level, he heard and saw a great deal. He had a particularly moving encounter with Carmen Gloria Quintana, who was set afire by Chilean military personnel during a protest last year. She survived, though badly burned; her companion, Rodrigo Rojas, a resident of Washington, D.C., died of his burn wounds. Quintana, now living in Canada, where her injuries are being treated, risked returning to Chile to tell her story. During their meeting, the Pope embraced her three times, saying he understood her suffering and was praying for her.

Millions of people went to see the Pope and participated in the nationwide celebrations. At each event, the people took advantage of the situation to denounce the conditions under which they live. They shouted anti-government slogans and waved banners protesting violations of human rights. The encounters between the

Pope and the people were characterized by a combination of aromas — incense from the Mass and tear gas from police.

In Santiago's Parque O'Higgins, where 800,000 people had gathered for a beatification ceremony, some 500 youth began throwing rocks and lighting fires during the Eucharistic prayer. Riot squads sprayed tear gas and water and several hundred were injured.

Commented Chilean theologian Ronaldo Munoz, "We regret the violence. But in Chile there is so much dry straw ready to burst into flame. While we condemn the match that set it off, we understand why there's so much straw."

During a gathering of some 100,000 young people in the infamous National Stadium, once used by Pinochet as a torture center where hundreds of Chileans had been killed, the Pope listened as the crowd chanted, "He will fall, he will fall," referring to Pinochet.

Delilah's Side

**They say don't sleep
with a man crazier than yourself.
What if it's too late?**

**You know, he never mentioned God.
Just himself, and the smoke seering
his eyes, and the smell of vengeance
and three hundred fiery foxes.
Those foxes burned the olives,
burned the vineyards,
burned the standing fields
and the wheat already stored.
The woman — the woman he claimed
but never knew — was blamed
for choices she didn't make.
The thirty dirty screaming men
sacrificed her, and so did Samson.**

**You know, even without the promise
of shekels, I would betray him.**

Mary Jo Cartledge-Hayes

As songs of the Mass subsided, the popular chants swelled, as if to reclaim for a moment the National Stadium in remembrance of all who had suffered and died there, including the renowned Chilean folksinger Victor Jara.

While the Chilean Roman hierarchy is considered to be too divided against itself to form any meaningful opposition to the present regime, the Papal visit did help the efforts of the moderate opposition forces, but these groups may not be strong enough to defeat Pinochet in the 1988 elections. And many fear that the government will crack down even more harshly on dissent after the Pope's visit. Already it has been reported that right-wing terror squads have increased attacks on opponents of Pinochet's government.

Robert Garreton, an official of the Santiago archdiocese's human rights agency, said that dozens of government opponents have been threatened and two recently returned exiles have been kidnapped. Mario Mejias, from one of Santiago's slums, who denounced human rights abuses in a speech before the Pope April 2 was kidnapped and badly beaten by armed men May 1.

Perhaps shantytown dweller Luisa Rivera, representing the women's sector of La Bandera, most accurately summed up the aspirations and dreams of Chile's poor. Though her remarks were censored by the government media, she said to the Pope, "There are 14 political prisoners condemned to death. You, as the Messenger of Life, we ask of you, all Chile asks of you to say 'No' to the death penalty."

"We visit the political prisoners, the tortured, and we ask that justice might be done. We accompany the families of the disappeared in their search for justice. And we want to be heard. We want to be respected. What we want is a life with dignity, a life without a dictatorship." ■

Short Takes

No business like war business

- The U.S. today largely entrusts weapons production to private industry, something relatively new in U.S. history. Government-operated factories now produce only 1% of U.S. weapons.

- If the U.S. military industry were a national economy, it would be the 13th largest in the world. Ten giant military contractors account for one-third of all U.S. weapons contracts.

- Military contractors receive higher profits for lower risk work than comparable commercial business. Top contractors are heavily subsidized by the taxpayer, using nearly \$40 billion worth of government property free of charge.

- Military contractors fight for their profits by vigorously lobbying Congress and the Pentagon to buy weapons the U.S. does not always need.

- European countries have experimented with a variety of types of ownership of military production. Even if companies are privately owned, many European countries closely regulate their profits. Many companies go back and forth between public and private ownership. By comparison, the U.S. is heavily dependent on the private sector.

Conclusions

Weapons are often purchased primarily for the benefit of major military contractors, not for the defense of the United States.

Lack of competition gives military contractors the opportunity to increase profits by selling as many weapons at as high a price as possible.

The profit motive among weapons makers must be constrained and the political influence of contractors reduced so the U.S. buys only the weapons it needs.

Weapons profits should be reduced to the level of comparable commercial business. A biennial survey of weapons contractors should be taken to prevent excessive profits.

The Defense Monitor, Vol. XVI, No. 3

Quote of note

When my brother and I built and flew the first man-carrying flying machine, we thought that we were introducing into the world an invention which would make further wars practically impossible.

Orville Wright, 1917



3 generations march for peace

Two-year-old Rebecca Thompson of Gaithersburg, Md., right, shown with a friend, was the youngest of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship marchers at the massive April demonstration for Peace and Justice in Central America and South Africa in Washington, D.C. Marching with her (and some 100,000 others) were her father, William Thompson; her uncle, Tom Cutler of Baltimore, and her grandfather, the Rev. Sandy Cutler, rector of the Church of the Redeemer in Morristown, N.J. until his retirement to New York last year.

Rebecca's father and her mother, Madeleine Cutler Thompson, had been active demonstrators against the Vietnam War, and her grandfather first demonstrated for Peace and Justice in 1940.

The day after the march, grandfather Sandy baptized Rebecca's brother, "Sandy," in the National Cathedral and his parents report that he should be ready to march in the not too distant future.

In an incident related to the Peace and Justice march in April, some 560 demonstrators were arrested when they blocked entrances to the CIA Headquarters in Langley, Va. Among them was Hugh White, consultant to Bishop Coleman McGehee of Michigan and former contributing editor to THE WITNESS, who fasted during his stint in jail until released.

Who owns the press?

Why has the press become even more timid than usual under Reagan? One reason is obvious. Four years ago, when Ben Bagdikian, dean of the graduate school of journalism at the University of California at Berkeley, published his book *The Media Monopoly*, 50 corporations controlled most of the American mass media. When he prepared a revised edition this spring, the number had dropped to 29. While his manuscript was in the mail to his publisher, Time, Inc. swallowed Scott, Foresman and Company and the number dropped to 28. While type was being set, the Hearst Corporation bought the *Houston Chronicle* and the number went down to 27. It probably will be fewer still when the book comes out in the fall.

**Mother Jones
June-July 1987**

One dog barks at something; the rest bark at him. **Chinese proverb**

Unlimited power?

At the rate of progress since 1800, every American who lived into the year 2000 would know how to control unlimited power ... to him the 19th century would stand on the same plane as the fourth — equally childlike — and he would only wonder how both of them, knowing so little, and so weak in force, should have done so much.

Henry Adams, 1907

Helping the Creator

"Have you ever considered that, when God created the world, God could have done a complete job? ... But God did not," Fr. Raymond Baumhart, S.J. reminded his co-workers during a Lenten Mission at Loyola University. "God left oil deep in the rocks, left rivers without bridges and mountains without roads. God left diamonds uncut and books unwritten, cities unbuilt and students untaught. God gave us an incomplete world and invited us to help to complete it."

Initiatives, May/June 1987

THE WITNESS CELEBRATES



YEARS

1942 to 1951:

Pearl Harbor forced the United States to enter a war it had tried to avoid. But as Americans went fighting for freedom abroad, inequities at home became more and more apparent. Jim Crow was a fact of life for U.S. Blacks, and as thousands of Blacks left the South to work in defense plants up North, they found a Yankee racism as virulent as Dixie's. The government passed legislation forbidding discrimination in defense industries, but making it work was another problem. In 1942, 1,200 armed Whites prevented a group of Blacks from moving into federal housing for defense workers in Detroit.

A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, told government leaders Blacks weren't universally enthused about the war because they were being asked to give 100% and weren't getting anywhere near that much back. In 1945, one little Black girl summed up the Black reality when she was asked how she would punish Hitler: "Paint him Black and bring him over here."

THE WITNESS, absolutely opposed to racist policies and attitudes, regularly published articles by and about Black religious and community leaders, featured Black clergy on the cover, and ran whole issues on Blacks in the church. The Rev. John Johnston wrote in a May 1946 piece called "Negro's Duty in Wartime" that, "The ques-

tion of racial justice is before this nation today as it has not been since the Civil War. The objectives for which the war is being fought and the things we contend for at home are one and the same thing. They can be summed up in a single word, freedom."

Racism was also used to stir up passions against the Japanese, America's enemy in the Pacific. All the resentment and bigotry that Whites had built up against the successful and industrious Japanese-Americans was given free reign, and culminated in one of the most shameful acts in U.S. history. In 1942, President Roosevelt signed an order which mandated that all citizens of Japanese descent be interned in relocation camps for the duration of the war. Thus were 100,000 Japanese-Americans — 70,000 of them born in the U.S. — forced out of their homes and businesses and into concentration camps in desolate desert regions of the West.

THE WITNESS kept its readers aware every time church leaders spoke against the deportations, and of efforts to get as many Japanese as possible released from the camps. Unfortunately, reports of Episcopal leaders speaking out were few.

The magazine tirelessly preached the gospel that if liberation was supported in one instance — for example,

First war casualty

The Rev. Wolcott Cutler is the first Episcopal clergyman to lose his job because of his war position as far as we know. He has been the rector of St. John's, Charlestown, Mass. for 18 years. Some days ago he announced to his people that his conscience would not allow him to register for war service and that he was planning not to do so. At meetings of the vestry on April 6 and 13 his resignation was accepted, though two members felt that the parish would be justified in waiting to see whether the government decided that Cutler's non-registration was sufficiently serious to deserve a prison sentence. The vast majority however

felt that the parish should not weaken in its loyalty to the nation at this juncture, and therefore voted to accept the resignation.

In a letter to THE WITNESS Cutler declares: "I simply seek to be true to my intelligence and my conscience, and to trust the ultimate outcome entirely to God. There are times when a man must, at the peril of losing his immortal soul and jeopardizing the coming of a better world order, obey God rather than man." (4/30/42)

Protests alien bill

In an 100 word telegram, Bishop W. P. Remington of Eastern Oregon expressed his opposition to the proposals of

Senator Mahoney now before the Oregon state legislature. The proposals ask: (1) That federal authorities discharge immediately all American-born Japanese from the United States armed forces and rescind orders calling for the induction of others. (2) That Congress and the President order the deportation of all Japanese aliens at the end of the war. (3) That Congress submit to the several states a constitutional amendment which would authorize the cancellation of the citizenship of all American born Japanese and the deportation of all such persons. The number of church groups which have expressed disapproval of the proposals and are attempting to defeat

War, hot & cold

by Susan E. Pierce

the struggle of the people of Europe and Asia to be free of Axis domination — then liberation must be supported across the board. *THE WITNESS* cheered India's independence from Britain in 1948, and, in what was later to prove a very unpopular and politically dangerous move during the McCarthy era, applauded the efforts of Mao Tse Tung's Red Army both during the war against the Japanese and in the following civil war against Nationalist forces led by Chiang Kai Shek.

Editor William Spofford in particular felt that U.S. support for repressive regimes such as Franco's in Spain and China's Chiang Kai Shek were symptoms of the anti-Communist hysteria he saw poisoning the land in the late '40s and early '50s. He defended the rights of socialists, peace activists and conscientious objectors who were being hounded out of their jobs and even imprisoned.

Spofford and the editorial board carried on the work of *THE WITNESS*, despite the difficulties of wartime and the controversy over the causes the magazine championed. Indeed, Spofford's own life was touched by a tragedy of the time, one similar to the present AIDS epidemic in scope and in the fear it created. In 1946, his daughter Marcia died at age 27 of polio. In her memory he wrote, "As her father I'd like to say this: The answer to death is life."

them in the House include the Portland Council of Churches, Oregon Christian Youth Council, Oregon Council of Church Women, and the Portland Chapter of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. (3/18/43)

Court on Melish case

Supreme Court Justice Alfred V. Norton reserved decision on a motion by the Rev. William Howard Melish and his father, Dr. John Howard Melish, to restrain Bishop James P. DeWolfe of the Diocese of Long Island from ousting the elder Melish as rector of Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, N.Y. Justice Norton also reserved decision on a motion

from the church's vestry to make permanent an injunction barring the Melishes from calling further meetings of parishioners to elect new parish officers.

Bishop DeWolfe's decision, effective April 4, was based upon the charge that the 74-year-old rector had condoned alleged pro-Communist activities of his son and associate rector. The younger Melish, however, filed a lengthy affidavit with the court stating "I am not and never have been a Communist nor a member of the Communist Party." Young Melish also defended his affiliation with the National Council of Soviet-American Friendship. "I believe the work of the Council to be in the

Throughout WW II and the Cold War era, *THE WITNESS* continued to display its talent for prophetic vision. It warned readers to be concerned about the terrible power and proliferation of atomic weapons, the legacy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. It called for the United States to recognize former colonies' rights to self-determination and to stay out of local conflicts. And it watched in dismay as John Howard Melish of New York was dismissed from his church because he and his son, the Rev. William Melish, were on record as supporting peace between the United States and the Soviet Union.

By the early 1950's, the forces of reaction were growing stronger. *THE WITNESS* decried the McCarran Act, which called for severe restrictions against any suspected or known communists. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were sentenced to death for allegedly selling atomic bomb secrets to the Soviets — many felt they were condemned for their leftist beliefs. Senator Joe McCarthy inherited the "commie-hunting" mantle of the Dies Committee. The United States was embroiled in the Korean War, and secret U.S. forces were quietly joining the beleaguered French Army in Vietnam to help quell a local liberation movement led by a man named Ho Chi Minh. Excerpts from the years 1942 — 1951 follow.

interests of world peace," he said, "and to be compatible with my obligations as a Christian minister to do all in my power to represent one who was called the Prince of Peace."

Testifying in behalf of those favoring the ouster, Col. Jackson A. Dykman, chancellor of the diocese, charged both Melishes with "violating their ordination vows." (4/7/49)

Argue women's ordination

In a world where women have been admitted to the bar, are practising physicians, social workers and college presidents, has it never struck you as a little strange that there are no women priests? If it could be demonstrated

that on the basis of sex alone women are incapable of ordination, that would close the whole question; but if not, it is bound to come up again and again until the church acts. For what other reason could be convincing in the world as it is to-day?

Many fall back on the final argument that only an ecumenical church could decide to ordain women and so we must wait until the church is reunited before taking such a step. In answer to this we would remark that it did not take an ecumenical church to reverse the Catholic tradition of a celibate clergy. But the opponents would say, even if it were possible it would not be advisable, because it would retard reunion. This could only be true if one thinks of reunion as a form of mutual compromise or the absorbing of one communion by another. But it is not a return to a former stage that we are looking for but a driving forward to a state of organic unity in diversity. We seek a larger whole which includes the contributions of the various churches and which is a more complete articulation of the original Catholic principles than has ever been made before. The ordination of women would help to do this, not only by overcoming sex discrimination, but by bringing new resources to the Church which it has never drawn upon before. . .

"A woman gave birth to the Lord: Cannot women celebrate the mystery of His Body and Blood?"

To ordain a woman to the priesthood is supposed to introduce the element of sex into the life of the church. What it would do is to expose (and help to overcome) the unconscious power of that fact which has been existing for centuries as the result of an exclusive male priesthood. Is it not about time that the church was emancipated from this one-sidedness and given a chance to become the true body of Christ in which "there is neither male nor female, for ye are all one"? (Louisa B. Russell and Mrs. Henry Hill Pierce 7/9/42)

Set house in order

An appeal urging churches to set their own houses in order in the matter of race discrimination has been made to the 24 denominations belonging to the Federal Council by the Council's executive committee. The message declared that, "Racial discrimination against Negroes and other minority groups has persisted in our communities partly because it has not been eliminated from our churches . . . the appeal of the Christian ideal of democracy in our nations falls short because of the lack of clear demonstration in our churches. Men and women of all races should be warmly welcomed among their members. The experience of our missionaries has shown conclusively that we need to achieve justice and fellowship among racial groups in our own land in order to show our sincerity of our belief in the Gospel we carry to the peoples of other lands." (7/9/42)

Who controls the bomb?

Sadako Moriyama of Nagasaki, Japan, had but recently graduated from high school in 1945 when our atom bomb fell. She writes this of an experience in an air raid shelter: "A little light was coming in the entrance. As I watched, two things that looked like great big hideous lizards crawled in slowly, making croaking, groaning sounds. Others followed. I was paralyzed with horror for minutes. Then the light got a little stronger and I could see that they were human beings —skinned alive by fire or heat."

Fujie Urata was at Koba when our bomb fell — three and a half miles from the center of the explosion: "The pumpkin field was blown clean. Nothing was left of the whole thick crop, except that in place of the pumpkin there was a woman's head. I looked at the face to see if I knew her. It was a woman of about forty. She must have been from another part of town — I have never seen her around here. A handful of singed hair hung down from the left temple over her cheek, dangling in her

mouth. Her eyelids were drawn up, showing black holes where the eyes had been burned out."

These are but two brief quotes by survivors of our bomb to be found in "We of Nagasaki," a book of but 189 pages written by Dr. Takashi Nagai.

This book tells the story of the horrors of our 1945 atom bomb. Now we have a bomb 10 to 20 times more powerful. And it is in the hand of a very tired man who can be angered to white heat because a music critic says that he does not think his daughter sings too well.

We the people of the USA are supposed to have something to say about our destiny. Read this book and I think you will agree that, if such weapons are to be made at all, their use should not be determined by one man or even by a considerable group of military-minded men. Whether the present Congress would be an improvement I am not prepared to say, but it would at least afford time for debate which would, I hope, result in the greatest public protest this country has ever seen.

(William B. Spofford, Sr. 2/8/51)

The church — what's wrong?

First of all we should make every effort to reach out and bring in new classes of people. Our church has been too long the protector of the easy consciences of the urban well-to-do. We must reach the "lower classes" of the cities, the workers, organized labor, and that even less "respectable" group, unorganized labor. By and large only the Romans have any strength here, and what a scandal that is! What a condemnation of the Protestant Churches that they should end by being a bulwark of the status quo, the modern counterpart of that very priestly establishment that contrived to get Jesus crucified as a dangerous character.

And we must extend and greatly strengthen our efforts to bring into the church those who live in rural areas and small towns. It is a commonplace that here we are shockingly weak.

(Hyatt Howe Waggoner 11/2/50)



Part II: Nicaraguan women, and children too

Women face Contra, macho violence

by Mary Lou Suhor

Our ecumenical church delegation had listened, horrified, in Matagalpa as a Nicaraguan woman described how her son was disemboweled by the Contras, who also peeled his face and cut off parts of his body as a final indignity. Similar atrocities committed by the U.S.-backed Contras, and other incidences of U.S. intervention reported in Part I of this series (June WITNESS) prompted a nun in our group to reflect: "For years Catholics throughout the world were asked by Rome to pray for the conversion of Russia; now the Pope should ask for prayers for the conversion of the United States."

The Sandinistas have been successful thus far in checking Contra advances. But today Nicaraguan women are confronting an enemy within their revolution: the domestic violence wrought by machismo.

As our Nicaraguan sister Angela was recounting her son's death at the hands of the Contras, many Nicaraguan campesino women were facing another brutal ritual — their own faces and bodies pummeled by intoxicated husbands. Missionary nuns in Jalapa described to us how, after a week end of drinking, macho husbands turn on their wives and children — a situation common in many Latin countries —

and one not unfamiliar to women living in poverty the world over, including the United States.

When Comandante Bayardo Arce read a new proclamation from the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) at International Women's Day festivities in Managua aimed at eradicating sexual inequality and violence, we women assembled — including the Jalapa missionaries — greeted his words with enthusiasm, albeit with some skepticism.

The women applauded especially hard when Arce stressed that the Sandinistas would champion a halt to the physical abuse of women, the elimination of machismo, equal work conditions and more equitable sharing of domestic chores. Previously, working toward those goals was the primary task of AMNLAE, the country's major women's organization (named after Luise Amanda Espinosa, the first woman to die fighting Somoza's National Guard).

But the Sandinistas believe that women's liberation must be achieved by the whole society, Arce stressed, not by women alone, and have called for a "broad, democratic popular movement" dedicated to consciousness raising about women's rights.

Lea Guido, elected director of AMNLAE while we were in Nicaragua, said the new thrust is more radical than past efforts.

"It goes to the heart of the problem, to the grassroots, to all the spheres of women's lives to pinpoint the barriers impeding women's emancipation," she said. And Nicaraguan men and women will be analyzing the injustice of machismo in the very setting where obstacles to full equality for women frequently arise — in unions, agricultural co-ops, and professional associations.

But will attitudes be changed in the home?

We saw one indication that they will, in the commitment of the women at the newly named Marjorie Tuite Law Office in Granada, Nicaragua. Perhaps the most fitting tribute that could have been paid to the Catholic feminist nun, whose ashes we were to bury the next day, was for the Nicaraguans to name a legal center for women's rights in her honor.

Dominga Mendoza, a center official, told us that the law office handles advocacy cases including divorce, separation, and maltreatment.

The most difficult cases involve family violence, she said. "Women law-

yers here work with the police, but are hampered by attitudes that for a woman to be hit by her husband is seen as normal. The creation of this center was a great advance for women — to know that they could come here to pursue their rights,” she explained.

Last year the center handled 63 cases of physical abuse. From January to mid-March of 1987 it had already handled 65 cases. The new Nicaraguan Constitution, ratified in January, was seen as a strong catalyst, with its emphasis on equality between the sexes. Article 50 of that constitution not only calls for “absolute equality of rights, duties and responsibilities between men and women” but also obligates the state “to remove obstacles that effectively impede equality of Nicaraguans and their effective participation in the political, social and economic life of the country.” The constitution also recognizes families in common-law marriages as having full protection under the law and stipulates that both parents must be responsible for the maintenance of the home and the development of the children.

That egalitarian wording came only after a persistent struggle by women during the 23 open debates around the first draft of the constitution to eliminate the term *patria potestad*. The term, which originated in the days of the Roman empire, refers to the power of life and death held by men over their wives and children. The women prevailed and the constitution now speaks of “duties of parents and children.”

The rewrite struck a blow against machismo. Women at the Granada law office explained that now, women abused by their husbands must first write a letter to the police reporting the instance. The husband is put on warning and can be fined. If he physically abuses his wife and is reported a second time, he can go to jail for six months.



Top: Nicaraguans join in prayers and singing at graveside of feminist-activist Sister Marjorie Tuite, whose ashes were buried in a Managuan cemetery for heroes and martyrs March 9. An ecumenical churchwomen's delegation led by Mavi Coakley and a U.S. Witness for Peace delegation led by Sheila Collins and Fran Truitt marched in the funeral procession following a Mass at St. Paul Apostle Church. **Center:** Judy Vaughan, C.S.J., left, presents a photo of Tuite and an abrazo to Dominga Mendoza of the women's law office in Granada named after Tuite. **Bottom:** ecumenical delegation participants Sally Brown of Denver, recently ordained an Episcopal deacon, with Nicaraguan friend in Yali, and Mary Lou Suhor, WITNESS editor, with Alvaro Castro Vargas, 13, studying in Matagalpa to be a coffee grower.



"But without reinforcement in the past, the woman frequently returned to the police station and asked that the case be dropped. The center gives a woman courage to say that if the husband doesn't comply, she will report him a second time and he will be jailed," Mendoza said.

Then, too, the institutional Roman Catholic Church's position on women's role comes up against the government's view, since the church upholds the traditional image of the wife and mother who endures suffering stoically, "bearing her cross." The hierarchy has also accused the Sandinistas of destroying family life by pressuring women to work and to get involved in political activities that take them away from their homes.

In this ambience, it is especially difficult for a woman to walk into a police station to report that she has been battered without legal counselling and support such as that offered by the Granada office.

Granada, founded in 1524, is full of painful reminders of a colonial and neo-colonial past. It boasts a stately Spanish central plaza where in Somoza's time, Nicaragua's high society gathered. During our visit, filmmakers were setting up there to shoot a movie, "Walker," to be released this year. It recounts the exploits of William Walker, the U.S. military adventurer who led a group of mercenaries into Nicaragua in 1856 — declaring himself president and invoking English as the official language — which the U.S. government recognized as legitimate. Walker was eventually ousted and the bizarre incident ended with his death by a Honduran firing squad, but not before the dangerous precedent of U.S. invasion-at-will was set up.

Against this backdrop, Granada seemed the perfect choice for a Marjorie Tuite Legal Office. I was carrying with me words she had delivered the

previous year at a peace seminar: "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 enforce the subjugation of female to male, of colonized people to oppressors, of the whole people of God to male religious leaders."

Marjorie's words underscored the plight of Nicaraguan women, whose situation must be understood against a legacy of underdevelopment, exacerbated by a war that is costly in human and material terms. One woman, a union official, reminded, "Women in other countries, with far fewer obstacles than ours, have progressed less in a couple of decades than we have in only eight years. We still have far to go, but we've also come a long way."

Upon our return to Managua, we visited a Christian Base community. We entered the parish hall and members directed us to a tiny altar where a vigil light burned next to a photo of the feminist nun. It took a moment before someone gasped, recognizing the significance of the tiny receptacle next to a bouquet of flowers. We had finally caught up with Marjorie's ashes, which were to be buried the next day in a Nicaraguan cemetery of heroes and martyrs.

The noted ecumenical feminist-activist had been buried the previous summer in Columbus, Ohio, but since it was her wish to be interred in Nicaragua, her Dominican Order had complied by sending a portion of her ashes in a small urn.

It took some time to complete arrangements, but Sister Mavi Coakley, who had accompanied Marjorie to Nicaragua many times, arranged for the transfer of ashes to Nicaragua. They were received there on Jan. 6,

Feast of the Epiphany, by Sister Judy Vaughan. From Managua the ashes were taken by backpack to Jalapa, near the Honduran border — and Marjorie Tuite, who had traveled to her beloved Nicaragua 14 times, was "on the road again."

Her ashes went from one Christian Base Community to another, where her life story was told including her latter years' struggle to end Contra support and how she had set up a fund for Nicaraguan war orphans.

"The people held all night vigils, reflecting on her biography and what it meant that a U.S. nun would request to have her ashes buried in Nicaragua — why a prophet rejected in her own country would have requested burial in this nation of prophecy," Vaughan said.

Mercedes Peralta, the Nicaraguan woman who accompanied Marjorie when she was alive, commented, "I was her guide, now she is mine. Since her ashes were turned over to me Jan. 21, I went where she led me. I did not foresee that her presence would illicit such massive participation in the base communities. No plan I had at the beginning was carried out. I thought I would take the ashes to a church and she would be — like a monument or memorial — visited on Sunday and Thursday. But the people kept vigil every night, and in some areas where she was in a church which was locked at night, the people took turns having her in their homes, so she would not be alone. We spent 14 days with her in a colonia called 14 September, where the mothers participated in a Way of the Cross procession for life and peace. Her example has given us strength to face aggression and other problems we have now."

Such was the woman our ecumenical delegation went to Nicaragua to lay to rest March 9, from the Church of St. Paul the Apostle in the colonia Nicaraio.

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THE WITNESS

Be the People...

Guns in, drugs out:
Christic lawsuit
exposes secret war
Susan Pierce

Our not so free press
Michael Parenti

Constitutional wrongs
Charles V. Willie

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Letters

No anomaly here

Your June editorial quotes Nathaniel Pierce: "Some Episcopalians -- Bush, Weinberger, Poindexter, North -- support our government's efforts in Nicaragua . . . the Episcopal Church in Nicaragua is a part of our church community . . . I can think of no more important task for the Standing Commission on Peace for the Episcopal Church to address than that situation in which Episcopalian is killing Episcopalian." The editorial said, "Pierce points out an anomaly in the present debacle where government officials are secretly funding terrorist warfare -- in essence, Christians are helping to kill Christians."

Queries: Does being an Episcopalian necessarily prove that one is a Christian? Would it be a less important task if the Episcopalians (or Christians) were killing folk that were not Episcopalians (or Christians)? Since when is it an anomaly for Christians to kill one another, for Episcopalians to kill Episcopalians?

The U.S. Civil War, World Wars I and II, the Bay of Pigs, the invasion of the Dominican Republic, Spanish American War, invasion of Grenada, Vietnam War, etc. back through the endless wars between and within Christian countries were presided over and blessed by Popes, "Protestants" and kings and princes crowned and blessed by the church. Christians and Christian churches, at least from the Constantinian settlement, have identified themselves with the political unity within which they found themselves.

Christians have deluded themselves as fully as Marxists or Communists have deluded themselves. Workers of the world marched off to kill other workers just as cheerfully as Christians and Episcopalians have marched off to kill Christians and Episcopalians. U.S.

unions were racist, sexist and indifferent to low yield folk such as migrant labor and domestics.

Episcopalians were (and are) racist, sexist and indifferent to low yield economic groups. Indeed, there is a continuing indifference by bishops of the church to racist, sexist and economic practices. The "unity" of the House of Bishops has been more important than the unity of the Body of Christ. The House of Bishops found unity with the Church of Rome and the Church of England more important than unity with the women of the Body of Christ. So when Bush, Weinberger, North and Poindexter act the same way, why should such be an anomaly? They have learned from their Fathers in God which unity is more important.

Christians or Episcopalians killing Christians or Episcopalians an anomaly? Shucks, 'tis as Christian as Holy Communion!

The Rev. McRae Werth
Blue Hill, Me.

Pierce responds

The spectacle of Christian killing Christian and Episcopalian killing Episcopalian in Nicaragua is not unique, as McRae Werth notes. War is rarely a solution to anything, and at some point the Christian community must rise up and say "ENOUGH!" Killing is indeed seen as being compatible with Christianity in our time; that is something worth pondering, even praying about.

The Rev. Nathaniel Pierce
Brookline, Mass.

(THE WITNESS applauds Pierce's response. Actually, the choice of the word "anomaly" was the editor's, not Pierce's, and was, perhaps, misleading. But in the true definition of Christianity, the killing described in the June editorial would, indeed, be anomalous. -- Ed.)

CA issue priceless

The June 1987 issue of THE WITNESS is priceless, and I need five more copies. We have a Peace Coalition here in Erie and I want to share this information about Central America -- as our members are eager to learn facts. Thanks for THE WITNESS. We read every word.

Martha Kate Barnhart
Erie, Pa.

Issues widely read

We definitely would be poorer without THE WITNESS. We are a small church in rural Utah, where few current social issues are readily apparent, but each copy of THE WITNESS is read by several people. Our Sacramentalist reads it. My husband, a lay reader who is licensed to preach, reads it. I read it, and it helps me to be more articulate in working with the vestry and writing for our diocesan newsletter. Especially since we do not employ seminary-trained clergy, we need THE WITNESS to broaden our understanding of what the church can and should be. Thank you for your fine magazine.

Ruth Thurston
Moab, Utah

Applauds column

Whenever I receive THE WITNESS I am programmed to turn immediately to *A Luta Continua* by Barbara Harris. While I am never disappointed, I felt that I was especially rewarded when I read her column in the June issue. Not only was her rapier wit at its very best, but the subject matter addressed ("Human suffering -- new growth industry") was one whose significance might well have escaped the notice of even the most sophisticated readers.

These are indeed strange times in which we live. Thanks for reminding us who profess and call ourselves Chris-

tians just how very bizarre they are. Our work is clearly cut out for us!

The Rev. Canon Harold T. Lewis
Staff Officer for Black Ministries
Episcopal Church Center

Add gay bashing

I would add to the May *A Luta Continua* column by Barbara Harris, increasing violence to gays and lesbians. Going along with the religious right are their fellow travelers -- the U.S. Supreme Court and the Roman Church.

Last summer's court decision in the Georgia sodomy case and recent pronouncements from Rome seem to have infused some with a patriotic and religious zeal to attack gays and lesbians. AIDS gives the bigots another excuse to attack.

From the gilded throne and TV pulpit and political stage, "I do not condone violence," has a worse than meaningless sound to me.

Jerry A. Boyd
Sacramento, Cal.

Bless gay relationships

What a joy to receive the May issue of THE WITNESS and realize that I have been a subscriber for two years. In that time, the overall quality of the magazine has improved, from good to excellent.

With THE WITNESS I share the hope of seeing a woman bishop soon, the belief that apartheid will end, and the commitment for a more just society. Furthermore, I am encouraged by THE WITNESS' commitment to gay/lesbian rights. Just as the church must be prodded, albeit gently, gay/lesbian persons must be challenged as well. Church-people must be reminded of Bishop Browning's position that there will be no outcasts in this church; likewise, gay/lesbian people must be challenged

to express their sexuality responsibly.

The Episcopal Church should bless committed faithful relationships of gay/lesbian persons. If two people are willing to dedicate their lives to each other permanently, then they should be encouraged in their decision to marry, regardless of orientation. I have experienced the incredible power of God's love with my own spouse, Joseph. The challenge, then, to the gay/lesbian community is the lifting up of this type relationship as a responsible use of sexuality. THE WITNESS' advocacy of this issue and other issues of social change exemplifies its integrity in following Jesus' call to be fishers of all (Mt. 18:19).

Patrick Schwing
Notre Dame, Ind.

What if women left?

In the reflecting occasioned by the news that some of our family is choosing to be separate from us (or else) there is a bittersweet strain of historically familiar paranoia. As a mother, whenever pint-size hitlerisms cropped up I knew how to deal with them and make them go away. But of course, in the church, we are all adults and everyone is free to tell everyone else where to get off. John Steinbeck once wrote of a bunch of overtired, overstressed journalists that there was no one there to spank them and send them to bed. But combined with my memories of coping is a kind of universal guilt unique to womanhood in this matter before the church. The problem is Female. All nurturing mothers share the knowledge that we could, if we chose, make this problem go away. By going away ourselves.

Think of it.

Women have always dared to hear and respond to a Call. But not until 1976 has the church believed that Jesus

gives women the same invitation He gives males. And even in Minneapolis in 1976 it was obvious that many were more comfortable with a Jesus firmly nailed to the Cross where He would stay put, not step down and interfere. Although the women had won the right to be priested, and took Jesus into places He'd never gone before where He could heal and comfort and be heard, many continued to suffer for the privilege.

So, supposing, today, if all women of the church, priested and lay, took it into their heads at the same time to be nurturing mothers in order to help the church out of its present dilemma? Supposing that without fuss or rancor and in the interests of peace, they left the church? And very quietly and peacefully worshipped by themselves? What divisive issue would be left? The squabble about the 1928 Prayerbook could be resolved by letting everyone use any form they wished simultaneously. The great raised din of male voices competing for the religious edge would be something to hear, but I would be far away. Most women would be. Although, I daresay a few might sacrifice and stay, not trusting the altar linens to anyone else (no lipstick on those purificators would be a compensation).

Still, a healed, though womanless, church could present some problems. Over one half -- 63% in fact -- of church membership is at present female. Women tend to live longer and leave bequests. They have built up quite a cushion of contribution to the church through the years. Suppose they were to take the United Thank Offering with them when they left, considering their own requests for granting? Or the Church Periodical Club? Suppose they withdrew the Triennial Meeting from the vicinity of General Convention --

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Elda Sanchez, age 7

Those wishing to help purchase artificial limbs for Nicaraguan amputees can write to "Walk in Peace," Box 68, Comer, Ga. (Photo by Paul Jeffrey/CEPAD, courtesy *Sojourners* .)

The cost of Contra aid

Colonel North, did you say that you bought your daughters leotards with those traveler's checks you got from the Contras?

Next time you go to buy pantyhose, think of 7-year-old Elda Sanchez of Pantasma, Nicaragua, whose leg was blown off when the truck she was riding in hit a landmine planted by the Contras.

Other casualties in that explosion: six dead and 12 others, who like Elda, had one or both legs amputated. Elda's father, Amancio, also lost a leg in that explosion. Contra mines have produced 2,000 amputees -- mostly women and children.

President Reagan declared in his August speech to the nation, "I am totally committed to the democratic resistance -- the freedom fighters -- and their pursuit of democracy in Nicaragua."

For those who might lend *any* credence to the President's words that the Contras are dedicated to freedom and democracy, have we got a story for you! It's about a lawsuit initiated by the Christic Institute, a faith-based public policy network in Washington, D.C. against assorted CIA agents, military adventurers, drug lords and right-wing soldiers of fortune -- a "Secret Team" that has supported the Contras through arms sales and drug dealing.

We presume that our readers, after reading our lead story, will run, not walk, to the nearest phone, contact their Congressional representatives and insist that they stop Contra aid and support the Central American presidents' peace plan. ■

Christic lawsuit exposes secret war

On a May evening in 1984, ABC cameraman Tony Avirgan lay covered with blood, severely wounded, surrounded by dead and injured fellow journalists. A bomb blast had ripped through the small hut in La Penca, a Contra base camp in southern Nicaragua, moments before Contra commander Eden Pastora was to make a statement to the assembled press. Pastora, a former Sandinista military officer and then leader of the Costa Rican-based Revolutionary Democratic Alliance, (ARDE), was about to denounce a rival Contra faction, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency for trying to force ARDE to join the CIA-dominated FDN.

Three journalists died in the bombing -- including Linda Frazier, a Religious News Service correspondent from the United States. Pastora and Avirgan were among the 20 seriously injured. After three months in the hospital, Avirgan returned home to Costa Rica, and joined his wife, U.S. journalist Martha Honey, in the investigation she had initiated of those responsible for the La Penca bombing.

Meanwhile, in Brownsville, Tex., attorney Daniel Sheehan came across some disturbing allegations while preparing the defense for Stacy Merkt, a Catholic lay worker, and others involved in the Sanctuary Movement, who were on trial for helping undocumented refugees fleeing persecution in El Salvador. Sheehan, chief legal counsel for the Christic Institute, a faith-based public policy law group situated in Washington, D.C., had been visited by a local Methodist minister who said an FBI agent had warned him to stay away from the Sanctuary Movement and the Catholic Church because, the agent said,

Christic
Institute's
Daniel Sheehan
& Sara Nelson



both were responsible for bringing in Central American refugees who were "known communist terrorists" and posed "a potential threat to the national security of the United States ... in the event that President Reagan had to initiate a direct military action by U.S. forces into Central America." Sheehan first laughed at the accusations, but soon realized that they were not a joke. He launched an investigation to find out what the government was planning.

Although Sheehan was tracking leads hundreds of miles away from Avirgan and Honey, their separate quests converged. They eventually found themselves on a single trail leading into the shadow world of the "Secret Team," a group of U.S. military and CIA officials. This team, according to the Christic Institute, acting alternately with government approval and on their own, for 25 years "have waged secret war, toppled governments, trafficked in drugs, assassinated political enemies, stolen from the U.S. government and subverted the will of the Constitution, the Congress, and the American people."

Sara Nelson, the Christic Institute's executive director, is currently traveling around the country to raise public consciousness about the Secret Team and the lawsuit the Institute is directing on behalf of Avirgan and Honey against the Team. Filed in May, 1986, in a Miami Federal Court, the suit named many key suspects in the Iran/Contra arms deal six months before the scandal surfaced in the press.

"What we're looking at is a renegade foreign policy," she said, "that's out of control in our democratic institutions. We are confronting a growing national security state apparatus that wants to control things no matter what our democratic institutions say."

Nelson explained that the case against the Secret Team, due to go to trial around Easter, 1988, is complex and immense. Twenty-nine defendants are named in the suit, ranging from media darlings like Maj. Gen. Richard Secord to secretive international drug dealers, shady businessmen and soldiers of fortune, all wrapped up in a fanatical crusade to destroy the bogeyman of "world

by Susan Pierce

communism." Reading the affidavit set forth by Sheehan is like climbing down into a dank demimonde whose denizens traffic in human lives and the fate of countries to gain power and wealth.

But the Christic Institute is used to fighting for social justice against the powers that be. It was founded in 1980 by the team that organized the Karen Silkwood case. Silkwood, a union organizer at the Kerr-McGee Nuclear Corporation plutonium plant in Oklahoma, died in a mysterious car accident on her way to meet a reporter from *The New York Times*. Her family recently won a \$1.8 million settlement from Kerr-McGee after proving the company was responsible for Silkwood's severe plutonium contamination.

Nelson, at the time a labor coordinator for the National Organization for Women, helped get the Silkwood case rolling and became its key fundraiser. Sheehan, chief legal counsel on the case, was a Harvard Law School graduate who, after working on Wall Street and for flamboyant defense lawyer F. Lee Bailey, turned to his faith after being disillusioned by his experiences in the legal profession. He attended Harvard Divinity School and was working for the U.S. Jesuit Office of Social Ministry in Washington, D.C. at the time he joined the Silkwood case.

Sheehan's commitment reflects the Institute's philosophy which, Nelson said, "is motivated and based on Judeo-Christian values. We only take cases that set important precedents for the social justice community."

The name Christic comes from a concept expressed by the noted Jesuit paleontologist Pierre Teilhard de Chardin.

"He talked about a bonding phenomenon in the universe, that he called a Christic force, that holds everything to-

The CIA/Contra drug scam

Perhaps the most suppressed story in the Iran/Contra hearings has been the CIA/Contra drug scam -- a sordid tale involving a Secret Team of intelligence agents, military personnel, drug lords, and sundry right-wing soldiers of fortune.

Sara Nelson, executive director of the Christic Institute, a faith-based policy center in Washington, D.C., electrified an audience of Episcopal activists at the Under One Roof conference in St. Louis recently when she described the lawsuit the Institute has filed against a Secret Team of 29 defendants, described in the accompanying story.

THE WITNESS has kept a file on the case, and when Nelson and Daniel Sheehan, Christic's chief legal counsel, were in Philadelphia recently, Susan Pierce and Mary Lou Suhor contacted them for an update.

If the government-in-shadows outlined in this article is to be exposed and the Secret Team prosecuted, the Christic Institute will need financial support and prayers. Key witnesses have been known to be kidnapped, tortured and murdered by the merchants of heroin and terrorism.

For further information write the Christic Institute, 1324 North Capitol St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20002, (202) 797-8106. The affidavit on the case against the Secret Team is available for \$10.

gether in harmony. He was hopeful that our ability to comprehend this phenomenon would develop, and that our evolving capacity to understand our oneness would win out in a race with our evolving capacity to destroy ourselves; we share his hopeful vision," said Nelson.

The Institute is an interfaith organization. "We have Jewish, Catholic and

Protestant supporters as well as people who don't identify with any denomination but share a common morality in the area of social justice and public policy ethics," Nelson said.

The La Penca bombing lawsuit is the largest and most ambitious case the Institute has ever undertaken. Sheehan is a veteran of social justice trials -- he defended the Berrigan brothers for anti-Vietnam activity; defended *The New York Times* in the Pentagon Papers case; defended American Indian Movement leaders Russell Means and Dennis Banks, and represented inmates at New York's Attica Prison on the day of the riots.

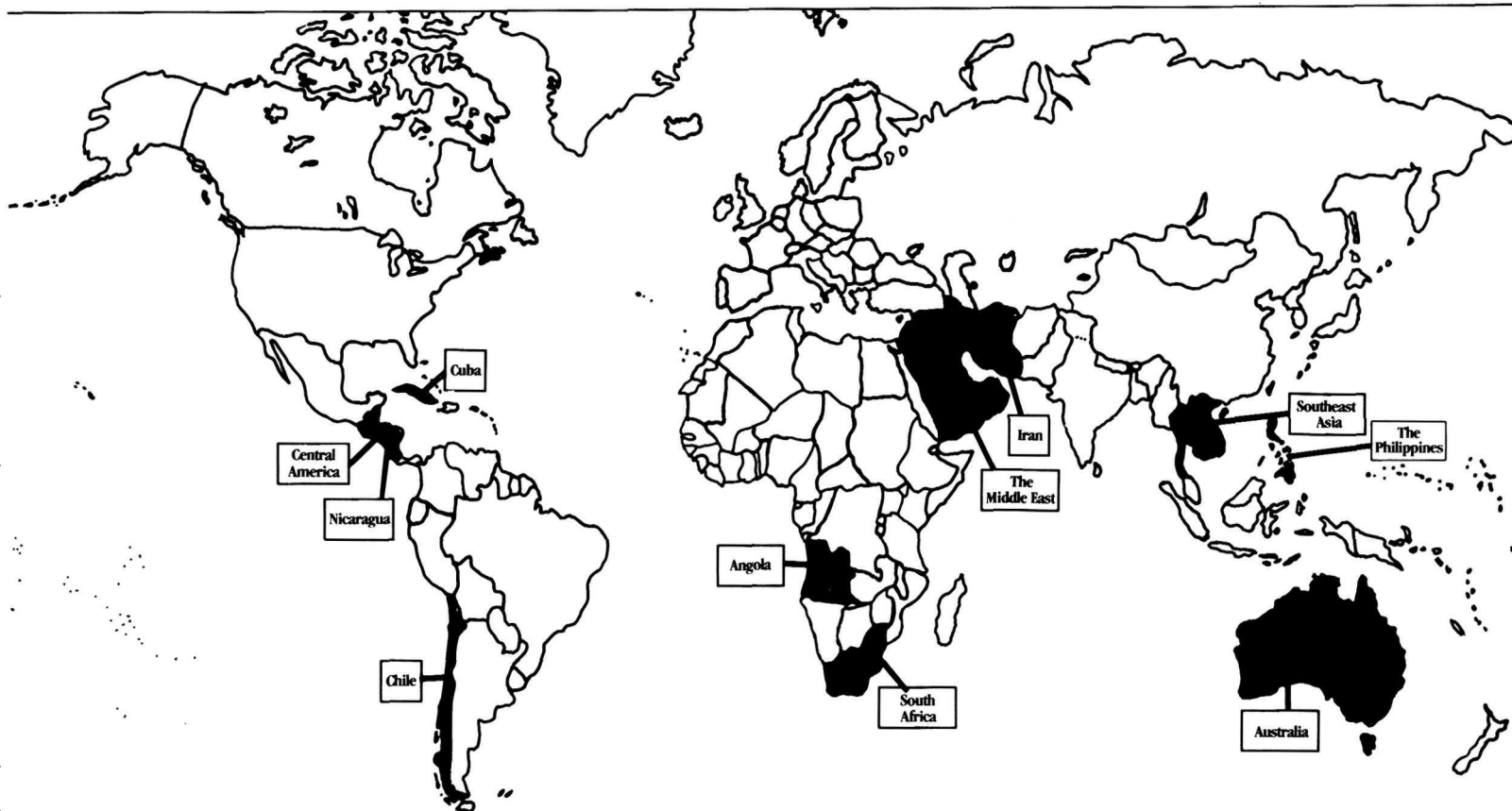
The Institute is prosecuting the 29 defendants under the RICO (Racketeer Influence and Corrupt Organization) Act, which is the cornerstone of an effort to prove a 25-year history of racketeering and bring to justice the members of the illegal Contra support network involved in gunrunning, drug smuggling, murder and other crimes.

What Sheehan, Honey, Avirgan and other Christic investigators uncovered is absolutely chilling. When her husband was injured at La Penca, Honey was determined to find the perpetrator. Reports blamed a Basque terrorist working for the Sandinistas, but she soon discovered he had been under arrest in Europe at the time of the bombing.

The big break came when Avirgan and Honey were contacted by a source named "David," a young Nicaraguan Contra who was part of the group responsible for the bombing. David wanted out because the group was planning to blow up the U.S. Embassy in Costa Rica, kill U.S. Ambassador Lewis Tambs and then blame the Sandinistas.

David told them the La Penca bomber was a professional hit man, a Libyan named Galil Amac, who had gained admission to the press conference by posing as a Danish journalist. Hired from

Twenty-Five Years of the Secret Team



Cuba: 1959-1965

First "contra" war — code-named "Operation 40" and later "Operation Mongoose" — is mounted under direction of Vice-President Nixon. Nixon and Mafia "Don" Santo Trafficante set up private "sub-operation" to assassinate Cuba's revolutionary leaders. Members of "Shooter Team" include Rafael Quintero, Felix Rodriguez, Luis Posada, and future Watergate burglars. Operation is supervised by Shackle and Clines.

Southeast Asia: 1965-1975

Shackle, Clines, Secord and Singlaub direct the CIA's secret wars. In Laos, Shackle and Clines back Vang Pao, a major opium trafficker. Drug money used to train indigenous Hmong tribesmen in guerrilla warfare, including political assassination. 100,000 non-combatant "communist sympathizers" are assassinated in Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand. Shackle and Clines direct the Phoenix Project in South Vietnam in 1974-5, a program that killed some 60,000 Vietnamese civilians. Operation is financed by Vang Pao heroin sold in the U.S. by Mafia "Don" Santo Trafficante.

Chile: 1971-1973

Shackle and Clines direct the CIA's "Track II" strategy, supervising the 1973 overthrow of Salvador Allende's democratically-elected government. Later, in 1984, Secret Team members recruit right-wing terrorist Amac Galil from Chilean military police to execute the La Penca bombing.

Iran: 1976-1979

After Vietnam, Shackle's Secret Team — including Edwin Wilson — move to Tehran to conduct private, non-CIA activities to help the Shah's dreaded secret police identify and assassinate opponents of the regime.

The Middle East: 1976 - Present

In the late-1970s, then-Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Secord supervised the sale of U.S. weapons to Middle Eastern nations. Using middleman Albert Hakim, Secord buys U.S. weapons at the low manufacturer's cost and sells them to countries at the much higher replacement cost, illegally depositing the extra profits into private Secret Team bank accounts. The same practice is used by Secord and North during Reagan's arms sales to Iran.

Australia: 1970s-1980

Vang Pao opium funds from Southeast Asia and illegal weapons profits from the Middle East are secretly deposited into bank accounts at the Nugen Hand bank in Australia. Shackle and Secret Team members are implicated in destabilizing the Australian Labour government in 1975.

Nicaragua: 1978 - Present

Shackle and members of Secret Team arm dictator Anastasio Somoza after President Carter and Congress ban such aid. After Somoza's overthrow, members of this team arm and advise the dictator's ex-National Guardsmen until the CIA takes over running the contra war against the Sandinista government. When Congress cuts off CIA contra aid in 1984, Lt. Col. Oliver North, under the direction of Reagan, Bush, Meese, and Casey, reaches out to the Secret Team to illegally recommence funding and resupplying the contras.

Central America: 1979 - Present

Secord, Hakim, Quintero, Singlaub, Owen, Hull and others use Central American countries as logistical rearwards to support the contra war. Major contra supply bases include Aguacate airport in Honduras; Ilopango air force base in El Salvador; Puerto Barrios in Guatemala; and a large dirt airstrip and private ranches in northern Costa Rica.

South Africa: 1983 - Present

Former CIA Director William Casey reportedly arranges deal for South Africa to fly weapons to the contras. Safair Freighters, a South Africa cargo company, provided planes to Southern Air Transport, a company used by the Secret Team to ferry arms to the contras.

Angola: 1984 - Present

In return for the South Africans providing assistance to the Nicaraguan contras, CIA Director Casey asked Saudi Arabian King Fahd to provide aid to the South African-backed UNITA rebels fighting the Angolan government. Iranian arms profits may also have been diverted to UNITA.

The Philippines: 1986 - Present

Singlaub encourages and organizes right-wing para-military groups to threaten, kidnap and kill individuals advocating land reform, labor rights, and the removal of U.S. military bases in the Philippines. President Reagan simultaneously authorizes large-scale funding and increased CIA presence for "unconventional warfare" programs throughout the country.

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DINA, the dreaded Chilean Secret Police, Galil allegedly worked out of an estate in Costa Rica owned by a wealthy, conservative rancher named John Hull, who maintained dual U.S./Costa Rican citizenship. Hull's ranch, reportedly, was a base for Contra terrorist activities. David's story was borne out when the Costa Rican police raided a ranch managed by Hull and captured a group of mercenaries and a cache of weapons.

With David's help, Avirgan and Honey learned that Hull's ranch was also a mini-airport and major conduit for drugs and weapons. Cocaine, sold in the United States to fund the activities, was funneled through Costa Rica via planes that allegedly landed at an airstrip on the ranch. The drugs were then either flown directly to the U.S. or transferred to boats carrying frozen shrimp and taken to Miami, where, Nelson said, "they were unloading over a ton of cocaine a week."

The investigation also revealed that arms were being shipped through the ranch -- in a guns in, dope out arrangement -- as well as C-4 explosives such as Galil used in the bomb. But as Avirgan and Honey got closer to the truth, the merchants of death lashed back. David was kidnapped and murdered; Avirgan and Honey began receiving so many death threats that they sent their children to live in the United States.

They published a report on the La Penca investigations and were immediately sued by Hull. But the Costa Rican Supreme Court threw Hull's case out. Then Avirgan and Honey were the victims of a crude and somewhat ludicrous attempt to implicate them as drug dealers for the Sandinistas by sending them a package filled with cocaine, purportedly from a high ranking Sandinista official -- Tomas Borge, minister of the interior.

After David was killed, Avirgan and Honey went to the Christic Institute for

help in filing a lawsuit to stop the network responsible for the La Penca bombing and David's death.

Sheehan's own investigation had uncovered other alarming information which threatened a democratic mode of U.S. government and set the stage for a military takeover. He discovered that the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), authorized by President Reagan, was "actually planning how to control domestic dissent in the event of an invasion in Central America by the United States," said Nelson.

If there were an invasion and should Reagan declare a "State of Domestic National Emergency," the plan, called REX '84, provided for the creation of "State Defense Force" units, a national police force superceding all other law enforcement agencies. Also 10 detention centers would be refurbished to incarcerate undocumented Central American refugees. Civil liberties would be suspended under this "shadow government." And Sheehan found that three states -- Alabama, Louisiana and Texas -- had established "State Defense Force" units, but that the only people who knew about them and were signing up were "ultra right-wing, paramilitary types."

The disturbing information uncovered by Avirgan and Honey and enlarged on by the Institute, revealed how deeply the network or "Secret Team" was involved in the drug trade. They learned that Colombian drug lords offered the Team \$1 million to assassinate Ambassador Tambs because when he was ambassador to Colombia, he lobbied for a treaty that would allow the drug lords to be extradited and tried in the United States.

Some of the defendants named in the suits are old hands at drug dealing. According to the Institute's information, Maj. Gen. John Singlaub and Secord of Iran/Contra hearings fame, plus Theodore Shackley and Thomas Clines,

shadow figures who directed illegal CIA activities around the world, backed the drug warlord Vang Pao in Laos during the Vietnam War.

From 1965 to 1975, the Team allegedly got Van Pao's product to the United States where it was sold through Mafia connections. The profits were used to train Hmong tribesmen in anti-communist guerrilla warfare, which included political assassination. According to the Institute, thousands of civilians suspected of being "communist sympathizers" were assassinated in Laos, Cambodia and Thailand.

"During the Vietnam War, there was at one point an influx of pure heroin into the United States, especially into the Black community. It was so pure it was killing people. It was also killing American soldiers in Vietnam," Nelson pointed out. She emphasized that because the Reagan Administration has so many connections to the Secret Team, its much-publicized "Say No to Drugs" campaign has a hollow ring.

Southeast Asia is not the only area the trail of the Team twists through. "It's a global investigation," said Nelson. Since 1959, when then Vice-President Richard Nixon and the National Security Council directed a covert war against Cuba, including attempted assassinations against Fidel Castro, the Team has been busy around the world. A figure who pops up again and again is Theodore Shackley.

Shackley was CIA station chief in Miami during the covert war against Cuba from 1959 to 1965. After working in Southeast Asia, he and Clines coordinated the 1973 military coup of the socialist Allende government in Chile. After Vietnam, Shackley and the Team moved to Iran, where they worked in a private, non-official capacity as consultants to the Shah's brutal secret police.

Shadow figures like Shackley are elusive and hard to trace because, Nelson

Continued on page 22

Faith of our fathers?

Constitutional wrongs

by Charles V. Willie

We the People...

of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

The Constitution was enacted in convention by the unanimous consent of the states present on Sept. 17, 1787 and became the law of the land when New Hampshire became the ninth state to ratify on June 21, 1788. Let us briefly analyze the Constitution in terms of the principles on which it is based.

First, the Constitution of the United States is, in essence, a religious document as well as a political instrument. The preamble tells us that the Constitution was written to establish justice. Justice, according to Joseph Fletcher in *Situation Ethics*, is love distributed. Martin Luther King said, "Love is the most durable power in the world . . . the only force capable of transforming an enemy into a friend."

Love is a basic concept of religion; it is what religion is all about. If justice is love-in-action and the Constitution establishes justice, then the Constitution is essentially a religious document, despite the first amendment which proscribes Congress from making any law respecting establishment of religion. In fact, it was unnecessary for Congress to favor any particular religious group for it had incorporated love and justice, the foundation of all religions, into the basic law of the land.

The Constitution not only identified the establishment

of justice as a goal of our nation-state, it prescribed how to achieve justice by means of a system of checks and balances. Reinhold Niebuhr said "a simple Christian moralism counsels (people) to be unselfish; (but) a profounder Christian faith must encourage (people) to create systems of justice which will save society." The system created by the Constitution to establish justice was the Supreme Court and a network of lower courts. The purpose of the Court, according to the Constitution, is to achieve "equity" which Webster defines as a "state or quality of being fair."

The Court enforces the law. But it must enforce the law in a way that is fair. A court that is unfair is unjust. Such a court would be in violation of the Constitution. By creating a system of courts to achieve equity, the Constitution fulfilled its religious commitment to justice.

The Constitution ventured its own definition of equity — the entitlement of each citizen to all privileges and all immunities. This means that there cannot be any official privileges of a majority to which a minority is not entitled. There cannot be lawful rights of Whites to which Blacks and Browns are not entitled. There cannot be immunities for the rich, sanctioned by public law, to which the poor do not have access.

Public sentiment may endorse inequity and a legislative majority could enact an inequitable public law. But the system of courts must strike such laws down, for the courts were created as a means of achieving constitutional justice — a justice which is fair.

What does this say to us today, two centuries after the Constitution was ratified? What does the Constitution as a "religious" document mean? If its goal to establish justice had been religiously followed, would this nation have experienced the Watergate and Iran-Contra affairs?

Recognizing that power is potentially demonic, the writers of the Constitution separated powers among three branches of the federal government, between federal and state governments, and between lower and higher federal courts. This separation prevents the demonic possibilities of an all-powerful person or agency.

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

South Africa is a contemporary example of the demonic actions that tend to flow from an all-powerful White population unchecked by a Black population. Nazi Germany is a past example of demonic actions that tend to accompany an all-powerful Aryan population unchecked by a Jewish population. Unshared power always is potentially demonic.

The system of checks and balances prescribed in the Constitution is a check against demonic rule unconcerned with justice.

From time to time, government officials have forgotten that there is a holy presence in government. The separation of church and state never was intended to be a separation between government and religion. Good government without religion is impossible.

The Watergate and Iran-Contra affairs have raised lying, deception, and dishonesty to lofty levels that have been justified as appropriate means to an end. There can be no trust between people who lie to each other. In his testimony before the Congressional Committee investigating the Iran-Contra affair, Secretary of State George Shultz said, "Trust is the coin of the realm." Trust, of course, is another basic religious concept.

Lt. Col. Oliver North admitted that he lied to the Congress regarding the Iran-Contra affair and Admiral John Poindexter reported that he withheld information from the President of the United States. These were acts of deceit. Both claim that they are proud of what they did. But they circumvented the Constitutional process designed to prevent the clustering of demonic power.

Sen. Daniel Inouye asked: "How could this ever happen in the United States?" My answer: It happens when the nation forgets its religious foundation. Whenever this occurs, the nation has reaped a whirlwind of public chaos and social disorder.

When the United States was founded, the framers of the Constitution lied to themselves. They said that they were forming a democratic nation. But they also sanctioned slavery and by law made it impossible to consider any proposal for the abolition of slavery during the first 20 years of the nation's existence. Slavery, of course, is unjust; it is not love-in-action. For this miscarriage of justice, the nation paid dearly. Four score and seven years after its founding, it fought a Civil War to end slavery, which should have been abolished when the Constitution was written.

Church people and religious institutions could have influenced the Constitutional Convention to eradicate slavery and could have dispelled the delegates' illusion that they could form a more perfect union that was estab-

lished on justice, but embraced slavery.

Dwight Dumond has written that "slavery was said to be a political question. Having once taken that position, Southern churchmen shunned like the plague all discussion of the sin of slavery . . . Having surrendered their time-honored function of condemning both private and public immorality in this area, the Southern churches sprang to the defense of the system." Dumond reported that "the Baptist churches in their corporate capacities owned 125,000 slaves that were hired out to support their pastorates and foreign missionaries." He concludes, "the Christian churches sanctified a system lacking in justice and equity, and then surrendered up the duty to direct moral reform." It was Dumond's belief that "the failure of the churches finally forced antislavery people to turn to political action." Fifteen members of the Constitutional Convention, including George Washington, owned slaves.

The domestic tranquility was shattered by Civil War, leaving more than a half million dead, because the nation failed to abolish slavery when it was founded.

Another act of self-deception and lying to ourselves came during the first half of the 20th century. The Supreme Court ruled in the *Plessy* decision of 1896 that racial groups in this nation could be required to use separate public facilities including those that were supported with common tax funds. The nation again fooled itself into believing it could be a democratic union, divided by race.

Eventually, segregation resulted in discrimination, a gross miscarriage of justice. For such injustice, the nation paid dearly three score years after the *Plessy* decision. Riots, rebellions, and civil disorder prevailed in the streets of every major city. Property and lives were destroyed.

Now, during the closing years of this century, we have been told that the foreign policy of our democracy can be based on lies and implemented in a deceitful way. Some have advocated making the liars national heroes. But others have contested such action, believing it would be detrimental to the nation.

What is the role of the church in public-policy making that is based on lies and deceit? What is the role of the church in helping the nation to achieve justice?

When the church fails to speak out against those who lie, cheat, deceive and are unjust in government it becomes an accomplice to their actions, which can only bring great harm to the nation. The church must recognize that justice is love-in-action. A government that seeks to achieve justice is a government that needs religion. The church and state should be separate but religion and government should not. ■

Our not so free press

by Michael Parenti

What does it mean to say we have freedom of speech? We talk of this freedom as an abstract right which is enjoyed by all persons in our society or should be enjoyed by all because the Constitution says so. But there is no such thing as freedom of speech as such, a freedom abstracted from the social and economic realities in which it takes place.

Speech is a form of human behavior, which means it occurs in a social context, in interaction with other people, in homes, workplaces, schools, and before live audiences or to vast publics via the print and electronic media. Speech is intended to reach the minds of others; this is certainly true of political speech. But some forms of political speech are allowed to reach mass audiences and others are systematically excluded from the mass media.

People like George Will, William Buckley, Robert Novak, William Safire and other conservative commentators and editorialists reach tens of millions of people each day. Even that right-winger who has made a career out of complaining about the media's liberal biases — Reed Irvine of "Accuracy in the Media" — writes a column that appears in 100 newspapers around the country, does a radio show that reaches 70 stations, and is a frequent guest on TV talk shows.

Less exposed are the more liberal commentators. A few of them are

carried in the *Washington Post*, *New York Times* and some other major newspapers, but given the conservative ideological biases of the owners of most newspapers and radio and television stations, they are not likely to get as wide a syndication nor have as much access to broadcast media as the conservatives. Thus Ralph Nader, who has been around much longer than Reed Irvine, has a syndicated column that reaches only about two dozen small circulation newspapers and has no regular radio or television show.

Least exposed of all are those of left political persuasion, who differ from the liberals because they openly say that the revolution in Nicaragua is good for that country and would be good for other Third World countries. They talk about the negative aspects of capitalism and what it does to people at home and abroad. People of that ideological persuasion are not allowed any regular access to the major media. Their views are systematically suppressed or frequently grossly distorted when given passing mention.

So it seems some people have more freedom of speech than others. We on the left are free to talk to each other, although sometimes we are concerned our telephones might be tapped. We are sometimes free to teach in universities if we are careful about what we say and what we assign. Even so, many of us are purged from university positions. We are free to work for labor unions, but we usually have to keep our politics carefully under wraps. We can speak publicly, but usually to small audiences of a few hundred, and we are

free to write for publications on the left, which lack the promotional funds to reach other than small readerships, publications that are often teetering on the edge of insolvency for want of rich patrons and corporate advertisers.

If I were to write and speak for the next 20 years the way I have been for the last 20 — at quite an active pace — I will reach about 5 or 10% of the people that the network news pundits reach in one evening. When it comes to freedom of speech, some people are on the fast track and some have been put on a very slow track — if it can be called a track at all. Some have their voices amplified tens of millions of times, while others must cup their hands and shout at the passing crowd.

We are taught to think of freedom as something antithetical to power — that the people's rights act as a restraint on the arbitrary power of rulers. This is true only to the extent that the people have some power to check rulers. Freedom and power are not antithetical, they are symbiotic. If one has no power, one has no freedom.

The reason Robert Novak has the freedom to appear on three different television shows in an average week and have his column (along with collaborator Evans) in several hundred newspapers is because his ideological perspective is more acceptable to those who have the great wealth — that is, the economic power — which enables them to own and control the mass media in the United States. We on the left have freedom only to the extent that we have won certain gains and rallied our forces, have agitated, educated, and

Michael Parenti is author of *Inventing Reality: The Politics of the Mass Media*, and *Democracy for the Few*. He is currently writing a book on U.S. foreign policy, *The Sword and the Dollar*.

organized strikes, boycotts, demonstrations, and have fought back against the economic royalists so that they must take some account of public opinion. We have the freedom to speak to relatively small audiences because we have fought and developed enough power to make that freedom a reality. But we have no freedom to reach mass audiences because popular power has not penetrated the corporate citadels that control the mass communication universe.

Our freedoms are realities only so far as we have the democratic power to make them so. We were never *given* our freedom, certainly not by the framers of the Constitution. In this year of the bicentennial it is worthwhile to recall that the Bill of Rights was not part of the original Constitution. It had to be added on after ratification — as ten amendments.

When Colonel Mason of Virginia got up and proposed a bill of rights at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787, it was voted down almost unanimously (Massachusetts abstained). Popular protests, land seizures by the poor, food riots, and other contemporary disturbances made the men of property who gathered in Philadelphia very uneasy, *but such fomentation also set a limit on what they could do*. The framers gave nothing to popular interests, rather they belatedly and reluctantly agreed during the ratification struggle to include a Bill of Rights, a concession made under the threat of democratic rebellion and in the hope that it would augment the popularity and acceptability of the new government.

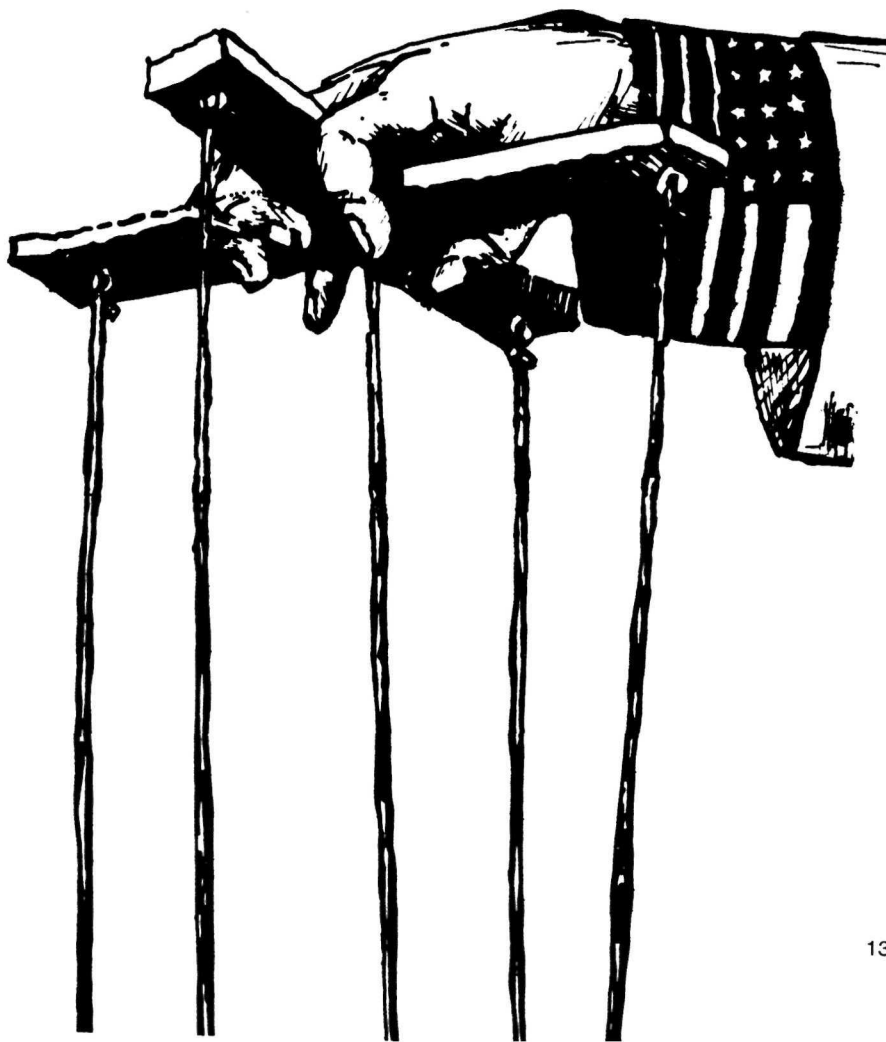
In other words, the Bill of Rights was not a gift from our illustrious "Founding Fathers" but a product of class struggle. The same was true with the universal franchise. It took agitation from the 1820s to the 1840s by workers and poor farmers to abolish property qualifications and win universal White male

suffrage. Almost a century of agitation and struggle was necessary to win the franchise for women, and a bloody civil war and subsequent generations of struggle to win democratic rights for Afro-Americans, a struggle still far from complete. It took the "Wobblie free speech fights" during the earlier part of this century and the industrial struggles during the Great Depression to bring freedom of speech to thousands of local communities, where police had previously made a practice of physically assaulting and incarcerating union organizers, syndicalists, anarchists, socialists, and Communists.

And so it went with other freedoms and democratic gains like the eight-hour day, Social Security, unemployment insurance, disability insurance, and the right to collective bargaining. All such economic rights, even though

they may be seriously limited and insufficiently developed, exist because of popular struggle against class privilege and class power.

Hence, freedom of speech is a situational thing. It exists in a social and class context, not in the abstract, which is also true of democracy itself. And once we understand that, we can avoid the mistaken logic of a Nat Hentoff who attacked Amy Carter and Abby Hoffman and all the other people who committed civil disobedience protesting CIA campus recruiters. Hentoff said they interfered with the freedom of speech of those students who wanted to talk to the recruiters (as if students had no other opportunity to do so). Hentoff's view of freedom of speech has no link to the realities of human suffering and social justice, no connection to class realities, to the demo-



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cratic struggle against the murderous power of the CIA. Hentoff says nothing about the gains that might come by putting the CIA and the social forces it represents in retreat, especially the lives saved and the freedom won in Third World countries that feel the brunt of the CIA onslaught.

By coercively limiting CIA recruitment, the demonstrators made a statement that went beyond discourse and became part of the democratic struggle. By dramatically questioning the CIA's legitimacy on college campuses and thereby weakening (even in a small way) its ability to promote oppressive political orders around the world, the demonstrators were expanding the realm of freedom. This has to be measured against inconveniencing some upper-middle class kids who wanted to ask CIA recruiters about pursuing a career of crime.

If the Reagan years have taught us anything, it is that none of our freedoms are guaranteed, none are secure. And if democratic struggle has taught us anything, it is that our rights are *not* things which must be "preserved." Rather, they must be vigorously used and expanded. As with the physical body, so with the body politic; our capacities are more likely to grow if properly exercised and developed. Freedom of speech needs more militant application and less abstract admiration. Democracy is not a "precious fragile gift" handed down to us like some Grecian urn. Rather it is a dynamically developing process that grows out of the struggle between the popular interests of the people and the inherently undemocratic nature of capitalist politico-economic power.

Rather than fear an "excess of democracy" as do some of our academic and media pundits, we must struggle for more popular power; more victories for labor, more victories against racism, sexism, and class bigotry; more

Letters . . . Continued from page 3

and their persistent, mournful refrain that the church is one family, isn't it?

Let's not even go into what withdrawal would do to the parish and the parish budget!

Yes, it might be a terrible thing if women left. And yet, isn't this the perfect solution? Priested women could continue priesting. Male priests who, for whatever reason did not consider women as valid responders to God's Call, could happily tend their all male flocks. The Archbishop of Canterbury could relax. The Bishop of London could stay home. The male hierarchy could vest for one another on male saints' days and bake their own cookies and would, I am sure, find all of these things most pleasant. And someday, some day, there might be a dim little tentative offering of ecumenism. But let's not think of that now.

We have to dust off some suitcases and look for the exit signs.

**Judy Holofernes
Tulsa, Ok.**

(THE WITNESS does not usually print letters written under an obviously assumed name without knowing the identity of the author who has requested such. But the points made through the satire above were too tempting to disregard. -- Eds.)

victories for peace — and against militarism and capital's ability to destroy our environment. We must push for more not-for-profit economic development; more democratic dissidence in the mainstream media, more and better application of the Fairness Doctrine, and more listener-controlled access. In every field of endeavor we must learn to see the dimensions of a struggle that advances the interests of the many and opposes the interests of the exploitative and outrageously privileged few; in other words, a struggle for more democracy and more freedom. ■



Anglican alphabet soup thickens

A couple of items in a recent issue of the *Christian Challenge* reported a movement toward unity that could lead to merger or at least a joint venture among some of the Anglican rite churches that have evolved over the past 10 years in this country and have provided a haven for disaffected Episcopal clergy and laity. Growing out of the 1977 Congress of Concerned Churchmen in St. Louis, the "continuing church" has divided like some ecclesiastical amoeba into at least six bodies.

The Anglican Catholic Church (ACC) and the American Episcopal Church (AEC), "giants" of the break-away bodies, have appealed to the Bishop of Chichester (England) for his help in uniting their two jurisdictions. It is hoped that the Diocese of Christ the King (DCK), the other major break-away group, will participate in the effort toward unity.

Meanwhile, the Anglican Rite Jurisdiction of the Americas (ARJA) and the Anglican Episcopal Church in North America (AECNA), which recently held overlapping synods, similarly are entertaining a proposal that might lead to unification of their jurisdictions, along with the United Episcopal Church of North America (UECNA). The Anglican Episcopal Church in North America has been suggested as the name for the united body which could emerge in about two years.

In commenting on the ACC/AEC move, the latter's Primus, Bishop

Anthony Clavier, said: "Everybody is realizing that our divisions have no theological basis. We can't expect to be taken seriously until we take ourselves seriously. If we have a *worldwide responsibility*, then this must be demonstrated by our willingness to bury the mistakes of the past and get on with being *the Church*. (emphasis added) Few, if any, of the matters which divide us are of the essence of the faith."

These chaps are playing for the long haul — I'll give them that. With an eye toward eventual recognition by the Anglican Communion, the bodies seem to be abandoning their doctrinal and procedural version of "button, button, who's got the button?" (or in this case, the traditional faith) and are getting a bit more chummy. This takes on an interesting twist as emerging issues in the Episcopal Church give them a new rallying point and a fresh focus for attracting members to their ranks.

Having individually worked at flogging dead horses for so long — Prayer Book revision, ordination of women and other so-called diminutions of the traditional faith — the breakaway boys now have a chance to build some strength through unity around the current scare issues of women in the episcopate and sexual morality (the latter translated "homosexuality.") They could provide an eventual home for those in the Dallas-Fort Worth axis and the biretta belt brigade who can find no grounds for accommodation on the former issue and are probably scared out of their wits at having the

covers pulled back on the latter.

The well-financed, well-oiled machinery of traditionalist groups that have, so far, stayed "in the Church" could be enlisted. With a traditionalist seminary or two in place and scores of nervous feet waiting for the ultimate drum beat — the election and consecration of a woman bishop — to march out of Episcopal pews, a cohesive, determined and respectable new American church might well make some impact on conservative Anglicanism outside the U.S.

Playing out the scenario of worldwide responsibility, its missionary zeal could translate into much-needed dollars for the exponentially growing Church in Africa, most of which does not count such issues as women's ordination a priority. Its leadership, understandably, is wrestling with such problems as clergy development, polygamy and the instability of government.

Here at home, the traditionalists would no longer have to be embarrassed by their denomination's participation in such "politicized" bodies as the National and World Council of Churches, nor would they have to put up with bishops who have the audacity to openly suggest the *study* of changing patterns of sexuality and family life. Moreover, they could public opinion-poll themselves into Nirvana, that blissful state of oblivion to care, pain or *external reality*. ■

The twilight of patriotism

by John S. Spong

Throughout the summer of 1987 we have seen a version of "patriotism" extolled by a series of witnesses in the Iran-Contra hearings. The star "patriot" was surely the beribboned Marine, Lt. Col. Oliver North. His words had an old-fashioned ring and the patriotism he espoused sounded like something out of the 19th century, when national self-interest was almost always identified with divine providence or manifest destiny.

But this is the 20th century and patriotism, despite the Norths and the Poindexters, is no longer a virtue; indeed, patriotism has become a destructive force that cannot be allowed to survive. These are startling words that just a generation ago would have surely brought a sharp and hostile response. Indeed they still will from those whose consciousnesses have not been raised by the necessities of the human struggle for survival — those who still divide the world into "us" and "them." For this same patriotism that once served as the means for romanticizing the life and values which bind a people together must now increasingly be seen as undergirding a view of reality that is

destined to die.

In the early days of civilization, the human family lived in small nomadic tribal units where the struggle for survival demanded a division of labor among the tribal members. Life was hard and insecure. Food could not be preserved so it had to be found daily to feed hungry mouths. Enemies, both human and subhuman, had to be fought off on a regular basis. Death was ever present. Preserving and defending the corporate life was a tribal responsibility.

In that era no sense of individualism could be encouraged or sustained. The individual was too fragile, too susceptible to disease, infection, accident, or to an overtly hostile act to be the important unit of life. Value could not be placed on the individual. Rather, it had to be vested in the tribe whose corporate preservation was the overriding human concern. The tribe alone provided its members with identity, worth and the ability to cope in a dangerous environment. Loyalty to the tribe was thus the essential key to survival, so this value was placed at the very heart of the human emotions. That was the origin of what we now call patriotism, and it accounts for the continuing power and emotional hold of patriotism on life.

As the patterns of society became more and more intricate and complicated, tribal units came together to form larger entities, first organized as cities and later as nations. But the emotions originally attached to the tribe were always transferred to the larger unit for there identity and security could be found. To the nation fell the traditional tribal responsibilities. Survival was the first task, and the need to defend itself against all external threats still lies behind every nation's armed forces and arsenals. The second task was to insure the well-being of the tribe's internal life. Today's various national social welfare programs are the modern versions of this ancient tribal duty.

In the sweep of human history, the emergence of trans-tribal nations is a relatively new experience, starting no earlier than 1000 years ago, and continuing even today. The United States was born near the end of the 18th century. Italy and Germany did not become nation states until well into the 19th century. India and Pakistan were born after World War II. As the era of western colonialism died, new nations roughly determined by ancient tribal boundaries were born in Africa and other heretofore underdeveloped regions of the world.

The Rt. Rev. John S. Spong is Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Newark.

Most people cannot imagine a world without nations. We are unable to define identity apart from the ingrained feeling of the tribe. Our citizenship tells us who we are, determines in large measure our values, sets our limits and shapes our world view.

However, slowly but surely, the necessity that created tribes and nations in the first place is fading. Modern technology has linked the world more deeply than our grandparents could ever have imagined. Television has brought such things as the tragedies of Vietnam, African starvation, and the international scope of our covert operations into our living rooms daily. We have been made to understand our human interdependence in the oil crisis of the '70s and the terrorist activities of the '80s.

Organizations have been established, such as the European Common Market, in which smaller nations have allowed their economies to become so interdependent that regional thinking has begun to replace national thinking in those areas. Businesses the world over have become multinational. Jet travel has brought the diverse continents of the world together in a way that even neighboring kindred tribes were not linked in the past.

The final human bonding experience that will apply the coup de grace to nation states will be an awareness of the threat to the environment that will dawn as we recognize that all human beings share a common destiny in the air we breathe, the water we drink, and the oceans that feed us, and that no nation state is capable of addressing these concerns alone. When the world's ozone layer is damaged by the chemical gases from the industries of any nation, all life is at risk. When a nuclear accident occurs in Pennsylvania or in the Ukraine, all the people of the world are endangered. When polluted rivers empty their poisons into the oceans, the abil-

ity of the sea to feed the world's population either directly or indirectly is called into question. Suddenly, we begin to be aware that nation states cannot fulfill their purposes. They can no longer do the things they were created to do.

When any institution loses its purpose it is doomed to death. The death of nation states will not be instantaneous because deeply ingrained cultural needs attached to that institution will continue to carry the concept for some long time, but death is nonetheless inevitable.

"No nation today can guarantee its people protection against the threat of an enemy. My life and survival are now radically dependent on someone else in a nation halfway around the world."

Nation states will quickly become an anachronism and will not survive in a radically interdependent world. As states' rights gave way in this country to national needs, so national sovereignty will finally give way to international needs.

All wars of the past have been fought to insure the vested interests of the tribe or the nation states. Today, however, no nation's vested interests can be served by a war. No nation today can guarantee its people protection against the threat of an enemy. There is no one villain we can oppose when destruction comes to our environment, our atmosphere, our food supply and even to the safety of a nursing mother's milk. A nuclear accident pours radioactivity into the common atmosphere.

This means that my life and my survival are now radically dependent on someone else in a nation halfway

around the world. My destiny is human destiny; it is no longer an American destiny.

Patriotism, that emotion that feeds our tribal thinking, must die if the human enterprise is to survive. What we need is a world consciousness, a world agreement, a worldwide security system, a sense of human interdependence that transcends nation, race, ethnic origin, religion and every other defining human barrier by which we have in the past determined who we are. To achieve that requires an enormous leap of consciousness that will ultimately be required of all of us. The ability on the part of all the people of the world to make such a leap is the prerequisite to survival of the human enterprise.

Throughout history it has often been a disaster that has caused the development of such new consciousness and created the context in which new values can arise. We have now had Three Mile Island and Chernobyl to jolt our security. The AIDS epidemic shows a capacity to leap every barrier that we hoped would enclose it. Scientists warn us that the earth's atmosphere is heating up at an alarming rate due to the burning of fossil fuels and the release of chlorofluorocarbons into the ozone.

Inevitably, another devastating ecological disaster will afflict the earth; a disaster severe enough to create a worldwide willingness to lay aside the barriers of the past and to seek a new understanding of our common destiny. The victims of that disaster may not be able to rejoice in this benefit but perhaps in time those who survive will begin to realize that this is one world, with one human family, in which all nationalism is simply inappropriate. It is strange to imagine that only an ecological calamity might save a portion of humanity. It is also a depressing prospect. I wish I thought my government in Washington had even the slightest inkling of this reality. ■

An Irish sickness

by Michael Hamilton

Every now and then a person arises who speaks for his or her nation, the words discerning the nature of its culture, its sickness and health, and those guiding forces which underlie the contradiction of its daily events. Such a one was an anonymous, seventh century Irish bard who interpreted his times and people through the figure of mad King Sweeney. Sweeney had sinned, he had struck a holy man who then cursed him: "May the mad spasms strike you until time dies away."

Listen to Sweeney's plight, as translated by the contemporary poet, Seamus Heaney:

*His brain convulsed,
his mind split open . . .
he staggered and flapped desperately,
he was revolted by the thought of known places
and dreamed of strange migrations . . .*

*God has exiled me from myself,
I have lived among the trees,
between flood and ebb tide,
growing cold and naked,
with no pillow for my head,
no human company.*

— From *Sweeney Astray* by Seamus Heaney

I have just returned from living and working in Belfast, a community also in the grip of madness. I happened to have been born and raised there; I know those people and I love them. I love their individual kindness, their refreshing wit and laughter; but they are lost in a strange migration from reality, they are exiled from godliness and from their true selves. They stagger and flap seeking, yet rejecting, solutions to their political and religious divisions.

I criticize primarily my own tribe, the Protestants. The key to understanding them is that they are fearful of losing their place in the United Kingdom and being absorbed into what they believe is a hostile, Catholic Ireland. Catholics in Northern Ireland used to want a united

Ireland; not all of them do now because their welfare has vastly improved. But if they do not want to be part of a united Ireland, they do want a full implementation of their cultural and civil rights in Northern Ireland. In the last 50 years of Protestant majority rule, instead of being compassionate and fair to the Catholic minority, the Protestants harassed them and discriminated against them in housing, employment and access to the government. Ironically it has been the former colonial British who, since taking over direct rule of Northern Ireland in 1972, have introduced and are enforcing laws providing equal opportunity for all. It is also the presence of the British army that prevents the paramilitaries on both sides from inciting a civil war.

But while the laws have changed, the enmity and spiritual problems remain. The fanatical Catholic Irish Republican Army and the Protestant paramilitaries continue trying to achieve their contradictory goals by terrorism and intimidation. In a small country of only 1½ million people, in the last 17 years over 2,500 men, women and children have been killed. Many more thousands have been injured, kneecapped, or forced to flee their homes. Political moderates are threatened and isolated and, despite many courageous and gifted individuals, despite excellent reconciliation centers like Corrymeela, despite the united voices of the Catholic and Protestant leaders of the major denominations, the hate and violence goes on. While both sides have suffered legitimate grievances and injustices, they scapegoat the other instead of being honest with themselves.

Protestant intransigence and conservatism are, in my judgement, to blame for the present political stalemate. Believe it or not, they prefer economic ruin to social reform. They say they want peace, but they will not make the sacrifices for reconciliation. They are willing to endure violence rather than change their hopes. As one of their political leaders said: "We will eat grass before we accept the Anglo-Irish agreement."

All of these incidents indicate a deeper sickness, a sickness of the soul which has infected both Catholics and Protestants, Unionists and Nationalists. The sickness is not wishing to hear anything good about their adversaries.

The Rev. Michael Hamilton, a canon at Washington Cathedral, was born in Ireland and recently spent a year working with church and reconciliation organizations in Belfast.

The sickness is not wishing to love their neighbors or be concerned for their welfare. The sickness is not being able to recognize the wounds of others because of their own suffering. The sickness is the meanness of spirit preferring to hate rather than understand. And the sickness is self-righteousness, not realizing that they and all people, all nations, all human institutions, both secular and religious, participate in human sin.

The former Moderator of the Presbyterian Church was willing to sit down and have tea and biscuits with a Roman Catholic bishop. At the end of the meeting, however, he refused to pray with the bishop lest that be seen as his approval of the Catholic religion.

There was a friendly old Methodist minister's widow who lived opposite us on our street. One morning after a particular nasty Irish Republican Army bombing which killed some Protestants, she said, "I wish all the Catholics were dead."

The Rev. Ian Paisley, political leader and Protestant church leader, stormed St. Anne's Church of Ireland (Episcopal) Cathedral in Belfast with 200 of his demonstrators to disrupt an ecumenical service because a Roman Catholic cardinal was preaching.

At a Church of Ireland diocesan convention discussing community relations, an older delegate stood up and said, "We all want peace and justice, but not at any price." One wonders what price he was selling God's justice for that afternoon!

Some symptoms of the Catholic sickness: An Irish Republican Army Catholic supporter speaking about government and police in Northern Ireland, said to me, "I am against all political parties, and when anyone puts on a uniform, that's a declaration of war to me."

A divorced Roman Catholic is forbidden to receive the sacraments, but gunmen and known leaders of the IRA participate openly in the mass.

The police stopped a recent rock throwing in a Belfast street between Catholics and Protestants; the oldest person involved was ten and the youngest was four.

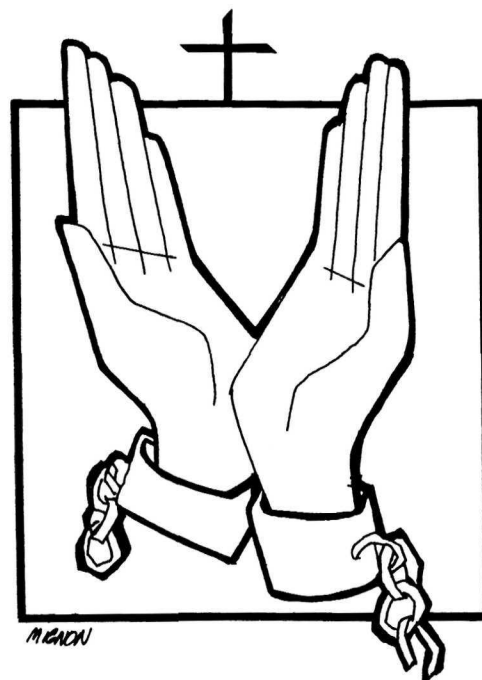
It is too easy to believe that these spiritual ills are to be found chiefly in Ireland. However, they are all too common in the conflicts in the Middle East, South Africa and — let me suggest — here in the United States. For instance, reflect on our attitudes to the Soviet Union. Are we glad to hear of their stumbling reforms under Gorbachev? Do we not often scapegoat the Russians as if they were the cause of most international problems? Do we understand Soviet privations, their fears born of having been invaded from the West so many times in their history? And is there wisdom to be found in our policies of national self-

righteousness? This disease is pervasive — mad Sweeney is a universal king.

I learned three important things from living in Ireland. First, terrorism poisons the atmosphere for political reconciliation. Civil wars to overthrow a tyrant which have a realistic hope of success may be morally justified; but bombs and assassinations stem from weakness and result in greater intransigence, less likelihood of the victims' negotiating for peace.

Second, I discovered the value of church infrastructure. All the institutions for reconciliation, peace, spiritual growth, parish organization, adult education programs emanating from national and diocesan offices which we in the United States take for granted, were in very short supply in Ireland. There was simply no tradition of congregations exploring the moral dimensions of political and social issues, and there was no local follow-up to church leaders' pronouncements condemning violence and calling for compromise. I learned that worship is no substitute for education; both are needed for a healthy church.

Finally, I discovered afresh the profundity of Christ's teaching that worship of God and loving one's neighbor are integrally connected. Northern Ireland Protestants study the Bible, pray and go to church twice on Sundays, but they do not recognize their obligation to work for social justice. So if any Christian anywhere wants to take the temperature of his or her spiritual health, let them reflect on how they treat their adversaries and the poor around them. ■



THE WITNESS CELEBRATES **70** YEARS

Remembering

I am not sure that a son is the best historian of a person, since memories are always involved in the intimate plus-and-minus vagaries of the Oedipus complex. But, to his son and others, Bill Spofford's letters always concluded with "Cheerio" and were signed, The Old Man; and invariably added was a smiling face, long before that symbol became a bumper sticker on automobiles.

The Pauline "Old Man" indicated that he knew that the world, including himself, was awry and fallen. And he had a deep conviction that each individual, working through relationships, could do something about that. He was, if anything, an Anglican Pelagian. For himself, relationships, rather than institutions, were the essence. His beliefs and experiences indicated that all institutions, whether of the state or business or church, dealt with power that corrupts.

His ministry, from 1914, when he went to Berkeley Seminary following Trinity College, through 1972, when he died, was dedicated to persons, individually and collectively. Graced by a sense of humor and a decidedly open personality, The Old Man is generally thought of as a prophetic figure. We are sure that he understood faith more in terms of Amos and Hosea than in light of personal piety or institutional form. Thus, it is undoubtedly a good thing that most of his ordained ministry was on the edges of the institutional establishment, as editor of THE WITNESS and, for most of that time, also as ex-

ecutive secretary of the Church League for Industrial Democracy. He understood that prophets live, move and have their being on the edges of institutions and, we presume like most prophets, he lived uncomfortably with the title!

Yet, when he had the chance to function as a priest and a pastor, he did it uncommonly well. His sermons from Christ Church, Middletown, where he was basically non-stipendiary rector from 1936-1948, indicate that he understood the pressures and needs of the parishioners of this old Queen Ann church in what was then rural New Jersey. It was a congregation, for the most part, of wealthy commuters to New York City, with offices on Wall Street and Madison Avenue. Then, he daily commuted to his dingy and crowded WITNESS office on Liberty Street, and he did much of his pastoral work on the New Jersey Central, going and coming, and sharing coffee on the ferry boat from Hoboken to Manhattan.

Since Middletown, at that time, was a community of but 500 persons, it didn't have much going for it in the way of excitement for youth. So he had the vestry purchase a Church House where the young people of the village could meet and recreate. He organized ball-games and tennis tournaments on a regular basis, and periodically took groups, along with mother, Dot, to Asbury Park or Palisades Park on the Jersey Heights. So, too, (meeting his own needs as a devout Yankee fan), many jaunts to the Stadium were carried through. Also, he encouraged liturgical and other drama in the church and community and, in years since, many of the youngsters in that con-



William B. Spofford, Sr.
by artist Sy Wallack

gregation found themselves working in movies, television and other dramatic enterprises.

(The late Dean Paul Roberts, whose glory days were at St. John's Cathedral in Denver, validated the story of going on the trolley to a Wesleyan-Trinity baseball game in 1914 with Dad. In his pocket, apparently, Bill had a potential contract as a singer and actor with Billy Minsky, the burlesque impresario. At the same time, he was wrestling with a vocational call to priesthood. Said Dean Roberts, they bet on the game: If Wesleyan won, Dad would enter Berkeley; if Trinity won, it would be Minsky's. Wesleyan won — I think he said 7 to 3 — but at the age of 92, Paul Roberts apologized for not remembering who the pitchers were. As the Bible says, there were giants in those days . . . and perhaps the incident proves

The Rt. Rev. William B. Spofford, Jr. is retired Bishop of Eastern Oregon and retired Assistant Bishop of Washington.

'The Old Man'

by William B. Spofford

that God has both a sense of humor and works in very mysterious ways.)

Liturgically, The Old Man was evangelical and low-key. His friends in the church, and on THE WITNESS board of editors, were invariably of that persuasion — folk like Arthur Lichtenberger, later Presiding Bishop; Lane Barton, third bishop of Eastern Oregon; Joe Titus, rector of Grace Church, Jamaica, L.I.; Roscoe Faust, Louis Pitt, Sr., and Hugh McCandless, rectors in New York City; and Ted Ludlow, Charles Street, and Charles Gilbert, bishops in Newark, Chicago and New York.

Yet, at the same time, he was a friend, and in some sense editor, for three of the outstanding liturgical scholars of the Episcopal Church. The first, and long-time friend and co-social activist, was Bishop Edward L. Parsons, of California, who for years was president of the C.L.I.D. The second was Dr. Massey Shepherd, who wrote regularly for THE WITNESS as professor at both the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge and at the Church Divinity School of the Pacific in Berkeley. The third, and perhaps most seminal, was William Palmer Ladd, sometime dean of Berkeley Divinity School in Middletown, Conn. which in the mid-1930's moved into affiliation with Yale Divinity School in New Haven.

When Bill went to Berkeley in 1914, Ladd was a young tutor and deeply involved in issues of war and peace, and social justice. Bill, Sr., drew him as a mentor and, when Dad refused to take Hebrew classes because he couldn't understand what this would add to his ability to minister, they made a deal.

Ladd suggested that instead, he commute a day a week to the New School for Social Research in New York City and study with another young activist teaching there by the name of Scott Nearing. (Dr. Nearing became a sort of cult-figure by living off-the-land in rural New England and acting as a guru for many environmentalists.) And, then, each week Ladd and The Old Man would discuss and share what was being learned.

At any rate, from these three persons, significantly, Bill understood the living liturgy, and that the Prayer Book had many inter-leaves and the sacraments were to be celebrated and used as a community, as well as for individual, enrichment.

Copes and mitres were not Bill's things, but the living quality of the spoken and written Word and the drama of the worship acts were important to the community of God, as well as for individual development process. (Parenthetically, when I was ordained as Bishop of Eastern Oregon, Dad refused to come to the service in the Ontario, Ore., high school gymnasium, not because of the setting, but because he felt that perhaps this was not a step into a stronger ministry. He was taking a cue from Dean Paul Roberts who, when I asked him what a Cathedral dean was replied: "A dean is someone who is too dumb to be a rector and too smart to be a bishop!")

Among ordained clergy, perhaps the closest of Dad's friends, for most of his life, was Joseph F. Fletcher, who developed as an important ethicist, seminary professor and, currently, serves as honored professor-emeritus of the

Virginia University Medical College in Charlottesville, Va. In the early 1930s, Joe was studying in England and became acquainted with the then Archbishop of York, William Temple. Joe believed that this prelate was setting forth significant insights as to the role of the Christian Church, in England and the world. (Temple of course served as Archbishop of Canterbury during World War II; was chair of the Malvern Conference of 1940 during which the assembled Christians sought to develop plans for the post-war world, and, unfortunately, died before his ideas could be nurtured or emplaced. His classic lectures, "Nature, Man and God," are still considered important theological contributions and his meditations on the Gospel of St. John are used widely.)

At any rate, Joe Fletcher, who was the first director of the Graduate School of Applied Religion in Cincinnati (meeting in the home of William Keller, M.D. in its early years) was an important institution in relating ministry, the church and social justice and community issues, along with helping to develop the Clinical Pastoral Education movement in theological training. Among its graduates were John E. Hines, later Presiding Bishop; Brooke Mosely, sometime Bishop of Delaware and dean of Union Seminary in New York City; and many others who understood the Christian gospel as relating the individual and society in a vital manner.

In some senses, my father was a mentor to Joe Fletcher, by helping find him a position early in his ministry and, then, by giving him an outlet in

THE WITNESS. In many letters and late-night conversations, we know that they shared insights into the nature of history, economic structures, theological understandings and issues of justice and truth.

When Billy Ladd, as Dad always referred to him, was tutoring at Berkeley, two other seminarians, Charles Collett and Horace Fort, on occasion would meet with Dr. Ladd and my father. Evaluating their faith and the world, they came to the conclusion that, with the developing urban-industrial culture, and the crises that it would develop world-wide (all of them saw the first World War as a historic disaster), the ministry in the church would, perhaps, best be done in a semi-monastic and collegial manner, with some ordained persons working in the secular world and supporting the broader community with their income. In their senior year (1917), they wrote many bishops of their plans and insights.

Bishop Randall of Chicago, a close friend of Bishop Irving P. Johnson, who had already started THE WITNESS was the only one to reply. He wrote that he had small St. George's Church in south Chicago, that wasn't doing too well, and if they wanted to try a corporate and non-stipendiary ministry there, it would be all right with him. So, The Old Man, in 1921, (following some teaching at St. Paul's School in Concord, N.H., in his home diocese) went to the "Second City" as pastor, as a job-seeker and as a point-man for a new style of ministry. Perhaps, since many of the ideas in back of that ministry are now reasonably standard in both urban and town-and-country dioceses, it triangulates The Old Man's prophetic insights with his priestly and pastoral vocations.

It was from such a position that he was called into his central vocation, as an editor and a writer. But, that is another story for another time. ■

Continued from page 9

said, "They have been 'official' for part of their lives and conducted both 'official' and 'non-official' operations. We are trying to unpack what was officially sanctioned and what was not." That hazy distinction may explain much of the appalling memory loss suffered by many of those testifying at the Iran/Contra hearings as investigators try to make connections between, or separate, U.S. funding and private fortunes.

By delving into the activities of the Secret Team, the Institute may have come across evidence that explains why, after a period of seeming indifference, the Reagan Administration was so eager to trade arms to free the hostages in Iran.

"When James Buckley was taken hostage, there was more hoopla in the government about him than any other," said Nelson.

"First they said he was a businessman, then admitted he was a CIA agent. What they didn't say is that Buckley was head of the world-wide anti-terrorism program, which is an assassination program. When they got Buckley, they got a lot."

Buckley died while in Iranian custody, but the Iranians allegedly obtained a 400-page confession from him.

"How much does that have to do with tractor trailer loads of TOW missiles to keep the Iranians quiet? They may have information that if released could be very disturbing to the American people," Nelson observed.

The Iran/Contra hearings have ignored much of the information uncovered by the Institute. That is why Nelson and Sheehan have been stumping across the country getting the facts out to the people.

Asked why he thought the drug connection to the Iran/Contra affair could be exposed now, when evidence of drug dealing was so successfully suppressed during and after the Vietnam War, Sheehan told THE WITNESS, "No one was

looking during the Vietnam War. Although the major journalists knew about it, there were no major lawsuits, no committees investigating it, and the rise in the consciousness of the U.S. public had not yet occurred.

"But now stories are gradually being released by the media. The TV show West 57th Street has done two segments about dope running, and *The Nation* and *Mother Jones* have reported on it, among others. Other investigations are underway, in many instances verifying our findings. I testified behind closed doors recently before the House Select Committee and for the Foreign Relations Committee. We have also had testimony during recent Congressional hearings from George Morales, a major drug runner for the Contras, who was interviewed on West 57th Street as well. All this has raised the consciousness of the American people."

Nelson urged all concerned people to take action against the covert warriors and the shadow government: "Collectively as a people we have to shine a big light on them and they'll scatter as they always do."

When asked about the sudden celebrity of Oliver North and an increase in pro-Contra support, she said, "We've got to start bringing out the fact that the junkies on the street, or even your kids, your family members are hooked because North, Secord and others are responsible for bringing in drugs."

According to Nelson, even Reagan is not invulnerable: "There is enough circumstantial evidence now to impeach, but some formidable constituency has to step out and and bite the bullet and say, 'The emperor has no clothes.'"

Noting that Americans were celebrating the bicentennial of the Constitution, she said, "our Constitution is seriously eroded. This is not some cancer on the president's nose, this is a cancer on the body politic. We have to do the surgery that needs to be done." ■

Short Takes

Trust shattered

Two hundred years ago, the framers of our Constitution provided for a more perfect union by establishing a strong national government built on a system of checks and balances. The unique genius of the American system was that by dividing power it promoted sound policy based on reasoned and open discourse, and mutual trust between the branches. The formulation of American foreign policy has always been a matter of discourse between the President and Congress... It is truly sad that such inter-branch cooperation and trust could not have been the rule today.

Sen. Daniel K. Inouye
Quoted in *The Churchman*
June-July 1987

The shortage will be divided among the peasants. **Anon.**

Alaska SDI shield?

The nuclear invasion of Alaska is underway. A month ago it was Dr. Edward Teller, one of the developers of the atom bomb. Some who accompanied him to Prudhoe Bay were struck by his penetrating questions. Not the usual scientist's professional interest. There appeared to be special agenda. That agenda surfaced at the Commonwealth North forum, where he said, "Alaska is ideal for SDI-Star Wars protective shield over the United States." As an admitted adviser to President Reagan, he left no doubt that he would be making that recommendation to the President.

Then Premier Nakasone of Japan called for missiles in Alaska to counter the Russian missiles in Siberia, to protect Japan, of course.

And now, the Trident nuclear submarine USS Alaska has nosed into Resurrection Bay. Isn't that ironic. A sub possessing weapons of devastating destruction plying the waters of a bay named in honor of the Resurrection of Christ.

All this maneuvering only begs the more fundamental question: How long will the nuclear escalation be pushed on the people of this country?

Bishop Francis Hurley
Catholic Commentary
Anchorage Times 6/26/87



"Of course, money can't buy happiness. So Sheila and I have had to settle for smug."

Cracking down on Coke

There are some clear — and humorous — dangers of high technology, according to a recent book, *The High Costs of High Tech: the Dark Side of the Chip*, by Lenny Siegel and John Markoff (Harper & Row). Recently, they report, city officials in Fayetteville, N.C., were alerted by their electronic switchboard records that hundreds of calls were being made every night from two extensions in a city building. When police investigated, instead of burglars or disgruntled city employees they found the culprits to be two computerized Coke machines. The machines were programmed automatically to phone their daily sales totals to the computer at the bottling company offices. Because of a flaw in the programming, the machines were calling continuously instead of once a night as they were supposed to.

Dollars and Sense
Jan./Feb. 1987

Welcome humanity's toil

Look at the immense crowds of those who build and those who love. Over the world they toil — in laboratories, in studios, in factories — in the vast social crucible. Open your arms and your hearts, like Christ, and welcome the flood and the sweat of humanity. Accept it all, be part of it all.

Teilhard de Chardin

The Contra drug connection

Since 1985, reports linking Contra arms suppliers to cocaine smuggling have run in progressive publications and a few mainstream outlets. But CBS West 57th's well-documented segment on the CIA-Contra drug connection April 6 was the first serious network probe.

The segment featured interviews with CIA contract employees who flew weapons shipments to the Contras in Honduras and back-loaded cocaine and marijuana. Mike Tolliver, convicted drug smuggler and part-time CIA pilot, told of flying 25,000 pounds of pot to Homestead Air Force Base in Florida.

Extra (Newsletter of Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting) June 1987

Quote of note

Patriotism is as fierce as a fever, pitiless as the grave, blind as a stone, and irrational as a headless hen.

Ambrose Bierce

Gloria Brown to CHN post

Gloria H. Brown of Los Angeles, a member of the Board of Directors of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, has been named new staff officer for the Coalition for Human Needs by Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning.

CHN is an umbrella organization through which the radical, ethnic and social issues ministries of the Episcopal Church's National Mission unit identify issues of social and economic justice affecting their constituencies. CHN is also key in helping to develop ministries and provide funding for these ministries.

The new appointee brings a solid and varied background in human services and community involvement to the post. She developed and administered the Good Shepherd Center for Independent Living in Los Angeles, a congregation-based center which specializes in rehabilitative services for the aged and disabled in the inner-city. An at-large member of the CHN Commission from 1980 to 1982, she was a member of the planning committee for the National Conference on Racism which the Coalition sponsored during her tenure. She has also served on several diocesan and national church committees and task forces.

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OCTOBER 1987

THE WITNESS



a
time
to
Plant
and
a time
to
harvest
ECC.

On having an ethical baby
LESLEY A. NORTHUP

In praise of mothers
ROBERTA NOBLEMAN

Blessing gay relationships
MALCOLM BOYD

Letters

Many in 'wilderness'

Marianne H. Micks speaks for so many women in the July/August issue when she recounts her 40 years in the wilderness. Her loneliness, frustration, anger and pain have been shared by countless women down through the ages and to this day. It should help to know that even someone of Dr. Micks' stature suffers under the cruelty of sexism, but it doesn't.

I marvel at her willingness to continue to hope. Legislation, such as the many General Convention resolutions concerned with affirmative action, institutional sexism and racism, should have changed the proportion of women and minorities on commissions and committees, on faculties and boards of trustees, but it hasn't.

The real question is how to change attitudes such as those evidenced by the choice of that particular reading from I Timothy and the lector's willingness to read the passage. Perhaps the reason to hope is in believing that time is on our side.

Marge Christie
Franklin Lakes, N.J

Seminarians take note

I was delighted with the article by Marianne Micks. It should be required reading for women (and men) in seminary. Many thanks for THE WITNESS. We are prepared to do further education around sexism during the Pope's visit.

Mary E. Hunt, Co-director
WATER
Silver Spring, Md.

Clericalism dies hard

My thanks to THE WITNESS for Prof. Marianne H. Micks' "40 years in the wilderness" which I found powerful, profound and graciously restrained.

I gasped, however, when you described her as a "lay theologian!" Would you routinely introduce her colleague Charles Price, for example, as an "ordained theologian?" Clericalism, as Dr.

Micks' story so abundantly illustrates, is an insidious component of patriarchal Christianity.

You also omitted to record the significant fact that Dr. Micks is an author of several excellent books. One of her recent books, *Search for Identity: Humanity in the Image of God* (Fortress Press, 1982) provides contemporary theological wisdom on human wholeness and sexuality. I am very grateful this theologian continues to work in the wilderness of the Episcopal Church.

Dr. Frederica Harris Thompsett
Episcopal Divinity School
Cambridge, Mass.

Staying the course

Thank you for staying the course. We need you. In my opinion supporting THE WITNESS is the perfect local action to support global thinking. May your fundraising be a great success.

Vernon Powell Woodward
Cambridge, Mass

Melishes still activists

Thank you so much for the article about my late husband, William Howard, reprinted from the April 7, 1949 issue in your 70th anniversary section (July/August).

How well I remember Bill Spofford, Sr.'s contribution to our struggle. He and Joe Fletcher and many others would come and preach when Howard was enjoined by the courts from preaching because of his work in the interest of peace with the Soviet people.

Thanks to Skip Vilas, David Hunter, and Bill Persell, Howard was able to come back to our beautiful Holy Trinity Church, Brooklyn, after he retired (It's now St. Ann and the Holy Trinity.) He took part in the services every Sunday and rejoiced that the emphasis was once again on the Social Gospel.

Needless to say, our three boys and I are very proud of John Howard and William Howard and we try to carry on their work for peace and social justice.

Mary Jane Melish
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Translates death article

THE WITNESS is very much present among us in Cuernavaca. We circulate the magazine with success as far as reader interest goes. Unfortunately, things are different when it comes to soliciting subscriptions. Mexico's terrible economic crisis explains this.

Our organization — *Vejez en Mexico Estudio y Accion* — is a social advocacy group for the elderly, and our newsletter, *VEMEA INFORMA*, is constantly seeking good material on death and dying. We translated the excellent article by the Rev. Charles Meyer, "Eleven myths about death," (March WITNESS) into Spanish, in view of the discussion it engendered among our staff. We wonder if the author would permit us to quote from it. Feel free to use the translation if you have a public that would appreciate it.

Betsie Hollants,
VEMEA Coordinator
Cuernavaca, Mexico

(Chuck Meyer enthusiastically granted permission for VEMEA to quote from his article and is looking for ways to circulate their translation in Texas. THE WITNESS will also make a copy of the Spanish version available to anyone upon request. Thus does love reach out across international boundaries. — Ed.)

Latins can teach U.S.

I loved Mary Lou Suhor's articles on Nicaragua, about taking Marjorie Tuite's ashes to rest there (June, July/August issue). She captured the spirit of those brave, faith-filled people so well. I have come to believe that the hope of the U.S. church depends on our ability to learn from the

Latin American church in revolution as well as the liberation movements in other Third World countries.

We will be canceling the Fall term of the Nicaragua Mobile Education Project of Witness for Peace to answer Brian Willson's call for volunteers to take his place on the train tracks to stop arms shipments to Central America. All of us here are deeply saddened by the tragedy.

Dorothy Granada
Santa Cruz, Cal.

High esteem for Tuite

Mary Lou Suhor's article about her pilgrimage to Nicaragua to deposit Marjorie Tuite's ashes was very moving. My wife, Maxine, and I have always had a high esteem for Margie, although we did not know her well. Thank you for sharing the experiences with the readers of THE WITNESS.

It was also good to read the "Celebrating 70 years" reflection about the 1937-41 period. I was 13 years of age and in the 8th grade in 1937 and was beginning to be aware politically of the labor issues in the United States and the Spanish Civil War, thanks to my parents who were great world thinkers in a small Kansas town of 1800 souls. We lived on the state line between Kansas and Oklahoma, so "The Grapes of Wrath" story took place in our backyard!

Blessings on you in your ministry "through pen and paper."

John M. Sinclair
Roseville, Minn.

Marable article helpful

Thank you for printing the picture of the Pauli Murray luncheon panelists (July/August WITNESS). The event, sponsored by the Ethnic Labor Coalition and OPEN at the ILGWU headquarters, was especially moving for all of us.

I also appreciated the article on minimum wage by Manning Marable in the May issue. It was particularly timely to me in

efforts to build a coalition in support of that legislation.

The bill is facing strong opposition from the Reagan administration, the business lobby's Minimum Wage Coalition to Save Jobs, and the Chamber of Commerce, who are arguing that it is not in the interest of minimum wage workers to get a raise. In the past six years, programs to aid the unemployed have been cut, prices have risen 27% and the value of the minimum wage is about \$2.50 in 1981 dollars. Recently the Jewish Labor Committee threw its support behind initiatives to increase the minimum wage, pointing out that at this moment, the minimum wage is not enough to support a family of three with one full-time worker.

Marable's article provided background and valuable data for all of us concerned with the minimum wage struggle.

Rosalind Spigel, Area Director
Jewish Labor Committee
Philadelphia, Pa.

Church a convenience?

I have been witnessing, for the past several days, a most interesting national live television "play": John Poindexter before a Congressional committee and his wife, a recently ordained priest in the Episcopal Church sitting behind.

John is much that I do not value. He is highly educated and, yet, out of ignorance, irrationally in the grip of fears of imagined "communist threats." I have yet to hear from John, or any of his crowd, the sense of value expressed in "love your enemies" when referring to so-called "communists." Certainly, the Soviet peoples have very little of the self-destructive, nation-hate religion for us that many U.S. citizens collectively have for them! As a sensitive Christian, does this fact disturb you? I have yet to see how it disturbs John.

Yes, I wonder, what influence does his wife have on him? So far, I conclude, very little. Then I think historically how, in part,

the Episcopal Church was established for the convenience of King Henry VIII. Is the church just a convenience for John now?

Carter Rose
Fairfax, Cal.

Age salutes 'youth'

We want all of you — editor, manager, writers — to know that you are a wonderful part of our being able to "keep the faith."

We are older — in our 70s — but not really physically disabled yet — just slower and dependent on "youngsters" for "fighting the good fight" for Christ. We went to Glenside, Pa., as bride and groom in 1942. We pray with deep Christian love and thanks to God for all of you as you work so hard and beautifully and inspiringly (if "controversially" to some). Gertrude's mother in the Bethlehem Diocese received the earlier WITNESS, so Gertrude heard of "controversies" in the 1920s. Continued love, through Christ.

Gertrude and Ambrose Miller
Middletown, R.I.

Is, too, Christian

This comes in response to the charge that THE WITNESS is not Christian (July/August Letters section).

To begin with, Jesus Christ is decidedly the center and number one topic in *all* issues of THE WITNESS, maybe not so much as an individual but for what he stood for. To sum it up in a few words: Love and good will to all God's people. If this is not the true meaning of Christianity I don't know what is.

THE WITNESS does *not* pamper or congratulate homosexuals or lesbians as so asserted. What is asked is that they have equal opportunity in housing, employment, etc. As for "sin," may I suggest that the person who made these charges do a thorough searching of his own conscience to see if he is qualified to cast the first stone.

Cliff Nyberg
Seattle, Wash

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THE WITNESS



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The other side of the tracks



Brian Willson

Last month THE WITNESS ran a photo of 7-year-old Elda Sanchez, a Nicaraguan girl whose leg was blown off by a landmine planted by the Contras.

This month we carry in the same place a picture of Brian Willson, who became a bilateral amputee Sept. 1 when a munitions train from the Concord (Cal.) Naval Weapons Station ran over him during a peace demonstration. The act raised nightmarish memories of Kent State: Are the hawks and arms merchants who support barbaric U.S. policies now ready to kill and maim protesters on American soil?

Willson, a war veteran and longtime "peace agitator," has a poignant analysis, if this is the case. Shortly before he sat on the train tracks, he wrote: "Once the train carrying the munitions moves past our human blockade, if it does, other human beings in other parts of the world will be killed and maimed. We are not worth more, they are not worth less."

Such persons are dangerous. A recent book, *Troublesome People — the Warriors of Pacifism*, by Caroline Moorehead, suggests why. The foreword says, "This is the story of a number of people who have found war unacceptable, and tried to push the world a little in the direction of peace. As part of a mass movement they have been singularly unsuccessful. But they have been necessary as custodians of freedom, and their refusal to conform has proved subtly threatening to the states whose citizens they are; and they may become more so, as the machinery of war be-

comes more lethal."

Each day as folks like Brian Willson join the roster of troublesome people, the government will counter by suppressing dissent. Consider the recent example in Philadelphia, center of activities commemorating the 200th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution. Local activists had to fight a court case to peacefully leaflet, carry protest signs, and wear dissent buttons and T-shirts; in other words, to recapture rights already granted by the Constitution.

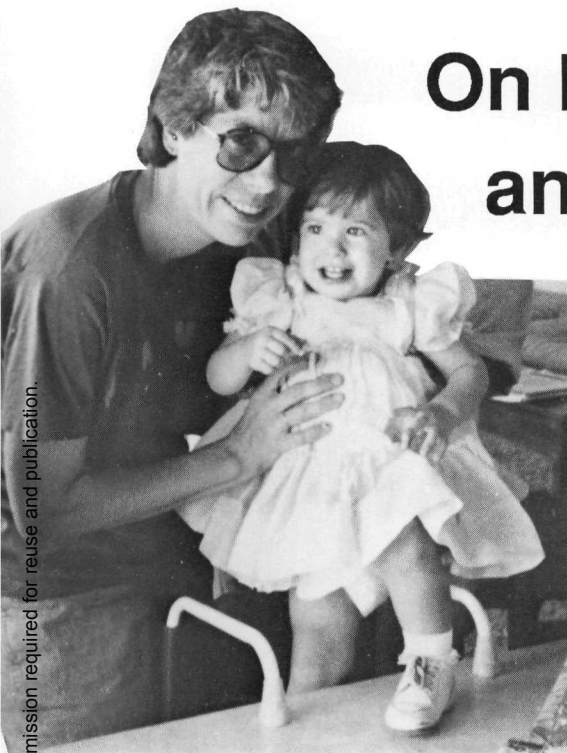
During a Vice Presidential visit on Memorial Day, police had turned demonstrators back from a public area, one giving as his reason, "Reagan people only." One park ranger ripped an anti-war sign from the hands of a medical student and tore it. Meanwhile non-dis-senters were allowed to pass through police barriers and circulate on the Mall.

A month later, *The Philadelphia Inquirer* reported the infiltration and surveillance of local activists groups by police. Officials believed that the groups might engage in "terrorist" activities during the bicentennial celebrations. Deja vu of the '60s.

Almost a generation after anti-war and other social activists had successfully defended their rights to protest imperialism during the Vietnam war years, the system remains unrepentant and unchanged. It is once again time to "be sober, be watchful," and to resist, steadfast in the faith. It is also time to thank God for the Brian Willsons of this world, and to take his place *somewhere* on the peace track. ■

On having an ethical baby

by Lesley Northup



"Evan has had the bad taste but good sense to resemble a small clone of her mother, so both donor anonymity and my exclusive parental rights have been protected."

Last summer, I had a baby. This event, while joyous, should not have aroused more than the usual congratulatory interest associated with new arrivals. And yet, after "What is it?" the remark I heard most frequently — and in lowered voices — was, "But what does the church have to say about that?"

This is a strange question. For one thing, it implies that the church might want to have something to say about my daughter's birth. For another, it hints that what the church has to say might not be very positive . . . an inauspicious start for such a fledgling little life like Evan's.

Of course, the reasoning behind the question hinges on three facts: I am a priest. I am not married. And Evan has no father.

To be more specific — two years ago I decided for a variety of personal reasons, including the noisy ticking of my biological clock, that I was ready, anxious, and able to have a child. This was not a hasty decision, nor a purely selfish one; Evan has been brought into a loving, supportive home where she is flourishing and ebullient. Getting her there was the hard part.

I had no plans to marry. Research into overseas adoptions produced the sobering

information that following that route to parenthood could cost from \$5,000 to \$15,000. Working with a fertility center — a sperm bank — could also be expensive and chancy. I finally decided to bear the child myself via artificial insemination by chosen donors. Getting the "chosen donors" proved to be a major undertaking in itself, raising numerous ethical questions — but that is another story.

Evan was conceived through the services of three carefully chosen, understanding men of my acquaintance (two of them Episcopal priests). The donors were picked on the basis of health and other personal factors, as well as for their disinterest in making claims of paternity. Neither the donors nor I know which of the three is Evan's biological father. Evan has had the bad taste but good sense to resemble a small clone of her mother, so both donor anonymity and my exclusive parental rights have been protected. Aside from initial difficulties in finding committed donors, the private insemination, the pregnancy, and the childbirth went very smoothly. I have a happy, healthy baby girl (and she has me). I wouldn't change my decision for all the incense at Smoky Mary's.

Why would people assume that the church might find fault with this process? Is there perhaps a question of morality here? If so, I cannot think what the offense might be. Adultery? Hardly — even if artificial insemination could be

The Rev. Lesley A. Northup is an Episcopal priest who is associated with Christ Church, Capitol Hill, Washington, D.C. She is working on her Ph.D. in Liturgics at the Catholic University of America.

considered adulterous (an imaginative leap, at best), none of the parties involved was married. Extramarital sex? No sexual act occurred. Masturbation? Well, yes, if you are of a mind to consider that sinful, I suppose you could make a case, albeit a very silly one, against the donor on those grounds. But onanism is biblically condemned specifically because it does not lead to conception, quite the opposite of what happened here, so even that argument is not very effective. From a strictly moral point of view, the fact is that no such standards, either biblical or cultural, were violated.

Perhaps there is a concern with ecclesiastical discipline. No doubt a lay person in the same situation would not have been asked this question: Have I scandalized the priesthood? I am not the first woman priest to have a baby. I have done nothing illegal or immoral in having this child. Nothing in my ordination vows or the canons of the church mitigates against it. I even turned down requests to officiate during the latter portion of my pregnancy so as not to create an “ungraceful” spectacle at the altar. Somehow, however, I keep hearing the vague message that, because of my clerical status, this was not an acceptable option for me.

This raises the matter of whether clergy should realistically be expected to live differently from lay people. Are we, as priests, something less than human? Is it really desirable, from the church's point of view, for us to pretend to a sort of moral superiority denied the “person in the pew”? Is there justification for scrutinizing the private lives of the ordained? Such questions remain unresolved, despite their frequent surfacing in such controversial matters as the ordination of homosexuals and the remarriage of divorced clergy. And those of us in the priesthood are still considered somehow wanting whenever we cut across unexpected norms.

What, then, of the more cultural ethical questions that might be involved? What of the familiar arguments that have arisen in opposition to alternative reproduction methods? No one can claim that this baby was “purchased”; the donors were all unpaid volunteers, the pregnancy was all mine. (Such an accusation leveled against alternative conception is, in any case, often ill-informed.) No extraordinary medical measures were employed, no biological norms were violated.

There were no losers in this situation — all the participants were cheerfully willing; no outside parties were affected negatively. And it would be foolish to perceive Evan as a victim. Well cared for, deeply loved, happily surrounded by other children and role models of both sexes, she stands as good a chance as any child to be physically, mentally, and emotionally healthy.

The real issue, I suppose, is that I have done something “different.” I know many other single mothers. And I know many other clergy mothers. But possibly I am the first to fit both these categories. This is not the first time I have broken new ground, nor the first time that I have sensed a negative judgment for doing so. As many of us have learned, walking the point makes one more vulnerable to the snipers.

Yet there must be something more going on here than mere fear of the new. I would suggest that the core issues in this case are not moral or ethical at all. They embrace emotional, social, and power issues. Underneath the veneer of ethical concern which characterizes not only the questions directed to me but the whole range of vocal opposition to alternative reproduction is a familiar attitude which seeks to deny personal needs in deference to societal comfort.

Let us not mistake this for a nobler aim — we are not talking here of the need to sacrifice individualism to the greater

good of the community. We are talking, rather, about the price of non-conformity, which remains as high today as at any time in the '60s. We are talking about the risks of becoming an embarrassment to the system. We are talking about the acute discomfort caused by asking the social order to think a new thought. These are old themes, and well understood by most of us; they have merely been applied to a new subject.

The Vatican statement on alternative reproduction is perhaps a prime example of how faulty theology and distorted biblical scholarship can be applied in desperate support of the status quo. One cannot help but question what the underlying agenda might be for such a sweeping condemnation of so many possibilities for bringing happiness into human lives. For a denomination which prides itself on being “pro-life,” Roman Catholicism has taken a peculiarly negative stance toward the propagation of life by any but the most limited, conventional, and primitive means. The statement is almost entirely negativist.

In rejecting the use of scientific and medical advances as unnatural, it joins forces with those fundamentalist elements which would deny that the Creator might work more slowly than instantaneously, or that any creative good might evolve as the human race explores its God-given abilities. By rejecting sexual activity as an expression of affection or instrument of pleasure, it posits the human person as a mere animal which needs to be tricked by pleasure into reproducing itself, and casts doubt on the wisdom of God in so obviously endowing sex with elements of supreme enjoyment. And in rejecting all alternative forms of reproduction, even those long held to be benign in our society, it denies the possibility of a vocation to parenthood, thus making procreation purely accidental, and depriving God of the ability to call individuals as God wills to this

most demanding and loving of all commitments. Where, in all of this, is a recognition of the New Testament message of love, of acceptance, of created good?

The fact is that such a frantic recourse to “tradition” merely evades the real ethical issues involved. What we have avoided doing, like almost all errors of omission, now confronts us with unanticipated urgency and force. Medical advances, high divorce rates, decreased fear of overpopulation, increased social acceptance of single parenthood, and the disappearance of illegitimacy as demeaning — all have combined to alter drastically our traditional views of parenthood.

What is needed from the churches, before indulging our inexhaustible capacity to pass judgment on others, is the development of an ethics of parenthood. Until recent years, we have casually assumed that: (1) Babies, in any quantity, were a gift of God to those who had the equipment and luck (sometimes good, sometimes bad) to engender them; (2) Those not similarly blessed with issue were simply not intended by God for this role; (3) The person giving birth to a child was naturally its best parent; (4) Once conceived, a child belonged to its biological parents, particularly the mother, absolutely and could only be taken away under the direst circumstances (blood has been almost universally considered a stronger factor in establishing parenthood than love).

It is time not only to reexamine these assumptions, but to forge ahead to devise a positive ethical basis upon which decisions about reproduction can be made realistically and faithfully. This is a prior task to the adoption of new laws and regulations.

We must start by dumping our biologically-oriented assumptions and asking a new set of hard questions:

- Who is a parent?
- Who should be a parent, and who should not?

• What is real parenthood? What establishes it? When does it begin and end?

• Whose interests are uppermost, and at what stage — the embryo/fetus/baby/child? the mother? the father? the state? Who can get hurt?

• What is the relative importance of love, the nuclear family, financial and other support resources, upbringing, parental ability?

• What principles can we develop to support such an ethics? What value do we place on life? love? scripture? tradition? culture? pragmatics? human needs?

• To what extent are we free to act on the decisions we make in this regard, and what means can we use to enforce those decisions? Can we deny or ensure parenthood to anyone? Should we?

• How do we assess our decisions in light of the New Testament (not the Old)?

• Whose business is it anyway?

Clearly, evolving a truly Christian response to these matters will entail a careful, often painful, look at where we have come from and where we are now in the real world. We must also look ahead without panicking about what we foresee. Careful balances will need to be struck. But we can no longer shirk our responsibility to reappraise our historical Christian attitudes in light of these realities all around us: Rampant child abuse, homeless, hungry and neglected children, the demise of marriage as the normative adult social pattern, the pain of the childless, the frenzied stress of the overproductive, the birth of innumerable children who will live only brief, pain-filled, twisted lives. To what extent have children — and parents, too — become pawns in the political games we play among ourselves to determine whose standards will rule? To what extent have we failed to consider what Jesus might have said about all of this?

These, I suggest, are the issues we must grapple with in defining an ethics of parenthood. These are the overriding concerns which make pabulum of the naive and voyeuristic moral questions so often cited in attacks on alternative reproduction. Ultimately, I want to believe that the church will have the courage and integrity to put aside reactionary judgment in favor of a radical reexamination of this most central of anthropological questions.

My experience so far gives strength to that hope. Because, in fact, the church has had something to say about the arrival of Evan into the world, and what it has said has been very positive. My bishop, a man of extensive parental experience, has expressed some surprise and a little uneasiness, but unqualified support and respect. Members of my parish — including the rector — threw a baby shower for me, resoundingly welcomed Evan into the church at her baptism (at which I officiated), and have given all of us vast quantities of love and affirmation.

Even clergy of other faiths with whom I have worked have been enthusiastic and sincere in their support. No doubt there is much whispering in the corners here and there. Perhaps some day I will be denied a committee appointment, passed over for a job — but on the whole, “the church” has quite loudly asked to share in my maternal happiness.

And then of course there is Evan. If there is a *raison d’être* for engaging in the ethical task at hand, then surely she is it. It is really quite unthinkable that this small person should not have been allowed to grace the world. It is equally unthinkable that others seeking parenthood as ardently as I should be denied the ready means to achieve it. There is too much potential for happiness here, too much opportunity for the love of God to shine through the love of human beings. Surely the church cannot allow this treasure to be squandered. ■



Potpourri: Reflections on trying times

There used to be a popular piano bar in Greenwich Village called Marie's Crisis Cafe where you could slip out of your wet coat and into a dry martini and hear some good jazz in an historic setting. Marie's was supposedly on the site where Thomas Paine penned those immortal words, "These are the times that try men's souls."

If ole Tom thought he was on to something in the chaotic days of 1776, he should be around to see some of the flagrant abuses of civil liberties during these waning months of the U.S. Constitution's Bicentennial. Makes me want to skip the whole "We the People 200" farce.

For example, in the small town of Homestead, Pa., just outside Pittsburgh, police ended a four-year search for a particular rapist after employing an extreme and questionable approach. None of the elderly victims (all but one were White) had seen their attacker, but several reported "he spoke like a Black man." Homestead police last month asked that every Black male in town between the ages of 16 and 60 submit to a blood test and fingerprinting. When not many initially availed themselves of the opportunity to "enroll" in police files, officers began going door-to-door, even suggesting that an 81-year-old gentleman be tested. (I guess old stereotypes about the sexual prowess of Black men die hard.) Their theory: If you didn't submit voluntarily, you must have something to hide. Reportedly, 80% of the town's Black male population "volunteered." So much for innocent until proven guilty.

Some new federal regulations give us pause as well. Federally funded family planning clinics can no longer offer information or even answer questions concern-

ing abortion. This effectively denies poor women, forced to use these facilities, access to the same information available to their more affluent sisters. Also, all new immigrants must now pass an AIDS test before admission to this country. As we have noted before, there is no diagnostic test on the public market for AIDS, and 70 to 90% of those who test positively for HIV, which causes AIDS, will not get the disease. Three guesses who's most likely to be affected by these rulings. So much for equal access and those warm words of welcome emblazoned on the Statue of Liberty.

Under the rubric The Beat Goes On, we learned last month of the death of the Rev. Tollie L. Caution, stalwart Black priest and one-time Secretary of Negro Work for the national Episcopal Church. Dr. Caution's cavalier treatment at the hands of national church officials was the catalyst that in 1968 brought into being the Union of Black Clergy and Laity, now the Union of Black Episcopalians. The all-White inner circle (management team) at the national church center and on many diocesan staffs as well, reminds us why we needed a Tollie Caution on the national church staff then, why we need a watchdog organization such as the UBE now, and why we cannot let the present Ethnic Desks (Office of Black Ministries, etc.) be placed on anybody's "sunset list" of programs to be phased out in a time of budget belt-tightening.

Lastly, two recent issues of *The Living Church* provided us with a couple of real "gems." An Aug. 30 editorial titled "The Perils of Sincerity" likens good ole boys Ollie North and Admiral John Poindexter's breaking of the law to that of Civil Rights activists two decades ago, asking the ques-

tion, "What difference is there, other than one's personal sympathy with one cause rather than the other?" *TLC* does go on to say that it feels there is a difference but wishes it were more clearly stated or defined. Indeed there is a difference between covert, deceitful attempts to circumvent legislation and openly challenging unjust, immoral and discriminatory statutes—and being willing to accept the legal consequences of one's actions. Jesus made a few clear statements about obedience to a higher principle and authority. Two that come to mind are *Mark 2:23-28* and *Luke 14:1-6*. They're worth looking up.

In a Sept. 6 piece, "A Matter of Timing," the Suffragan Bishop of Texas regretfully urges "patience" in the matter of consecrating women bishops, suggesting that if within a decade (a short time in the life of the church, he notes) the Church of England and the rest of the Anglican Communion are not on board with the idea, that's time enough for the American Church to get on with it and do what is right. After all, he reasons in a poor analogy, the framers of the Constitution — many of whom were opposed to slavery — failed to abolish that evil in the document, but in the long run (which I suppose is a "short time" in the life of a race of people) that failure made possible the creation of a USA, "for which even the enslaved portion of the population and their descendants have had reason to be grateful." Thanks a bunch, but I don't see a helluva lot to celebrate. Like Paine said, "These are the times. . ."

In praise of mothers: Chicken wings 'n things

by Roberta Nobleman

I remember one particular sermon when the kids were little. The preacher was holding up his mother as a shining example of selfless devotion to her family. Her ultimate sacrifice: "She always took the wing of the chicken." He further extolled her maternal devotion by describing how his father always took the breast, the two sons took the legs and his younger sister had one wing, his mother, the other. The whole chicken had obviously been made to conform to a patriarchal family lifestyle. I consoled myself, also a chicken wing-eater, with the thought that at least mother and daughter can pick on the chicken (after they have done the dishes, of course).

In those days, going to church was in itself a supreme test of the Martyr Mother Syndrome. At least, when the kids were little, they went. Now I have the pleasure of a 16-year-old who is asleep on Sunday mornings, an occasional scowling 14-year-old sitting next to me with something unprintable on her T-shirt, and a pair of the most ripped and torn cut-off jeans she can find muttering "Mom, this is boring." With all kinds of bribery I can induce my 11-year-old son to come to church, but as he stated plainly several times, "I've got nothing against Jesus, Mom, but church. . ."

Way back 10 years ago there was the ordeal of Getting Everyone Ready to Go to Church. The baby of course had to be

changed out of the eight-zippered snow-suit two minutes before the already late departure time, and I remember arriving at church one day to find that I was wearing my sweater inside out and that I had a nice bit of baby throw-up adorning the shoulder. (The ushers wore flowers; I wore throw-up.) Finally, we'd hustle in, and three elderly ladies would take one look at us and change pews. I don't blame them; I do the same myself now.

Then it would begin: The baby refused to stay with the baby-sitting service in the parish hall and could be heard screaming lustily (you know it's yours); the 4-year-old has already ripped out Hymns 233 and 234 from the Hymn Book and is busy with the magic marker scribbling on the Welcome Cards; the 6-year-old has to be excused for the third time to go to the bathroom and stays there for a half hour (you pray for missing children). During the hymn "Once to Every Man and Nation" which you are manfully singing with baby perched on one hip, and 4-year-old clutching the other crying, "Mommy, I want to go home"; the 6-year-old crawls all the way under the pews to annoy the three elderly ladies. During the exchange of the peace (?) before communion, you give up and go home. This is called Worship.

Of course there are moments of respite, and sometimes our children can teach us more about God than the church. I remember one occasion when Paul, my son, was about 8 years old, and we were into a heavy theological discussion on the nature of eternal life. At Communion, Paul refused to eat his wafer, and kept it clasped in his none too clean little boy's hand all the way back

to the pew. Heated discussion between mother and child:

"Paul, you have to eat it; it's Christ's Body."

"I know, Mom, but I don't want to die, so I'm going to keep it, in case Chris Carl beats me up again."

"That's using Jesus like Popeye's spinach. . ."

"What's wrong with that? It helped Popeye beat up. . ."

"Paul, EAT IT!"

Meanwhile the whole conversation had been earnestly observed by a 2-year-old in the pew in front of us. Suddenly Paul looked the little girl straight in the eye, broke the wafer in half, and popped it into her mouth and his own, singing, "Fame! We're gonna live forever!" The 2-year-old's first Communion.

Apart from the church, I am leaving readers to fill in all the other 4,759 arrows of martyrdom that we mothers endure — St. Sebastian style — every day of the week. The church's saints, of course, include many martyrs. There's a whole gang of virgins that were martyred in Germany with St. Ursula to escape the fate worse than death. Very few genuine mothers make it to be saints, although a cursory glance at any old graveyard will reveal that half of the inhabitants died in childbirth and were immediately replaced with wife (and mother) number two, three, or four — but that's not martyrdom.

The two great Feminine Role Models are the Virgin Mary, who had a child but no sex, and Mary Magdalene who had sex but no children (everyone knows prostitutes don't get pregnant). What is a mother to do? There are all those moth-

Roberta Nobleman is an actress who specializes in one-woman shows and is noted for her performances of *Julian* and *Solo Flight*. She is currently appearing in a new offering, *All That I Am*, and when not on the road resides in Dumont, N.J.

ers in the New Testament with their pregnant wombs and breasts full of milk — but Jesus isn't nearly as impressed with them as is St. Paul ("women redeemed only through childbearing"). Then there's the sword that Simeon saw piercing Mary's heart at the Presentation in the Temple. All the stories I've ever read said Mary loved her sword — and polished it daily — or is that a piece of male propaganda? I decided to interview Mary to hear what she had to say about the Martyr Mother Syndrome. . .

In her freshly laundered blue robe, head decently covered, Our Blessed Mother stepped down off her pedestal for a quick conversation. (Do you know of any mother who ever had a *long* conversation?):

"Well — Hail, Mary, full of grace. . ."

"It's all right, dear, I know the rest. What would you like to know?"

"Mary, please, what was mothering like for you?"

"It wasn't easy, especially my oldest; as I described it to another journalist, nearly 2,000 years ago, it often felt like a sword going straight through my heart."

"That bad? Even in church?"

"Synagogue. You forget, I'm Jewish. They often do. Synagogue was the worst of all. You've never heard all those stories about what He did in synagogue? And as for the Temple. . . Right after the Bar Mitzvah we lost Him for three days and three nights. I don't think I slept a wink those nights. Then pushing past all those men in the Temple — only to find Him sitting there like He owned the place."

"Mary, you sound upset."

"I was upset. Not just for myself, but for Joe too. We'd done our best, brought Him up with as much wisdom as we could muster, but all that anxiety, and having the rest of the children in tow. James was a terrible two, Anna. . ."

"Wait a minute. The church I go to teaches that the sisters and brothers were

Jesus' cousins. Or else St. Joseph's children by a former marriage."

"Let me ask you a question. You've read the Gospels. Does Jesus strike you as an only child?"

"I'll have to ponder that in my heart. You see, I'm the first born in my family, too. Oh, I'd love to know about the brothers and sisters — especially the sisters. Didn't anyone ever write their story? You should have written it down, Mary."

"Write? Nobody ever taught me to read or write — and even if I could, you tell me, how many interruptions did it take for you to get this article finished?"

"Point taken. Now, you're also considered Mother of the Church. After 2,000 years, could you say something about this?"

"In a hazelnut shell, as Mother Julian would say, my first child (we call him R.C. for short), ADORES me."

"Oh, come now, Mary, doesn't all that Mariology thrill you to pieces?"

"My dear, it's all too much, and a lot of what it hides underneath! How can I explain? Let's move on. Then there's the twins — Greek and Russian Orthodox; they adore me too — icons, incense, candles. I have a real soft spot for them, but just ask them about women priests, and all the boys get hernias! Next, there was my little Anglican. . ."

"Oh, that's me. I'm Episcopalian."

"I love Anglicans, too, dear. A mother's love is boundless, in spite of everything they do. Excuse me, dear. Since we've been talking there have been at least 3,000 petitions to be dealt with. I intercede, you see."

"Explain for my Protestant friends, please."

"All right. Remember when you were little and you wanted something from your father? The only way to get it was to ask mom to ask him? Must fly. Shalom, shalom."

"Goodbye, Mary. Pray for us!" ■

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The Woman's Creed

by Rachel Conrad-Wahlberg

*(Upon pondering The Apostles' Creed and wondering
what it would have been like had women written it.)*

I believe in God
who created woman and man
in God's own image
and gave both sexes
the care of the earth.

I believe in Jesus
child of God
chosen of God
born of the woman Mary
who listened to women and liked them
who stayed in their homes
who discussed the Kingdom with them
who was followed and financed
by women disciples.

I believe in Jesus
who discussed theology
with a woman at a well
and first confided in her
his messiahship
who motivated her to go and tell
her great news to the city

I believe in Jesus who received anointing
from a woman at Simon's house
who rebuked the men guests
who scorned her
I believe in Jesus
who said this woman
will be remembered
for what she did --
minister to Jesus

I believe in Jesus
who acted boldly
to reject the blood taboo
of ancient societies

by healing the audacious woman
who touched him

I believe in Jesus who healed
a woman on the sabbath
and made her straight
because she was
a human being

I believe in Jesus
who spoke of God
as a woman seeking the lost coin
as a woman who swept
seeking the lost

I believe in Jesus
who thought of pregnancy and birth
with reverence
not as punishment -- but
as wrenching event
a metaphor for transformation
born again
anguish-into-joy

I believe in Jesus
who spoke of himself
as a mother hen
who would gather her chicks
under her wings

I believe in Jesus who appeared
first to Mary Magdalene
who sent her with the bursting message
GO AND TELL . . .

I believe in the wholeness
of the Savior
in whom there is neither
Jew nor Greek
slave nor free
male nor female
for we are all one
in salvation

I believe in the Holy Spirit
as she moves over the waters
of creation
and over the earth.

I believe in the Holy Spirit
as she yearns within us to
pray for those things
too deep for words

I believe in the Holy Spirit
the woman spirit of God
who like a hen
created us
and gave us birth
and covers us

"The Woman's Creed" from *Jesus and the
Freed Woman* by Rachel Conrad-Wahlberg.
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Women clergy double over 5 years

The Episcopal Church now has nearly 1200 ordained clergywomen — approximately 800 of whom are priests — and statistics over recent years evidence a steady growth.

Only 15 dioceses, several of these newly created, refuse to ordain women, compared to double that number in 1977. In general, the figures reflect a consistent pattern of acceptance of ordained women.

These facts were revealed recently in an updated study by the Rev. Sandra Boyd and the Rev. Suzanne Hiatt, who have kept a computer list of women clergy since 1980. The two women priests gather data through

clerical directories, journals, diocesan newsletters and papers, and through information supplied by the women themselves. Their statistics are "reliable, though unofficial," they said, since the Episcopal Church does not keep statistics on women clergy and their assignments per se.

Figures reveal an impressive number of women in leadership posts. Parish calls have more than doubled over the past five years, and one woman, the Rev. Geralyn Wolf, serves as dean of Christ Church Cathedral in Louisville, Ky.

The first woman to become an Episcopal priest was Jeannette Pic-

card (1895-1981), who along with 10 others was ordained July 29, 1974, in the so-called "irregular ordinations" of the Philadelphia Eleven in the Church of the Advocate. Four more women were ordained Sept. 19, 1975 in Washington, D.C., and the Episcopal Church finally officially recognized women's ordination at General Convention in 1976.

Since then, barriers to women's ordination have steadily diminished, as the women go about their business with dedication and professional skill, Boyd and Hiatt said. A table showing growth from 1982 to June 1, 1987 follows:

	1982	1983	1984	1985	1987
Parish Rectors	24	34	47	70	110
Parish Vicars	34	44	60	66	81
Parish Interims	7	9	11	10	24
Parish In Charge	11	11	15	24	29
Parish Co-Pastors	7	6	8	11	11
Parish Assoc./Assistants	222	266	363	434	497
Parish Non-Stipendiary	55	55	57	56	28
Cathedral Deans	0	0	0	0	1
Cathedral Canons	5	7	7	7	16
Cathedral Assistants	*	*	*	*	11
Diocesan Staff/Consultant	40	35	50	57	41
Seminary/College Fac., Staff	15	17	13	11	21
College/School Chaplain	33	35	36	37	39
Hospital/Prison Chaplain	22	26	36	42	44
Nursing Home Chaplain	*	*	*	*	11
Pastoral Counselor	*	*	*	*	6
Alcoholism Counselor	*	*	*	*	3
Religious Order	8	8	7	7	9
Retired	36	32	29	27	32
Unemployed	6	11	10	5	2
Other/Unknown	78	117	104	104	151
TOTALS	603	713	853	968	** 1167

* Unknown: Statistics were not broken down in this category in year indicated.

** No statistics listed for 1986.

Blessing gay relationships

by Malcolm Boyd

Ray and Jim stood before me, a priest, at the altar of our parish church late on a Sunday afternoon. Gay men, they had invited members of their nuclear families and close friends to participate in and witness their exchange of vows as lovers and life partners.

Devout Roman Catholics, but unwelcome in their own church as an openly gay couple, they had lived together in close commitment for three years. Ray had phoned eight months before, asked me to lunch and raised the possibility of having a church blessing of their union. The next week I spent an evening with both men in their home. Our meeting lasted six hours. They had lots of questions to ask, not only about the church and its teaching and ritual, but also about themselves: Where were they to go from here in their relationship?

In the ensuing weeks I met with Ray and Jim individually. Many more questions surfaced about meanings of commitment, fidelity, mutuality, loving. Our preparation for the ritual inside the church required far more time and energy than I assumed it would.

Now, they felt the moment had come to strengthen and test their bonding in the shared, public Christian ceremony of union. Support systems for gay and lesbian couples are tenuous at best; *this* would be a beneficial, nurturing kind of support, and a shared prayer to God.

At the moment in the liturgy when the two men faced each other to recite the vows they had written (and shared with me privately, but not with each other until this moment), Ray said: "This laurel of olive is a symbol of peace, and is fashioned as laurels worn in ancient Greece. As their culture recognized and celebrated diverse types of love, today I share this noble gesture of bonding with you.

"Father and Mother God, we ask you to bless and strengthen this bond we share . . . to nurture this union and allow it to grow: not as one force, but as two columns supporting the building's roof, reaching upward to the sky with each its own solid base.

"I am committed to strive for this equality and to look upon

you as my brother — lover — partner — friend."

Then Jim, facing his partner in front of the altar addressed Ray with his vows: "Today I look upon you and say: I love you, like I've said it a thousand times before. But this is different, it's after passion and anger and longing, doubt and anxiety; alongside caring and respect and gratitude, imagining the possibilities of us together. I want to be with you."

Secure, long-range, committed relationships between gay men have taken on a new significance since the emergence of AIDS. A major way to prevent AIDS is to practice safe sex; a major way to practice safe sex is to contain one's sexual activity within a loving relationship.

When the church refuses to bless committed gay relationships, it attacks their stability by refusing at least one measure of societal-religious support. It also denies a sign of the love of God to those who need and ask for it.

Psychotherapist Nina Fields, author of *The Well-Seasoned Marriage*, says that the best, most satisfying, liberating and exciting state in which to live one's life is in a happy long-term marriage. Her study shows that people in such a relationship tend to be very independent; whole people with lives and interests of their own. "Traditionally, women are more seeking of intimacy than men," according to Fields, "but these couples prove that quality can be learned by men too. Real intimacy is one of the perks of well-seasoned marriages."

Intimacy is also a perk of well-seasoned gay and lesbian relationships. Gay men have a need to seek genuine, deep intimacy with a partner because a gay relationship/extended family quite often has to provide most of the nurture for itself. It is frequently denied sanction and warm, loving support from the partners' nuclear families, their local church, their business associates, and immediate neighbors.

*You balance my frenzy
and left-brain thinking
my discomfort with myself.
You make me laugh, feel tender and strong
glow with happiness
help me to remember who I am.*

A gay couple celebrates certain sacramental-and-ordinary moments that take on considerable significance. I know, because I share my life with a gay male partner, Mark Thompson. I find that our sacramental-and-ordinary times

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together are not unlike those of many others who live in long-term, committed, loving relationships — in both nuclear and extended families. In such moments non-verbal as well as verbal vows are expressed, repeated, and strengthened.

One such moment we spend together is when we sit down quietly and share conversation and a drink (alcoholic or non-alcoholic) at the end of a work-filled, stressful day. It is a moment of communion. We meet each other once again in a fresh, open, vulnerable, sharing way. I hear about Mark's day at his office — on the phone, dealing with lots of people, situations, sometimes crises; and he hears about mine. It is a brief but psychologically valuable unloading time when the day's luggage gets put away.

I remember once, after Mark had recounted a particularly hectic incident from his day's work, he looked at me and said: "If I can't tell you about it, whom can I tell?" Precisely. I feel the same way.

Another sacramental-and-ordinary time shared by us is Saturday mornings when we shop at the neighborhood supermarket. Getting ready for the expedition can conjure up a vision of Marco Polo preparing to go to China: Several stray shopping lists need to be correlated, a clear decision must be made concerning the moment to depart, windows secured, doors locked, get into a sweater on a cold day or a raincoat if it's pouring. And then, get started.

Inside the supermarket a half-hour of unique intimacy unfolds during the shopping ritual. If I push the shopping cart, Mark is the navigator and carries the shopping list, or vice versa. Don't forget the sourdough bread! Ground round for barbecued hamburgers (our Saturday night staple)! Toilet paper, trash bags, fresh mushrooms, bath-size soap for the shower, mayonnaise, avocados, tomato sauce, the giant-size laundry detergent.

*I want you to be with me
to share all that lies ahead
to experience family
to share success and failure
divide grief, savor friendship
learn about life
serve our community and friends
to know love.*

Saturday afternoon, unless we choose to go out, can easily become another sacramental-and-ordinary time. Mark stretches out on a blanket in the yard and takes a luxurious nap. I am in a mood to putter around the house: Place sheets and towels in the washer, even run the vacuum. In a short while Mark will weed the garden while I sit down to read the latest issue of *The New Yorker* or *Opera News*. Being quiet together, respecting each other's quiet time, is a well-earned delight after a busy week in the fast lane of hard, long work

hours.

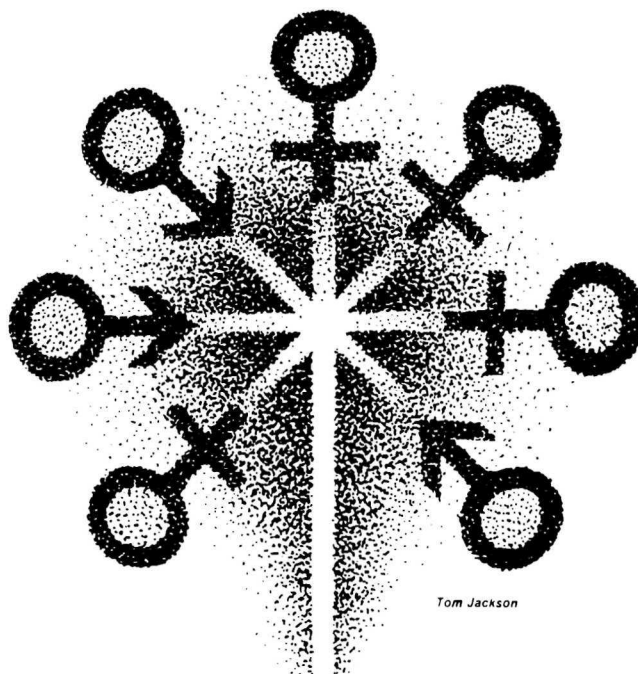
A special sacramental-and-ordinary moment is that of hugging and holding each other in bed just before falling to sleep. It is nurturing and healing beyond words.

There is also the morning ritual. The alarm clock emits a sharp sound rather like that of a crash accompanying a seven-point quake. I reach out, push the button, turn it off. I reflect a moment, look through the large window over our bed at the brightening sky. Mark stirs at the alarm but does not wake up. His face wears its usual early morning expression of angelic, peaceful innocence.

I get up, unlock the front door, grab the morning paper, walk into the kitchen, start the coffee, sit down in the breakfast nook to read about political scandals, terrorists, basketball scores and new movies. Mark cheerfully appears, pours a cup of coffee, gives me a brush of his lips against mine, and picks up a section of the paper.

So, a new day has begun. I am grateful that Mark shares it with me — casually chatting about some stories in the news, making future plans, just being here. We are partners. God knows, it is a form of grace for us to be happily and creatively together instead of solitary; a rich blessing to be sharers of a common road that intersects our individual paths.

*I commit myself to being your partner
to help when I can, give as I am able
struggle with when we need to
share what I am
return to when I am angry
cherish, freely, as a friend,
lover, and gift of my life.* ■



Tom Jackson

The 1950s were difficult years for THE WITNESS. The brief fling the world had with idealism and international solidarity during World War II had degenerated as the big powers frantically began grabbing as much territory as possible and becoming more and more paranoid about each other. Then, hanging over the increasingly tense world situation was the shadow of the Bomb.

The Bomb was the motif of the decade. The destruction it had wrought on Hiroshima and Nagasaki had been well documented. But the Bomb meant power, and U.S. leaders rapidly became locked into an arms race with the Soviet Union. In 1952, the United States conducted its first peacetime nuclear bomb test, obliterating Eniwetok atoll in the Pacific Ocean. The following year, the Soviets exploded their bomb and the contest was on in earnest.

It was a hard time to be a peacemaker. The decade started with the Korean War and finished with Vietnam. Senator Joe McCarthy and the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) were busy hunting for Communists and if a person believed, or had ever believed, in reconciliation and cooperation with the Russians, he or she was a “dangerous Red,” out to destroy America. THE WITNESS chronicled the trials of Episcopal clergy and laypeople hounded out of jobs, dragged before government inquisitions, and even imprisoned, because of their beliefs. Arthur Miller’s play “The Crucible” about the witch trials and executions in colonial New England debuted in 1953, the same year that Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were sent to the electric chair, condemned to die on questionable evidence that they had sold atomic secrets to the Soviets.

In 1954, the McCarthy era ended when defense attorney Joseph Welch, crying, “Have you no shame, no sense of decency, sir?” stripped McCarthy of his pretenses and revealed a power-mad despot to an audience which numbered in the millions, thanks to the new miracle of TV.

But there were those who refused to be intimidated. William B. Spofford, Sr. proudly owned up to his “subversive” activities in the ‘30s and ‘40s when called before an investigating committee. He had been named by Louis Budenz, a former Communist Party activist turned informer. It was an ungrateful act on Budenz’s part, because when he was an impoverished Party organizer in the 1920s, Spofford had given him money and a pair of pants.

Only a few years before, a world war had been fought for freedom, and the fever of independence was in the air. THE WITNESS deplored the violence but supported the aims of the Mau-Mau rebellion against the British in Kenya. The magazine was also a strong voice against the construction of the inhumane and brutal system of apartheid in South Africa. And the editors did not join the general hysteria against the start of the Cuban revolution in 1956, figuring the United States had never had the right to treat the island nation as if it were our backyard.

But, as always, the cause dearest to the heart of THE WITNESS was civil rights. The magazine was outraged and disgusted when the National Council of Churches, including its Episcopalian member, Bishop Frank Sterrett, timidly refused to ratify a resolution condemning segregation.

The dream of racial equality, however, could not be stopped. Black people were willing to fight, and sometimes die, for freedom. One day in 1955 in Montgomery, Ala., Mrs. Rosa Parks, a quiet, hard-working seamstress, refused to give her bus seat up to a White person and started a revolution.

No Black person rode a bus in Montgomery for nearly a year, until segregation on buses ended. In 1956, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that unsegregated transportation was the law of the land. Two years before, the Court had issued the historic ruling that school segregation was illegal. But reaction from the White ruling class in the South was swift and harsh. White Citizens’ Councils, thinly disguised vigilante groups, sprang up all over the South. The Councils, along with the Ku Klux Klan, tried to keep Black people and their White supporters “in their place,” through intimidation, violence and even murder. A courageous young preacher from Georgia, the Rev. Martin Luther King, began to emerge as the voice and conscience of the civil rights movement. For his boldness and courage, he was constantly jailed, his house fire-bombed, and he and his family repeatedly threatened.

In 1957, when Black students showed up at Central High School in Little Rock, Ark., they were accompanied by the National Guard. Gov. Orval Faubus had defied U.S. government orders to desegregate the state’s schools and refused to do anything about the violent demonstrations against the Black students.

While the Civil Rights movement gained momentum, the

The inquisition and H-bomb

by Susan Pierce

Cold War continued to heat up. THE WITNESS condemned the 1956 Soviet invasion of Hungary, but felt that the world wouldn't end because the U.S.S.R. had managed to launch its first space satellite — Sputnik — before the United States. And the magazine worried about how young President Kennedy, elected in 1960, was squaring off for a confrontation with the Soviets over Cuba. THE WITNESS also deplored a meddling foreign policy that resulted in the CIA-backed overthrow of Iran's socialist government in 1953, the bungled U-2

spy plane mission shot down over the U.S.S.R. in 1960 and the Bay of Pigs debacle in Cuba in 1961.

The world breathed a cautious sigh of relief as the new decade dawned, having avoided a nuclear holocaust. Americans weren't aware of their government's growing role in some obscure Asian civil war. The New Frontier under a young, energetic President looked limitless. But THE WITNESS continued to remind its readers that the struggle had hardly begun. Excerpts from the years 1952 - 1961 follow.

Editor gets F.B.I file

For the past year the National Council for American-Soviet Friendship has been put through a gruelling investigation by the Subversive Activities Control Board, with the Rev. Richard Morford, its exec, standing the brunt of it. When the time came for the defense to have its say, I asked Dick if it would help if I appeared as a volunteer witness. The answer was yes, so last July 9 I was on the stand, under oath, for a day.

The official report of the proceedings I now have. The two government attorneys started with where I was born in New Hampshire and ended the session when I returned to Tunkhannock, Pa., where I now live. About everything that happened between those two events was brought out during the hearings — and quite a lot of stuff that never did happen.

I rather enjoyed the day after the first half hour when I sat on the edge of my chair wondering what sort of trick questions would be pulled. But, after I got the feeling that I could take care of myself, I enjoyed saying "yes" to questions about past deeds designed to show me up as a bad character. That's where we are today in the United States. Things that most of us did in the 30-40 decades of which we were proud, and still should be proud, are

brought out today to prove that you are "subversive."

After it was all over, the attorney for the National Council, David Rein, said to me, "Well, there it is." So I said, "There what is?" And he replied, "The F.B.I. file on one Rev. William Benjamin Spofford."

So you can be sure that the gentlemen in Washington have their own file on you — certainly if you have done anything in the past 30 years that could be remotely called Christian Social Action. (William B. Spofford, Sr., 2/24/55)

How low is low

Our "Low Sunday" text is the gutlessness of American Protestant Christianity. The illustration is the recent meeting of the general board of the National Council of Churches in New York. In the shadow of Holy Week, they were unable to find against racial segregation within Christianity. Under discussion was a report, "The Churches and Segregation."

The head of the Protestant Episcopal delegation, Bishop Frank Sterrett of the Diocese of Bethlehem, led off by saying: "I could be more confident in voting for this document if it did not state that we cannot be true to our Christian faith and practice segregation at the same time.

Does this mean that if segregation is practiced in certain grade schools in the deep South, the people who practice it are not Christian? I know people who are as good Christians as myself, if not better, who do this. I wish that we might amend part of the report, to express the idea that we do not consider the people who practice segregation in some circumstances as any less Christian."

The following type of supporter rallied to his cause. Mrs. James Wyker, Columbia, Mo., member of Disciples of Christ, pleaded for "going slowly, as we must go." The Rev. Eugene C. Blake, Presbyterian, wanted "different degrees of segregation. Another opined that "obeying the law cannot be called un-Christian."

There was protest, led by the Negro denominations who refused to be provoked into leaving the council. However, the force in favor of racial segregation won the day.

This affront to Christian brothers was flaunted as organized Christianity was preparing to celebrate Holy Week, when the Lord Jesus cleansed the temple of the money-changers who were more concerned with their own privilege and position than with righteousness; when the Scribes and Pharisees were plotting to

crucify the Lord because "it is expedient that one man should die and that the whole nation not perish;" when Jesus was choosing Jerusalem with its degradation, mocking and cruel crucifixion, instead of turning back to comfortable Galilee.

The point of spinelessness and double-tongued dishonesty is that, while re-enacting the Lord's Passion, they are saying: "Let's not do anything that may hurt our 'prestige' (usually meaning income.)" Or, "Let's put the state and its secular ideas above the word of God." (Nazi Germany rose because German Christians fell for this one.) Or, "A little sin is not so bad, if it is divisible into degrees," as though a person could be "a little bit" dead. And they pled for "unity," a unity with sin and the Devil.

Christ said, "And whosoever shall cause one of these little one that believe on me to stumble, it were better for him that a great millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea." St Paul wrote to the Galatians, "For as many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ. There can be neither Jew nor Greek, there can be neither bond nor free." And the first centuries of the Church are bright with the blood of martyrs who dared to flaunt their love of Christ and man in the face of an arrogant degenerate and sinfully pagan state . . .

But we suppose that giving God a White supremacy, Jim Crow mind fits the saying, "I know people who are as good Christians as myself . . . do this (i.e. practice segregation)." The question we would like to ask is this; "Is any man, or bishop for that matter, the proper criterion of Christian morality?" Isn't Christ's character the moral standard by which we live? (WITNESS editorial 4/24/52)

What editors stand for

THE WITNESS has stood consistently for peace; for civil liberties — which

means that we are against loyalty oaths and other fascist legislation now on the books or before Congress; against racial discrimination in all forms, and a lot of other things that many of our critics once stood for but have now forsaken for one reason or another — mostly, I suspect, because of lack of guts.

I see no tendency on the part of any of our editors to run out on the tremendous issues before the nation and world. So it is likely that we will continue to prefer peace to war; brotherhood to racial divisions; liberty to repression. We are motivated by what we understand to be the Christian religion. The fact that the communists, differently motivated, often take similar positions hardly justifies us in forsaking what we believe to be the Christian faith and its application to issues of the day. (William B. Spofford, Sr., 3/20/52)

Caesar outstrips us

Liberal-minded, peace-loving people had almost come to the point of wondering whether the country could shake off the chains that bind; the fear, dishonesty, and confusion which has brought compromise and paralysis in our government.

Then, like a clean wind sweeping in from the sea, came the Supreme Court decision on segregation in the schools. No compromise, no captiousness, no narrow legalism ties it to particular cases. The decision establishes on the ground of human dignity and sociological fact that "separate but equal" is a contradiction in terms.

We shout. "Hallelujah," but as we do, we realize with same that we use the language of the most segregated institution of its size in America, the Christian Church. Timid Christians, do you still hang back? You have broken the law of Christ these many years, for the law of Caesar excused the breaking of it. To whom do you now turn to justify yourselves? (WITNESS editorial 6/24/54)

Protests H-bomb blasts

I wish to add my name to those who protest against our continued tests of atomic weapons, especially in the Pacific. As our press reports have now made plain, our March 1 H-bomb explosion burned and sickened and infected with radioactivity a group of Japanese fishermen; possibly poisoned the fishermen's catch, not only destroying essential food, but endangering the lives of the people who handled or ate it before the warning was given; and possibly poisoning other fish which may be caught in the future. It is not easy to understand how we can feel justified in risking the contamination of essential food supplies in areas far from our shores, and for people whose need for food is so desperate.

Doesn't this episode suggest that our conduct of foreign relations needs some prayerful reappraisal? Surely it was a terrible thing that our country — a democratic nation which calls itself Christian — should have been the first to use atomic weapons, even if during a war. But how immeasurably more terrible that we should, in a time of nominal peace, continue to "improve" and manufacture and stockpile these increasingly sinister weapons of destruction, sickness and terror. The excuse that they will "deter aggression" seems to be not only highly questionable, but anti-democratic since this concept is the equivalent of ordering all the governments and peoples of the world to accept our definitions and our policies or risk extermination. Surely this is a totalitarian rather than a democratic approach to foreign relations. (Helen Mears, 5/6/54)

MOVING?

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The opportunity to love

by Nathan E. Williams

“Don’t get mad. Get even.” This popular maxim is more important than we like to admit. Getting even is accepted as an unpleasant, but unavoidable, fact of life. It has even become an element of foreign policy.

An incident reported by *Luke (9:51-62)* focuses on this attitude. It is so odd that one is tempted to by-pass it in favor of more memorable stories like The Prodigal Son and The Good Samaritan which are also unique to Luke.

Jesus and his disciples were in a pilgrim throng heading for Jerusalem. The pilgrims tried to take the central route through the highlands, only to be turned back by a village of hostile Samaritans. The rebuff did not sit well, and some disciples were ready for revenge. “Shall we call down fire from heaven to consume them?” they asked.

Elijah is said to have done this. He was at odds with the king of Israel. The king had been injured in an accident. Elijah predicted that the accident would lead to death, and proclaimed this God’s judgment on the monarch. When the king sent a detachment of troops to seize Elijah, the soldiers were destroyed by fire which he called down upon them.

Maybe the disciples thought they could duplicate this feat. Probably they were ready to join others in the group who wanted to burn the village that refused them hospitality. They might have called such destruction “fire from heaven,” the judgment of God.

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

One thing is clear: Jesus refused to embrace their attitude or their plans.

A leading commentator asserts that Luke is seeking in this section to develop “the thought of the contrast between the disciples and the outside world, including the hostile and unrepentant, and the half-hearted.” Jesus’ disciples are expected to be different. We have heard, since we were children, that believing in Jesus should affect how we act and think.

And the choices believers make are painful because they cut across the grain of popular wisdom. Popular wisdom holds, “If you are wronged, get even.” Jesus knew the popular mind. He admonished, “You have heard it said, ‘An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.’ But I say unto you . . .”

Elijah embodied the spirit of popular wisdom — a real “blood and guts” guy whose mission in life was to foment rebellion and revolution in the name of God. When Elisha succeeded his mentor he prayed to receive a double portion of Elijah’s spirit. Elijah and his successor instigated a most violent and cruel coup.

Tradition held that Elijah did not die, but was taken to heaven in a whirlwind. Contemporary religious speculation looked for Elijah to return before the coming of the Messiah. The return of Elijah can only mean the revival of violence and revenge as political options. Zealots and sicarii (dagger-men/assassins, “terrorists” in modern parlance) were ready to put this methodology to the test. Some people regarded Jesus as Elijah returned, as the disciples reported to their master. (*Luke 9:19*). People

were prepared to welcome the leader who would restore the spirit of Elijah. Jesus rejected the spirit of Elijah,

The spirit of Elijah belongs to another age, a destructive and unproductive age, not the new age which God is seeking to bring about. Jesus rebuked those who were ready to give the “fire from heaven” treatment to the Samaritan villagers. “You do not know what manner of spirit you are of, for the Son of Man came not to destroy men’s lives, but to save them” (*Luke 9:55*). The second sentence, omitted in some English versions, is found in ancient manuscripts of the New Testament. This rebuke may be partially paraphrased, “You incline to the spirit of Elijah. I do not.” Jesus quietly went another way.

Faith should help to make human action truly free and responsible. We can give opportunity for the Spirit of God to influence our lives; or, we can remain captive to the spirit of Elijah.

Luke is teaching believers that hostility and rejection are not the opportunity to get even, but the opportunity to love. Faith demands active goodness towards those who reject us and hate us. That is the Spirit of Jesus.

Christians live out their calling in communities and groups that establish the matrix of their being. How should Christian citizens in a powerful nation respond when their nation says of other nations and people, “These fellows won’t receive us. They don’t do things our way, on our terms, or uphold our values.”

If we opt for “fire from heaven,” do we know what manner of spirit we are? ■

AIDS public health policy

Will church punish or heal?

by Reginald G. Blaxton

I want to reflect on some of the special social issues raised by the advent of a strange virus of unknown origins — specifically, the relationship of AIDS public health policy to religious life.

At first glance, it may be surprising that the religious community should be expected to make any contribution to the formulation of public health policy. Indeed, it is one of the continuing paradoxes of American life that in times of social crisis we invariably turn to the institutions of religious life — churches, synagogues and mosques — to help make sense of occurrences otherwise beyond our powers to explain.

It is a pastor's commonplace that human beings, to live lives of dignity and worth, must be able to make sense out of life. Our integrity, our sense of direction, require that we be able to piece together and comprehend the tangled and conflicting elements in our lives. Religious traditions — ancient and modern, Eastern and Western — claim to mediate a perspective which will provide both meaning and purpose to believers. Religious traditions help men and women to feel that they are in control, that they are not simply a bundle of molecules adrift in a cosmos indifferent to their deepest needs, hopes, concerns, and anxieties.

Religious traditions, of course, may also serve other purposes. Faith fulfills many functions, personal and social. But it is the quest for meaning that makes religious tradition such a potent social force, one that public health planners have considered mobilizing in the fight against AIDS. When human beings are suddenly subject to disease and death in the midst of a scientifically sophisticated, technologically-tooled secular society, a normal reaction is to turn to the richly storied sphere of religion and ask the reason why.

There is no consensus among religious authorities on either the theological significance of AIDS or what exactly would constitute a religious approach to this public health issue. In the absence of such consensus, officials must formulate policy on the basis of the best scientific data available, and should not be swayed by theological concerns. The legal and ethical justification for a non-theologically based policy is based on the first amendment to the Constitution, which advises, "No

law shall be made respecting an establishment of religion." The exclusion of religious beliefs goes against the grain of some public health planners who appreciate the stability of religious institutions, but again, these beliefs have no place in forming public health policy.

But one of the most problematic areas of AIDS policy concerns its ability to overcome the religiously-based biases that many people have about the disease, its origins and prevention. In spite of the rise of epidemiological science in the last century, many religious people still conceive of disease as a punishment from God. As political scientist Dennis Altman writes:

It is not only individual transgressions that are seen as leading to illness; there is a powerful tradition of seeing epidemics as the result of social collapse and degeneracy. It was widely believed that the Black Death was a sign of God's displeasure at the flouting of his commands.

We have witnessed, during the present health crisis, a re-emphasis on notions of personal sin and social degeneracy, which are especially strong in conservative religious traditions. If one believes, as many fundamentalists do, that "the wages of sin are death," it would follow that gay men and drug users, the two groups at highest statistical risk of contracting the HIV virus, are suffering the natural consequences of their "moral irresponsibility." In the absence of a hard scientific explanation of the genesis of the HIV virus, such a religious understanding of the disease represents an analysis of the problem that is not only logically coherent but emotionally satisfying as well.

Theologian James B. Nelson has proposed "four theological stances towards homosexuality that represent the range of current conviction." I want to draw your attention to his opening:

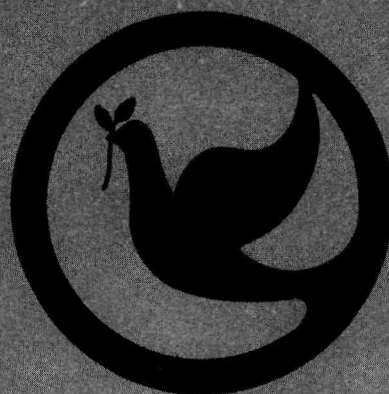
The first [theological stance] can be called a rejecting-punitive orientation. The person who holds this unconditionally rejects homosexuality as Christianly legitimate and, at the same time, bears a punitive attitude toward gay persons.

He concludes that although "no major contemporary theologian holds the rejecting-punitive position...in practice it may still be by far the most common orientation throughout the length and breadth of the church in our society."

AIDS has provided the opportunity for conservative reli-

The Rev. Reginald G. Blaxton, an Episcopal priest, is special assistant for religious affairs to Mayor Marion Barry, Jr. of Washington, D.C. This article is abridged from a longer paper by the author on the subject.

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gious institutions to reassert their traditional authority over sexual ethics. For example, advice to prospective parents infected by the AIDS virus that they should consider abortion to prevent the birth of babies with the condition proved increasingly problematic to certain segments of the religious community.

Similarly, advocating condom use in sexual relations was viewed as an unwise intrusion of state authority in the area of sexual ethics. In my opinion, these conflicts between religious authority and public health measures cannot be avoided. Indeed, they should not be avoided, but the rationale for specific health policy measures should be clearly stated using the best scientific and medical data available.

It remains for the public, once educated about the risks of contracting the virus and unintentionally transmitting it to

others, to make free, informed and unbiased decisions during this health crisis.

Homosexual behavior and drug use are remarkably similar, from a religious perspective, in that both genital activity and drug use seem to center on pleasure. In the religious community, there is a profound ambivalence about the human body and feelings peculiar to it, which is manifested in the exaltation of reason, soul and spirit and devaluation of emotion, body and sensuality. I believe this ambivalence has been one of religion's legacies to contemporary culture.

For example, it is widely believed, particularly among more liberal religious traditions, that although God is not directly responsible for AIDS, in their exercise of free will homosexuals have chosen a particular and perverse lifestyle. God, the argument goes, cannot be blamed if the lifestyle leads to

death anymore than God can be blamed for the death of a cigarette smoker from lung cancer. This is a logically curious argument because the analogy is only superficially comparable.

A more reasonable comparison, which avoids the temptations of moralism, would be of a person who joins her friends for a summer picnic where she consumes a generous helping of potato salad which has gone bad. The picnicker leaves with an incipient case of ptomaine poisoning which, if not treated, will lead to disease and death.

The point is that ptomaine poisoning is not an argument against eating, and still less a reason never to go to a cookout. The comparison does highlight the degree of risk inherent in many human activities. I believe that public health education should avoid at all costs the pervasive moralism that is so much a part of Western religious tradition.

Similarly, in the religious community, drug users, instead of being treated as people with a medical problem of chemical dependence with psychological and social consequences, are seen instead as deficient in personal moral development. Moralistic attitudes also inform this kind of judgment.

I now want to make a few recommendations on how to deal with religious objections to certain public health initiatives. One of the ironies of the impact of AIDS on the religious community is that, despite religion's historic discomfort over issues of disease, it was the Christian church that spawned the hospital movement in the West. Religious institutions have traditionally been willing to provide pastoral care and comfort for the sick.

In Washington, for example, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese has turned over the former headquarters of Catholic Charities to the Missionaries of Charity, an order of women religious founded by Mother Teresa of Calcutta. The building, dedicated as the Gift of Peace Convent, will be used as a hospice for indigent persons with AIDS and other terminal illnesses. The main concern is to provide a warm, loving environment where people can live their last days and die with dignity. The Convent has also become a place where community volunteers can exercise their ministries to the sick and dying, and increase their knowledge of the disease.

Public health policy ought to recognize that people with AIDS have needs and concerns that go beyond their physical illness. The establishment of direct pastoral care by religious persons and institutions for people with AIDS should be encouraged. As AIDS program coordinators establish community outreach, they should target the religious leadership and provide them with regular scientific updates.

Public health specialists should approach religious leaders with a clearly defined set of the community's needs. In some

communities, housing for people with AIDS may be more of a problem than, say, pastoral counseling; reducing the level of community fear and panic may be more important than AIDS prevention efforts. I believe that wise public health planning which seeks to utilize religious institutions for the implementation of policy, must endorse a range of measures. Religious institutions will find advocacy of sexual abstinence and abstinence from drug use the most attractive element of AIDS education and awareness. If sensitive to religious community concerns, an effective public health policy will continue to emphasize the role of abstinence in AIDS prevention.

AIDS public health policy planners, if they are to persuade the public that their plans are personally and socially beneficial, also need to be aware of some of the unspoken assumptions that guide their work. These assumptions entail value judgments that would be readily understood in the religious community.

The first assumption is that health is preferable to disease. Doubtless, we all believe this, but I would point out that this assumption is a belief based on our respect for the dignity and worth of individual persons.

Second, knowledge is preferable to ignorance. Public health policy must base its appeal to the broader community, understanding that knowledge about AIDS is not just the concern of scientists, but everyone's concern. One of the unfortunate effects of moralism on public policy is that it usually proceeds from the conclusion that ignorance is preferable to knowledge, particularly in matters of public sex education.

Finally, hope is preferable to despair. The religious community should be urged to return to and proclaim attitudes and beliefs that are also a part of its venerable heritage. The impetus toward health and wholeness, the goodness of created, embodied existence, the productive relationship of faith to knowledge, the sustaining power of hope have been, at one time or another, important elements in the Western religious tradition. Let us hope during this health crisis that the religious community will recover these parts of its heritage, so that people with AIDS and others will have a choice — and choosing, decide in favor of life. ■

Resources

A new AIDS ministry which engages the religious community with state and civic groups was announced recently by the Episcopal Diocese of Connecticut. The program entails workshops, regional care teams and development of a "model" residence for AIDS patients. The Diocese donated \$15,000 as seed money.

The Parsonage and the AIDS Hope Help Center in San Francisco perhaps offers the most varied ministry to gays and lesbians (555A Castro St.). The Center has received telephone calls from 35 states on its hotline (1-800-AID-TALK). A summary of ways in which Episcopalians assist persons with AIDS appears in the September issue of *The Episcopalian*.

Short Takes

The face of faith

A joint Russian-American delegation recently visited Mount Desert Island. The group was made up of Soviet doctors and medical students and was guided in their journey by their American opposite numbers. They spent four days kayaking from Isleboro to Northeast Harbor and then continued to tour Maine before ending their trip. The project was sponsored by Physicians for Social Responsibility and coordinated locally by members of the Main Street Coalition and the Beyond War Movement.

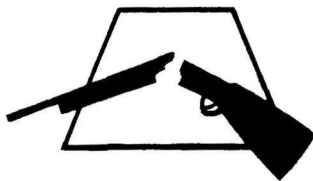
As the weary group paddled into the harbor and the faces of the participants became visible it was hard to tell who was whom, that is who were the Russians and who were the Americans. As they got out of their boats and lugged them ashore it was still difficult. Finally when some speeches were made, language became the evidence of identity: The Russians could speak no English. That fact seemed to matter very little to the assembled crowd and there were rounds of applause as good wishes for reduced political and military tension were exchanged and remarks about how friendly everyone was were shared. There was even a feeling of hopefulness about the future that resulted from this little gathering. We looked into their eyes and saw ourselves, concerned about politics, worried about the future, missing families, weary from traveling, and seeking a friendly word and handshake. It was an incarnational moment. Out of a sense of oneness and openness came friendship and trust.

**The Rev. Paul E. Gilbert, Rector
St. Mary's and St. Jude's
Northeast Harbor, Maine**

Third World wisdom

When spider webs unite, they can tie up a lion. (Ethiopian proverb)

Once you have said, "Here I am," don't try to say that you're not there. (Haitian proverb)



'Christians & military' video

A 30-minute videotape, "Christian Conscience and Military Service," helps viewers make informed decisions about participation, objection, or resistance to conscription and military service.

The non-advocacy film presents a history of the draft and includes background information on traditional Christian views toward war and military service (Pacifism, the Just War, and the Crusade); minorities and the military; and things a Christian should consider in making a conscientious decision.

Purchase price, \$30: The Cathedral Bookstore, P. O. Box 2164, Los Angeles, CA 90051.

Texans rout parasites

Armed with less than \$7,000, but with a wealth of donated equipment, medicine and talent, 42 volunteers sponsored by St. Andrew's Episcopal Church of Seguin, Tex. spent part of the summer in Honduras breaking a cycle of disease that has plagued people there for centuries. Two groups, including doctors, dentists, nurses, veterinarians — each spending a week — constructed a medical clinic from an existing brick building, treated over 2,000 animals for parasites and ministered to more than 2,000 people in Siguatepeque. Treatment of the animals was key, since the people are able to provide food for themselves but are often robbed of nutrition by intestinal parasites passed to humans from their domestic animals. More than 500 people a day were treated at the mission clinic.

The Texans carried with them a dentist's chair (in pieces); two centrifuges, 500 pairs of eyeglasses, and lightbulbs in 80 duffle bags. To save money, each traveler used his or her 100 pound baggage limit to transport the gear.

**Doreen Howard
in *The Houston Post***

Quote of Note

Martyrdom is the only way a person can become famous without ability.

George Bernard Shaw

AIDS high in minorities

The disproportionate impact of AIDS among Blacks and Hispanics is leading Civil Rights groups and the Federal Government to shift resources to deal more directly with the threat the disease poses to minorities.

"The gravity of the disease has reached a point where the minority community is now moving faster than the majority community to mobilize to do something about it," said John E. Jacob, president of the National Urban League. The incidence of AIDS among Blacks and Hispanics is at least twice what it is among Whites.

White homosexual men still make up the largest share (49%) of the nation's 38,435 diagnosed AIDS cases, but Black and Hispanic people make up 39% of all cases even though they account for only 17% of the total U.S. adult population. Within the Hispanic community, leaders say, education and prevention efforts have been complicated by the Roman Catholic Church's opposition to the use of condoms. . .

And for a lot of minority women, "discussing safer sex is out of context of their role," said Suki Ports, the director of the Minority Task Force on AIDS for the New York Council of Churches. "they may risk losing their man or even risk physical abuse if they were to suggest using a condom."

**William E. Schmidt
in *The New York Times***

Creative Insecurity

Faith is a life of walking, teetering, always not quite sure whether you've made the right decision, but still enduring and calling out, "Where am I, Lord?" Christian faith is not meant to lead a life of security; rather it is meant to be a life of creative insecurity. If you are secure, you don't need grace, or prayer, or sisters and brothers. If you are secure you don't need the power of God.

Vincent Harding in *Sojourners*

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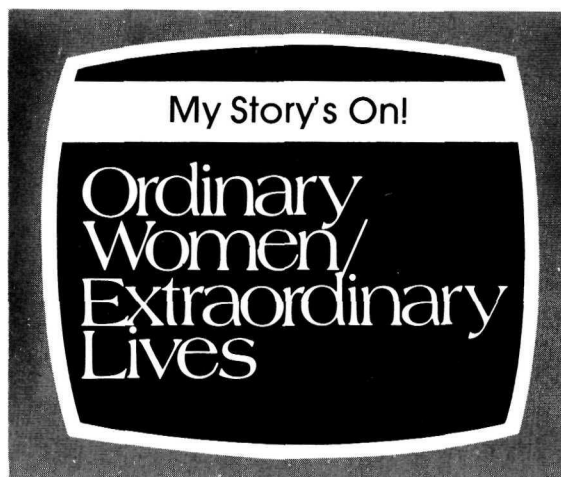
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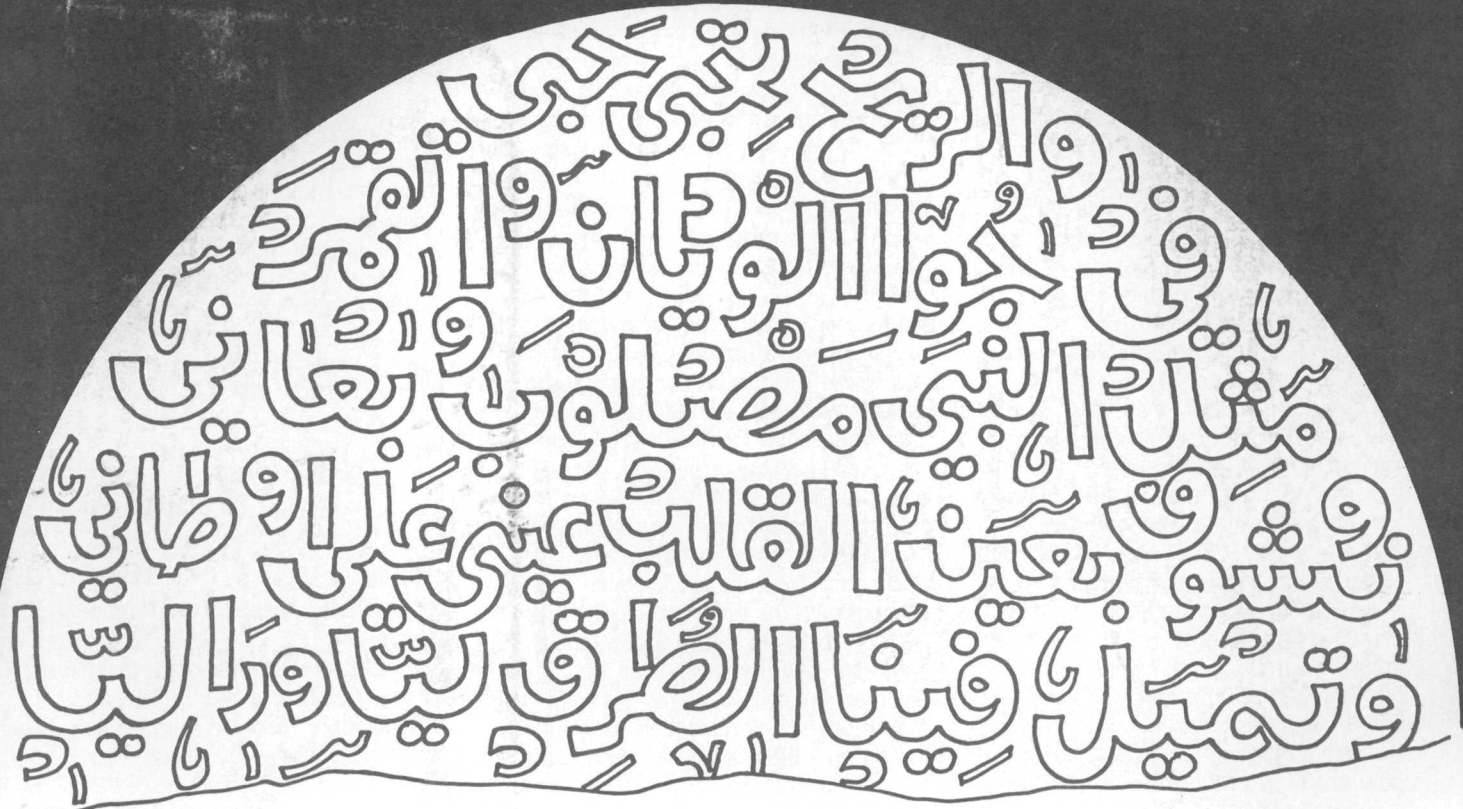
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THE WITNESS



**Arab-Israeli conflict:
"Moon Red as Blood"**

JAMES LEWIS

Racism in Paradise • SHELLEY WONG

S. African Students Fight Apartheid

JOHN STUBBS

Letters

Report disappoints

As a participant in the Public Policy Network's Under One Roof Conference in St. Louis, I am puzzled and disappointed with Susan Pierce's report in the July/August WITNESS.

Puzzled, because her introduction chooses to understand the Public Policy Network in all its cooperative diversity as simply "the institutional church," whereas her conclusion faults it for not from the start planning to produce forceful General Convention resolutions to transform the church. Her words in between seem to admit that this last was never the intention.

Disappointed, because Pierce, hoping like many of us for some bold policy statement from the Presiding Bishop, did not apparently recognize that the bottom line for the moment was likely to be given us by George McGonigle, his senior administrator. In one workshop hour between flights out and back from New York, McGonigle admittedly attempted nothing bold or incisive, but his summary of progress to date was wholly workmanlike and specified the PB's five resultant priorities, in formulations I found relevant then and worth pondering since.

As Susan Pierce says, the idea was to bring together all the various service and justice ministries working for social change. Many of us believed the purpose was a modest one of strengthening the "community of Episcopalians who can support each other in working to transform the church." This took concrete reality at innumerable moments as each of us shared special experiences and learned from another's. From this standpoint, the conference seemed to me and others a solid success.

Paul L. Ward
Alexandria, Va.

Sexuality needs forum

Susan E. Pierce, in her commentary on Under one Roof, said several things that needed to be said, not the least of which was decrying the paucity of discussion of justice issues with respect to lesbians and gay men and sexuality in general. The failure to include these issues on the agenda caused several Integrity members to stay away from St. Louis, but we nevertheless had the largest delegation of all the sponsoring networks. Our numbers and forthrightness, moreover, made lesbian and gay concerns a focus of many Connector Group meetings and introduced the topic in many workshops, including the one on non-traditional families which had initially ignored us. Integrity also sponsored an additional workshop on blessings of lesbian/gay marriages, which was filled beyond capacity.

The failure to include lesbian and gay concerns in the program was Integrity's responsibility. I know that most of the organizers of the conference are supportive of Integrity's goals, but our concerns are not foremost in their minds. Just as in 1985 when the first draft of The Consultation's position statement for General Convention completely ignored heterosexism, Integrity has to continually remind our friends that lesbians and gay men must be fully part of the agenda for justice in the Episcopal Church.

Edgar K. Byham
New York, N.Y.

'Business as usual'

Thanks to THE WITNESS for pointing out the non-effect, ultimately, of the Under One Roof meeting in St. Louis.

When I first arrived I was proud of the large numbers that had gathered for the event, and excited about the poten-

tial this created. But after the closing Eucharist I was disappointed.

While a great deal of information-sharing took place, in the end, in spite of the gathering of many, no united prophetic vision emerged, no social justice strategies for the church-at-large.

I admire Susan Pierce's eloquent analysis and reportorial skill in cutting through the morass to get to the painful point.

The liturgy, of course, was magnificent but we Episcopalians are known for doing that well. I agree with Byron Rushing — the feast of Pentecost presented a unique opportunity for the Presiding Bishop to talk about a new church and a new Pentecost, but we just settled for "business as usual."

The Rev. Floyd Naters-Gamarra
Philadelphia, Pa.

'Roof' lost Constitution

Re the Under One Roof Conference (July/August WITNESS): I am disturbed by one factor — the theme of the plenary sessions, "Politics, Religion and the Constitution," seemed inadequately carried throughout.

Ms. Pamela Chinnis, one of the panelists, explained to me that the original intent had not been to include the Constitution, that it had been included in deference to Sen. Lowell Weicker who gave the keynote address. However, I was disturbed that Weicker's speech seemed a pep rally for a Constitution I feel to be fundamentally flawed. I suspect that I may have been the only person at the conference who attended especially to discuss the Constitution.

During the second plenary session the panelists talked about how our country is divided along racial lines and between the sexes, and they noted how the basis of such division seems to be fear. They went

on to talk of the need to confront such fears.

The Under One Roof Conference was—at least in part—an attempt to confront our fears of each other and heal the divisions within our denomination. However, our nation as a whole seems to be running from each other at an increasing pace.

During the discussion period following I spoke of the need for a constitutional amendment dividing the power in our country along racial and sexual lines and in proportion to population. Needless to say the response was underwhelming.

I was amused when the third session ended—without discussing the role of the Constitution—with one panel member asking if anyone knew of some structural change which might help in the squabble for funds by the various groups.

The panel moderator opened the discussion period by announcing, “No statements; just questions!” Then she managed to turn herself in such a way as not to notice my hand. I really don’t blame her much: Nobody actually wanted to talk about the Constitution anyway.

I would expect that Mr. Weicker might have a pep rally mentality when it comes to the Constitution. After all he is a white male, and I suspect, wealthy. The Constitution is designed to serve exactly such folk!

In effect, what the planning committee for the plenary sessions had done was to construct a “half debate”—it provided for the pro but not the con of the Constitution.

John Kavanaugh
Detroit, Mich.

September rich issue

We just finished reading the September WITNESS and wanted to thank you for this particularly rich issue. Charles Willie’s “Constitutional wrongs” should

have wide reading; Michael Hamilton’s “An Irish sickness” is deeply moving and helpful; and William Spofford’s “Remembering ‘the Old Man’” brings back so many memories which are precious to us of people we knew and cherished through THE WITNESS and later “in the flesh.”

It was Hans Beaver, sexton in our first parish at St. John’s, Portage, Wisc., in 1925, who out of love and appreciation circulated THE WITNESS on foot each week and so built up the social awareness of the congregation. Our congratulations and thanks to you and to the above.

Elizabeth and Daniel Corrigan
Santa Barbara, Cal.

Had similar experiences

I promptly read the July/August issue with special interest in Marianne Micks’ “Forty years in the wilderness” because Bishop Stephen Bayne often referred to her writings and saw that I had copies. I had earlier ordered her book, “The Joy of Worship,” and look forward to reading it. I well understand her feelings expressed in the article, for I have had many similar ones!

Congratulations on the awards THE WITNESS has received—a great tribute to your imagination and determination as well as your sense of mission.

Dr. Ruth Jenkins
La Jolla, Cal.

Focus on battered earth

No words can express my deep gratitude for Bishop John Spong’s article, “The twilight of patriotism,” in your September issue. Thank God someone in the church is addressing the most important topic of our day: The potential destruction of life on earth for the short

term selfish gain that may be accrued.

We are destroying our planet at a rate so alarming that scientists predict we may suffer the greatest mass extinction in the history of the earth. Tropical rain forests are being cut down at the rate of 35 to 50 acres per hour. Species of animal, insect and plant life are being exterminated at an estimated rate of one per hour. Soil erosion turns arable soil into desert; pollution of our lakes, rivers, and oceans by toxic chemicals kills the life therein at unprecedented rates; acid rain is destroying forests in Europe and America.

It all adds up to the same grim fact: We who have been given “dominion” over the earth act as though we were mindless, vicious destroyers of life rather than as its faithful, loving stewards. Some people who ravage, pillage and destroy think the harm wrought won’t be realized until far into the future, and they “won’t be around to see it when it happens.” How foolish! It is happening right now.

Bishop Spong’s article is a delight to see in THE WITNESS, because we read and hear so little from the church about our relationship to all life, our need to love all life, to realize that God created all things and found them all good.

Richard A. Boggs
Los Angeles, Cal.

Correction

A typographical transposition appeared in the article, “Constitutional wrongs” by Charles V. Willie in the September issue on p. 11. The sentence should read, “The Supreme Court ruled in the *Plessy* decision of 1896 that racial groups in this nation could be required to use separate public facilities including those that were supported with common tax funds” . . . not 1986.

THE WITNESS

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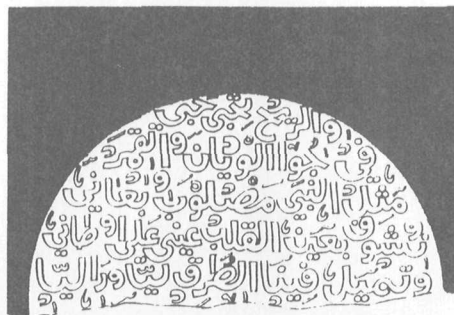


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The PLO and the First Amendment

In a flagrant violation of First Amendment Rights, the U.S. State Department ordered the Palestine Liberation Organization to shut down its Information Office in Washington, D.C. Sept. 15. And legislation pending in Congress threatens to close the PLO's New York Office as well. The latter operates in connection with activities at the United Nations, where the PLO has observer status. Rep. Jack Kemp and Sen. Charles Grassley have introduced the bill under the "Anti-Terrorist Act of 1987."

Jewish leaders have hailed the State Department's decision as "a crucial symbolic victory in their campaign to deligitimize the PLO in the Mideast equation," according to *Washington Jewish Week*.

But there has been less rejoicing elsewhere. *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* took editorial positions in protest. The *Times* noted that the Administration

said it acted because of "terrorism committed and supported by organizations and individuals associated with the PLO." But State conceded that it had no evidence of such terrorism here. "Closing down information offices," said the *Times*, "is a gesture suitable to closed societies."

The Washington Post pointed out that George Shultz, himself, opposes the bill in Congress, and State officials were divided internally over the issue. Shultz wrote legislators months ago that "so long as an office regularly files reports with the Department of Justice on its activities as an agent of a foreign organization, complies with all other relevant U.S. laws and is staffed by Americans or legal resident aliens, it is entitled to operate under the protection provided by the First Amendment to the Constitution."

Finally, the American Civil Lib-

erties Union, labeling the action "an unconstitutional assault on the fundamental liberties of free speech," continued, "this is not yet Robert Bork's America where majoritarian views on foreign policy are allowed to silence the advocacy of competing positions."

The whole sordid incident reveals how one-sided is the information we receive about the plight of Palestinians in the Israeli-Palestine conflict. It also dims the hopes for an international peace conference, to focus on the concerns of the Middle East.

And it also warns that during an election year, even the more liberal members of Congress will be tempted to violate the Constitution rather than jeopardize votes from sizeable bloc constituencies. It will be our duty to convince them otherwise. ■

Israeli-Arab conflict:

'Moon red as blood,' dire omens

by James Lewis

"The sun turned black as a funeral pall and the moon all red as blood, and the stars in the sky fell to the earth like unripe figs shaken by a great wind."

Revelation 6:13

When I was in the Middle East the headlines in the Jerusalem newspapers spoke of the Lavi decision and the Vanunu trial. The Lavi is the state-of-the-art jet fighter being developed by Israel. The United States has put \$1.5 billion into it. While we were in Jerusalem, Israel decided to scrap the project. Good news for back home. Now Israel will purchase F-16s from the U.S. aerospace industry.

The other big story was about Mordecai Vanunu. Vanunu had worked at the nuclear reactor in Dimona, a remote area in the Negev. That is, until he flew to London to tell Israel's nuclear story to the *Sunday Times*. The copy confirmed longtime suspicions. Dimona, says Vanunu, is the center for nuclear weaponry. Israel has over 200 nuclear warheads.

Because Vanunu spilled the beans, he was kidnaped by Israel and flown back to Jerusalem for trial. The trial opened under heavy security and press censorship. Some of Vanunu's letters and tapes were published. He had important things to say to us:

"The citizens of Israel are unaware of the threat of nuclear weapons. There are people trying to diffuse this issue. I believe that nuclear arms in the Middle East are especially dangerous — to say nothing of their danger

to the world at large — because there are wars here all the time and some madman could use them. Even though Israel is democratic, it would act like a mad state because of fear and the threat to its existence."

My trip through the Middle East as part of a United States Jewish-Christian delegation showed me that the U.S. peace movement must wake up to the grave global implications of the Israeli-Arab conflict. I believe it is a serious mistake for peace activists to focus only on reduction of nuclear arms in Europe while ignoring Israel's growing nuclear arsenal.

We stayed at the East Jerusalem YMCA. From the top floor, I could see a soccer game played across the street. Ammiel Alkalay, a Sephardic poet, had met with us earlier. He told a story about how two enemies found a way to talk to one another. An aide to Pales-



Editor visits Mid East

The Rev. James Lewis, contributing editor of *THE WITNESS* and director of Christian Social Ministries for the Diocese of North Carolina, was one of 10 Christians and Jews who participated in a trip to the Middle East under the aegis of the Resource Center for Non-Violence, Santa Cruz, Cal. His itinerary took him to Jordan, Israel, and Tunisia where he interviewed scores of grassroots activists and high-level officials, including PLO leader Yasir Arafat, the latter during a middle-of-the night visit to a secret headquarters.

In this issue, Lewis begins a two-part analysis of his travels.

tine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasir Arafat and a Zionist soccer coach from the Likud party shared their ardent love for soccer. They found common ground beyond their mutual hatred.

Alkalay is wise. What is needed in the region is a new context for the issues. The old context has failed. He said something simple, yet profound: "The population will be living another reality long before the solution."

We've learned the truth of that statement in another arena, Central America. I believe that U.S. foreign policy toward Nicaragua is being changed at an official level because thousands of

people have been living out a peace agenda daily between the United States and Nicaragua. Through countless work trips, visitations, exchanges and personal encounters, U.S. citizens have experienced another reality prior to any governmental solution. Political entities always react better to a flesh and blood fait accompli. Living peace is the only way to make it. Foreign policy, like a meandering child, will tag along.

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict needs a new context, which Jews and Christians must help create. Pressure will have to be brought to bear on our own governments to support an international peace conference with Russia present. And we must insist upon having the PLO at the table. The PLO exists as legitimate leadership, and Israel and the United States will have to acknowledge that fact.

One evening, four of us wandered over to the International Conference for Palestinian Folklore.

Various Palestinian folkgroups were singing and dancing. I felt like I was attending a West Virginia folk festival. Appalachian dialect was replaced by Arabic. I felt something wonderfully subversive was happening. The words that were sung were cryptic. Like Black spirituals, they camouflaged a message of liberation available only to the initiated.

I was given a souvenir poster, advertising April Moon, one of the singing groups. It depicts an orange moon, sliced in half, set against a black background. Arabic is sprinkled across the entire sheet. Later, someone translated it:

"You, dear moon, who witness us leaving our homeland, shine upon us until we come back to our homeland. The winds blow slowly in the valley and the moon is like the prophet, suffering and crucified. We see with the eye of our heart, our homeland. The

way is unclear and the people are running after one another. Usthra's face is like the morning and her eyelashes are songs. The song says that she is coming back and her lover will kiss her."

Tekoa, not far from Jerusalem, was the home of the prophet Amos. It is now one of the many areas in the West Bank where settlements have been built since the Six Day War, fought 20 years ago.

These settlements ring the hillsides around Jerusalem and appear with more and more regularity throughout the heavily Palestinian regions of the West Bank. Since 1967, it is estimated that some 60,000 Jewish settlers have moved in among the 1.5 million Palestinians. Enormous numbers of Palestinians have been uprooted, their lands confiscated.

One settler in Tekoa, originally from the United States, told us that the community is open to many people. White South Africans helped settle it and he pointed to a couple of Russians, his neighbors, working to complete a unit behind his.

He considered himself a pioneer; "I want to be able to say, in 20 years, that I came here when there was nothing and now there is something . . ."

He was a classic pioneer, who always sees himself as first. *Creatio ex nihilo*. Like a god, he creates from nothing — or so he thinks. His motto is: History Begins With Me.

I remember the historical lie I learned in childhood: How the White man came to the American shores to discover the country and created something from nothing. It was as if Native Americans never occupied the land and their culture, civilization and values didn't exist.

Just prior to Tekoa, we worked in the Palestinian village of Beit Fajjar, near Bethlehem. On a hillside half a mile from town, we moved fieldstone

to build a wall for a Palestinian family. Israeli military officials told the family that the land would be confiscated if it were not used. The man, his wife and children worked with us. The land would be used to plant grapes.

While lifting rocks, I heard the sound of rifles firing from a nearby settlement firing range — Israelis taking target practice. They were armed and ready to defend the land. In contrast, Palestinians are unarmed, by law, and fearful that their land will continue to be taken from them.

Later, I read a newspaper report from the West Bank. It quoted Israeli Housing Minister David Levy, who pledged to increase the Jewish presence in the occupied territories. More settlements will be built.

Over food, a Palestinian friend smiled while telling me his "big secret." According to him, settlers are moving away. It has become more difficult to entice prospective settlement dwellers, even with government loans and subsidies. "What's more," he said, "we will outnumber them with more babies, more Palestinians. From our loins, we will conquer them. It's just a matter of time."

It was a new experience for me to see the Arab side of the conflict in Israel. I grew up in Baltimore. Film director Barry Levinson re-created my 1950s neighborhood in his movies, *Diner* and *Tin Men*. The rowhouses on my street, Jonquil Avenue, were loaded with mailboxes marked Cohen, Shapiro and Smelkinson. Kosher food and Christmas trees marked the area as a mixed neighborhood.

Hearing stories of the Holocaust, I developed a genuine bias in favor of Jewish people. In my neighborhood, you did not speak unkindly of Jews. They had suffered enough for being Jewish.

It wasn't until the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon that I finally had to

face a side of the truth I had neglected — the Arab side. The terrible stereotypes of Arab people I had learned as a child were challenged and my romantic view of Israel was shaken. My culture had given me a very unforgiving portrait of Arab people. They had been portrayed as thieving, dirty, violent, lazy, and sexually aggressive — all the marks of a racist view.

A copy of the *Al Fajr* paper I picked up carried a story about the Heisman Trophy-winning football player, Doug Flutie, an Arab-American. Growing up in Baltimore, I never saw a positive image of an Arab in newspapers or textbooks. In the Middle East I met hundreds of beautiful Palestinian people. Former “enemies” have become my friends. I think often about this mysterious encounter between enemies. Understanding the love/hate relationship between enemies is crucial if individuals and societies are to be whole.

Jacobo Timerman, a Jew, disillusioned by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, confronted the ancient alienation of Jew and Arab in his book, *The Longest War*. He wrote, “Rarely do we, the Palestinian and Israeli peoples, reach that culminating moment in the encounter of two enemies when they mutually confess their crimes, their terrors, and their inevitable need for each other.”

Half of our delegation was Jewish. I felt like I was back on Jonquil Avenue, back in touch with my neighborhood. This time, however, I understood more fully how complicated it is to be Jewish, how painful it can be.

Midway in our trip, we heard that Yasir Arafat might meet with us in Tunis. There was a ripple of excitement, but a deep anxiety emerged from some of our Jewish contingent. The question surfaced: Would we allow photographs to be taken of us with Arafat?

Beneath the discussion, there was a deeper issue. The Jews were worried about what this would mean when they got back home. They were fearful of what relatives would say and how other Jews would react. They feared being cut off from their community for talking with the enemy. One of our members recalled how, as a child, he gave money to plant trees in Israel. Now he saw that Palestinians had been uprooted from their land, on which these trees are deeply rooted. He worried that his honest criticism about Israeli policies would cause him to be labeled as an enemy.

In Ibillin we met with the Rev. Elias Chacour, pastor of a Melkite church. His home was once destroyed by Israeli policy. Nevertheless, he works towards a non-violent solution to the conflict between Arab and Jew. He charged the Jews in our group to go back home and tell other Jews to change the U.S. foreign policy which supports Israeli denial of land and human rights to Palestinians.

We visited Neve Shalom, a small community of Jews and Palestinians who conduct camps and workshops where Jews and Palestinians can meet, confront one another and develop new ways to see each other. This community provided another new context for peace.

The five Jews who discussed a photo session with Arafat came back to the United States with a different task — how to create a new context for discussion of the old hostilities, which are nurtured by certain Jewish special interest groups like the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC).

Edward Tivnan, in his book, *The Lobby: Jewish Political Power and American Foreign Policy*, summed up in one paragraph what lay beneath the photo debate. He wrote, “American Jews no longer have to prove that they care about Israel. They do, however,

have to prove that they care enough to listen to all sides in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The debate must begin anew, in public. Only then will the interest of Israel, American Jewish, and U.S. foreign policy be served.”

But upon my return to the United States, what anxieties would I carry with me? If I did speak out about the growing Israeli nuclear power, would I be threatened? Would I be punished for pointing to the abusive way Israelis are treating Palestinians? Could I say that Israel is comparable to South Africa in many of its repressive actions? Would it be possible to keep having my picture taken with old Jewish friends while trying to pressure my government to get Israel to sit down at a table with Arafat?

I know my fear. I don’t want to be called “anti-Semitic.” I am held back by my liberal guilt. Liberal Christians have stood with powerless, homeless Jews in search of land. Now we are hesitant to criticize a powerful, landed Israel whose policies, backed by U.S. support, have created powerless, homeless Palestinians. The guilt that motivates such fear is ironic and unjust. The Israeli and American Jewish community are not beyond criticism. Episcopalians like myself, with historic ties to Jewish people, must move beyond our fear of being labeled anti-Semitic. We must question the oppressive state that has been created with billions of dollars’ worth of U.S. aid over the past decade. We have to learn to fear the injustice being done by that state more than the smear campaigns of a few zealous special interest groups.

Scott Kennedy and I visited Bishop Jim Pike’s grave in Jaffa, just south of Tel Aviv. Pike’s wife Diane (Scott’s sister), went with Jim into the desert wilderness where he died. Pike was a

Continued on page 22

Short fuse in Fiji

by Layton Zimmer

It was just a small revolution in May, a bloodless coup. One officer and 11 soldiers rushed noisily into a meeting of the Fijian Parliament, arrested the recently elected Prime Minister, Timoci Bavadra, his Cabinet and 12 of his staunchest followers.

The revolutionaries took their hostages to secret but comfortable confinement. Their leader, dissident Lt. Col. Sitiveni Rabuka, was sworn in as head of the Council of Ministers, an interim government. The whole thing was hardly noticed by Americans focused on "Iran/Contra-gate" and the televangelical "Pearly-gate." But the May coup and a second, more recent coup in September, are the result of serious racial and political tensions that threaten the future of peace in that part of the world.

Fiji is a tiny South Pacific nation. A former British colony, it became independent in 1970 and is a member of the British Commonwealth. All of Fiji's 400 plus islands put together would equal a bit more land than Hawaii. Most of the Fiji Islands are tiny and uninhabited, and the total population — slightly over 700,000 people — is less than the total population of the island of Oahu alone.

From my days with the U.S. Peace Corps there, I remember the Fiji Islands as gorgeous. The largest and most developed island, Viti Levu, contains Suva, the capital city. Vanua Levu is the second largest, followed

by Kadavu. The rest of the Fijian archipelago consists of coral atolls and volcano tips which dot thousands of square miles of the South Pacific.

American money invested in Fiji consists mostly of investments by airline pilots, international entrepreneurs, and bankers in resorts, real estate development and vacation homes. Actor Raymond Burr bought one of the smaller islands lock, stock and barrel — complete with a village — for his personal use.

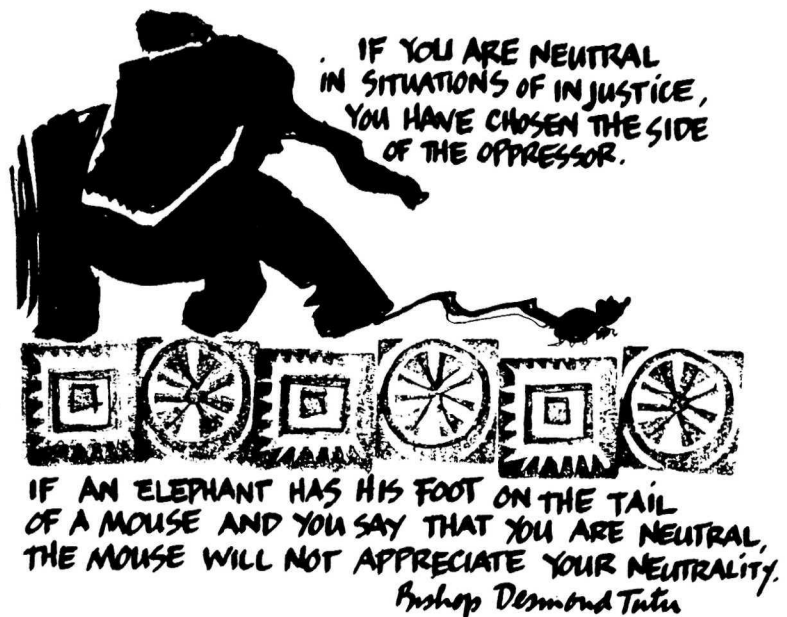
But the most prominent group, in terms of American impact, image and investment, is the Peace Corps, which has been in Fiji since 1967.

For example, on one of the most remote islands, there is a small village school named after Dan Dworkin, a

much-loved Peace Corps volunteer teacher there. But Dan's draft board decided that Peace Corps service was no way to dodge the draft during the Vietnam War. They yanked him out of class in midterm and sent him to Vietnam, where he was shot dead on his first patrol.

There is also an American embassy in Suva, the official American presence in Fiji and just about everywhere else in the South Pacific. Australia and New Zealand are large enough, valuable, and currently contentious enough to "deserve" their own embassies.

Approximately 360,000 Fijians live scattered out on the islands, along with 50,000 Aussies, Kiwis, Brits, Asians and a few Yanks. But it's the 400,000 Asian Indians, imported by the British



The Rev. Layton Zimmer, longtime peace activist, is rector of St. Aidan's Church, Albuquerque, N.M.

colonialists almost 100 years ago as indentured labor for the sugar cane fields, who actually outnumber the Fijians in Fiji.

Almost all the Indians live on the two largest islands, where the sugar cane grows. They have become the islands' businesspeople, no longer just field laborers doing miserable work for the colonial masters.

Years ago, roving about the Fiji Islands by sailboat, dugout canoe, Land Rover and on foot for the Peace Corps, I remember the pure joy of being welcomed into both native Fijian and Indian homes. But the tension was clearly there even then, whispered with significant glances deep into my eyes.

"We don't want them."

"They don't want us."

There are stereotypes associated with Indians and Fijians: Indians play soccer; Fijians play rugby. Indians staff the offices and shops of the resorts; Fijians run the recreational activities, keep bar, do the ethnic shows for the tourists and take visitors home with them to drink *kava* until dawn.

Everyone loves Fijians. Indians are treated as the outcasts of the islands. Fijians and Indians traditionally have had little affection for, or trust in, each other.

Despite the fact Indians were bought and coerced into coming to Fiji, which is the only home they have known for four generations, and throughout contemporary Fijian history have contributed muscle, mind, imagination, organization, patience, loyalty and humility, they still cannot own land for a home or business. All they have — thanks to the guilty conscience of the White masters who imported and stranded them there — is a constitutional guarantee of one-person, one-vote, just like the native Fijians.

Fijians have taken more and more leadership in government, either by

appointment or by carefully gerrymandered elections to a Legislative Council. Indians were elected to the Council too, but as minority party.

The British constructed a splendid Constitution that embodied all the best standards of Western democratic idealism. It was fair to the mistreated, maligned Indians and its fairness insured that native Fijians would inevitably lose control of their land as they annually lost the "birthrate race" to their unwanted neighbors.

Like indigenous peoples all over the world, from the Inuits in the Arctic to the Australian Aborigines, Fijians now know that beneath all the ideals and trinkets of Westernization, their White colonial friends have bequeathed them a ticking doomsday time bomb. Fijians may either choose ethnic and cultural decline, or they may repress and, when they see fit, exterminate the unwanted immigrants.

Fiji can never again be what it once was. Nor can it ever become what the White man wanted it to be. Fiji has never been and can never be just a peaceful tourist haven built on an acquiescent, Westernized multi-ethnic society.

U.S. role feared in Fiji

The United States may have played a major role in the May 14 military coup in Fiji, according to some Asian analysts.

Of major concern to many in the region was the presence of Vernon Walters, the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations (and former CIA deputy director) who visited Fiji in late April. During his visit, he told the Fiji press that the United States "has a duty to protect South Pacific interests." Five members of the World Anti-Communist League are also reported to have been in the country just before the coup. Deposed Prime Minister Timoci Bavadra said that the Reagan administration may have secretly arranged the coup to protect U.S. nuclear interests in Fiji.

— THE OTHER SIDE 10/87

"FIJI — THE WAY THE WORLD SHOULD BE" read the travel posters. Instead, Fiji is becoming the way the rest of the world already is: divided, rancorous, suspicious and volatile.

Lt. Col. Rabuka, leader of the coup in May, also led the more recent coup. He seized power Sept. 25 from Governor General Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau, who was in the process of forming a bipartisan caretaker government made up of both Indians and native Fijians. Rabuka declared Fiji a republic under his own rule.

A native Fijian, Rabuka served as commander of the United Nations Peacekeeping Forces' Fiji Battalion in Lebanon. He must have raged and wept at the loss of his men's lives as they went unarmed into certain ambush, slaughtered for the sake of peace. He knows what civil war is like. Apparently he decided that anything, even betrayal of his military oath of obedience, was preferable to watching his country torn apart in a civil war.

A crisis was indeed imminent. In May, the native Fijian Alliance Party's Prime Minister of almost three decades, Ratu Sir Kamaiesese Mara, had lost the election to Dr. Timoci Bavadra, a native Fijian who headed a new coalition of Indians and native Fijians. Foreign observers were optimistic about the smooth transition from native Fijian to Indian power, but there were signs of trouble. Native Fijian crowds gathered on corners, stood sullenly in streets, debated in the villages. Indians who stayed out too long or strayed too far were threatened and beaten.

Rabuka announced after the second coup that a new constitution would be drawn up guaranteeing native Fijians dominance in government and more control over the nation's economy.

The Indians will most surely lose the right to one-person, one-vote. And if

the Indians accept their loss of effective voting leverage, there is little possibility for equitable multi-ethnicity in Fiji. Frustration and fear will reign, and the volatility level will go up several more notches. The bloodless revolution might turn out to be the time of flexing muscles and sharpening cane knives.

All this is set in the context of other problems that darken Fiji's future. There is endemic malnutrition in Fiji. Overpopulation burgeons throughout the islands. Arable land is in increasingly short supply. Unemployment stalks villagers who escape to the few large towns where jobs are scarce.

Alcoholism is still the number one social problem, but drug addiction is growing fast, as is the crime rate. In the small societies of the South Pacific, these problems represent rootlessness, despair and profound societal distress.

In addition to these internal weaknesses, the exploitive pushing and pulling of the world's superpowers further increases the turmoil in this sensitive region.

Fiji's revolution may keep it aligned with the United States. Rabuka feared the coalition government might lead Fiji to the left and, along with New Zealand, to reject the U.S. nuclear umbrella. Now it seems possible that Fiji will back off from supporting the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone (SPNFZ).

Was the CIA involved in the conservative take-over? Despite protestations of regret and disavowals of involvement, the Reagan Administration's policies are clearly enhanced by Fiji's removal from SPNFZ. And Rabuka's regime is turning to the United States for approval, arms and support as no leadership in Fiji has ever done. It is as if Rabuka is redirecting his country from being a former British colony struggling for democracy to begin

anew as a fascist state and an American dependency. This will sound familiar to many — like a rerun of what we've seen before in Vietnam, Central America, Chile, the Philippines.

I remember celebrating Eucharist at a little church in Samabula, a suburb of Suva, assisted by native Fijians and Indians, as well as "valangis," which in Fijian means, "all others." I remember thinking, praying and hoping that the experience of at-oneness we shared then might somehow be a precursor of things to come. It wasn't; at least not yet.

In this island nation of many deeply-felt faiths, it may well be spiritual gifts that accomplish what colonialism and political power brokering have failed to do. I feel the role of the churches in Fiji is to be guardians and guides of the souls of their believers, and put spiritual restraints on the awesome potential for violence and brutality that lies so close to the surface.

But it is crucial that Christian churches do not seize the right to assume a modern version of the White, Christian, male "burden" of protecting "primitives" from the "worst" in themselves, which is what we valangis tend to see as anything inconsistent with our way of ordering and doing things. The gospel of Jesus Christ does not call anyone to be conservators of any government, especially one imposed from outside.

The word "valangi" was coined to refer to the explorers, colonialists, traders, slavers and missionaries who came on sailing ships. "Vava" means "wood" and "langi" means "heaven." The "wood reaching to heaven" was the tall masts of the sailing ships, which were majestic and awesome beyond anything the ancient Fijians had ever seen.

How sad, how unutterably tragic that the people whose masts reached to heaven brought so much hell to Fiji. ■

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Racism in paradise

by Shelley Wong

*But your forefathers came to our shores
they brought with them
the Cross and the Flag
and disease
and alcohol
and despair
and greed
and shame for what we were — “lowly heathens.”*

— *Women of the Waianae Coast
Church Women United liturgy*

We sat in a circle — 20 or more of us from the Racial Justice Working Group of the National Council of Churches during a fact-finding trip to Hawaii earlier this year — partaking in talk-story with Native Hawaiians. Hayden Burgess, Native Hawaiian attorney, who not too long ago had risked imprisonment and disbarment for refusing to recognize the authority of the U.S. federal court, addressed us. Barefoot, dressed in shorts, he stood in the center of our circle and told the story of how U.S. intervention has changed the destiny of this Pacific paradise.

Hawaii was a sovereign nation until Jan. 17, 1893, when she was illegally annexed to the United States, her lands taken and her citizenship denied. Hayden pointed out that before annexation Hawaii had trade relations with countries all over the world, had been a member of the Universal Postal Union, and had established approximately 100 diplomatic and consular posts worldwide.

Missionaries came to Hawaii in 1820 and were welcomed into Hawaiian society. Soon their sons and daughters entered business and politics on the island and prospered. Within a few decades a “missionary party” was formed to press for the developing sugar plantation interests.

The new business interests transformed the dynamics of land ownership. Native Hawaiians had no concept of “private property.” As one of the Waianae women put it, “In

ancient times, the Hawaiians practiced conservation. When they went to pick the *limu*, they didn’t grab it roots and all. They grabbed it at the top, they cleaned it in the water, put it in their bags and took it home. They didn’t catch all the fish in sight for miles around, because they couldn’t use it. They practiced conservation.”

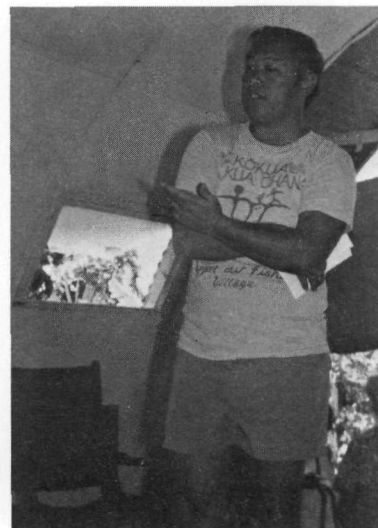
Over a period of 40 years after the missionaries came, more than 50,000 Hawaiians died of diseases brought in from outside. Native Hawaiians would not work under slave labor conditions, so plantation owners imported massive numbers of Asian immigrants for cheap labor — first from China, then Japan, and then the Philippines. The missionary party then pressed for Hawaii’s annexation to the United States. If Hawaii were annexed, plantation owners could be assured of a market for their sugar and would not have to worry about tariff restrictions.

The plantation interests conspired to overthrow the Kingdom of Hawaii.

On Jan. 16, 1893, more than 160 U.S. Marines landed in Honolulu with cannons. Queen Liliuokalani, who was to be the island’s last monarch, sent a message to the ship that the landing was a breach of treaty and international law, but it was to no avail. A group of conspirators proclaimed themselves a “Provisional Government” and selected Sanford B. Dole, son of missionary Daniel Dole, as their president. They pressed for Liliuokalani’s surrender and Hawaii’s annexation to the United States.

Shelley Wong is a teacher of English as a Second Language in New York City and a Ph.D. candidate in Applied Linguistics at Columbia University Teachers College. She is a member of the Racial Justice Working Group of the National Council of Churches and is active in Asian and Pacific community affairs.

Hayden Burgess explains native Hawaiian rights struggle to visiting NCC team.



Liliuokalani, not wanting any bloodshed, and trusting in the system of American democracy and justice, surrendered. She believed the United States would conduct an investigation. However, the gunboats stayed in the harbor, protecting the conspirators, and within four years, Hawaii became a United States territory.

Native Hawaiians were stripped of their Queen, their citizenship, their land and their way of life. Today Native Hawaiians are at the bottom of every social, political and economic rank on the island. A once proud and independent people, their ranks now fill the prisons. And the gunboats are still there — Hawaii serves as a military fortress for U.S. interests in the Pacific. One-quarter of Oahu, the most populous island, is controlled by the military. A few years ago, Native Hawaiians fought to keep the island of Kahoolawe, whose grounds were sacred, from being used by the military exclusively for bombing and training, but the military prevailed.

Since tourism has become the number-one industry on Hawaii, the land — previously the source of food, spiritual strength and the Native Hawaiian way of life — has been the victim of a land-grabbing free-for-all.

Kawehi Kanui-Gil, President of Kahea, Inc., a Native Hawaiian organization, took some of us around the island to see Native Hawaiian lands whose ownership has been under dispute. The land is so beautiful that we could see why the business interests wanted it. As we climbed out of our cars at Waimanalo, the beauty took our breath away; white sands, jagged rocks, clean blue waters and palm trees.

Each year, for as long as she could remember, Kawehi and her family would go to these beaches to live for the summer. But the local Chamber of Commerce claimed that the makeshift Hawaiian homes were an "eyesore" marring the beauty for the tourists. Kawehi and her family and other Hawaiian families were arrested and dragged away.

Kahea, Inc. was formed in 1980 to address this injustice. Waimanalo was heavily populated by Native Hawaiians. Its beaches were on Hawaiian Homelands set aside by the U.S. Congress in 1920 as reparation to Native Hawaiians for the annexation of their land and nation. Because of this, the city's jurisdiction was challenged and the Hawaiians were found not guilty.

Kawehi explained that the beaches of Waimanalo were part of 200,000 acres set aside by Congress to enable Hawaiians to be self-sufficient, independent and to preserve their culture. But Kawehi quickly added that since 1920 only 3,500 families have been settled on Hawaiian Homelands. Some 13,000 families have applied to the govern-

ment for land and are still waiting. While these lands were set aside for Hawaiians to use, often they have been rented very cheaply to non-Hawaiians or opened for tourism. She showed us a quarry on Hawaiian Homelands where coral is mined. The mining company pays pennies to rent the land. Kahea, Inc. believes that a more just disposition of potential revenue from the mines could go to a building fund for Native Hawaiians who have been granted land, but have no money to buy materials to build on it.

Kahea, Inc. was the first Native Hawaiian group to win land through the Hawaiian Homes Act. The group won 12 acres on the island of Kauai and intends to build a Native Hawaiian cultural center. With no formal training, group members did much of the legal research which helped them obtain the land. We met Harold Jin, of whom Kawehi whispered proudly, "Harold knows more about the Hawaiian Homes Act than the Department of Hawaiian Homelands itself!" Self-educated and seasoned in demonstrating and negotiating, Harold explained that he wanted to do something for the generations to come: "If we can obtain our land and teach other Native Hawaiians to obtain their land throughout the state, then we have begun a process of education."

Kahea, Inc. believes that legal knowledge is a powerful weapon. Hearing about their modest success in winning the 12 acres, our NCC Racial Justice Group also found hope in these small beginnings.

Resources

For further information about the Native Hawaiian story contact: Hayden F. Burgess, 86-120 Farrington Highway, Waianae, Hawaii 96792-2491. Burgess has prepared a detailed legal brief concerning his potential disbarment which summarizes the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian government and the seizure of Hawaiian lands.

A Time for Sharing: Women's Stories from the Waianae Coast is available for \$7.50 plus postage and handling from:

Ho'opo De Cambra

The Women's Support Group of the Waianae Coast

84-766 Lahaina St.

Waianae, Hawaii 96792

For information about Native Hawaiian land struggles contact:

Kawehi Kanui-Gil, President

Kahea, Inc.

41-169 Poliala St.

Waimanalo, Hawaii 96795

Nothing to lose, a future to gain:

Black students fight apartheid

The Botha regime in South Africa has escalated its war against Black youth. But despite the most oppressive conditions in years, neither police detention, brutality, nor even torture have succeeded in paralyzing the student movement. Rather, Black South African youth have become a force to be reckoned with; they feel they have nothing to lose and a future to gain.

Attempts by the government to crush their militancy and organization have failed, as students have adapted to meet the challenge of the present State of Emergency.

Over the past decade, the Black South African student movement has played a key role in preparing a generation of students committed to resistance. For example, the training that students received in that movement, and their subsequent experience of torture and repression, produced organizers of the recent Black Miners Strike — the largest labor-management conflict in South African history.

Cyril Ramaphosa, 33, General Secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, was a product of the movement, as well as:

- Popo Molefe, 35, General Secretary of the United Democratic Front (UDF) who joined the student movement in 1973. He was at Naledi High in Soweto and a member of the Soweto Students' Representative

Council when the student uprising began in June, 1976. He later joined the Allied Workers' Union and has spent a total of three years behind bars without having been convicted of any offense.

- Stone Sizane, 30, UDF Eastern Cape publicity secretary who works at a Port Elizabeth factory, also first became active during the '76 uprisings, as did Mkhuseleli Jack, 28, Port Elizabeth Youth Congress president and Eastern Cape consumer boycott leader.

Thousands of others might be added as illustrations — and the birthing of student leaders continues.

What is it that transforms these high school students into militants and leads to such determined resistance?

Consider the experience of Xolani Zungu, who was born in the Black residential area of KwaMashu near Durban, South Africa, in 1970. Beginning in 11th grade, he participated in a student protest movement against the use of Afrikaans, the language associated with apartheid; against the lack of teachers, and the enslaving nature of apartheid's "Bantu education."

On a Saturday in February, 1986, some 1,000 students from six schools gathered for a flag bearing, peaceful protest march. They were set upon by the police, who seized about 70 of the group. They were taken in, and 20 at a time, herded into bare, 15 by 20 foot cells. They received no food or bedding for the duration of their detention, and were permitted to use the toilet only after the second day.

The students were taken one by one into an office where six officials interrogated them intensely for about 30 minutes. One official was assigned to

beat the student about the face and body with his fists or with the *sjambok* (a stiff whip), or hold a lighted candle under the palms of the student. The others shouted questions about their identity and the identity of their leaders, or hurled the student to and fro between them. Detainees who gave information were released.

Interrogation was resumed at 8 a.m. on Sunday. This time one official was assigned the role of friendly inquirer and the questioning was shortened to about 10 minutes. Five students from Xolani's cell were released that day. Heated whispered arguments about informing students were silenced by the prison staff, and they waited through the day.

On the third day, the officials took the school's leader out and interrogated him for two hours. When he returned, he was severely bruised and bleeding and weeping uncontrollably. The other students were herded into trucks and taken back to a Durban taxi stand, where they waited until sympathetic cabbies returned them to their homes, some 15 miles away.

The students stayed away from school that week, meeting from time to time. Aware of day and night police searches and re-arrests, many slept in the bushes. The following Sunday the students met at the sports stadium and resolved on a Tuesday march to the Board of Education to renew their protest and demands. The march was joined by children from lower primary to high school ages from 15 schools.

About one mile from their destination they came up against a police blockade. Bullhorns warned them to

The Rev. John Stubbs is assistant to the rector at Church of the Heavenly Rest, New York, N.Y. A native of Johannesburg, he is married to Nomiso Ngodwane of Mdantsane. They came to the United States in 1980, and have three children.

despite torture, prison

by John Stubbs

disperse. Tear gas, rubber bullets and live ammunition were subsequently unleashed on the students and two of Xolani's classmates, Sipo and Mandla, fell dead.

Asked about the future, Xolani, while a member of the Children of War group (who call for peaceful resolution to the world's conflicts) does not feel that those "peaceful measures" used in the last 77 years of organized (African National Congress) Black resistance have accomplished anything in South Africa. He concludes that although violence destroys lives, it seems to be almost the only avenue left. With quiet determination, he says that his life will be committed to the struggle for freedom.

Prime Minister P.W. Botha's "Reform" has meant very little in concrete improvement of living conditions for Black townships. And youth have been one of the main targets of repression. About 30% of the 30,000 emergency detainees and many victims of vigilante attacks and assassinations were youth. The Detainees' Parents Support Committee say that 72% of them have been tortured and some have died as a result of rape and torture of various kinds, including application of boiling water and burning plastic. According to the Law and Order Minister, Adriaan Vlok, even after the May, 1987 releases, at least 1,200 youth under 18 are still in detention.

According to *The Guardian*, "The Security Police — well aware that South African law defines torture strictly in terms of physical injury — have become masters at covering their tracks.

"Wet rags wrapped between skin and electrodes prevent scarring after shock treatment. Near suffocation leaves no traces. And, most characteristically, severe beatings administered on the first days of confinement leave few signs for the state employed district surgeons performing mandatory physical examinations at fortnightly intervals. Robert Dyer of Natal Medical School cites the case of one high-profile UDF activist, an eloquent speaker who emerged from eight weeks in detention scarcely able to address a small group of people, and of a 16-year-old boy who wakes repeatedly at night, screaming and drenched in sweat. During 10 weeks of detention, he had been made to shower prior to having electrodes applied to his wet skin."

Arrests and torture continue unabated. Amnesty International reported

*Often enough
their bodies are
broken
but nothing can
now break their
spirit.*

FROM THE
KAÏROS DOCUMENT



that on the night of Aug. 13 of this year, 22 children and young people, most of whom are believed to be about 14, were arrested in the small town of Petrus Steyn, Orange Free State. Parents of the children heard screams coming from the building.

The International Commission of Jurists, after a three week mission by four lawyers to South Africa, said in a report published this summer: "In police stations and prisons, physical abuse of children, including torture, is widespread. Beatings and assaults with *sjamboks* are commonly reported and we saw photographs of children bearing scars, evidently the result of violent attacks. The police have virtually unlimited powers to arrest and detain and have little to fear from the courts."

Despite everything, the government is certainly not winning in its attempt to co-opt Black leadership. The ANC and the United Democratic Front retain mass support, and even tortured children continue resisting. Says Mrs. Farieda Omar, "the children are very disoriented and confused when they come out. They are distant and alienated, but underneath they are hardened

and radical and very much more open about their militancy."

Since 1982, youth organizations have been initiating action on specific issues; e.g., rent increases and evictions. They organized themselves in a decentralized way in street or block committees, factory groups, etc. They appeal to the ANC Freedom Charter as a statement of philosophy.

A case in point was Port Alfred. Following the consumer boycott, White employers fired Black workers, precipitating a desperate situation for the Black community. Youth and community organizations worked together to transform house yards into a community market garden, the beer hall was bought and deployed as a community market; a pre-school program and a financial, legal and medical clinic was operated with the aid of the Molly Blackburn and the Black Sash groups.

However, the entire structure was suppressed by the State of Emergency operatives — police and army.

The top secret launching of the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) in Cape Town by 200 delegates from nine regions in April of this

year marked the welding together of the youth into what is the largest and one of the most powerful UDF affiliates. There is an estimated membership of over half a million and active support of over 2 million South African youth.

With respect to youth in detention, SAYCO issued a call: Turn the disadvantage of imprisonment into an advantage. Let all prisons become schools of liberation!"

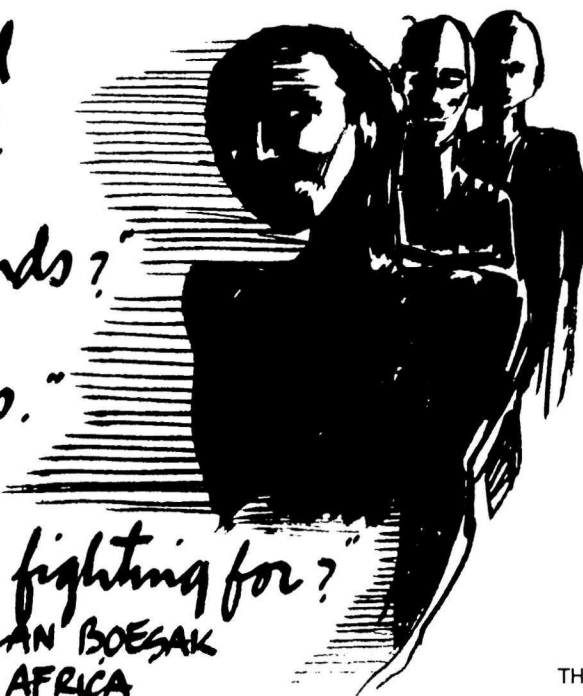
Resources

Parish Action Sheet. The author of the above article has prepared two pages of suggestions on how parishioners at the grass roots level can effectively protest the illegal detention and torture of South African youth. Send request and 22¢ postage stamp to the Rev. John Stubbs, Church of the Heavenly Rest, 2 East 90th St., New York, N.Y. 10128 (212-289-3400).

Two Dogs and Freedom/Black Children of South Africa Speak Out, Rosset & Co., New York, N.Y. A collection of observations, thoughts and dreams by South African Black children asked to describe the issues affecting their lives. In their own words and pictures, they give vivid accounts of police brutality.

we will go before God
to be judged, and God
will ask us,
"where are your wounds?"
And we will say,
"we have no wounds."
And God will ask,
"was nothing worth fighting for?"

REV. ALLAN BOESAK
SOUTH AFRICA





Finding room to talk

Confession is not only good for the soul, it sometimes helps beget a column. So I confess a fair amount of cynicism and a sense of *deja vu* as I sat through most of the recent Interim Meeting of the House of Bishops, held this year in the sylvan setting of a resort hotel near Chicago. Just about the time somnolence was taking over, I became aware that among the voices being raised in that august body, a few, thankfully, were saying something new and different, if not terribly exciting.

To wit: A "Statement of Concern and an Invitation" in support of ordained women was introduced by the Rt. Rev. William Burrill of Rochester. Its brief and pointed text is worth citing because, given the flap it engendered, it may not appear outside the annals of that House.

"Despite the request of bishops at Lambeth 1978, that the several provinces of the Anglican Communion exercise openness to and hospitality towards those whose conscience may differ on the ordination of women, some provinces have not yet made provision for women priests, ordained in other provinces, to exercise their full eucharistic ministry in those provinces which have not permitted ordination of women.

"Priests ordained in other provinces of the Anglican Communion, whatever their position on the ordination of women, have been welcome to celebrate the Eucharist within the Episcopal Church in the USA. We, the undersigned bishops, expect the same hospitality to be extended to priests of this church.

"Thus, we express our intention to convey to our brothers at Lambeth our concern about this matter; and to earnestly re-

quest all provinces to recognize the ordination of women ordained in other provinces, and to offer to them the privilege of celebrating the Eucharist; and as a sign of our solidarity with and support for ordained women in the Communion, we declare our intent, whenever possible, to refrain from exercising presiding functions during our sojourn in England (except any which are a part of the Lambeth conference itself)."

Some saw the statement as confrontation rather than consultation. Interestingly, the House, which enthusiastically adopted a conscience clause a decade ago, stopped just short of trying to censure the consciences of the statement's signers, who finally numbered 50.

Even while rattling some Anglican cages, the statement may send a more telling message to Lambeth than the official report of the Committee to Study Women in the Episcopate. The latter, originally a fair piece of work designed to explain the Episcopal Church's experience with women's ordination, was re-edited and amended *ad nauseum* before winning approval and commendation "in principle" as "a statement of the mind of a majority of the members" of the House. It was further resolved that a minority report accompany the document to assure that those who wish to re-open the whole dreary theological debate on women's ordination have their day in court.

I also woke up for the interim report on the Commission on Human Affairs and Health, which had been asked to study issues raised by a resolution on sexual morality proposed to the House

at its 1986 meeting. Presented by Bishop George N. Hunt of Rhode Island, the report dealt largely with concerns of human sexuality. It called for a "compassionate acting out" of the 1976 General Convention resolution which acknowledged "that homosexual persons are children of God who have a full and equal claim with all other persons upon the love, acceptance and pastoral care and concern of the church."

Noting "informed estimates suggest that as many as one in ten males (and a slightly lesser percentage of females) are homosexual in orientation," the report suggested the mathematical probability that 12 to 15 members of the House have discovered themselves to be homosexual persons along with perhaps as many as 1,200 clergy and 200,000 to 300,000 lay Episcopalians. The Commission challenged the bishops to suspend "ancient judgement" against homosexual Episcopalians and "simply open to them a process that will allow them to tell us the stories of their lives." The report stated: "This is not just a matter of 'coming out' or 'staying in' the closet. It is matter of finding another room in which we can talk."

The report did not purport to represent unanimity of the Commission. It did, however, indicate a willingness to at least grapple with the nitty-gritty. Who knows, next year's meeting of the House might even be "in order." ■

Broken treaties, broken faith

The words *treaty* and *treaty rights* bring to mind volumes of U.S. court decisions and the full weight of international law and international relations. Aside from these formidable legalities, to American Indian people the word *treaty* is the linchpin of their history, culture, and survival as peoples. Treaty rights undergird the powers of tribal governments as well as the history of relations between the Federal Government and Indian nations.

The Constitution recognizes several of the basic principles of treaty rights and Indian law. The Constitution established treaty-making as a prerogative of the federal government: "The President. . . shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur."

The Constitution acknowledged the governmental powers of foreign nations, the states and Indian tribes, and assigned to the U.S. Congress authority to "regulate commerce with the Indian tribes."

Responsibilities, then, for making treaties and for fulfilling treaty obligations, and in other ways conducting relations with Indian nations, is given in the Constitution to the Federal Government.

Article 6 states: "This Constitution and the laws of the United States. . . and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be *the supreme law of the land* (emphasis added); and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, any thing in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding." As the "supreme law of the land," treaties are en-

titled to equal respect given to federal laws, and therefore are superior to state laws in a conflict, according to the Supreme Court.

Approximately 400 Indian tribes and nations occupied what was to become the United States at the time of European arrival. Indian nations made treaties with the young American republic just as they had entered into formal agreements with each other long before the colonies were established, and as they did with other European powers. Tribes were recognized as independent, sovereign, separate nations, and treaties made with them were like contracts made with any other foreign nation: They were negotiated as *between equals*. As the Supreme Court stated in 1832, "The words 'treaty' and 'nation' understood meaning. We have

applied them to Indians as we have applied them to other nations of the earth. They are applied to all in the same sense."

Vine Deloria, a principal commentator on Indian laws and affairs, writes that "the Indian understanding of the treaty was as a sacred covenant between two nations." Tribes viewed treaties as moral statements which could not be broken unless by mutual consent. Treaties, both on the part of the tribes and the United States, represented the "word of the nation" and the "sanctity of the public faith."

The purpose of these intergovernmental contracts or treaties was not to give rights to the Indians, rights which as sovereign nations they already possessed, but to *remove* rights from them. In treaty-making, tribes were the grantors and the United States the grantee, and rights were granted to the United States *by* or *from* Indian nations. The courts have also held that treaties limited only the external sovereign powers of Indian tribes — tribes agreed, for example, not to exercise their right to make treaties with other foreign nations. But treaties did not affect internal or self-governing powers of Indian nations.

Federal policy later dictated that, through treaties, Indian tribes be confined to small areas of land which tribes *reserved* for themselves. Because these reservations were too small and too poor to support the basic necessities of tribal communities, tribes reserved the right to hunting, fishing and trapping grounds in order to ensure their communities' survival. Under what is known as the "reserved rights doctrine," the courts have held

JSAC report available

Perhaps the best overview and analysis of treaty rights of Native Americans, and the bleak history of how the United States has dealt with these rights, appeared earlier this year in *Grapevine*, a publication of the Joint Strategy and Action Committee, Inc.

The study was put together by Cindy Darcey, legislative advocate for the Native American Advocacy Project, housed at the Friends Committee on National Legislation in Washington, D.C. She was assisted by Owanah Anderson, staff officer for Indian Work at the Episcopal Church Center; Ralph Scissons, Indian ministries, Presbyterian Church USA; and other members of the JSAC Task Force. This article, excerpted from the study, is reprinted with permission from JSAC, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10115. For further information about bulk reprints, contact JSAC.

by Cindy Darcey et al

that those rights — to land, water, hunting, government, etc. — which were not expressly granted away by tribes in a treaty or taken away by a later federal statute were reserved by that tribe. This is much the same as a landowner selling the surface of his land while retaining rights to the subsurface in order, for example, to drill for oil or gas.

While the total number of treaties is not known exactly, approximately 371 treaties were signed by all parties and ratified by Congress, and roughly an equal number of treaties signed but not ratified.

Historically, treaty-making may be divided into several stages. From 1600-1776 there were the *colonial treaties*. Made at a time when the Indian tribes were superior numerically, economically and militarily, those contracts were mutually advantageous, dealing primarily with peace and friendship, delineation of boundaries between the lands of the Indian nations and the colonies, and trade relations. Treaties also provided for citizen protection, and recognized the Indian nations' right to punish violators of tribal laws.

Treaties of alliance were made between 1778 and 1810. Under these treaties, tribes promised not to join military forces against the United States during its wars with Britain.

The first treaty of the Continental Congress, concluded in 1778, was with the Delaware Nation. The treaty read, in part: "The United States do engage to guarantee to the aforesaid nation of the Delawares, and their heirs, all their territorial rights in the fullest and most ample manner. . . as long as they shall

abide by and hold fast the chain of friendship now entered into."

Overlapping these treaties of peace and alliance were *treaties of land cession*, made from 1784 to 1817, as non-Indian settlers moved into the territory northwest of the Ohio River. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 was a kind of "bill of rights" for Indian tribes in the face of this expansion (an ironic one, in hindsight). It read, in part: "The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property rights, and liberty they never shall be invaded or disturbed unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall, from time to time, be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them."

The bulk of treaties made between the United States and Indian nations were not mutually negotiated treaties of peace and friendship, but treaties of land and cession. Under *treaties of removal*, made between 1817 and 1846, entire Indian nations were moved off lands secured to those tribes by treaties, in order to allow non-Indian settlement. Under the removal policy, tribes in the southeast and Great Lakes regions were forced to exchange their homelands east of the Mississippi River for lands west in "Indian Territory," in Missouri, Arkansas, and then Oklahoma.

After the tribes of the southeast had been removed to lands west of the Mississippi, the same problem recurred: White settlers continued to



want more land. *Reservation treaties* made with tribes west of the Mississippi from 1846 to 1864 implemented a new federal policy of confining Indi-

ans to small, clearly defined areas of lands which the tribes reserved. The treaties promised that the United States would never disturb the tribes on these reservation lands, and that the tribes could continue to use these lands.

Many treaties provided for monetary payments or services, such as education, health care, food, etc. from the Federal Government in order to encourage tribes to sign them. An example of this provision may be found in the 1858 treaty with the Ponca tribe: "In consideration of the foregoing (land) cession. . . the United States agrees to establish and to maintain for 10 years, one or more manual labor schools for the education and training of the Ponca youth in letters, agriculture, the mechanic arts, and housewifery."

The years 1865-1868 were the time of the ironically named "*Great Peace Commission*" treaties. Treaty commissioners negotiated treaties with a view to assimilate Indians into the mainstream of agrarian, Christian, White society. As during the removal era, Indians signed treaties out of fear of military reprisals if they refused, or under the threat of the withholding of treaty-guaranteed payments of food. These treaties, which often were not ratified by Congress later, required tribes of upper Great Plains, southwest, and northwest to settle on reservations.

The last treaty was made with the Nez Perce in 1868, and removed the tribe from its homeland in Oregon to a reservation in Idaho. In 1871 Congress enacted legislation which brought an end to treaty-making. Treaties had become an unconscionable mockery — a mechanism for stripping tribes of their land base. In the Pacific Northwest, for example, in less than one year in the 1850s, tribes ceded 64 million acres to the United States, at a cost of less than

two cents per acre in promised services from the Federal Government. Such abuses of the treaty process produced calls from many sections of society to end treaty-making.

After 1871, instead of treaties, the Federal Government has enacted agreements, statutes and executive orders in its dealings with tribal governments. Treaties made prior to 1871, however, were not affected: "No obligation of any treaty lawfully made and ratified with any such Indian nation or tribe prior to March 3, 1871, shall be hereby invalidated or impaired."

Tribes had no concept of land ownership like the European idea that lands could be sold or traded on a piece of parchment; nor did they settle political or territorial disputes through a written agreement. In addition, treaties were negotiated and written in English, or in a trade language with limited vocabulary, so that Indians were never sure of what they were signing.

In its consideration of treaty rights cases over the years, the courts have sought to inject some justice into this situation of inequality by developing a series of rules used in the interpretation of treaties. These "canons of treaty construction," which have been applied to a number of Indian law cases, hold that: Ambiguous expressions in treaties, agreements and statutes must be resolved in favor of the Indians; treaties must be interpreted as the Indians themselves would have understood them; and treaties must be liberally construed in favor of the Indians. In *Menominee Tribe vs. United State*, 1968, the Supreme Court also said that treaties cannot be abrogated "in a backhanded way," but that there must be clear and explicit language to abrogate Indian rights.

The Supreme Court has rendered perhaps more decisions in Indian law than in any other field, and has on nu-

merous occasions upheld the Federal Government's responsibility to honor treaty obligations. In adverse decisions, the courts have also ruled that Congress has authority to limit rights promised to Indian nations in treaties. One of these cases was *Lone Wolf vs. Hitchcock*, decided in 1903. In this case the Supreme Court interpreted the Commerce Clause of the Constitution to give Congress sweeping or "plenary power" over Indian affairs. The court affirmed that treaties are afforded the same dignity as federal statutes. But the court went on to decide that since statutes may be amended by later statutes or may be repealed, treaties could likewise be amended or repealed. Therefore, under the "plenary power doctrine," the high court reasoned, Congress may break treaty promises and abrogate or abolish treaty rights.

Plenary power was extended to the taking of Indian land in the 1955 case, *Tee-Hit-Ton Indians vs. United States*. Here the court held that the United States could take Indian lands which were not protected by treaty or statute without due process of law, without just compensation, and without the requirement that such taking was for public purpose. While *Tee-Hit-Ton* held that Indian lands were protected by treaty, even treaty lands could be taken by the United States if Congress, using the *Lone Wolf* "plenary power doctrine," abrogated the treaty or statute reserving those lands to a particular tribe.

Clearly, court decisions surrounding treaty rights do not form a consistent whole, but continue to change and evolve. As Indian people turn to the judicial branch for the recognition of their rights, doctrines such as plenary power undermine the foundation of those rights. Although the Supreme Court has upheld the power of Congress to break treaties with Indian nations, under *international law*, treaties

may not be violated or amended unilaterally. Breaking the terms of a treaty does not necessarily revoke it, nor does U.S. violation of treaty provisions invalidate those treaties any more than committing a crime cancels out the law that makes such illegal.

Misunderstandings about treaty rights have led to moves in Congress to abrogate or end those rights. In 1964, for example, Rep. Magnuson of Washington introduced legislation under which the state would have bought out all off-reservation Indian fishing rights. In 1977, Rep. Cunningham of Washington introduced legislation calling upon the President to abrogate all treaties with Indian tribes. Also in 1977 Congress members from Michigan introduced measures that would have allowed the State Department of Natural Resources to regulate all Indian fishing. In 1985, a proposed addition to the Endangered Species Act would have prohibited the taking of endangered species by Native Americans (for religious purposes, in most cases). In 1981 and then again in 1985, some members of the Washington congressional delegation introduced legislation to declare steelhead trout a game fish, for sport only, thus preventing Indian fishers from harvesting the fish for economic, commercial, or religious purposes.

Fortunately, however, as Deputy Undersecretary of the Interior William Horn told a meeting of a Great Lakes anti-Indian organization in 1984: "No bill that even smacks of abrogation in recent years has even gotten past the hearing stage (in Congress). There has been no inclination anywhere in Congress to move anything that looks like abrogation."

Indian tribes have sought to dispel the myths and misinformation about treaty rights, and to point to the implications the abrogation of those rights



would have for non-Indian citizens as well.

Washington Indian fishers point to the fact that Northwest tribes have harvested annually some 18 million pounds of all species of fish using a variety of methods (trolling, spearing, netting) for thousands of years without harming the resource. Treaty rights are not the cause of declining fish runs. Instead, Indian fishers point to pollution, hydroelectric dams, and poor logging practices which destroy spawning grounds as the true culprits.

Another myth to be dispelled is the charge that "Indians who exercise fishing rights under old documents (i.e., treaties) should use old methods of fishing." But treaties protected and recognized rights, not methods. Rights that were reserved and not ceded remain held by tribes, and these rights do not diminish with the passage of time. Indians kept the right to adopt new technology or improve their fishing or hunting gear. One parallel example is with right-of-way. If one has the right-of-way across a field, one

may cross it driving a Model T or a bicycle or a John Deere tractor.

Here is another illustration of the Federal Government's moral and legal responsibility to honor commitments made in the treaties. If a buyer agrees to buy a car from a seller, and agrees to make payments for the car, but then does not make those payments, the seller may repossess the car. In treaty-making, Indian nations gave up two billion acres of land to the United States in return for the recognition of certain rights that were reserved, and for the promise of federal services. If the United States fails to make its "payments," Indian tribes retain residual rights to those lands until those promises are forthcoming.

The *Voigt* decision (1983) was initially portrayed by the media as giving tribes the right to unlimited hunting and fishing. As such misstatements led to a rise in racial violence by non-Indians, Wisconsin tribes have worked to expose statements as misinformation fed by fear. While tribes do have longer hunting and fishing seasons,

they are by no means “unlimited.” Tribal fisheries commissions, law enforcement officers, and tribal courts work to protect the resource. Regulations are enforced by tribal, state and federal conservation authorities, and, in the Great Lakes area, there are more enforcement officers for Indians than there are state officers for non-Indian sport and commercial fishers. Furthermore, tribes in Washington, Wisconsin, Michigan and elsewhere operate programs to protect watersheds, hatch fish, and in other ways enhance the resource.

Tribes have often taken fewer fish or deer than quotas allowed. In 1985, for example, a few hundred Chippewa hunters took a total of 634 deer, or less than 10% of their quota. In the same year, 280,000 deer were taken by non-Indian hunters. And not all Indians exercise treaty rights to hunting, fishing, trapping, or gathering to which, as members of a tribe, they are entitled. In 1983 and 1984, only 10 people exercised the Chippewas treaty right to ice fish.

American Indians became dual citizens when American citizenship was granted to them in 1924. The citizenship act recognized and preserved Indians’ relationship to their tribes or nations, and provided that the second citizenship, citizenship in the United States, would not affect treaty rights negotiated by the forebears: “All Non-citizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States are hereby declared to be citizens of the United States, provided that the granting of such citizenship shall not in any manner impair or otherwise affect the right of any Indian to tribal or other property.”

Another myth is that Indians do not pay taxes. But in fact all Indians do pay income and other federal taxes, and although Indians living on reserva-

tions do not pay state property taxes, Indians living off reservations pay all taxes that non-Indians pay.

Finally, any federal services in housing, education, health care, or job training provided to Native Americans are anything but “free.” These services have been paid for a thousand times in land — the source of tribes’ economic livelihood — given to and taken by the United States in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Treaty rights are not “special rights” for treating Indian people differently. They are instead the fulfillment of contractual agreements, the continued existence of centuries-old rules of law which govern the relationship of Indian people and their governments (tribes) with non-Indian people and their governments. Because these contracts form the basis of U.S. property law, to abrogate treaty rights has implications for the property rights of non-Indian Americans. If Congress or the government can abrogate one contract — particularly a treaty considered the “supreme law of the land” — might another contract, the Bill of Rights, also be abrogated?

Indian law scholar Felix Cohen wrote, “Like the miner’s canary (sent into a mine shaft to test the air quality), the Indian marks the shift from fresh to poison air in our political atmosphere. . . . Our treatment of Indians, even more than our treatment of other minorities, reflects the rise and fall of our democratic faith.”

Indian people today often confront racism and ignorance as they seek to exercise the unique property rights that are theirs as members of political units known as tribal governments. That is the Native Americans’ challenge. Before the American society is the challenge of keeping the faith, “our democratic faith,” to keep the word of our nation. ■

Continued from page 8

firm supporter of an Israeli state. If only he, an ally of the powerless, could see the wealth and power in Tel Aviv and the uprooting of Palestinians in Jaffa.

Jaffa is where the big fish swallowed Jonah, who was running from God’s call. Jonah could not bear the thought that his enemies from Ninevah might actually turn from their violent ways and repent. Poor Jonah was fearful that old enemies might, through God’s grace, become friends.

During my early morning jog along the Tel Aviv beach, I saw no Jonah belched up on the shore, only poor Palestinians recruited from Jaffa and Gaza. Bused into Tel Aviv, they pick up the trash on the beach. They are the pre-dawn advance guard, symbolic of hundreds of Palestinians recruited to do the 24-hour-a-day menial labor that keeps Israeli business alive.

Latif Dori, from the Committee for Israeli-Palestinian Dialogue, ate with us. He is considered to be a dangerous man who has been jailed by Israeli authorities for his radical beliefs. He supports the creation of a new context in which Israelis and Palestinians could meet and work for a two-state solution to the region’s problems. Such a solution must come eventually. Without two states, the violence will continue and neither side will benefit. The Palestinian hope for a homeland, as well as the Israeli desire for a democratic state, will both go down in the ruin of an occupied land.

Pike lay just behind me; Dori sat next to me. Tunis lay, unseen, across the Mediterranean in front of me. Tunis, headquarters for “The Chairman” Arafat, and the PLO.

(Part two of this article will include a description of the group’s encounter with Yasir Arafat — in the December WITNESS.)

Short Takes

Quotes of note

Blacks came to the shore of America in violence, came here against their will, in chains, in slave ships, packed like sardines . . . It has been conservatively estimated that 50 million Blacks died during the journey from Africa to American shores.

**Wilhelm Joseph, Co-Chair
National Conference
of Black Lawyers**

In my opinion, the truest test of any individual's commitment to human rights in our society — with all of its hopes, fears, love and hate — lies in the commitment to human rights for Palestinians.

**Ramsey Clark
Former U.S. Attorney General**

In the past, most of the legal immigration into the States came from European countries. In recent years, that has changed dramatically. In 1985, some 45% of all legal immigrants were from Asian countries, 40% from Spanish-speaking countries and only 5 to 7% from English-speaking countries. That, in my judgement, is what is bringing much of the hatred and violence to the front burner.

**Toney Anaya
Former Governor, New Mexico
— From 1987 Convention issue,
ADC Times**

Elites and priest-killers

Though leftists and Communists are widely supposed to be priest-killers, there is little evidence of this in Latin American history. On the contrary, virtually all martyrs of the Latin American church, from Bishop Antonio Valdivieso (who was assassinated in 1550 for his defense of the Amerindians) to Archbishop Oscar Romero, have been, as Jesus predicted, persecuted by wealthy elites for their allegiance to the poor and weak. Indeed, this persecu-



The Hopi grandmother — with the baby's paternal aunts — suggests a name for the child and blesses it with a perfectly formed ear of corn, dipped in water and corn meal; and thus the child is named. (Lino cut by Mary Jane Melish.)

tion has been assisted throughout by colonial overlords with the collusion of the mainstream of the institutional church. Thus in 1855, when a band of mercenaries under William Walker seized Nicaragua in order to add another slave state to the Union, Father Agustin Vigil, curate of Granada, removed 60 lbs. of silver adornment from his church for conversion into bullets for the invaders. He was rewarded with the ambassadorship to Washington. When U.S. Marines invaded Nicaragua for the second time in 1927, Bishop Canuto Reyes of Granada sprinkled holy water on their guns, blessing their war against Augusto Sandino. And when Anastasio Somoza Garcia was assassinated ("brought to justice" is how Nicaraguans put it) by poet Rigoberto Lopez Perez for his assassination of Sandino, the Catholic hierarchy buried Somoza as a "prince of the church."

**Andrew Reding
Monthly Review 8-9/87**

To the sewers

The worker who drains sewers to protect humanity from unhealthy miasmas is a very useful member of society, whereas the professor who teaches falsified history in the interests of the ruling class, or the theologian who seeks to befog the brain with supernatural, transcendental doctrines, is an extremely harmful individual . . . If we cannot do better than this theologian we should make all haste to become good drainers of sewers. Similarly, the professor of history — to the sewers with him also.

**Karl Barth, Church Dogmatics
Quoted in Faith & Justice Newsletter
Dayton, Ohio 7/87**

Watergate to Contragate

Author Seymour Hersh: If you consider Nixon's first term there's an obvious analogy with the first six years of the Reagan administration. Nixon was able to bomb Cambodia relentlessly for 14 months. He wiretapped 17 American citizens, including Marvin Kalb, Henry Brandon, members of his own administration and some of his own personal aides for as long as 21 months. He was able to sic the CIA on Salvador Allende in Chile and increase the number of CIA operatives involved in domestic spying. The White House "plumbers" — the precursor of the Ollie North operation — mounted illegal activities against Daniel Ellsberg.

If the press had been able to break any of these stories in 1971, we might have saved Nixon from himself. He might have been afraid to do some of the things he did in 1972, and this would have changed the course of history. But the press failed utterly to do anything during Nixon's first term, thereby making it easy for Nixon to walk into his own trap in Watergate.

Similarly, I think the media have failed to do real penetrating reporting with respect to Reagan. Consequently, Reagan's people thought they could get away with anything. It took a Beirut newspaper to break the story.

FAIR Newsletter 6/87

THE WITNESS CELEBRATES

70

YEARS

1962 to 1966:

Birmingham, Selma, Montgomery — these Southern cities were some of the more famous battlegrounds in the increasingly bitter struggle for civil rights. The first half of the 1960s was shaped by events that would change the face of American society. “We shall overcome,” sang the civil rights activists, both Black and White, as they demonstrated together through the South, were dragged away in handcuffs from lunch counter sit-ins and Freedom Rides, and sat huddled together in jail cells.

The civil rights movement was the American dream at its best — people of all races and faiths joined together in the cause of freedom and justice. Even the dismal doctrines of the Reagan era have not dulled the brilliance of those early victories.

But each restaurant desegregated, each Black voter registered, each triumph, large or small, was paid for in suffering and blood. Blacks and their White supporters were harassed and viciously attacked. Murders were frequent — not a new situation to Southern Blacks but shocking to their White friends. The nation was horrified in 1963 when the Klan bombed the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Ala., killing four little girls attending Sunday School. THE WITNESS grieved for them, and for civil rights leader Medgar Evers, shot dead in his home in Jackson, Miss. In 1964, three young civil rights workers, two White, one Black, were murdered in Philadelphia, Miss. One of the Episcopal Church’s own, Jonathan Daniels, a young seminarian and volunteer civil rights worker, was killed in the summer of 1965 in Alabama.

But as much as THE WITNESS opposed the racist violence against the civil rights movement, the editors were equally as disgusted with the timid, proceed-with-caution attitude about equal rights that was prevalent in the Episcopal Church. The magazine repeatedly took the church hierarchy and church people to task for not being more involved in the fight for justice. It was a strong supporter of the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity (ESCRU), whose members demonstrated for civil rights in church and society.

Although society was in turmoil, science had made such strides that John Glenn could go up and circle the earth. It might have helped to send U.S. and Soviet leaders up in a space capsule together to get a different perspective on the

world situation, because during the nerve-racking days of the Cuban Missile Crisis in 1962, the two superpowers seemed intent on using their new nuclear arsenals in a winner-take-nothing showdown. Young President Kennedy, urged on by advisors obsessed with the Russian bogeyman, was prepared to launch nuclear war to get Premier Khrushchev to move his missiles out of Cuba, America’s “backyard.” So while tanks moved into Key West, Fla. and Americans nervously restocked their bomb shelters, Soviet ships were eyeball-to-eyeball with the U.S. Navy blockade off Cuba. Finally, “cooler heads prevailed,” and the missiles were withdrawn. But the crisis was a terrifying warning that the Cold War could turn deadly hot at any minute.

But the nobler domestic battle waged on. Martin Luther King led massive marches all over the South. TV journalism had one of its finer hours when it unflinchingly showed Police Chief Bull Connor turn firehoses and dogs on peaceful marchers in the historic 1963 March on Birmingham, Ala. That summer, 200,000 people descended on Washington, D.C., to hear King deliver his “I have a dream” speech, a speech of incredible beauty and power that gave eloquent voice to the struggle for justice. But the forces of darkness had their own triumph that year, when President Kennedy was assassinated in Dallas.

But even though the Klan and others continued their brutal violence, the civil rights movement persevered. King led another march in Alabama from Montgomery to Selma in 1965 in defiance of racist threats. That same year, another martyr was added to the list when a White civil rights worker, Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, was shot and killed by the Klan in Alabama.

Kennedy left his successor, Lyndon Johnson, some fledgling social policies and a messy little war in Indochina. Johnson began to build his Great Society, a series of programs that recognized that the poor were with us and had needs, too. Johnson built a social safety net that has taken the Reagan Administration nearly eight years to unravel.

Towards the end of the first half of the ‘60s, while people saw the future at the 1964 World’s Fair, went wild over the British music sensation, The Beatles, and danced the Funky Chicken, change was coming explosively, often violently. Race riots erupted in New York’s Harlem and in neighborhoods of cities across the country. But the most volcanic of

Times they were a'changin'

by Susan Pierce

Black Americans' long-repressed rage and frustration were the 1965 riots in the Watts section of Los Angeles which resulted in 35 dead, 4,000 arrested and \$40 million in damages. Another blow to the Black community that year was the murder of Malcolm X, brilliant and charismatic leader of the separatist Black Muslims who had begun calling for reconciliation between the races.

Meanwhile, America's little Asian war was heating up. Restless hawks in the government in search of a good war pushed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution through Congress on April 6, 1964, declaring war on North Vietnam for firing on U.S. Navy ships, an incident which history has proved to have dubious origins. But the United States had been getting more and more involved in the Vietnam conflict since

the French pulled out in 1954. By 1965, 561 U.S. soldiers had died in the fighting in Vietnam.

The war juggernaut was out of control. U.S. planes carpeted North Vietnam with bombs on a regular basis. In 1965, the draft was doubled from 17,000 to 35,000 draftees a month. By June, 1966, there were 250,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam. In one record September week, 142 were killed and 825 wounded. The technological wonders of TV brought the war into our living rooms and into our hearts and minds. In such troubled times, theologians and sociologists debated the question, "Is God dead?" But THE WITNESS continued to urge that its readers carry Christ's message of peace and justice to the world. Excerpts from THE WITNESS, 1962 to 1966, follow.

Rites for Jon Daniels

Episcopal churches in at least a dozen cities held memorial services for Jonathan Daniels, including at least one in a southern city — the Cathedral of St. Philip, Atlanta.

We were told, however, by an officer of the executive council that none would be held at St. Paul's, Selma. He said further that the Negro community there took it for granted — if for no other reason than because of the increased understanding between the rector, Frank Mathews, and the murdered seminarian. He did not know this to be a fact so he suggested that I check.

Several phone calls to Mathews got no answers so I called Bishop Charles Carpenter at his home in Birmingham and he was on the phone immediately. We have been on a first-name basis for years and I can report that he was genial and forthright, however irritated he might have been by my questions.

He told me there was great sadness over the death throughout his diocese but there would be no memorial service at St. Paul's, Selma, because "it

would be a demonstration and we don't like that sort of thing." I suggested that under the circumstance maybe a demonstration was called for. He disagreed, adding that "we are over the hump down here if we can be left alone. Leave us alone and we'll work things out — back to a quiet time."

So there was no memorial service at St. Paul's, but there was one on August 27 at Brown Chapel, the A.M.E. church where so many services and events were held during the crisis last spring. Bishop Hall of New Hampshire was the speaker.

Jon, we think, will like that better.

We talked too about the funeral of Matt H. Murphy, killed in an auto accident the same day Daniels was murdered. He was attorney for the KKK and defended one of the men accused of killing civil rights worker Mrs. Viola Liuzzo. During his summation in that trial, which ended with a hung jury, he yelled: "Never, never — we shall die before we lay down. Niggers are against every law God ever wrote."

His funeral was held at St. Mary's-

on-the-Highlands, Greensboro, Ala., and was attended by Klansmen from 15 states, including the three accused of killing Mrs. Liuzzo in March.

The service was brief, with nothing added to the Prayer Book rite except a poem by Tennyson.

There was nothing unusual about the service, except that some of the Klansmen wore robes.

Bishop Carpenter said he did not know that — which I took to mean he did not approve.

In any case the Episcopal Church is burying the dead — not quite impartially, but anyhow getting the job done. (William B. Spofford 9/2/65)

CORE hearings held

Twenty witnesses told Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and other members of a committee of inquiry stories of legal roadblocks, police harassment and torture of civil rights demonstrators.

The purpose of the hearing as explained by Carl Rachlin, counsel for the Congress of Racial Equality, was to "present a petition for redress of grievances where individual rights have been seriously abused. The Congressmen of these individuals are not

concerned with the problems we are presenting here." Testimony was offered by the witnesses to show that mass arrests have followed disciplined civil rights protests; that those arrested have faced spurious charges and prohibitive bonds and that there has been brutality in jails.

More than 5,000 persons have been arrested in sit-ins, kneel-ins, stand-ins, freedom rides, marches and other civil rights demonstrations throughout the South since February 1960, James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality said. Only 375 of these were freedom riders, according to the statistics compiled by the Southern Regional Council, he added.

Between \$2 million and \$3 million in bond money has been put up by organizations involved in the protest action, Farmer said. He had no indication of how many of the 5,000 were still jailed. (7/12/62)

Supreme Court and prayer

Justice Potter Stewart, Episcopalian, got his picture in the papers for being the lone dissenter in the historic decision of the Supreme Court which ruled that the recital of prayers in public schools is unconstitutional.

THE WITNESS in the last issue had a story based on the hearing held earlier in the year. We are giving even more space in this number to the decision itself, believing as we do that it will have far-reaching effects in decisions the Court will be required to make in days ahead — particularly decisions relating to federal aid to parochial schools.

Justice Stewart's statement that "I cannot see how an 'official religion' is established by letting those who want to say a prayer, say it" sounds reasonable enough. But it is our considered opinion that our fellow Episcopalian is wrong, since even the simple prayer authorized over 10 years ago by the board of regents of New York State, is the old camel getting his snout under the tent.

The majority opinion held in effect that it didn't matter how innocuous the prayer was or whether pupil observance of it was voluntary or not — it just was no business of government to get this far into religion. With that we agree. (WITNESS Editorial 7/12/62)

Peacemaking in Harlem

The violence that erupted on Harlem's streets on Saturday, July 18, has been reported fully and, for the most part, fairly by the mass media.

The oft-predicted "long, hot summer" of racial violence arrived in New York area with a bang, and it received the careful scrutiny and rapt attention that a family might give to a long-awaited baby.

Since that fateful day, the Rev. Lorentho Wooden, secretary to the bishop's advisory commission on church and race, has been in the street of Harlem day and night. Operating in and out of the New York CORE office on 125th Street, he has driven the injured to hospitals, ferried supplies to the CORE first-aid station (St. Luke's Hospital was a generous contributor), talked to angry people, tried to persuade teenagers to leave the streets, and generally helped the CORE volunteers in any way he could. (8/6/64)

S. African divestment: 1966

More than \$23 million is being withdrawn by individuals and organizations from Chase Manhattan and First National City Banks in New York to protest the banks' investments in the economy of South Africa, it was reported by the committee of conscience against apartheid.

A. Philip Randolph, a labor leader, chairman of the committee, which was launched by the American Committee on Africa and the University Christian Movement, announced the figure at a press conference.

The committee, which has a large number of Protestant, Roman Catholic and Jewish leaders among its members, is conducting a campaign to persuade depositors in the two banks to withdraw their funds on the grounds that the

financial institutions should not do business with a government practicing racial discrimination. (12/29/66)

War and children

War is hell said the man in the days before napalm and saturation bombing. Since General Sherman's time men at war have learned how to spread "hell" over a wider area, and, predictably, there are more accidental victims. To the world's sorrow, Vietnamese children are now among war's mutilated victims. The most gruesome instrument of their destruction is napalm, a jelly-gasoline substance dropped from military aircraft with the hope of destroying the enemy or intimidating the civilian population. Napalm clings to whatever it strikes, and it consumes enough oxygen so that one may die either from burns or by suffocation. For those who are only wounded by napalm there may be a doctor — there is about one Vietnamese doctor for every 100,000 civilians — or there may not. The doctor shortage is exacerbated by hospital conditions which two Dutch doctors report are "indescribable." In most population centers thousands of burn victims regularly arrive from the hinterlands, and are met by overcrowded hospitals, each of whose beds often contain three small patients. There are few nurses in many of these places, and none at all in others . . .

In addition to those children who have been orphaned by war, there are many who have been orphaned by society. These are the Amerasians, children of American servicemen and Vietnamese women, rejected by their fathers and usually shunned by most Vietnamese except their mothers. Even one year ago, according to authorized official sources, there were thousands of abandoned children — including 11,000 orphans — and thousands of undernourished children among the approximately 700,000 refugees . . .

Does it not seem that Americans have a responsibility towards the children maimed in this war? (William W. Rankin 12/29/66)

Israelis revoke pacifist's papers

(Dr. Mubarak Awad, who arranged the Middle East work experience for a visiting U.S. team described earlier by James Lewis, had his residence papers revoked Sept. 28 by the Israelis. Dr. Awad, director of the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence, had been interviewed for THE WITNESS by Robert Hirschfield, a New York free-lance writer, during the Palestinian's recent visit to the United States, as follows.)

Dr. Mubarak Awad was born in no-man's land between East and West Jerusalem in 1943 when the city was still under British rule. It was an appropriate beginning for a Palestinian disciple of Gandhi who operates quietly in the shadows of the Israeli army and the PLO on the West Bank.

In still small numbers, villagers come to him with their grievances, usually involving the militant Jewish settlers. They come to him because he offers direct action, and they are tired of legal action, which they regard as slow strangulation in the Israeli courts. But Dr. Awad's direct action contains an inhibiting set of instructions: No stone throwing, no carrying farm instruments that may be mistaken by the Israelis for weapons, no running away, and no resisting arrest.

A victim, like many other Palestinians, of dispossession, imprisonment and exile, the Christian psychologist, while still young, was steered away from violence towards nonviolence by his widowed mother. A Greek Orthodox church-member, she urged him never to kill, never to be a revenge-taker or a maker of other widows and orphans.

In 1969, after a stint in an Israeli prison for opposing occupation, he was exiled to America where he studied at a Mennonite college in Ohio. It was there that his ideas about Palestinian nonviolent struggle crystalized.

"Many times, when I was reading about Gandhi and Martin Luther King, I asked myself, 'Why can't the Palestinians do the same thing?'"

When Dr. Awad returned to the West Bank in 1983, after 14 years in America, his ideology was (and still is) regarded by many as the mad fantasy of a soft-hearted man.

In 1985, Dr. Awad founded the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence. Shortly thereafter, his first major action occurred. Villagers from Tekoa came to him and complained that Jewish settlers had moved the settlement fence onto their land. The Gandhian proposed that they go together to take the fence down and move it back. After announcing the action in the newspapers, which brought out armed settlers to meet them, they did what they came to do and to their amazement the fence was left standing.

"It was the first time," said Dr. Awad, "that Palestinians took land back. A small piece of land, but it was a victory."

The nonviolence that stymied the settlers at Tekoa later

stymied the soldiers at Qatanna, a village not far from Jerusalem. There, villagers whose olive trees had been uprooted by Israelis from the Nature Preservation Society, appeared with Dr. Awad to plant new trees. With them was a group of Israeli supporters. As soon as a tree was planted, someone from Nature Preservation would uproot it, only to see it immediately replanted. The soldiers, while refusing at first to come to the aid of the villagers, refused also to harass or arrest them. Perhaps because of the presence of the Israelis, and maybe also because of the staunchly peaceful nature of the action, despite the provocation, the soldiers conducted themselves nonviolently. They even worked out an agreement with the planters allowing the trees to remain in place until a court could resolve the matter. The villagers expressed their gratitude by inviting the soldiers to eat with them. As amazing as the invitation itself, was that a few of the soldiers actually accepted it.

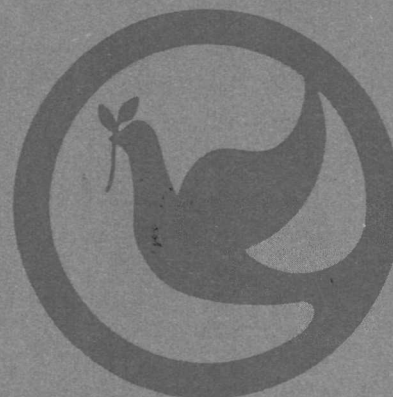
Jewish support has come from such groups as Ratz, a citizens' rights party with three seats in the Knesset, and the pacifist-oriented Fellowship of Reconciliation. Coming together has not been easy. On both sides there is fear. In the case of many villagers, said Dr. Awad, "The only time they see Israelis is when soldiers come with machine guns to destroy a house or take someone to jail." The Israelis, for their part, fear possible outbreaks of Palestinian violence in the villages. Before coming to Qatanna, some of them sought assurances from Dr. Awad that no harm would come to them. "I told them, 'I can't guarantee anything. You have to take the risk yourself.'"

To generate economic resistance to occupation Dr. Awad calls on Palestinians to eat and drink only local products (milk, yogurt, bread) on the first Monday of every month. Four to five thousand people, he estimates, comply. On another level, the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence is translating the writings of Gandhi into Arabic.

"I hope the PLO will adopt some of the things that I am doing," he remarked. He reminds people that when Yasir Arafat spoke at the United Nations, he proffered the olive branch as well as the gun.

In the hands of Dr. Awad, there is only the olive branch. ■

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Always room at these inns
Robert Hirschfield

Arafat & the children
James Lewis

In with the old
Robert L. DeWitt
Anne C. Garrison

Letters

God for heterosexuals

Malcolm Boyd contributed a rather idyllic picture of committed gay relationships in his article in the October WITNESS. He described one that he blessed in a church ceremony and faulted those churches that refused to do likewise.

In order to reconcile homosexuality with Christianity, we have to make a number of assumptions I find impossible to make. One would be that Jesus and St. Paul were either (a) wrong about sexual morality or (b) ambiguous. I think we can quickly dismiss (b). If (a) is true, then it follows that the promise of Jesus, stated repeatedly in the 14th, 15th and 16th chapters of the Gospel according to St. John (John 14:26, 15:26, 16:13) is, in fact, worthless.

We know that the promise was not meant to cover less essential questions. But what about such an essential question as heterosexuality vs. homosexuality or bisexuality? Does Boyd have such a poor opinion of sexual relations and the institution of marriage and the family as to believe that these are not essential questions? I am sure he does not. Then clearly, they must be covered by Jesus' promise. And the teaching and tradition of the Church — indeed of all mainline Christian churches until very recent times — has been clear and unequivocal on the subject of homosexuality.

If we dismiss Jesus' promise as worthless, that can only mean we deny the divinity of Christ. If Jesus is merely human and his opinion no more infallible than our own, then Boyd can devise any kind of sexual morality he wants.

If we believe that the purpose of this life is simply to have as much pleasure as possible before we die, then any prohibition of homosexual activity would be difficult to defend. But that is not the purpose of this life, according to God's clear and unequivocal word.

The situation of those Christians born with a homosexual or lesbian inclination is unhappy at best, tragic at worst, unless they can find sexual fulfillment in a more sublimated love for others. But the world is full of people who, for one reason or another, are deprived of full sexual fulfillment, whether they are trying to obey God's word or not. Why does God allow undeserved suffering? This has been a tough question since the time of Job.

To the question of homosexual activity, as to that of all forms of extra-marital sex, one answer is that God has a very profound and powerful interest in preserving the integrity of heterosexual marriage. Jesus certainly had that concern, even to the point of forbidding sexual activity in the mind. And both seem to have believed that any kind of extra-marital sex would be destructive to that integrity.

The situation of those with a *hopelessly* gay or lesbian orientation remains difficult, but it is as no means as difficult if they retain their faith in the goodness of God and the ultimate fact that the trials of this life are as nothing when compared to the joys of the life to come. This, as I read it, is the message of Jesus.

John Cort
Roxbury, Mass.

Boyd responds

Funny. I find John 14:26, 15:26 and 16:13 to reaffirm the continuing revelation of God in the world by the Holy Spirit whom Jesus sent to keep instructing and strengthening us.

Sad. John Cort seems to deny the presence and power of the Holy Spirit in Biblical scholarship that, in the matter of human sexuality, for example, opens up radical (root) insights and also opens our hearts to the love of God in Christ.

Curious. I don't find my gay relationship with Mark Thompson, described in

the October WITNESS, as "a rather idyllic picture." In fact, the point is that it's not unlike many other relationships, gay and heterosexual. "Pleasure" (for some obtuse reason is highlighted by Cort) is clearly not the point of the gay relationship I've written about in detail. The relationship embraces responsibility, maturity, support and caring.

Jesus, of course, was healthy and alive, and is a role model of a person who celebrated pleasure — drinking wine, visiting the home of Martha and Mary, calling his followers' attention to the lilies of the field, and enjoying dinner parties. I do not denigrate pleasure. But it is cynical beyond belief for Cort to accuse gay relationships of being shallow, under the label of "pleasure", and so deny others their dimension.

What is outrageous is Cort's message to gay people: "Suffer!" Without scriptural validation (while claiming it), he says sexual-loving fulfillment is intended by God only for heterosexuals. Cort's "gospel" is exclusive, not inclusive, and is clearly not Biblical in orientation. If the church is to speak about the love of God to searching and troubled women and men, and grow as it wishes to do as a viable spiritual institution in today's culture, it must repudiate Cort's "gospel" as a travesty. I prefer the message of Jesus, which has never spoken of my "hopelessly gay" orientation. Indeed, the gospel of Jesus Christ gives me hope, affirms my being, and I am grateful for it.

The question is: Will the church choose the "gospel of churchianity" over the gospel of Jesus Christ?

Malcolm Boyd
Santa Monica, Cal.

Thankful for inclusion

Thank you once again for including me and my needs openly in the Christian community by printing Malcolm Boyd's "Blessing gay relationships" in the October WITNESS. Indeed it is for

the sustaining "ordinariness," as much as for the love, in a committed and blessed relationship that many lesbians and gay men long. So do many "straights," except that for them such relationships are not only permitted, but encouraged (even when they do not want them) and supported.

With gratitude for your commitment to THE WITNESS and its continuing blessing in my life.

John W. Swetnam
Durham, N.C.

Gays are blessed

In response to Patrick Schwing's letter (September WITNESS) saying the Episcopal Church should bless committed same-sex relationships, I am happy to tell WITNESS readers that in my church, Calvary St. Andrews, a joint congregation of Calvary Presbyterian and St. Andrew's Episcopal churches, gay and lesbian couples are blessed in their covenant with each other. Canon Walter Lee Szymanski, who ministers to the gay and lesbian community in Rochester, N.Y., is authorized by the Diocesan homophile ministry and the Bishop to conduct such blessing. Pre-blessing instruction and counseling assessment is required for all couples. We hope that we are only the first church among many who will agree that supporting gay and lesbian Christians in loving commitment to each other is truly following Jesus' call to love one another.

Katherine H. Burnett
Rochester, N.Y.

Get activists off track

I am sad and bitter and angry over your editorial of October, but much more so because of what prompted it.

I have written to THE WITNESS previously about protests and railroads. Now comes a Brian Willson, surely an activist of courage and vision, in a tangle with a train. As I feared and ar-

gued against, a body tried to change physics, and tons of engine took off his legs.

I am not trying to undo the instinct — unravel the idea of protest against what is unquestionably wrong — or sling mud. But there was blood on the tracks in a situation where there should not have been. And a person who could contribute much to this cause is reduced.

I beg you, do not urge on anyone else the false heroics of blocking trains. Other methods must be done. Flesh will not stop steel wheels. Martyrs will not stop trains. To say otherwise is to strew blood. I mourn in my complaint.

David Jones
Okemos, Mich.

(Jones errs by blaming the victim. A train did not slice off Brian Willson's legs. An engineer driving a monstrous load of munitions did not wait, as the Department of the Navy alleges he was directed to do, until all the activists were removed from the site. Perhaps martyrs will not stop these trains. But the U.S. government can stop this ruthless, despicable mutilation by honoring non-violent resistance and the Constitutional right of U.S. citizens to engage in any of its various forms. — Ed.)

Too hard on slavery

Professor Charles V. Willie's otherwise fine article "Constitutional wrongs" (September WITNESS) comes down too hard on our country for not having disposed immediately of that despicable institution of slavery. It's clear to all of us now (I hope) that slavery is intolerable, but it wasn't so abundantly clear then. In *Myth, Faith and Hermeneutics*, Raimundo Pannikar says, "We should not commit the katachronism of judging a past era with ideas current today." One of the dangers of doing so is that we may draw the conclusion that we're hot stuff, that we are so much more enlightened. We're not, really.

Consider our current lack of respect for human life. We fail to see the divine spark in all human beings; we should see it regardless of their political beliefs, police records, illness, or age. And yet we persist in the unspeakable crimes of nuclear "deterrence," capital punishment, "euthanasia," and abortion.

May our children's children have more mercy on us than we have on our parents' parents.

William J. Evans
Irvine, Cal.

Willie responds

William J. Evans states that past practices of oppression should not be judged by contemporary knowledge and understanding. In 1787 when the Constitutional Convention provided for a democratic nation that also embraced slavery, the idea that ownership of human beings is immoral existed then and many years earlier and has been a major component of the Jewish/Christian tradition.

Apologizing for past wrongs does not enable us to learn from them and may facilitate the same practice in the future.

Sin by our forefathers, by our contemporaries and by progeny is sin and should not be tolerated at any time.

Charles Willie
Cambridge, Mass.

Clear prophetic throat

Prof. Charles Willie adeptly approaches the distinction between church vs. state and religion vs. politics in "Constitutional wrongs." He points out in a very powerful way the need for input from the religious community into the politics of our day. Indeed, the question he raises is, if those who comprise the religious communities have nothing to say about our life together in this country, then who does? The church is chal-

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Editorial

Peace on earth, goodwill . . . 45 years late

(This month's guest editorial is by the Rev. Seiichi Michael Yasutake, a Nisei [second generation Japanese-American] who works with Refugee/Migration Ministry in the Episcopal Diocese of Chicago. During World War II, the U.S. Government moved his family from their home in Seattle to two concentration camps in the West while his father was placed in Department of Justice Camps elsewhere. Yasutake spent one and a half years in these camps before being released to attend college.)



S. Michael Yasutake

Some 45 years after the forced removal of approximately 120,000 Japanese-Americans from their homes by the U.S. government during World War II, the House of Representatives has finally passed the Civil Liberties Act of 1987. The U.S. government has offered official apology for the unjust act and \$20,000 restitution each to 60,000 surviving internees. If the Senate version of the bill (S. 1009) passes, it will go to the President, whose advisers are recommending a veto.

In a separate move, a class action lawsuit against the U.S. government is going through the courts claiming 22 points of violation of constitutional rights of Japanese-Americans. And in another series of cases, a U.S. District Court judge cleared the wartime conviction of Professor Gordon Hirabayashi who defied internment. The judge declared that the government had engaged in misconduct and concealment of evidence in a racially-motivated action to expel the Japanese from the West Coast.

During World War II, religious

communities, succumbing to fear and prejudice, went along with the prevailing mass hysteria. There were some notable exceptions.

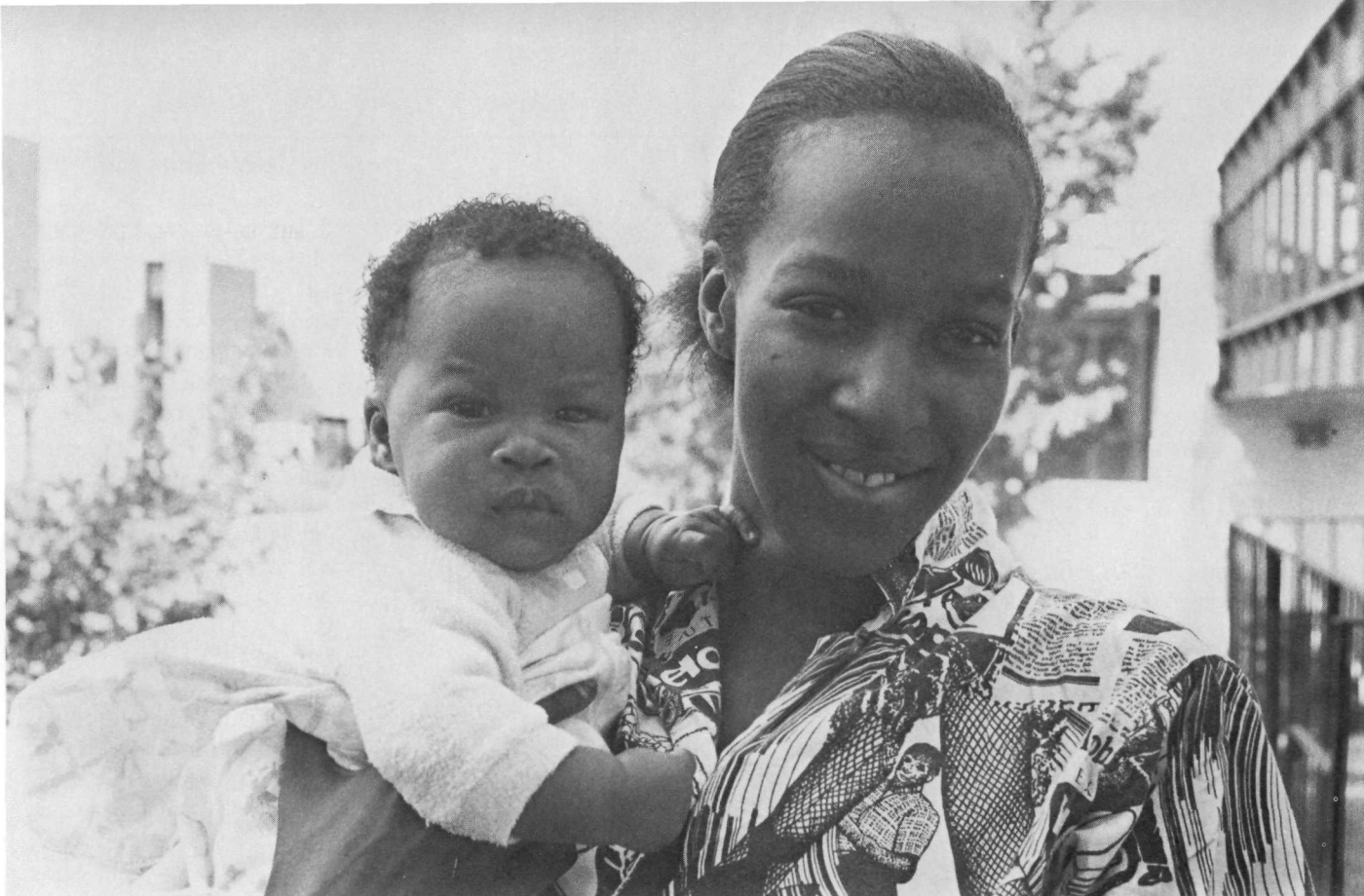
In 1942, the year of the expulsion of Japanese-Americans, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), in a message issued to "Quakers and other Christians" blamed themselves for allowing the U.S. government "to arrange this evacuation in direct violation of our heritage of social and racial justice." On July 31, 1942, as the press accused the government of coddling the Japanese in "summer resort camps," the International Convention of Disciples of Christ publicly criticized the government, asserting that mass internment based on "race, color, or ancestry is a form of reprisal no more to be condoned in the United States than in Germany," and noted, "No such steps have been taken against persons of German or Italian ancestries.

The time is ripe for the public to begin redressing one of the more obvious violations of human rights

in U.S. history. Organized efforts toward this goal are finally beginning to coalesce.

In 1986, a group of religious organizations led by AFSC filed an amicus brief in support of the class action lawsuit. The brief said, in reference to the wartime U.S. Supreme Court's complicity with the government's action, "The disturbing presence of this court's most disreputable and dangerous precedent in modern times . . . cannot be dismissed or ignored as from another era . . ." Major church groups such as the Episcopal Church and the National Council of Churches of Christ have gone on record in support of the congressional redress bill. The lobbying effort needs to continue. Justice delayed is justice denied.

The Holy Child, born in a stable, grew up with the mission of setting free those in captivity. Redressing past social wrongs is a way of welcoming the Child into our modern society in the continuing struggle for justice. ■



Cheery accommodations at the Saratoga Inn prompt a smile from Paula Pierce, shown with her daughter.

Always room at these inns

by Robert Hirschfield

Diane, once a clerk-typist for the Internal Revenue Service, now homeless and a resident of the Saratoga Family Interfaith Inn in Queens, New York City, compared the Saratoga to the Holland Hotel, a Times Square welfare hotel where she and her three children lived previously.

"At the Holland, you couldn't walk up a flight of stairs without someone trying to sell you drugs — sometimes even a security guard. Here, there are regulations against drug use. And the guards, or security aides, as they call them, try to help you and talk over problems with you. They are not abusive like they are in the hotels."

The Saratoga, with 200 families, is the largest of three

Robert Hirschfield is a New York City-based free lance journalist. For the last five years, he has written about the problem of homelessness for a variety of religious publications.

transitional residences operated by Homes for the Homeless, an interfaith project launched by the Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City. The Prospect Family Interfaith Inn in the South Bronx houses 80 families, and the newly-opened Island Interfaith Family Inn on Staten Island hopes to eventually house 110 families. But these are just a fraction of the estimated 5,000 homeless families living in the city.

The families are sent to the Inns from the city-run welfare hotels and from congregate shelters where great numbers of beds are bunched together in large spaces. Some families were burned out of their homes. Others were the products of double evictions, first by landlords, then by relatives or friends. The Island and the Prospect chiefly house pregnant mothers, whereas the Saratoga mainly houses families with teen-age children.

The Inns provide each family with a clean room — in rare cases, two — and a bathroom. While there is a limit set at three or four children, overcrowding remains an inevitable but manageable hardship. Free daycare and intensive counseling, both lacking in the welfare hotels and congregate shelters, are also available. But the most important and elusive goal of the Homes for the Homeless program is to find permanent housing for its residents.

"We are here," said Sister Joan Kirby, a Roman Catholic nun and the project's executive director, "to put the shelters out of business."

Homes for the Homeless came into being a few years ago when Leonard Stern, a New York industrialist, came upon some homeless men sleeping by City Hall and brought the matter to the attention of a policeman. The policeman told him, "If you have any feeling for these people, don't have me send them to the shelters."

Stern decided to investigate the shelters. They so horrified him that he sought out the Very Rev. James Morton, dean of St. John the Divine, where there was a homeless advocacy program already underway. Stern told Morton that his company, Hartz Mountain Corporation, would supply the start-up money for an alternative program to the shelters. Homes for the Homeless was the result. Its funding, apart from Hartz Mountain Corporation, comes from federal, state and city sources.

"The project," said the Rev. John Redic, director of the Prospect Inn and a Church of God in Christ minister, "comes out of a concerned Christian perspective. The security aides, for instance, were chosen for their social service background. We want compassionate people working for us."

The residents at Prospect Inn are mainly Black, single-parent families. Mae Grider, the teacher who runs the preschool program at Prospect, works in a large, bright area equipped with a library, a fish tank, tables, blocks and a hamster. Grider said, "The children here need more emotional support than ordinary children. Any change is harder for them to adjust to."

Over at the Island Inn, administrator Judith Kahan, a former educator troubled by woeful literacy levels of the homeless, combines Montessori teaching methods with these of project Headstart for her own preschoolers. "In Montessori, you have extremely defined educational components — you must play with certain blocks in a certain way — whereas Headstart emphasizes nutrition and parental involvement. Our children need both," said Kahan.

But, Kahan cautions, "I can't undo in six months the damage done by society."

Some of this damage is caused by drug abuse. Many of

those who did drugs in their old neighborhoods and in the shelters will continue to do drugs no matter where they are.

"We try to provide help for those doing drugs," said Redic. "We link up users with substance abuse programs." Drug dealers, however, are a different story — they are not permitted to remain at the Inns.

Residents are often victims of family violence. Some of the women and children have been physically and psychologically abused all their lives. No counselor can erase their traumas, but the good ones can build compassionately around them.

"I was alone and pregnant when I came to the Prospect," recalled one young mother. "I didn't want to live anymore. The counselors helped me. They talked to me, they listened to me, they cared." If nothing else, young mothers like this will leave the Inns with more resources — high school equivalency diplomas, a degree of emotional stability and, hopefully, a place to live — than many of them would have previously thought possible.

Program director Kirby, whose order, the Religious of the Sacred Heart, fuses contemplation with social action, likened the saga of the homeless to a story in the Bible. "The Book of Ruth is about homelessness. Naomi was a homeless woman and Ruth became her companion in homelessness."

Echoes of Ruth's devotion are found among the homeless people in the program. Diane, the Saratoga resident who had previously lived with her three children in a welfare hotel, lost her apartment when the \$369 she earned every two weeks proved insufficient after her rent went up to \$400 a month. However, her children had been going to a good school in distant Far Rockaway, in which she wanted to keep them enrolled, so every day she traveled two hours by public transit to take them there and two hours to get them back.

Another Saratoga resident, a single Black father, Al, managed to keep his 7-year-old daughter and himself together as a family while living as virtual nomads in the city. After being flooded out of their slum apartment in the Bronx, they were sent to a congregate shelter in Brooklyn, then to the Holland Hotel before finally winding up at the Saratoga. "It's made me weep," he softly acknowledged.

The program's goal is to have residents in apartments of their own after six months. It is not an easy goal to meet. The dearth of low-income housing in New York confronts the housing search coordinators at every turn. Few apartments in the five boroughs fall into the price range of the welfare rent allotments. A family of two gets \$227 a month; a family of three, \$244; four, \$270, and five, \$281. A Housing and Vacancy survey commissioned by the city found



Children's reactions reveal they enjoy the attention provided by Sarah Jefferson at the Saratoga.

that the vacancy rate of apartments renting for \$200 to \$300 was 1.85% and for those under \$200, .62%. To further exacerbate matters, since President Reagan took office, federal funds for low-income housing have dropped from a high of \$32.2 billion in 1981 all the way down to \$2.3 billion in 1987.

Homes for the Homeless had to come up with permanent housing ideas of its own. It provides part of the funding for the work of the Urban Homesteaders Assistance Board (UHAB), a non-profit corporation based at St. John the Divine. Founded 15 years ago as part of the Cathedral's community outreach, UHAB renovates vacant, run-down apartments in structurally sound, occupied buildings to provide housing for homeless families. The funds Homes for the Homeless gives to UHAB are reimbursed by the state and city-funded Emergency Assistance Rehousing Program (EARP). The organization has also started a shared housing program where families living in large apartments share these apartments and expenses with homeless families. Kirby estimates that approximately 100 families from the Inns now have permanent housing.

All three Inns met with community resistance when they opened. The Prospect, nestled between poor tenements and stately, turreted brownstones in the Bronx, incurred the wrath of brownstone owners afraid of plummeting property

values, and of politicians, who, according to Prospect director Redic, were proponents of the common "not-in-my-backyard" syndrome. Redic met with the Inn's opponents to allay their fears. A year after it opened, Tom Bess of the Longwood Historic Preservation Association, a brownstone owners' group, conceded that neither the community nor property values have been harmed by the Prospect, and Redic has since been appointed to the Association's board.

The Saratoga, which opened in the middle-class Black neighborhood of Springfield Gardens, ran into an outraged civic association whose members felt "dumped on" by the city. The Inn found support among a handful of local clergy, but the civic association went to court to get the Saratoga closed down. However, in a recent decision, the court ruled that the needs of the homeless in this case outweighed the fears of the community, and therefore the Inn should remain open.

In Staten Island's Midland Beach section, pickets, black ribbons tied around trees and telephone threats have underscored community resistance to the Island Inn. But Kirby mentioned optimistically that a few residents of the basically lower-middle class White community have written to express their support and to offer their help as volunteers.

"The quality of a society," Kirby said, "can be measured by how it deals with its least advantaged members." ■

The bed under the oven

by El Gilbert

She was always talking about plastic, how it got into her head or passed through her body, causing unusual swelling and sinus attacks.

Crazy, they said. Paranoid. Loony. Ought to be locked up for life . . . for her own good, of course. A woman like that is liable to do anything, you know.

She was working as a cleaning lady in a pizza parlor for \$3 a night. Slept on the floor under the oven after everyone had gone.

Huh, what could she clean, they said. She's dirty herself. Nasty hair. Ought to throw her in a tub of Lysol . . . for her own good, of course. A woman like that is liable to have anything, you know.

I was working as a cook in the same pizza parlor when she was there. Twenty dollars a night for 13 1/2 hours. Sweat sliding down my back and off my eyelashes, just missing the cheese.

Most of the time I cooked over \$1,000 worth of pizzas a night, which is a lot of movement, and after 13 1/2 hours of it, the only thing I felt like doing was crawling into a hole and covering it.

One night in particular it was so bad that I was too tired to walk. Shortly after closing I collapsed at a table in the dining room and, as usual, nobody paid any attention.

The next thing I knew there was a hand on my shoulder and someone was calling from what seemed to be far away. Where was I? At home in bed? Where? My neck felt detached as I struggled to lift my head. My eyes watered in the harsh light as I struggled to see. Then I saw her. It was the crazy one.

"You can sleep here," she said. "I have a bed under the oven for you."

"Okay," I said, too weak to protest, too exhausted to even think about calling a cab.

She led me to the spot under the oven. For a brief moment I thought of what they said about her, the possibility of her having something. Something. Lice, bugs or ticks, if nothing else. But I quickly dismissed it from my mind as fatigue overcame my abused body. Who cared, I thought,

El Gilbert is a poet and free-lance writer who lives in Nashville. Her story appeared earlier this year in *The Mill Hunk Herald*.

easing between the warm heavy quilts on the floor.

Four hours later I woke up reasonably refreshed. It was quiet . . . deadly quiet. I looked around for her, the crazy one, but she was nowhere in sight. Strange. Then it hit me. If she let me sleep under the oven, where did she sleep?

She had to be somewhere, I thought, walking to the washroom, wondering if this was really happening or if it was some kind of weird dream. A dream, that's what it was . . . a weird dream. Sooner or later I would wake up, I told myself. But as I reached for the handle of the washroom, I saw her, the crazy one, her thin frame curled inside a flimsy blanket against the back door. No, it wasn't a dream. It was really happening. The crazy one had given me her only bed, the place of honor under the oven, the place reserved for "house" guests, the place where no plastic could get in and I was safe from invading aliens.

Crazy? Maybe. But if that was crazy, the whole world should be crazy. The whole world should have room at the inn. ■

Facts about the homeless

- Homelessness will remain a permanent emergency — with more and more money spent on shelters the homeless themselves don't like — unless something is done about its causes: the absence of housing and jobs.

- The National Coalition for the Homeless estimates that there are at least 60,000 homeless in New York City; 20,000 in Baltimore; 15,000 in Philadelphia; 25,000 in Houston; 14,000 in Dallas; 4,500 in Phoenix; 10,000 in San Francisco; and 50,000 in Los Angeles, for a nationwide total of 3 million.

- The majority of homeless single individuals have not spent time in mental institutions. And two-thirds of the homeless in families are children who have no history of institutionalization. Of the 16,640 family homeless who were officially "temporarily housed by New York City," 10,912 were children.

- If our society cannot afford to put a roof over the heads of 3 million people, can it afford to spend millions of dollars on a questionable Star Wars program?

Peter Marcuse
"Why are they homeless?"
The Nation 4/4/87

In with the old:

A neglected natural resource

by Anne C. Garrison



The Rev. Dr. Anne C. Garrison is Assistant to the Bishop of Michigan in areas of alcoholism, racism and human sexuality, and a principal author of a diocesan position paper in favor of celebrating same-sex unions.

What is our most neglected national resource? You yourself may be part of it.

That abundant national resource is the elderly. I'm a member of this group and hence I'm qualified to speak about it. I entered my present profession after retiring from another at 65. Healthy, solvent and fraught with the experience of a lifetime of living, I was appalled at the sort of questions people asked me, like "When are you moving to Arizona?" and "What have you found to keep yourself busy?" If I replied something like "I'm taking a correspondence course in bank robbery," it was clear they hadn't heard me, because they'd say "Oh, isn't that fine. It's so important to keep busy!" People didn't really listen, because *the elderly don't matter*. Retirement is a steel door that clangs shut behind us. Beyond lies a contrived playground we should content ourselves with, and where people hope we are happy.

This is not for me and I hope it is not for you. I made my own move and found to my surprise that what I was being called to from within was the ordained ministry. At the age of 70, I became a priest of the Episcopal Church. For six years I've been fully employed in the ministerial work of my choice, and I am more fulfilled and happy than at any other time of my life.

I am aware that what summoned me out in my old age is not typical. But any one of us with a measure of health and mobility can make the determined search for a continuing occupation responsive to our needs — and I don't

mean shuffleboard and bingo. Rather, I have in mind the opportunities for signing up for the gaps that exist in the services of our communities: grandparenting for children who lack families, tutoring in reading or math or language, hospital visiting, political involvement, to name a few. Most of all, for many of us, there is the adaptation of our own professional skill to new situations.

It is our responsibility, if we are depressed or enraged at being shelved, to besiege the institutions of our society and shout, "I challenge you to match me with an opportunity to serve." They aren't going to seek us out. There are so many of us: over 28 million past the age of 65, with an average of 17 years ahead of us at the time we retire. Fifteen hundred more every day of the year!

Rewarding involvement in our society is a right that is ours only if we claim it. To go through the steel door of retirement into the plastic playground is not good enough. If we prefer to slow down and go fishing it should be by our choice. If we prefer to strike out into new work, the option should be there and the option should be ours. Seventeen years is too long for a game of shuffleboard.

What I'm talking about is taking the initiative and challenging society ourselves. Do not, my sisters and brothers who are elderly like me, accept the valuation your juniors may put on you. If they offer you a sit-down job as ticket-taker for a meeting, you may be justified in saying, "Thank you, but I prefer to be one of the panelists." ■

The joy of aging

Courage is an affair of the heart. But so is life itself. To face one's future with courage is an assignment one must face "heartily." But this is nothing new. Throughout the years you have been working on that one task: To face your life heartily and with courage.

Do you remember your entrance into this world? Of course you don't. But you know it must have been painful, bewildering, cataclysmic. Yet you negotiated the transition with courage. The proof is that you are here, thanks to a heart that faced the unknown with a steady beat, calling forth all the options and experiences that have marked your path ever since.

And these options — how painful, bewildering and cataclysmic some of them have been! It has been said that when we decide, we die — die, that is, to the vistas, the adventures and the possibilities in those options we rejected. Think of all the partners you might have married . . . but didn't. Think of all the interesting and remarkable careers you might have pursued . . . but didn't. You are not a one-talent person — there are many different vocations in which you might have done well. But you didn't. When you made all those decisions you knew well what you were forgoing, what you were dying to. That took courage. Regrets? I hope you have some — not too many, but some. Because that shows you are alive to the good pathways you rejected because you had decided on better ones.

But so many years — perhaps 70-odd — have gone by, and those basic decisions such as marriage and voca-

tion are now behind you. You handled them well. Now there remains one primordial question. Deeper, far deeper than the decision about what you shall *do* with your life, is the decision to *be* the person you are.

When you insistently made your presence known at the gate of life, at your birth, you decided with courage to be who you are. Since then, admiration or envy or self-deprecation have occasionally moved you to think perhaps you would rather be someone else; "If only I were so-and-so! If only I had been born with talent for such-and-such!"

But you have rightly seen these intruding thoughts for what they are — interlopers who do not deserve a hearing. Because they are heretics who deny the cardinal tenet of your creed: That you are the person you are and it is a precious, awesome, distinctive gift to be that person. There never has been and never will be another person precisely like you — you are unique.

While editor of *THE WITNESS* some years ago, I once asked a writer in Chicago to do a piece on aging. The article he submitted began with his saying that for this assignment, he felt he should do some basic research. So he went to see his mother and asked her what she thought about the experience of growing old.

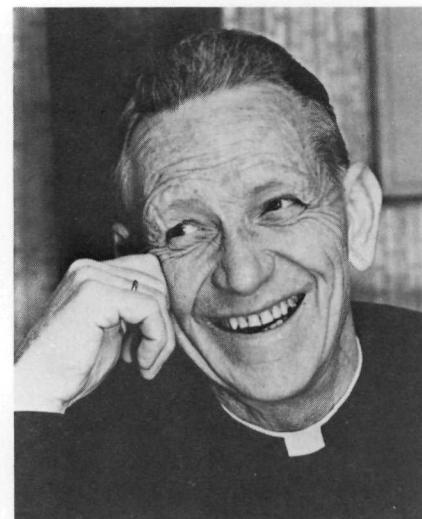
"Well," she replied, "I am all in favor of it. It has many good points. Then she added, thoughtfully, "But most of all, I like the deference."

Wasn't that a wonderful testament of devotion to one's selfhood? For a senior citizen to hear phrases like;

Continued on page 23

Facing the future with courage

by Robert L. DeWitt



The Rt. Rev. Robert L. DeWitt is a retired Bishop of Pennsylvania and Senior Contributing Editor for *THE WITNESS*.

Part II: The Israeli-Arab conflict

Arafat and the children

by James Lewis

"Daughters of Jerusalem, do not weep for me; no, weep for yourselves and your children."

Luke 23:28

I was unpacking my bag. It was close to midnight. After the flight from Jordan to Tunisia, I was tired and ready for bed. For two and a half weeks I had been traveling through the Middle East with a group from the United States. Tunis, the last stop on our trip, was the main headquarters of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and throughout the trip, there were hints that we might have a chance to meet PLO leader Yasir Arafat.

Suddenly the phone in my room rang. Arafat would see our group right away. Within five minutes, we had all gathered in the hotel lobby, ready to go.

The ride to meet Arafat was like something out of a John Le Carre novel. He moves around and keeps odd hours for security reasons. No one knew where we were headed until we pulled up in front of a house on a dark street. Out front were eight or ten armed men standing under trees and back in the bushes. We carried notebooks and cameras.

After being searched, we were ushered into an office on the second floor. It may have been past midnight, but people were bustling about working as

if it were mid-afternoon. After waiting nervously for about 30 minutes, we were escorted down the hall into an office where Arafat came from behind his desk to greet us.

For the next two hours, we sat listening and asking questions. The following day, when I reviewed my notes, two of Arafat's remarks struck me as significant. The first was about violence. A member of our party had asked Arafat when the PLO would give up armed struggle. He replied calmly and patiently, "Armed struggle? What is our armed struggle in comparison with the armed struggle of the Israelis? Why is Israel depicted as being so weak? They have huge supplies of weapons. They even have a stockpile of nuclear weapons. What is it the Israelis fear while sitting on so much weaponry?" He suggested we ask the Israelis when *they* intend to renounce armed struggle.

The second remark is one that will haunt me forever. Arafat repeated it at least three times during our meeting; "If the United States is unwilling to meet with the PLO, then the United States will have to deal with the typhoon."

The "typhoon" Arafat referred to is the growing radical fundamentalism among young Palestinians — the children, trapped and homeless, caught in the spiral of violence. They become more radicalized with every show of Israeli force.

I had a personal message for Arafat from a young Palestinian boy from Beit Fajjar, a village near Bethlehem.

Our delegation was in Beit Fajjar to help a Palestinian family move field rocks so their land would not be confiscated by the Israelis.

That night, the boy, whom I had met while teaching a group of kids how to play baseball, sat on the floor of the house we were visiting and told me what it was like being a young Palestinian in an occupied land. He and many of his friends had been in jail for throwing stones at Israeli soldiers.

I told him we might meet Arafat when we got to Tunis and asked if he had a message for him. The boy's eyes filled with tears and he said, "Tell him that we love him and want him to come home."

It is the children, the next generation of Palestinians that are the "typhoon" that Arafat pointed out to us. During our trip I saw signs of the storm brewing at a prison and two Palestinian refugee camps in Israel.

Marshall Kaplan, one of the Jewish members of our group, and I stood directly across the street from the central prison in Gaza. Surrounded by guard towers, walls and barbed wire, it was a formidable structure. Marshall and I had decided we would try to get inside or at least talk with a prison official about conditions in the facility.

I said, "Ready, Marshall? Remember now, I'll flash my clergy card and you play my assistant." My only clergy identification was an old printed card stating I was a priest from the Diocese of Michigan.

A very young Israeli soldier dressed in olive green fatigues and carrying an

The Rev. James Lewis, Contributing Editor to THE WITNESS, concludes a two-part series of articles about his recent trip to the Middle East with the above account.

automatic weapon asked for our passports. We told him we hoped to see the prison because we were concerned about prison conditions in the United States as well as Israel.

For the next 10 minutes people rushed back and forth and phone calls were made. As we waited a military truck pulled up. The soldier next to the driver called us toward him. He asked what we wanted. As we spoke, I glanced through the cab and into the back of the vehicle. In the darkness, I was able to see a young boy. He was seated on a box. His hands were bound behind his back and he was blindfolded.

We did not get inside the prison. Nor was anyone available to answer our questions. I left without being able to explore the one thing that haunted me throughout our trip: Is Israel, like South Africa, incarcerating large numbers of children, denying them their human rights and subjecting them to physical and psychological violence?

At one point in our itinerary a few of us spent an evening with Canon Riah Abu El-Assal, an Anglican priest at Christ Church in Nazareth and an advocate for imprisoned children. He was a gracious man, full of energy which manifested itself in the streams of stories he told — a sign of hope in a very bleak situation.

Riah has been denied permission by Israeli authorities to travel outside the country. Because he is open about his connections to the PLO and speaks out about the Palestinian youth in Israeli prisons, he has become a dangerous voice to the government. His parish church got grants to set up a project to gather information about imprisoned children. Just recently, Riah and project director Karen White released a fully documented report, *Children in Israeli Military Prisons*. It has been circulated to the press and U.S. government officials, but, unfortunately is one of the

many stories not being told by our news media.

I had a chance while in Israel to visit two camps — the Balata refugee camp in Nablus and a huge camp in Gaza. The camps were inhabited by enormous numbers of children. In Balata, one boy showed us scars across his stomach from gunshot wounds inflicted by the Israelis. His mother smiled and said she, and many mothers like her, would continue to fight the Israelis who occupied the land and killed Palestinians. Everyone there had a relative or friend who had been in prison. Throughout the camp, there were people whose homes had been demolished by the Israeli military because their child had been convicted of throwing stones at Israeli troops.

The list of Palestinian grievances is long. Children have been held by Israeli authorities for long periods with-

out charges. They have been beaten, kicked, hung by their wrists, forced to stand hooded, denied adequate sleep, food, water, medical care, baths. One young boy named Hanna, taken to the Gaza prison — called the “slaughter house” — that Marshall and I had attempted to enter, was kicked, forced to hold his arms raised for four days and nights and was soaked with buckets of freezing water until he finally lost consciousness. Later, he was sent to a solitary confinement cell for 20 days. He was regularly beaten and punched in the genitals. During this time, the Red Cross was not allowed to see him. After 60 days, he was released. He was never charged with a crime and never went to court. He has six sisters and four brothers, and three of them have also been imprisoned.

Late one night in Nazareth after a visit with Riah, I remembered the young people in the Balata camp. I thought about the ancient Well of Jacob located directly across the street from the the camp. Tourists came to



Graphic from a poster which urges Palestinians to oppose oppression by non-violently boycotting Israeli goods once a week, eating only homegrown produce and homemade products.

Priest advocate for jailed youths

The Rev. Riah Abu El-Assal, canon of Christ Evangelical Episcopal Church in Nazareth, Israel, has spearheaded a team effort to produce a report entitled, *Children in Israeli Military Prisons*, documenting the plight of Palestinian children under the age of 18 who have been jailed.

Team participants included U.S. anthropologist Dina Lawrence and U.S. journalists Kameel Nasr of California and Karen White of Florida.

The authors note in the preface that while the report is "not a comprehensive study of the subject," it is intended "to focus worldwide attention on the matter." Copies have been forwarded to the United Nations, various international human rights organizations, the World Council of Churches, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and selected members of the U.S. Congress.

Canon Riah said that the report documents case histories of youth who have suffered violence and torture at the hands of the Israeli military authorities and the Shin Bet (the secret security police). The Palestinian children described in the study live in refugee camps in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which have been under Israeli occupation since the 1967 War. Following are excerpts from the report:

All children have the right to childhood, to be free from fear, from physical and mental abuse, and from the threat of bodily harm as they grow up. When the fundamental rights of children are violated in any country or by any government, it is the responsibility of the world community to condemn those violations and make sure those rights are restored. The recent outcry against detention of children in South Africa serves as an example.

This violation of children's human rights has grave moral and ethical implications and violates every international covenant concerning the due process of law and the protection of human rights. For us who are committed to a peaceful resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, it also represents the unfortunate probability that another generation is being forced — perhaps irretrievably — even farther away from any inclination or will to resolve this conflict peacefully.

Indications in this research and other published reports on the subject affirm that arrest and torture of children residing in the refugee camps is widespread . . . The modus operandi of Israeli military rule dictates that children, whether held for two hours or sentenced to two months in prison, are subjected to systematic intimidation, humiliation and excessive physical abuse.

The Israeli military authorities do not notify relatives of an arrest and often families of arrested children as young as 10 years old may not discover for many days what has happened to their missing child.

Frequently spontaneous protests by children occur in response to provocative acts by the Israeli military. A "protest" or "demonstration," according to the Israeli military, may simply be three or four children chanting together. "Suspicion" of demonstrating is considered adequate for the Israeli military to respond with force which may include tear-gassing, clubbing or firing assault rifles in the air or at children.

Once a child has been arrested the probability of re-arrest is very great . . . Frequently children are awakened from sleep and arrested at home late at night. Often during questioning children are thrown to the floor and kicked by interrogators towering over them. (They) are called derogatory names, insulted with profanity and obscene remarks, forced into degrading and sometimes sexually obscene acts, slapped, beaten with fists, truncheons or wires, hung by their wrists.

Children, no matter how young, are denied contact with an attorney or the International Red Cross. Most tragically they are denied the comfort of parents or family. These children are detained and imprisoned without the benefit of due process, often without evidence, and are sentenced on the basis of a forced confession in a language they cannot understand.

For copies of the report, contributions, or further information write:

**The Rev. Canon Riah Abu El-Assal
P.O. Box 75, Nazareth 16100, Israel**

see the well, not Balata. I thought about Nazareth, the city Jesus lived in as a child. History blends together in Israel. Visitors stand in awe of the way the past and present embrace — it is the future we are left to wonder about.

Jesus said, "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not." The cruel irony in Israel today is simply that children are denied their human rights and being made to suffer because they are Palestinian. The consequences of such treatment are obvious — there is indeed a storm brewing.

A friend gave me a copy of *The Third Way: A Journal In the West Bank*, a brilliant book by Raja Shehadeh, to read as I traveled in the area. Shehadeh, a lawyer and founder and co-director of Law in the Service of Man, a human rights organization, captures exactly what it is like to live in the West Bank.

One segment of the book tells the story of 16-year-old Maha. Maha was a good girl, an excellent student who did not take part in demonstrations. Serious and withdrawn as a result of having lived her entire life under Israeli occupation, Maha seemed an innocent child to her parents — innocent, that is, until she was arrested and convicted by the Israeli military for planting bombs in Jerusalem.

Shehadeh recalls the testimony during the trial, "At the trial, her parents learned all about their quiet daughter's activities. The *fedayeen* (freedom fighters) would collect her between classes and, in free time — there was plenty with the schools so often on strike — they would drive her to various places, amongst them Jerusalem. In her innocent, quiet manner, wearing her school uniform, she would carry the bomb in her school bag and place it where they told her."

Maha proudly admitted to all charges. At one point, when chastised

by the judge for the way she slouched in her chair, she stood and shouted, "You are all scum and not worth the soles of my shoes. I am a *fida'iyyeh* (freedom fighter) and I do not care what you decide to do with me."

Maha's sister Rosie now visits her in prison, and is proud of how Maha encourages other prisoners. Rosie is puzzled as to where her once-quiet sister gets the courage to do what she does.

Shehadeh's book depicts the typhoon Arafat warned us about. Maha is only a cloud in that gathering storm. Shehadeh writes, "Maha is not the only 'Samedeh-turned-fida'iyyeh' (faithful one turned freedom fighter) in prison. She is with thousands of teenagers and men and women, most of them young when the occupation began. No one knows exactly how and when they learned to become freedom fighters — but their number is constantly and rapidly growing."

Roger Rosenblatt (*Children of War*) wrote presciently of the "typhoon" to come: "For the moment, these children are in the hands of others. They are the moved-from-place-to-place, the coaxed and hidden, the dragged-along and swung-into-the-sky, the hugged, the tickled, the slapped, the taught, the scolded, teased, praised, and sometimes the shot-at, and sometimes the decapitated and the killed-for-food. All that can be done to them is done, and they do what they are told. But not forever. One morning the streets through which they skitter now will be theirs to command. They will not think what to do; they will already know. Whatever becomes of them and of their countries will have been decided in some absolutely innocuous moment during these innocuous years, a moment they will not be able to trace. Their thinking done, they will rule largely by reflex, just as their parents did before them." ■

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THE WITNESS CELEBRATES

7

YEARS

1967 to 1972 :

It was 20 years ago today Sgt. Pepper taught the band to play — 1967 was the year that the Beatles released their revolutionary album, “Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band.” But revolution was everywhere in 1967 to 1972, the final years of THE WITNESS under Bill Spofford, Sr. Flower Power was blooming with its message of peace and love, while Black Power was rumbling with its message of confrontation and liberation. “Tune in, turn on and drop out,” said the flower children, while H. Rap Brown, head of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), told his Black brothers and sisters: “You’d better get yourselves some guns. The only thing honkies respect is guns.”

Guns, violence and turmoil were constant motifs in the late ’60s and early ’70s. The great wave of change that had started building in the early 60s now swept over the country full force. The Episcopal Church, like many other institutions, could not escape being engulfed. In fact, under the guidance of then-Presidenting Bishop John Hines (who throughout his career appeared frequently in THE WITNESS and later served as chair of its board), the church took controversial positions in favor of Black liberation, women’s rights and withdrawal from Vietnam. Hines’ determination to involve the church in the fight for social justice made him extremely unpopular with church conservatives. THE WITNESS was a strong supporter of Hines’ progressive agenda.

It was an era of promise, the dawning of the Age of Aquarius. All the old conventions were being swept away. No one was sure what would come next. But those who had held power for so long were not about to give it up easily. The 1967 Summer of Love in San Francisco was the Long Hot Summer as riots ravaged the downtown ghettos in Jackson, Miss.; Detroit, Boston and other cities.

The Vietnam War continued to dominate the national conscience. U. S. planes began bombing Hanoi, North Vietnam’s capital. Martin Luther King proved his power as a leader to people of all colors when he led a peace march in New York City. The country’s conflict was evident when, in the same year, 700,000 marched down New York’s Fifth Avenue in support of the war while 500,000 poured into Washington, D.C. to protest it.

The news abroad was grim. Che Guevara, the great Latin American revolutionary, was cornered and killed in Bolivia. The Shah of Iran crowned himself ruler for life after taking over in a CIA-sponsored coup, and the Biafran civil war, destined to bring misery, death and starvation to millions,

began in Nigeria.

1968 was even a darker year. A U.S. Navy spy ship, the Pueblo, was captured in North Korean waters, causing an international incident at a tense time. Massive student riots paralyzed Paris and Mexico. Anti-war demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago turned into a bloody free-for-all when Mayor Daley gave his police force carte blanche to attack the demonstrators. National T.V. showed police driving crowds of people through plate glass windows; kicking and clubbing fallen, unarmed demonstrators.

Television spared the country nothing that year. Besides the horror of the daily Vietnam slaughter, the nation got to watch Sen. Bobby Kennedy, shot with a handgun, die on a Los Angeles hotel kitchen floor. Starving Biafrans, dying at the rate of 8,000 to 10,000 a day, pleaded mutely from T.V. and newspaper pictures. But one of the saddest pictures of all was of a veiled Coretta Scott King, watching as a simple mule-drawn wagon rolled through the crowded but silent streets of Atlanta, Ga., carrying the body of her husband, Martin Luther King. King had been assassinated in Memphis, where he had come to support a sanitation workers’ strike. THE WITNESS, taking a line from one of King’s speeches, called him the “drum major,” and said, “Martin Luther King is best honored, we think, by standing for what he stood, in as much as it is possible for us to do so.”

It was definitely a mixed year. The Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia, Richard M. Nixon was elected President and miniskirts were in. Grapes were out, because the United Farm Workers, led by Cesar Chavez, were on strike, and a boycott was launched.

1969 had some stupendous highs and lows. Apollo 11 Astronaut Neil Armstrong took “one small step for man, one giant step for mankind” on the moon, and THE WITNESS dutifully noted Episcopalian crewmembers on subsequent lunar landings, while at the same time wondering if the money for moon shots couldn’t be better spent on earth. Back on the home planet, THE WITNESS cheered the Episcopal Church’s decision to pay \$200,000 in reparations to James Forman’s Black Economic Development Council. The church called for a Special General Convention (GC II) to take place the following year, to discuss what social justice programs would be funded. Many conservative parishes and some dioceses drastically cut their donations and even considered splitting from the church.

The year had its share of murders, sanctioned and un-

Revolution in the air

by Susan Pierce

sanctioned. California dreamin' became a nightmare when Charlie Manson and his grisly family murdered actress Sharon Tate and friends. The usual body count continued in Vietnam — more than 100 U.S. combat deaths in one week. Lieutenant William Calley, on trial for supervising the massacre of villagers at My Lai, was bewildered at being prosecuted for just doing his job. Vice-President Spiro Agnew, king of the erudite insult, blamed media reporters for the way the war was going, calling them "nattering nabobs of negativism" and said anti-war protestors were "effete snobs." Eight "effete snobs," known as the Chicago Eight, were acquitted of conspiracy charges after one of history's most riotous trials.

As the country slogged into the 1970s with Nixon at the helm, the bloom was definitely coming off the '60s rose. Except for a few bright spots — the growing women's and gay rights movement — the country was on its way into a major apathy that would eventually result in Ronald Reagan. But it was a lively time in the Episcopal Church, especially at the stormy GC II at South Bend, Indiana.

Protesting had become a dangerous pursuit. Students protesting the U.S. invasion of Cambodia were gunned down at Ohio's Kent State University and at Jackson State in Mississippi. One hopeful note in that year was that socialist Salvador Allende was elected President of Chile, bringing to an end years of oppressive military rule. And President Nixon continued to pull troops out of Vietnam — even the hawks were beginning to sense the quagmire was too deep.

1971 was the beginning of the end for the secret war in Vietnam. The truth came out when *The New York Times* published the Pentagon Papers, which were leaked to the press by defense analyst Daniel Ellsberg. The Papers revealed the magnitude of how the U.S. military had deceived the American people about the war. But Nixon continued to

bomb Cambodia and Laos.

This was also the year the U.S. prison system went on trial. In New York, 10 guards and 32 prisoners were killed when the National Guard stormed prisoners who had taken over Attica in protest over appalling conditions. George Jackson, a brilliant Black man trapped in the penal system, died in a shoot-out in a California courtroom while trying to escape. Jackson's friend and defender, Angela Davis, a noted Black radical activist, was accused of aiding Jackson and went underground for fear of falling into government hands.

The last year of Bill Spofford's WITNESS was another filled with turmoil. White supremacist Gov. George Wallace, while campaigning for President, was shot by a gunman and left permanently paralyzed. Nixon's reelection brought the dismal prospect of four more years, but one night a Black security guard named Frank Wills turned over to the police a group of men he caught apparently burglarizing Democratic National Committee offices in Washington, D.C.'s Watergate Hotel. Unfortunately THE WITNESS never got to follow the Watergate scandal, though Spofford, who had no regard for Nixon or politics, would have loved it. Spofford's health was failing. The hand linotype press he and his wife had labored over for so many years to produce issue after issue fell silent after the August 1972 issue. On October 19, 1972, the Old Man died. But the idea of his magazine lived on, nurtured by a board of trustees, and was revived by the Rt. Rev. Robert L. Dewitt in 1974 to promote the church's most revolutionary issue of the day — the ordination of women. It was an issue Spofford would have supported 100%. His magazine had always been a voice for the oppressed, a conscience for the church and the world. Thanks to his love, dedication and careful stewardship, that voice and that conscience survives today. The following are excerpts from the last five years of Bill Spofford's WITNESS.

Great things, indeed

Bishop Arnold Lewis, suffragan for the U.S. armed forces, told the recent meeting of the executive council that our government has "no intention of getting out of Southeast Asia" that "we are doing great things there" and that he hopes "we can have trust in our government."

Harrison E. Salisbury, who went to North Vietnam for the N.Y. Times,

writing on our Lord's Birthday:

"Christmas wasn't a joyous occasion for Namdinh although strings of small red pennants decorated the old gray, stucco Catholic church and a white Star of Bethlehem had been mounted on the pinnacle of the tower. Few Americans have heard of Namdinh, although until recently it was the third largest North Vietnamese city.

Mayor Tran Thi Doan, a petite 40-

year-old woman, regards her city as essentially a cotton-and-silk textile town containing nothing of military significance. Namdinh has been systematically destroyed by United States seventh fleet bombers since June 28, 1965.

The cathedral tower looks out on block after block of utter desolation: the city's population of 90,000 has been reduced to less than 20,000 be-

cause of evacuation; 13 per cent of the city's housing, including the homes of 12, 464 people, have been destroyed: 89 people have been killed and 405 wounded.

No American communique has asserted that Namdinh contains some facility that the United States regards as a military objective. It is apparent, on personal inspection, that block after block of ordinary housing has been smashed to rubble by repeated attacks by seventh fleet planes.

The town lies only 20 miles inland, which may explain why the seventh fleet seems to have made it is particular target. The textile plant, whose most dangerous output from a military point of view would presumably be cloth for uniforms, has been bombed 19 times, but is still operating under great difficulty.

Street after street in Namdinh has been abandoned and houses stand torn and gaping. One deserted street is Hang Thao or Silk Street, which was the center of the silk industry. Almost every house on the street was blasted down April 14 at about 6:30 a.m. just as the factory shifts were changing.

Forty-nine people were killed, 135 were wounded on Hang Thao and 240 houses collapsed. Eight bombs — MK-84's — accomplished this. These are huge weapons weighing about 2,000 pounds."

We are doing great things there, indeed, Bishop Lewis. (William B. Spofford, Sr. 1/5/67)

Black power

Never again will the blackman in America be content with the bones the ruling structure throws him — and this includes the so-called war on poverty and various other temporizing efforts to quell ghetto rebellions.

Black people in America's ghettos are becoming well aware what the white boys gives he can take away. The simple truth of the matter is that ghetto uprisings will continue until blacks establish economic stability and political power, which cannot be

taken or surreptitiously managed. Black people are aware of the tremendous void of sensitivity in so-called "poverty" or "riot" studies which fail to point up the fact that black folk are demanding control of the political and economic forces which manage their lives.

The people who write these reports seem to be afraid to deal with the realities of life and the growing awareness in the black community. They want to go back to the naive "Negro" (pronounced NEEGROW) of yesterday and solve his problems, rather than deal with the black man of today who is demanding fundamental changes. A measure of the value of any political or economic system is its ability to cope with social realities. If white America fails to deal with present day realities, then it must be prepared to face the consequences. (James E. Roberson, Jr. 1/4/68)

Poor vs. the "experts"

Tension between the professionals who think about and carry out research on welfare problems and the poor who must live on a welfare budget provided a dramatic conclusion to a conference on "dilemmas of municipal welfare" at the John LaFarge Institute in New York.

The meeting was chaired by Daniel Patrick Moynihan of the joint center for urban studies, Cambridge, Mass.

Among the participants at the invitational gathering were three representatives of the national welfare organization. Shortly before the agreed time for adjournment Moynihan asked Mrs. Beulah Saunders, vice-chairman of the group, if she would comment on the discussion.

Mrs. Saunders, a Negro woman who had sat silent throughout most of the discussion, replied she felt "out of place with all these big wheels."

"You have all these experts," she said, looking around the room. "I don't know how the hell I got here."

She told the experts on welfare problems that they should "start talk-

ing with the people on the lower level and find out what they think is a good policy."

"The LaFarge Institute is not a place where we abandon the role of the trained intellect," Moynihan countered, referring to the "superior knowledge and superior wisdom" to be found in the experts gathered for the conference.

"But they don't live on a welfare budget," Mrs. Saunders retorted. "They don't know what it is to live on welfare unless I tell them."

Moynihan turned to another conference participant, Merton C. Bernstein of the Columbia school of law, who proposed that one approach to remedying welfare problems is a reform of the committee jurisdiction of Congress.

At this, another representative of the national welfare rights organization, Hubert James, rose and in a voice trembling with anger called the proceedings "unbelievable."

"You folks are kidding yourselves," the young Negro. "We've got people on welfare that have to demand what they're entitled to by law, and you sit here talking about committee jurisdiction." James said he was "sick and tired" of the kind of discussion that had taken place when the real "crisis in welfare is that people are hungry and need food and they can't get it."

At the conclusion of his highly emotional remarks he left the room. James was followed by Mrs. Saunders and another members of the welfare organization, despite appeals from Moynihan. since it was only five minutes before the agreed adjournment time, Moynihan said before they reached the door: "We're not going to have a walk-out. This meeting is adjourned." (3/14/68)

Church & Chicago '68

Clergy and churches played important roles in what has come to be known as the Great Chicago War, fought during

Continued on page 23



Those new '3 R' Episcopalians

The announcement of a recently formed coalition, Episcopalians United for Revelation, Renewal and Reformation, has piqued the interest of many in the church who long have been advocates for inclusiveness and justice in the Body of Christ.

The coalition purports to have gathered people from the renewal movements in the church as well as the mainstream "in a historic witness to the authority of scripture and spiritual values as taught by the church throughout the centuries." So far so good, in a church whose benchmarks are scripture, tradition and reason. The aim, according to its chairman, "is to restore the Episcopal Church to its true strength — Jesus Christ." Funny, I thought that's what the church has been about all along.

With a full-time executive director and the blessing of several supporting bishops, Episcopalians United has declared its intent to work with local committees in every diocese to organize church members in the hope of influencing the outcome of legislative action at next year's General Convention. That's okay too. Some of us have been trying to do just that on a less grand scale for the past several years through The Consultation, a coalition of 11 church-related peace and justice organizations.

However, I once had a wise old

great granny who would often admonish people to "come on out the bushes and fight fair." That was her homespun way of getting folk to 'fess up to what they really were about when they were saying one thing and seemingly up to something else. Episcopalians United has stated its aim, purpose and the things which it espouses in ecclesiastical generalities with which few Christians would argue. It states in far stronger terms what it opposes — and boy, is its homophobia showing! Among other things, the coalition opposes the ordination of "practicing homosexuals" and the normalization of homosexuality as an alternative lifestyle. Regarding the former, so what else is new? The church went around the track on this one at General Convention 1979. It would be interesting to know how Episcopalians United will determine just who is practicing what and with whom since most folk — gay or straight — hold their practice of sex much as they do their toothbrushes, personal and private. Perhaps the coalition plans to organize a "truth squad" or cadres of peeping Toms and Thomasinas in every diocese to bar the ordination gate to gays and lesbians. Neat trick, since they keep on slipping through, and have since the days of Aelred back in 1167.

Re the latter, an increasing body of evidence seems to indicate that homo-

sexuality, and indeed heterosexuality, are human conditions, existing on a continuum, which are the result of prenatal brain formations over which neither the fetus nor the parents have control. For the individual of homosexual orientation, his or her lifestyle is already normal.

Also on the new coalition's list of no-no's are sexual relations outside the sacrament of marriage. Opposing such intimacy is one thing; but, again, one wonders just how Episcopalians United intends to reduce or eliminate its practice in this day and age. They might check with the Vatican on its luck in getting Roman Catholics to refrain from using birth control.

Their board of trustees also has gone on record with a position against the ordination of women to the episcopate because "it is clear to us that the ordination. . . at this time would cause serious division in the life of the Church and perhaps lead to schism in a manner not known heretofore in the church." People who talk about schism always fail to take into account the fact that such separation is sinful and indicates fault on both sides.

The nagging question in all this: Is the coalition going to work through existing renewal groups in dioceses and local parishes to push its agenda? In other words, what is it trying to re-new? ■

Angel unaware

dear sister
in jesus
christ of the street
you entered his house last week
distraught and alone
all your worldly goods
wrapped up in a plastic
Lucky's bag
held tightly, tightly
under your arm.
you wanted to do it right, though.
you looked around
saw Us-Dressed-Up-For-Church
put on your threadbare jacket
looked again
took it quietly off

the People Sang
you cried a little, sang.
at the peace
a Woman smiled
took your hands
mumbled something
you flinched a little
thought you were in trouble
(o dear sister, it is We Who are in trouble.)
then softly from a young and
weather-worn face
the old words
"the peace of God."

the back of christ was broken
you jumped, moaned
walked up
became one with jesus
your yellow christmas angel hair
in a golden toss around
your head.

you stayed after
for the organ
and much later
as I drove by in my
Mantovani-d, heated Seville
I saw you
dart out of the
stone church doorway
cross yourself hastily
looking for your next
shelter on the street.

— Leonora Holder

Letters . . . Continued from page 3

lenged once again to clear its prophetic throat and give voice to the message of the Gospel as it speaks to our life.

I would also like to reprint the article in our St. Andrew's parish newsletter. It is a message I wish to share. I would add that, over the years, THE WITNESS has provided this kind of service to the church. Keep up the good work.

The Rev. Jeff Paul
Torrance, Cal.

World hunger nags

Bishop John Spong's article, "The twilight of patriotism" (September WITNESS), could be the beginning of a real solution to the problem of world hunger. As long as we divide the world into well-fed "us" and hungry "them," we'll never do more than put a Band-aid on the problem. We can share what we have and even change our lifestyles so we have more to share, but that's not nearly enough. We have to stop perpetuating the political structures that keep people poor.

Six years ago, at the North-South summit conference in Cancun, Mexico, leaders of developing nations asked that future negotiations between the mostly-poor Southern Hemisphere and the mostly-rich North take place in the United Nations General Assembly, where the one-country, one-vote rule would give them an advantage. But they were outnumbered by leaders of wealthy nations, who decided that major decisions on economic aid would remain with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, which the wealthy nations control.

The Third World countries also wanted to form a special energy affiliate to the World Bank, which would funnel credits to meet developing nations' energy needs. France, Canada, Mexico and some of the other wealthy nations supported this proposal, but President Reagan said "We shouldn't seek to create new institutions." And they didn't.

Our loving Creator set us in a world

that provides plenty of food for all. How it must hurt the heart of God when we who claim to love God keep so much for ourselves! Keep on waking people up!

Ruth Thurston
Moab, Utah

Pride isolating factor

I was excited upon reading "The twilight of patriotism" by Bishop John Spong. Over the past several years, I have come to understand the outdatedness of nationalism and the need for a more global understanding of community and accountability.

But I think there is still cause for concern as we move through this transition. I believe patriotism and nationalism have their roots in a model of dualistic thinking that is a manifestation of spiritual pride: the kind of "either-or" thinking that places one's self in the center of creation and defines anyone else as "foreign," "bad," or "enemy."

To move toward the global community, this dualistic model must be recognized and changed. While geographic sources of chauvinism may disappear, what may emerge are equally polarized groups that coalesce around other issues: religious fundamentalists vs. religious pluralists; racial designations; urban dwellers vs. rural dwellers; economic class systems.

One means to the new social and political awareness that Spong describes is based on individual conversion and change — our personal and prayerful endeavors to repent of the spiritual pride that only isolates and alienates us.

Judy Miller
Pittsburgh, Pa.

'88 elections key

I very much appreciated your September edition on "Shredded rights." The supreme irony of the presidency of Ronald Reagan is that he continually speaks about "getting government off the backs of the people," "less government is good government" etc. Meanwhile, this President has instituted more

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THE WITNESS

legislation and appointed more judges and others to get government into our private lives and limit individual freedoms than any other in history.

Reagan has also touted family values and the need for women to take seriously their traditional role as the person responsible for caring for children. But then he demands that welfare mothers should not stay at home and care for children, but go to work.

I hope the community of religious folks of this nation stand up in 1988 and demand integrity and rational public policies from the candidates.

Sally Timmel
Washington, D.C.

Welcome Presby friends

I receive THE WITNESS at my office — the peacemaking section of an ecumenical church council. As a Presbyterian I had never come across it, but am now pleased to pass it on to some of my Presby friends thanks to your generous Christmas three-for-one offer.

Beth Mable
Tacoma, Washington

Kudos from provost

Thank you for THE WITNESS. Every issue is challenging in the measure it causes me to take of my teaching and formation work in a seminary context. Every issue is encouraging from the

standpoint of the strong faith which each author and each article and each editorial conveys. And each copy I receive is also a promise of a future rich in hope for the ways in which God leads us.

Toinette M. Eugene, Provost
Bexley Hall
Rochester, N.Y.

'Ethical baby' letters due

Ed. note - Due to the volume of mail received on the article, "Having an ethical baby," by Lesley Northup in the October WITNESS, we have had to defer publication of responses until next issue.

Short Takes

War addicts need help

I am not an alcoholic. If I were, I would go before the nearest AA meeting and say, "My name is Kurt Vonnegut. I am an alcoholic," God willing, that might be my first step down the long hard road back to sobriety.

I now wish to call attention to another form of addiction, which has not been previously identified. It is more like gambling than drinking, since the people afflicted are ravenous for situations that will cause their bodies to release exciting chemicals into their bloodstreams. I am persuaded that there are among us people who are tragically hooked on preparations for war.

Let us recognize how sick such people are. From now on, when a national leader, or even just a neighbor, starts talking about some new weapons system that is going to cost us a mere \$29 billion, we should speak up. We should say something on the order of, "Honest to God, I couldn't be sorrier for you if I'd seen you wash down a fistful of black beauties with a pint of Southern Comfort." I am not joking. Compulsive preparers for World War III, in this country or any other, are as tragically and repulsively addicted as any stock broker passed out with his head in a toilet in the Port Authority bus terminal.

Kurt Vonnegut
Fellowship, 9/87

Gem from old WITNESS

You say the little efforts that I make
Will do no good:

they never will prevail
To tip the hovering scale
Where justice hangs in balance.

I don't think
I ever thought they would . . .
But I am prejudiced beyond debate
In favor of my right
to choose which side
Shall feel the stubborn ounces
of my weight.

Bonaro Overstreet
THE WITNESS, 7/25/57



Christmas

When this year's Christ child
is a small brown boy
who finds me in the visiting hall
he clambers into my lap
and with thumb tucked firmly
closes his lips upon a sigh
and stays a while.

And his mother says his name is
Michael
and she doesn't mind at all
if he shares a few hours of his life
with me.

When time comes
he grasps me by the ears
and plants a warm wet kiss upon
my nose
and never says goodbye.
Given this brief epiphany
it seems quite well to live these years
when none of the babes are mine
for long
and all are ours forever.

Helen Woodson
Alderson Prison, 1986

Quote of note

We have noted the ravages of institutional racism, but have we elected more non-whites to vestries, diocesan conventions and deputies to General Convention? We have set out to be inclusive, but are we calling more women to be rectors of parishes?

The Rt. Rev. Edmond L. Browning

Do you know who you are?

Once upon a time, in occupied Tibet, many of the soldiers showed great cruelty in regard to the subjugated people. The most chosen objects of their atrocities were the monks. So as the foreign forces invaded villages, the monks fled to the mountains. When the invaders arrived in a particular village, the leader of the village reported, "All the monks, hearing of your approach, fled to the mountains but one." The commander became enraged. He marched to the monastery and kicked in the gate. There in the courtyard stood the one remaining monk. The commander glowered at him. "Do you not know who I am? I can run you through with a sword without batting an eyelash." The monk replied, "And do you not know who I am? I can let you run me through with a sword without batting an eyelash."

Joan Chittister, OSB
National Catholic Reporter, 4/10/87

Downward mobility

The downward mobility of Mary and Joseph: from home and job or business in Nazareth — to a stable or cave in Bethlehem — to a time on the lam through the desert with little but the clothes on their backs and a new-born Babe — into Egypt to live as refugees — is rarely thought of. But now with the plight of refugees and the homeless and unemployed or under-employed on a worldwide basis, it is hard to continue to overlook this fact.

Abbie Jane Wells
Juneau, Alaska

Puzzlement

Why does the United States raise tensions and take such risks in the Persian Gulf, ask researchers from the Rocky Mountain Institute. They note that meanwhile, the government is "spending money we don't have, to defend ships that aren't ours, to ship oil we don't use, for allies who won't help, in pursuit of a policy we don't have."

Brian Ahlberg
Utne Reader, Nov./Dec. 1987

Aging . . . Continued from page 11

"Let me open the door for you," or "Let me carry that for you," and see such offers as well-deserved tributes to the value of her selfhood is a parable for us all.

Perhaps you know the story of the brash, ugly American who was "doing" Europe one summer. One day his tour schedule took him to the Louvre in Paris. Racing through the art gallery, he was disappointed. He accosted an elderly guard and told him he thought the paintings were overrated and boring. The guard drew himself up and said, "Sir, these paintings have been here for generations. Among them are some of the masterpieces of the world. These paintings are no longer on trial, sir — the *spectators* are!"

Those who see you, meet you, know you, they are the ones on trial, not you. You are a masterpiece, one of a kind. Remember that, and appreciate whatever deference you get. It is deserved.

Still, there is one more upcoming, final chapter in our life story. We have now reached the maturity where the cardinal question no longer is, "What will you become?" but rather, "What will become of you?" And answering that question takes courage, too.

What *will* become of you? For most, there will be a gradual winding-down of your physical and mental capacities. And for all there will eventually come the end of the adventure we call "this life." This is what will become of you. Can you face it with courage? Have you the heart for it?

Our years have been lived out in an era when old landmarks have been blurred, when verities long thought to be eternal have been challenged or discarded, when traditional faith has been overwhelmed by doubt and skepticism. We have slipped our moorings and now find ourselves adrift in unknown waters, with no clearly discernable destination after this life. A few, with an enviable and child-like trust, have managed to cling to a simple and reassuring faith. Not so with most of us.

Well-educated and sophisticated in the ways of this world, born and bred in the manner of modernity, we find ourselves facing "the last things" with no chart, no knowledge, no experience, no assurance. In the words of the German theologian, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, we are called to see ourselves as living in a world-come-of-age, and must take upon ourselves the adult responsibility of finding our own way.

But isn't that just what you have been doing all your life? At the end, as at the beginning, you face an unknown future. Your entire life bears testimony to the authenticity of who you are. It demonstrates that it is, indeed, a precious, awesome, distinctive gift to be you. It vindicates the courage you have displayed again and again in facing the hard decisions, the unknown future. The future is never known, else it would be no future. But that fathomless mystery has always shown itself subject to one key — courage. As you have lived, so may you die, and face with courage whatever unknowns may lie in your next chapters. Take heart! ■

70th . . . Continued from page 18

the democratic convention. St. Chrysostom's, the Episcopal church nearest to the Lincoln Park and Grant Park battle fronts, housed a first aid center, manned by young doctors and nurses, many of whom came long distances to donate their services to young people, cameramen, reporters and even official delegates beaten up by the 11,000 cops put into action by Mayor Richard J. Daley.

Amid all the violence, a great scene occurred. The Anglican Bishop of South Africa who is in exile — Edward C. Crowthers — came to Grant Park to celebrate the Eucharist. After the elements had been served to the people in the park, the bishop went to the National Guardsmen.

When a few of the troops indicated

their interest in receiving the sacrament, the commander ordered the bishop to leave. 80 people from the park then approached the troops. Each sought out a man and quietly said, "The peace of God be with you." This done, they turned and left. (9/16/68)

The Scene at GC II

When the microphone was grabbed in a plenary session during the middle of a pedestrian and redundant presentation of clergy deployment methods, the agenda of the Special General Convention changed. Charles Muhammed Kenyatta, Baptist minister and a representative of the Black Economic Development Committee, backed by members of the Black Union of Episcopal Clergy and Laity and a radical caucus of Episcopal youth, led the

confrontation. A pro at his trade, Kenyatta had the convention up-tight in short order. They talked of issues of priorities — race, war-peace, open society — over against house keeping for the church.

After two days of meeting, it is difficult to enter any session without seeing that in the back of all things is the reality of the priorities expounded from the seized podium. The demonstration lasted for about 20 minutes, after which Bishop Hines asked for a vote of the delegates to allow the demonstrators to present their point of view. (9/69)

Feds probe GC II funding

The church's \$200,000 allocation for black economic development projects,

Continued on back cover

a move which stirred controversy, has boiled up into a full-scale grand jury investigation . . . Top officials of the church — and newsmen who covered GC II — were called to testify before the panel . . . U.S. attorneys came to South Bend, Ind. from the department of justice in Washington to conduct the questioning of witnesses.

(Bishop Hines) was discovered by newsmen and asked whether the church was caused any embarrassment because it had voted the appropriation and the justice department was now investigating phases of the convention.

He replied, "No comment."

A witness, who refused to be identified, said he believed that the investigation was triggered by "rank conservatives in the church." (10/69)

Hispanic rights

The Executive council made a grant of \$40,000 at the December meeting to the Alianza Federal de Mercedes in New Mexico. There was strong opposition from some churchmen, including Bishop Kinsolving, who immediately announced that his diocese of New Mexico and Southwest Texas would not pay its \$92,365 quota for 1970 to the national church.

What about the Alianza and its leader, Reies Lopez Tijerina? They are mostly descendants of Spanish conquistadors and indigenous Indians. Their ancestors received some 35 million acres in land grants from the

Spanish crown and the Mexican government in the years before the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ceded what is now New Mexico to the United States in 1848. But after Americans started moving into the territory, the natives started losing their land. "You hold it," Governor David Cargo told some of the present Anglo landowners, "but the land was stolen originally."

For the past four years, the Alianza, led by Tijerina, had been involved in a series of incidents in the national forest regions of New Mexico, where most of the old Spanish land claims are located. Harassment tactics have kept Tijerina and his allies parading through a series of jails and court rooms on rather insubstantial charges. The leader is presently serving a sentence in a federal prison in Texas for assaulting two forest service rangers. (Tijerina) appeared in New Mexico in the early sixties and started organizing the Alianza. It has been tough . . . The Anglos ruled — and still do.

Like Cesar ("Don't Eat Grapes") Chavez, Tijerina is not fighting merely for civil rights, but to overturn a whole social structure that has ruled the southwest for more than a century. And he has accomplished the first step — made an oppressed people aware of themselves and their potential power. (William B. Spofford 1/70)

FBI nabs Berrigan

A smiling and handcuffed Fr. Daniel Berrigan ended four months as a fugi-

tive "peace criminal" when he entered a Providence federal building in the custody of FBI agents.

The Jesuit was captured on nearby Block Island by a bevy of federal lawmen who first masqueraded as bird watchers outside the home belonging to William Stringfellow, Episcopal lay theologian, and Anthony Towne, a poet. They co-authored *The Bishop Pike Affair* in 1967.

Convicted last year of destroying draft records at Catonsville, Md. in 1968 and sentenced to three and a half years in prison . . . Berrigan successfully eluded the authorities for four months.

Commenting on the capture of Berrigan, Stringfellow, an anti-war activist himself, said that the priest was "an old friend," but he refused to say how long the Jesuit had been staying at his home. (8/70)

Episcopalian moonwalkers

Both Navy Capt. John W. Walker and Air Force Lt. Col. Charles M. Duke Jr. are Episcopalians.

Before the launch on April 16, the entire Duke family met for prayer. Dr. William, the astronaut's identical twin, said: "I know my brother had a prayer in his heart at lift-off. He put his mission in God's hands. Charlie asked that it go well and that he perform well, and not let his teammates down." (5/72)

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