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THE WITNESS

A theology of intimacy
• Fredrica H. Thompsett

Detention in El Salvador
• Josie Beecher

Trafficking in human lives
• Parker Rossman

Confronting racism in Japan
• Susan E. Pierce

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Letters

Of shamans and cooks

Bishop William Spofford's sermon (November WITNESS) on the occasion of the election of Barbara Harris as Suffragan Bishop-elect of Massachusetts amused me.

His allusion to certain "gifts and actions" connected to the priesthood as being connected to womanhood reminded me of some of the records on shamans of the various Indo-European cultures. (What were called *berdaches* by the American Indians.) Many of those records note that the shamans (i.e., *men* who dressed as women and took on female traits) exceeded women in their arts. They might make better cloth or bead products; or keep a better house.

Such conceit makes me think of our present practice of using "chef" when we talk of men; "cook" for women. For those who would subsist on truffles or capers and cracked green peppercorns in white wine sauce over whatever is in the refrigerator, that's fine. Personally, I'm a meat and potatoes folk; I prefer a good "cook" every day.

We ought to remember that priests evolved out of the shaman tradition. And we might do well to speculate that women were kept out of the priesthood for fear of competition.

I've only met Ms. Harris once, and then only for a moment at the "Under One Roof Conference." However, I've followed her "Struggles" column in your pages for a number of years. And, if I might, I would observe that the old boys may be finally meeting their match!

John Kavanaugh
Detroit, Mich.

Brazil includes women

Too often we only hear of the conflicts connected with the ordination of women. Of course, with the election of Barbara Harris as Suffragan Bishop in the Diocese of Massachusetts, a woman, Black, and powerful, we remember all the women that struggled through the years in order that one day this wonderful event could be a possibility. We women in Brazil rejoice in her election and our prayers are with her in this new ministry.

I feel it is important to share with the readers of THE WITNESS a small victory for the ordained women of Brazil, which besides being a Third World country is still very much a *macho* world. I have worked in Brazil for 10 years, and for the past year and a half I have been Dean of the Cathedral in Brasilia. At the recent election in October for the Diocesan Bishop of Brasilia I was amazed to be the runner-up. I believe recognition needs to be given to this small Province of the Anglican Communion for its courage and openness to listen to God's call to become an ever more inclusive church which recognizes the significant contribution women are making in its leadership.

Revda. Dea Patrícia Ann Powers
Brasilia, Brazil

How 'bout dem liberals?

Can an unrepentant Methodist liberal (leaning to radical) share something that he recently read with people of the Anglican Communion (especially George Bush)?

Some time ago I was reminded to turn in the King James Version to *Isaiah 32* and read the first eight verses — you gentle readers "just know" that the King James Version has to be the "true and inerrant" word. Even Jerry Falwell says so.

Imagine my surprise when I read verse five, which says "The vile person shall no more be called liberal, nor a churl bountiful." Verse seven reads "The instruments also of the churl are evil; he cherisheth wicked devices to destroy the poor with lying words, even when the needy speaketh right." It gets better with verse eight. "But the liberal deviseth liberal things, and by liberal things shall he stand." How about that!

So I tried other translations of Scripture. Only a Jewish version read like the King James Version. Other translations use "noble" instead of liberal. That's OK, too. I always knew liberals were noble. Then I looked up the word churl; among other things, it means stingy or miserly. Could that really have meant *conservative*? I wonder.

Robert Keosian
Hawthorne, N.J.

Can't have it both ways

Thoughtful readers cannot fail to react to Charles Sutton, Jr.'s letter in the November issue. He criticizes THE WITNESS for its failure to be *in*clusive and demands that the principle of inclusiveness in the Episcopal Church must apply to him and other "conservatives." This demand follows the first paragraph of his letter that calls for the *ex*clusion of gays and women. Charlie, you can't have it both ways — inclusive for *all* or exclusive for whomever those in power wish to exclude. I invite you to read the Gospels to see which alternative Jesus would have us choose.

Peter Kane
Churchville, N.Y.

Guard's role exposed

Bravo for the article exposing how our National Guard has joined the secret war in Central America (October WITNESS).

Central America is a nice place to visit ; I was there in December 1987 and July 1988. It's a nice place to live; I lived there from 1975 to 1986. But is it a place for our Army Reserve and National Guard to train, or for U.S. military personnel to be assigned to?

Ask Karen Schwab, widow of Jeffrey

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Schwab of Plainfield, Ill. who was killed in November 1984 while "training" along the Honduran-Nicaraguan border. I visited with Jeffrey's parent to get the story.

Why can other Western nations like Canada, Italy, Switzerland and Spain manage to carry on aid programs in Central America without using a military apparatus? It's much more likely the people will view their presence as disinterested humanitarian help.

Let's encourage Americans to go to Central America as missionaries, as resource people for the Central American church. Let's beef up the Peace Corps, transferring Pentagon funds to civilian agencies, and allow them to get their "training" in Honduras. Let Americans train for peace rather than war.

On April 15, 1988 the Central American Catholic Bishops challenged our country to become a pacesetter when they said: "And we urge all the nations involved, but especially the great powers — the United States and the Soviet Union, in the name of Christ, the Prince of Peace — and in the name of humankind to come from the hands of God, *not to send any more arms to the region of Central America.*" (Santa Tecla Statement)

Nor any more Reservists or National Guardsmen either, I say.

Bernard A. Survil
Donegal, Pa.

(The American Friends Service Committee has published a pamphlet by Elizabeth Killough on the National Guard in Central America, from which THE WITNESS article was excerpted. Entitled Off Guard: Questions and Answers on the Role of Our National Guard, *it is a useful resource and can be ordered for 50¢ (100 for $25) from Peace Education/ AFSC,1500 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102. — Ed.)*

U.S. aid supports war

In reference to your timely article by David Gracie about the refugees of El Salvador returning home (November WITNESS), our solidarity with the refugees and poor of El Salvador is imperative.

El Salvador is truly the modern day Holy Land — and North America, I fear, Rome. I urge readers to learn more about tiny El Salvador, a small country that receives a huge $1.5 million a day from our nation's government for military aid — military aid that keeps the war raging.

We must not ignore the sufferings of our brothers and sisters in this hideously oppressed country, their sufferings caused in large part by our government's support of their military and oligarchy.

Mary Ann Greenly
Reinholds, Pa.

A fan for 62 years

I have been a WITNESS subscriber for over 50 years, and used to read it for 12 years before that, when working for a church in San Jose (after I graduated from St. Margaret's House). It was 5¢ a copy; we sold them to members of the congregation. I hope I can get more people to subscribe.

Mary G. Zava
Laguna Beach, Cal.

Spreading the word

I would like to invite you to consider granting a complimentary subscription to THE WITNESS for St. Deiniol's Library in North Wales.

St. Deiniol's is a unique institution which attracts clergy and other church leaders, teachers, scholars and writers from around the world. The institution is unique in that it is a residential library and readers have accommodations right on the premises. Persons from 37 different countries have stayed there in recent years for short or longer visits.

I am working with others to augment the periodical holding of the library with a stronger selection of the best North American religious journals, and would like to see THE WITNESS added to its collection. The advantage to your publication would be to expose it to an international readership who might eventually become subscribers. The advantage to the library would be to strengthen its present selection of periodicals without diminishing its tight operating budget.

I have enjoyed two stays at St. Deiniol's in recent years and would be greatly pleased if THE WITNESS could be added to its collection. I have been a subscriber for many years and would like to see it available to this international readership.

The Rt. Rev. George C. Harris
Episcopal Bishop of Alaska

(THE WITNESS is pleased to honor this request. We depend on the generosity of sustaining subscribers to underwrite gifts such as this, as well as gift subscriptions to Third World subscribers who could not afford THE WITNESS otherwise. — Ed.)

Where to protest?

As I was reading the November issue, and particularly the article about "gay bashing" in Australia and Great Britain, I hoped and half-way expected that, at the end of it, you'd perhaps give the names and addresses of people to whom one might write in both Australia and England to protest the actions which you've described.

While I'm grateful for the opportunity to use the addresses you did print, and while I will write them whatever words of encouragement I can, I would also be grateful for the names and addresses of those to whom I might voice a personal protest and plea for greater compassion

Continued on page 24

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THE WITNESS

Table of Contents

6 **Detention in El Salvador**
Josie Beecher

10 **Trafficking in human lives**
Parker Rossman

14 **Courageous Incarnation: A theology of intimacy**
Fredrica Harris Thompsett

18 **Confronting racism in Japan**
Susan E. Pierce

21 **Of centers and margins**
William McKinney

26 1988 Index

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Editorial

The Pope's lost battalions

Guest editorialist this month is Monica Furlong, noted author, theologian, and founding member of the Movement for the Ordination of Women in England.

I decided recently that ecumenism is not all it's cracked up to be. Time after time the women in the Church of England asking for ordination have been rebuked for being so selfish as to want something which might imperil relations with the Roman Catholic Church. At the Lambeth Conference the Americans' blunt statement that they intended to consecrate a woman as bishop as soon as possible was thought to risk fatal damage to the ARCIC talks between Catholics and Anglicans, as well as causing all sorts of upset in the Church of England.

Suddenly, I realized that I had dreaded the idea of unity, that for us Anglican women to link up with Rome would be a bit like expecting a Jew to join the National Front or a Black person to emigrate to South Africa.

What brought this on was the Pope's summer thoughts on women, *De Mulieris Dignitatem* (On the Dignity of Women). The very title is enough to send shivers down the spine, suggesting, as it does, the opposite of what it says. And, predictably enough, the purpose of the Pope's holiday task was to assert that women, dignified or not, cannot be priests. What God intends them to be, he says, what they are admired and cherished for in the church, is wives, mothers, sisters and nuns, since they are "different by nature" from men, and they should not "try to appropriate masculine characteristics."

By becoming a nun, the Pope apparently believes, a woman "realizes the personal value of her very femininity" (it is not quite clear how). All of us, nuns and the rest, should take the Virgin Mary as our model.

It seems to me that I have taken many female models in my time — my mother, my sister, my gym teacher, Jo in *Little Women*, Charlotte Bronte, Florence Nightingale, a sophisticated aunt, Barbara Stanwyck, Ava Gardner and Eartha Kitt, but the Virgin Mary has never been on my Hit Parade, partly because little is known about her and partly because I like my women more feisty and robust. Would the Pope consider any of the above as having "masculine characteristics," I wonder? If having self-confidence, brains, beauty, sexiness, independence, and a gift of gab is masculine, well, it can't be helped.

The Pope is unlikely to share my personal belief about women which is that virginal or not, they should be *fun*.

Some other women do identify with Mary, however, and good luck to them. What worries me is the kind of male idealization of women which Mary represents, since I know that the other side of that coin is a total contempt. In fact, as is well known, the Christians have a lousy history where the dignity of women is concerned, from the Epistle to Timothy onwards, insulting them continually. The Epistle forbade them to speak in church (a silence enforced for getting on 2,000 years); Tertullian called them sewers, Jerome castigated them for looking pretty, Augustine thought they were not made in the image of God, Thomas Aquinas called them "misbegotten males," and throughout Europe and America thousands of women were burned as witches, at the church's instigation, for doing nothing worse than dabbling a little in herbal remedies.

When His Holiness speaks enthusiastically of women's dignity, therefore, it is rather like the Foxy Whiskered gentleman giving soft words to Jemima Puddleduck; if we have any sense we shan't trust him as far as we can see him, just as we have learned to pick suspiciously over the honeyed words of archbishops and bishops in the Church of England.

What amazes me is that the Pope presumably expects women to listen to the nonsense he talks about them, cheerily abandoning careers as engineers, stockbrokers, bankers, and chairwomen of multinationals, not to mention cleaners, cooks and careers for the geriatric and the disabled (or does he not mind about them?) and heading back like lemmings to the hearth and the nursery.

Not that I have anything against the hearth and the nursery — I've enjoyed both in my time — but it was only a part of my life. Neither then nor since did I feel myself defined by the set of simple but exhausting tasks which keeps the human race ticking over. If the Pope

Continued on page 9

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Detention in El Salvador

THE WITNESS receives numerous newsletters circulated by Episcopalian missionaries, but this one from Josie Beecher, describing her harrowing detention (along with her 5-year-old adopted Guatemalan daughter) by Salvadoran police particularly arrested our attention and elicited our prayers over the holiday season. Since its arrival, we learned that Beecher will remain in El Salvador to work with displaced persons, under the auspices of the Episcopal Church. Josie Beecher was a sheep farmer on Lopez Island, Wash. where she attended Grace Church for some 15 years. Her stint as a short-term Witness for Peace volunteer in 1984 inspired her to sign up for a longer period of service as a missionary in Central America.

I have been trying to discern in what way I can best serve the Salvadoran people and follow my calling as a Christian missioner. A part of this decision is whether to work directly with the programs of the Episcopal Church here.

In this light, I went, along with my daughter, Mariana, to spend a week in a community of displaced people in the eastern part of El Salvador. Some Salvadorans had moved there after spending time in one of the church-operated refugee camps. Others had simply wandered the countryside, fleeing from bombings, destruction and terror until they came together in this small abandoned village. We had visited there last year, but in the last few months I had heard of a lot of military activity in the area, including the detention and torture of several community residents. When it seemed that things had eased up a bit, I decided to go back.

Our visit was wonderful. The people welcomed us, especially Mariana, with open arms. The community is an hour and a half tortuous jeep ride from the nearest small town. This community has had very little support from any of the churches or international groups, unlike the communities of people who have repatriated from refugee camps in Honduras. Thus, for a variety of reasons, they are extremely isolated and were pleased to have us.

That week taught me more about the praxis of Christian accompaniment than my whole year's work coordinating volunteers working with the displaced throughout the country. Short as a week is, I felt that we became part of that community, shared their joys, their work, their suffering, their hopes and fears.

Mariana blurred the distinctions between us and them as she essentially lived the life of a Salvadoran *campesina*. I did a lot of thinking about the issues of education and childraising during this time. She played happily with an old fragment of a plastic doll that was her friend "Marina's" only toy. They made clothes for it of newspaper and prepared "meals" from torn up flowers and thrown away tin cans.

This was quite in contrast to the exposure she has in the city to TV, on which children are crassly urged to want the best new toys all for themselves. She learned a lot about sharing, which I see as the most important lesson she, as an almost 5-year-old, needs to learn. I watched her come to realize that if she ate all of something, her friend didn't get anything. I saw her join in, like farm kids on Lopez Island, Washington, in the States, in the work that is necessary for the maintenance of the community.

Every day started between 4 a.m and 6 a.m., depending on whether or where we were going to be getting water. One of the water sources is an hour's walk down a very steep trail. Even the most fit adults have a difficult time carrying the heavy jugs back up the hill. If they go to that only year-round source, they need to do so before the heat of the day. Either an older child will go while the parent begins grinding corn for the breakfast tortillas, or the adult will go at 4 a.m. in order to return to fix breakfast.

I confess I did not usually make the early water run, but Mariana and I did help with the tortillas. After tortillas and beans Mariana and I either went to a closer water source to bathe and wash clothes with some of the women and girls or visited within the community. During these visits Mariana and I helped strip the new crop of dried beans from their pods or corn from the cob and always Mariana played with the kids. Midday marked the same process of preparing the meal and afternoon usually meant another trip for water.

Each day a group of adults and older children went to work on a water project facilitated by the International Red Cross which involves digging a ditch by hand

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in order to lay plastic pipe, and leveling the road at the same time. Another group works in the collective sesame seed field. In addition, individuals have their own *milpa* — corn or bean field — in which men and boys and single women work most days. The evening meal is prepared as dusk approaches.

On Nov. 17 toward day's end, I was returning with Mariana to the house in which we were staying. Suddenly from out of nowhere appeared about 20 heavily-armed, camouflaged soldiers, their faces painted a grotesque green and black. The leader of this patrol called me to come with him up the rapidly darkening road, off to the side. I had no choice but to obey. Mariana started whimpering and ran to me. I was glad to have her company.

The patrol leader asked to see my military permission to be in this community. I was not aware that this was one of the areas in which permission was required. Others had visited this area without *salvoconductos*. He told me that the people I had been visiting were communists. He said this community was the worst of the worst and that the soldiers would not even ask them for a drink of water. What was I doing there? I explained that I was visiting communities of displaced people as a Christian to find out how North American Christians can respond to their needs. I told him we were leaving first thing in the morning.

"Oh, no, you're not," he said.

He pointed to Mariana. "That's not your child. You are lying and this proves it. We are going to take you out of here and you cannot take her with you."

I said, "Of course, she's my daughter. She is calling me Mama." He said, "You are lying, she wouldn't be wearing *ginas* (thongs or flip-flops) if she were your child. Even my children don't wear them. Only people like this wear *ginas*." Mariana reached down to take her *ginas* off. I spoke to her in English and told her, instead, to go in the house and get the bag that had her passport in it. I had my residency card with me but the rest of my identification was in the house. Unfortunately, she returned with my camera case. In the meantime, I tried to convince him that she wouldn't be talking to me in English if she was from this community. He denied that she had spoken or understood English. He again threatened that she would not be allowed to go with me. I would not have felt badly about leaving her in the community except that with the sudden appearance of the soldiers I did not know what was going to happen after my departure.

He then radioed his commander and asked what to do. His commander wanted us taken in immediately, but the patrol leader said he had other business in the area, so I would be taken out in the morning. I could not leave until I had his permission. If I tried to leave in my jeep they would shoot us. He had dropped the subject of Mariana but had not acknowledged she was my child. He ordered his soldiers to seal off the sector in which we were staying and posted soldiers in the doorway of the house. The majority of them slept on the other side of the mud wall against which I would have been sleeping had I slept that night. I prayed that Mariana would not have to get up in the middle of the night to pee; I did a lot of other praying, too.

At 5 a.m. three women from the community arrived. On the previous afternoon they had asked me for a ride to San Salvador. When I asked the soldiers for permission to go, the patrol leader was not there. Extensive radio conversation ensued. They discussed sending a helicopter to get us. Finally, they decided to send us to the next town where the local National Police command was located. They gave them the specifics of the vehicle and a description of the occupants. There was no place else to go, and we were intercepted there, at the entrance to the town.

I made a last effort at non-violent resistance. I said what I always say when soldiers ask me for a ride, that because I work for the church, I cannot transport anyone carrying a gun in my vehicle — it is against my religion. Soldiers have always respected this and so did these, in

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spite of the fact that I was essentially under detention. So a group of six policeman jogged alongside the jeep as I slowly drove in to the command post.

I assumed that the women with me would be allowed to get out in town and continue on their way to the capital by bus. However, two of them had been released just two days before, after being detained a week. They had been beaten, interrogated, and ultimately released — because they own small *tiendas* where they sell corn chips, candy, cigarettes, sugar, etc. The police said they were buying these things to give to the guerrillas. When the two women were released, the police kept their purchases. This country does not have the type of judicial system where these things are kept as evidence. People who are arrested go directly to punishment without passing through the steps of filing charges and having a trial and sentencing. The third woman with me had come into town while the others were detained to ask the commander if permission was going to be given for any food to be allowed into their community. People were going to lose substantial sums of money if they kept on coming to town and having their money or purchases taken from them. The answer was no, but this was now their reason for detaining *her* as well. I asked the commander after my interrogation why the others were being detained; he said it was because they were known members of a communist group.

When we were first brought in to the police command the Salvadoran women were sent back into the stinking cell detention area. One of them was pregnant and also had an extremely malnourished 11-month old baby with her. Also with us was "Marina," the 8-year-old daughter of the third woman who had become Mariana's fast friend in the course of the week. When they tried to separate us from the Salvadorans, Mariana started screaming. The police quickly saw that this was going to be a problem and ordered "Marina" into the room with us. I think that because of Mariana the Salvadoran women were treated better than they might have been otherwise. They were stripped and searched individually by a woman and forcefully interrogated but were not beaten. Mariana kept running back and forth between the Salvadorans in the holding cell and me in the waiting room. I would come into the cell to find her and thus was able to keep an eye on how they were being treated. Each time I went in, the police told me to leave but I also had to pass through when Mariana used the bathroom. At one point when I went back, I saw a man standing in the sun, stripped to his shorts and blindfolded, undergoing interrogation.

Blueprint for torture

When taken to be questioned I was seated at a desk facing the wall. On it was a drawing of the back side of the human body, with muscles indicated. Despite my confidence that as a U.S. citizen I was not going to be physically mistreated, it was terrifying to see this illustration with its implied blueprint for torture.

My interrogation came in several parts as different characters came in. All told me that I needed military permission to be where I had been and that the people I was visiting were communists or terrorists. They asked me if I had seen any guerrillas. No. They asked me how long I had been in the area and I believe were a little embarrassed that I was there for a week without them knowing it. They wanted to know how I knew the other women. Most questioned why I had been there and what other work my church does in this country. The first few were harsh in their accusations, mostly about the other women and the community, and of me by implication.

Then a uniformed policeman came in (the others wore plainclothes). He said that he was a Protestant too, but that I

should understand that helping these people (the displaced) was helping the devil's children. He said that to feed and clothe them, as I said my faith moved me to do, would only prolong the war and maim more soldiers. It was better for these people to die because they were on the side of the devil. He said the Lutheran church was on the side of the guerrillas too. (I had been looking at a bakery and sewing project that the Lutheran church had funded.)

Throughout the day the detectives and policemen changed back and forth. They wrote a report on the condition of my vehicle and listed its contents. I said, "Why are you doing that? The detective said we would be driving to the 6th Brigade in my car." With a sneer, the detective said, "You *were* going to be driving." Eventually we did, but they kept the threat of being transported by helicopter hanging over us.

The last in was the lieutenant in command, who played father figure, nice guy, and said how they would hate to see me hurt and were there to protect me. Since I had not eaten all day and had my money and documents taken away, he sent me with a detective to get some lunch. I asked him if he would call the church. He said he would, but never asked for the number. When I returned, I asked if he had called and he said I could do so from his phone. No one was at the church at midday so I dialed the Christian Volunteers in Mission house and quickly told them where I was and where I was being taken. It was a great relief to know someone else out there knew where I was, and I relaxed for the first time since the night before.

I tried to get help for the Salvadoran baby. The mother had run out of milk and the baby looked as if he might die. I was told it was not possible for me to take my money to buy milk for the baby. The lieutenant said we would be in the departmental capital soon and our money would be returned there. (It would be another five hours.)

Eventually the police finished their interrogations, accusations, paperwork, phone calls and sent us with a detective driving and another truck following us to the 6th Brigade. I decided not to bother with my protest about having a gun in the car. On the way in, the women were allowed to stop for cigarettes and the mother bought some sugar to give the baby sugar water. With this he perked up until we were able to get milk.

Churches to the rescue

Apparently, friends in San Salvador had contacted the Roman Catholic Archdiocesan legal aid/human rights office, Tutela Legal, and they had sent a legal document demanding our release that arrived at the 6th Brigade before we did. In addition, representatives from the Episcopal and Lutheran churches were on their way with similar documents. Also when we got there, five U.S. Marine Corps military advisers were getting out of a helicopter and came over, offering to translate (!) and call the U.S. Embassy. The Embassy apparently was not particularly helpful or speedy in its response. But whether due to the presence of the U.S. advisers or the quick reaction of the churches, we were only held long enough for the 6th Brigade to go through our belongings yet again.

Amazingly, all of us were released and our belongings returned.

I wanted to get this information out in case rumors had gotten around. I particularly want to thank Karen Sauer in Texas and the World Mission Office of the Episcopal Church in New York for their willingness to respond. I will be able to thank in person Bishop James Ottley, the Episcopal Bishop in charge of El Salvador, and the rest of the Episcopal church here, as well as the Roman Catholic and Lutheran churches for their support. We are fine, but I ask your prayers for our continued safety and for the well-being of this displaced community. TW

Editorial . . . *Continued from page 5*

imagines that he is going to cram women back into the kitchen, rather like the Ayatollah ordering women back into seclusion, he might as well save his breath to cool his fettucine.

But such is the beauty of synchronicity that, even as he decides that women are too dignified to do anything but change diapers and clean up vomit, a woman was elected Bishop of Massachusetts in the Episcopal Church of America. God bless not just America, but those wonderfully forthright women, the "Philadelphia Eleven," who got themselves "irregularly" ordained back in 1974.

They refused to oblige by fitting into the stereotype women which seems to be all the churches can imagine for us, and so made possible this new development.

Others refuse, too. The St. Hilda Community met recently in East London and prayed for Barbara Harris. The Community believes, unlike the Pope, that women can be priests and, refusing to wait any longer for the endless prevarications and machinations of the General Synod, it invites women priests from other countries to celebrate Holy Communion. Its members, women and men, are mostly Anglican, but there are Catholics, Methodists and others who attend regularly.

For them, as for most Christian feminist groups, ecumenism long ago became a reality in maybe the only way that matters, an everyday respect for the ideas and beliefs of others and a readiness to share sacraments regardless of the nonsense talked by church leaders. In such places the monstrous sexism of the churches is transcended as men and women work on its problems together.

How many battalions has the Pope? I don't know, but I know who won't be marching with them.

(The above article appeared earlier in the Manchester Guardian Weekly, *10/16/88.)* TW

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The modern international slave trade:

Trafficking in human lives

by Parker Rossman

Slavery — defined by the United Nations as being forced to work without pay and against one's will — is on the increase in many parts of the world today. Ads in Beirut newspapers offering children for sale led me in 1987 to visit the London offices of the Anti-Slavery Society, the venerable organization that helped get slavery "abolished" in so many parts of the world a century ago.

"Does extensive slavery really exist?" I asked Alan Whittaker, public relations director of the Society, which works with the UN and Amnesty International in investigating such human rights violations.

"It does," he said, "even though slavery is now against the law everywhere, as is theft and exceeding the speed limit. Indeed, Mauretania — which still has perhaps 60,000 chattel slaves — has abolished slavery three times in this century." He defined six categories of contemporary slavery which the United Nations has identified:

1) Sham adoption

Col. Patrick Montgomery, Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, reports that sham adoptions are a cover for slavery in many parts of Latin America, Asia, and Africa. One Hong Kong "business man" was reported to have adopted over 140 foreign children which he then leased out as domestics. In 1986 a church group in Oklahoma discovered a refugee family that refused to send one child to school. They had adopted her, bringing her to America with them to do the housework!

Especially in poor countries where lack of funds for social workers limits the quality of supervision, how can cases of legitimate adoption by foreigners — when a good deal of money changes hands — be separated from sham adoption to conceal slavery? *The Herald Tribune* (6/6/87) reported the passage of stricter laws in Sri Lanka to bar companies that buy children and sell them to foreigners for as much as $15,000. Bribery in some Latin American adoptions has been similarly challenged as masking cases of slavery.

2) Chattel slavery

The increase in chattel slavery is as hard to control as the drug trade, the Anti-Slavery Society reports. A few years ago, two slave traders were caught offering an adolescent boy for sale in Nigeria. The resulting investigation led to the break-up of a slave ring importing people from Benin. More recently, news agencies reported that the Nigerian navy went to Equatorial Guinea to rescue nearly 500 Nigerians held on Bioco coconut plantations, saying: "Equatorial Guinea has an unenviable record of forced labor."

In Pakistan, young workers in stone quarries and for road building contractors were found to have been kidnapped. They lived in "Kharkar Camps," where they were chained at night and shot if they tried to escape. Some government officials did not count this as slavery at all, but as "child labor," often described as legal and essential in a poor country.

3) Child labor exploitation

The increase of forced labor by children, against their will, for someone other than their parents is perhaps inevitable as miserable poverty increases and 60 million abandoned children are on the streets of our global village. Ironically, the Anti-Slavery Society reports, such slavery has increased in some prosperous areas because people have money to buy slaves. During the 1986-87 season, the TV show *Sixty Minutes* had a report on the sale of Yugoslavian children to "fagins" who take them to Paris, Rome and other major cities to work as pickpockets.

Want ads in Beirut newspapers offering child workers for sale were called to my attention by an official of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association. These ads interested me because when we lived in Lebanon in the 1960s, it was not uncommon for child slaves to commit suicide by jumping off a balcony. A Christian visitor from Korea chided some American and European families who went to Lebanese mountain villages to "buy" young servants. Theoretically a "maid" got a small wage, but it was paid to her father. One American woman got angry when the Korean charged slavery, replying the girl was better off in her home than in the village where she would not go to school either. In the foreign home she had good food, medical care, and learned household skills that would guarantee her a better marriage.

Investigation showed however that such girls might spend their lives as uneducated, unpaid household servants. My wife and I stayed at a pension in Damascus, Syria, where the new owner

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Parker Rossman is the author of *Pirate Slave* (Benzinger Verlag, Zurich, 1982); *Family Surival* (Pilgrim Press, 1984); *Helping People Care on the Job* (Judson, 1985) and many other books.

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found that she had bought a maid along with the hotel. The maid, by then 26, hardly knew anything outside the walls of the pension. From childhood she had learned only how to scrub floors, wash sheets and make beds and was afraid that the new owner did not want to keep her, as she was now too old, uneducated, and isolated to find a husband. I asked a Syrian woman, the daughter of a Christian clergyman there, when slavery had been abolished in that country. "Has it been?" she replied. "Living with my parents is an elderly 'aunt' who worked from childhood without pay for my grandparents."

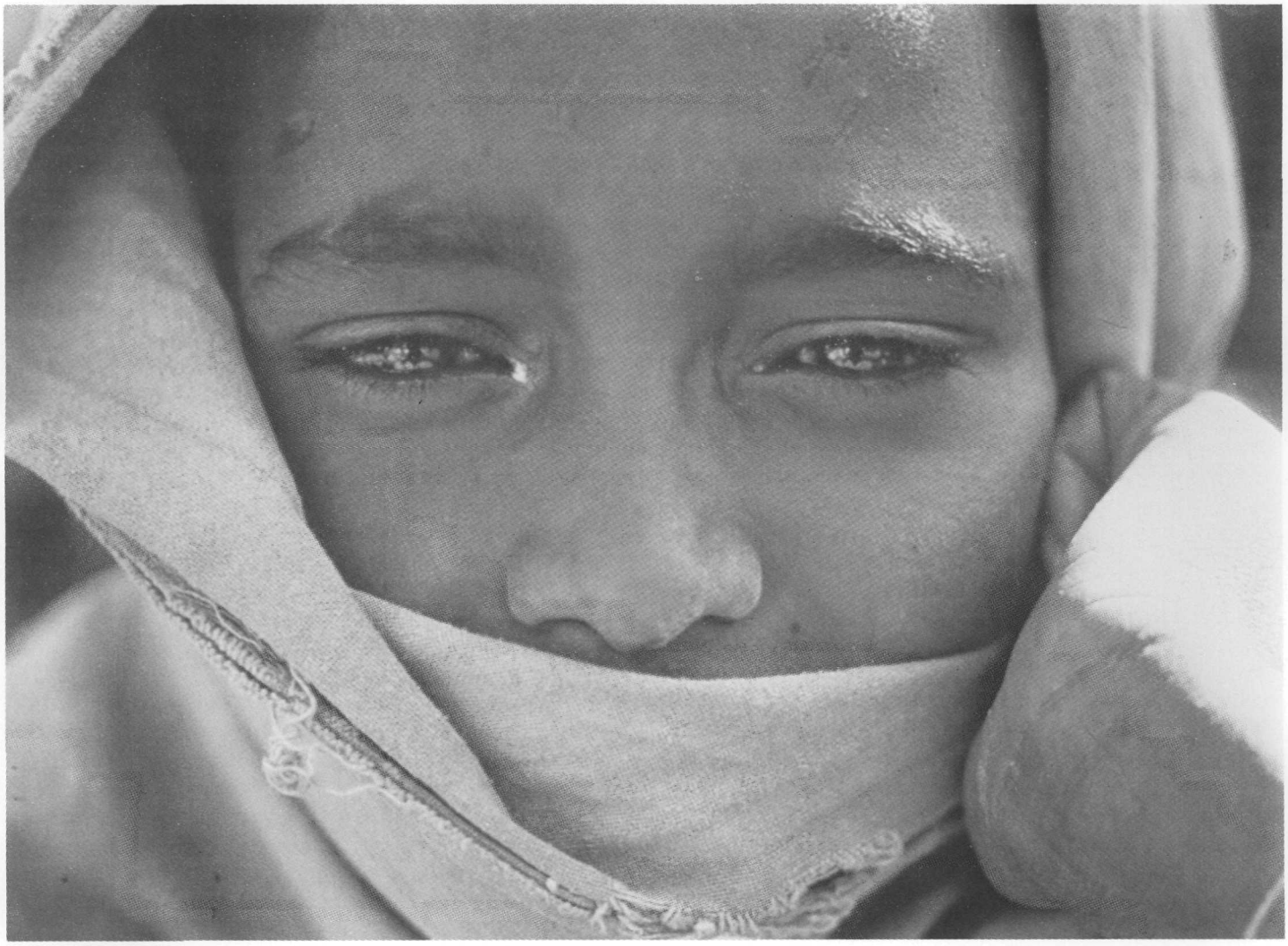
A 1985 report tells of thousands of children working illegally as domestic servants in Sri Lanka under conditions where they commonly suffered broken limbs, were burned with hot cigarettes, and had their heads shaved.

4) Servile forms of marriage

Is it slavery when a woman, who is not allowed to refuse, is sold in marriage in exchange for cows or cash, or when she is transferred to another man on the death of her husband? Perhaps such "peculiar wedding customs" do not usually involve slavery. However, a Methodist pastor and his family in Connecticut found that the American Field Service exchange student from Africa who had lived in their home for a year was sold to a rich old man by her father when she got home. Her American education made her a much-desired prize. When the girl refused, her father arranged for her to be raped so that custom would force her to marry the old man who was prepared to pay so generously. The Anti-Slavery Society reports that some countries have repealed laws against such abuses as "vestiges of colonial rule" — especially when the law prohibited second and third wives, who were often secured basically to be unpaid servants.

5) Debt bondage

In many parts of the world people — and often their children — are forced to seek work in conditions of slavery until a debt is paid. An Indian Supreme Court judge found a case involving children, many under 14, who were locked up at night in a 60 by 15 foot cage. The firm



Water Poon

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that employed them was paying them only the equivalent of 20¢ to 30¢ U.S. a week, plus 10¢ a week for vegetables. They had only muddy water to drink and were denied medication when ill. With full knowledge of government inspectors, they had been bonded to work off a loan equal to $50 U.S., plus interest.

6) Serfdom

Agricultural laborers are often not free to leave the estate where they live and work. The Society's publication, *Child Labor in South Africa* documents cases of work without pay, and *Bitter Sugar* tells of Haitian men, women and children sent to work as virtual slaves in Dominican cane fields. The Society says that indigenous people frequently suffer such near-slavery, such as the "press-ganging" (forced into labor) of the hill people in Burma; and Indians sold to farmers in Brazil for $400 and kept under guard so they could not leave. Children from hill tribes in Thailand are sold in Bangkok. They have almost no way to defend themselves, the Society says, and documents cases of children scalded as punishment and their "disappearance," which means they were killed and secretly buried. In 1985, more than 500 highland boys — sold for as little as $7 each — were rescued from gold sluices in Peru where they were forced to work standing in water for 10 hours a day and were told they would be killed if they complained.

Such slavery is very common in narcotics production. The photo on the cover of volume 13, no. 2 of the *Anti-Slavery Society Reporter* is of a 5-year-old girl who had been kept chained in a cellar, forced to work day and night packing capsules of heroin for shipping. And Mexican TV in November 1984 showed films of rescued slaves who had been forced to grow and pack marijuana in the state of Chihuahua. The report showed five wilderness encampments where people as young as 13 were forced by armed guards to work in concentration-camp conditions, terrorized into working long hours with no pay. There were many deaths from beatings, illness, exhaustion and malnutrition. Some 1200 were rescued, but they reported that as many as 12,000 peasants had been forced to pick and process drugs in this way. Some of the ex-slaves reported that if they tried to run away into the desert they were pursued by police helicopters.

The Anti-Slavery Society, as it reports the existence of millions of slaves today, does not include women and children sold and forced into prostitution. Sexual exploitation is handled by different private and UN agencies.

I asked Whittaker why the American public does not hear more about slavery. He replied that it is "invisible" for several reasons. First, it is hard to document cases and get reliable statistics from countries that are embarrassed or refuse to acknowledge that slavery exists there. Those countries are often too poor to conduct an adequate survey or to enforce the law.

Secondly, he said, the press is not interested. No newspaper in the world has a reporter assigned to cover slavery and only rarely does a reporter show up at the Anti-Slavery office to make enquiries. The death of two people in an auto accident gets more press attention than the abduction, since WWII, of 55,000 children in Lahore for sale as slaves. Slavery is almost invisible — until someone like the Korean Christian in Lebanon points it out — because children are still a low priority in the global village. For example, 140 million children have died in the last decade from curable diseases. Children are cheap. I once met a man in the Middle East who had sold one of his children so that he could educate the other. Perhaps that doesn't happen as much today, but it is still common.

Few Americans contribute to the Anti-Slavery Society because most think that slavery was abolished in the last century. The Society needs money to help organizations like the Bonded Liberation Front of Swami Agnivesh, a former state education minister in India. It quietly purchases the freedom of slaves when governments refuse to acknowledge slavery's existence, or when officials connive with slave traders and owners. Money for Agnivesh's group to file court suits could secure the release from debt bondage of some of the 100,000 children who weave carpets in the district around Benares.

The most useful thing the Society could do if it had the money, Whittaker said, would be to develop a model project to help countries like Mauretania end slavery once and for all. Each time slavery is abolished in Mauretania, slaves fall back into bondage because they are hungry and can't find jobs. A UN Commission has proposed the development of fisheries — the rich fishing grounds off the coast are almost entirely exploited by foreigners — to provide employment for freed slaves. Without more money, all the Society can do is "keep a close watch" on slavery and try to get the word out to a disinterested public. This indifference is what an American family found a few years ago when their adolescent daughter went into a store in North Africa and never came out. The local police denied she had ever been there. After trying to find help from agency after agency, her parents were told that the best thing they could do would be to file a grievance with a UN commission against slavery — a commission that had no money to meet for the next five months.

Their daughter was never found.

During the anti-slavery crusades a century and a half ago, many American church people felt that no one was free as long as anyone was enslaved anywhere in the world. Why is this no longer true? TW

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Short Takes

Gentrified victory

Only about half the eligible electorate went to the polls in the November presidential election. It was the lowest turnout in 64 years and continued the generally downward trend of the past quarter century. But the half nation that votes is not what statisticians would call a random sampling. People with a college education and those who earn more than $50,000 a year are twice as likely to vote as are those with only a grade school education and those who earn less than $5,000 annually. Thus, the electorate is heavily skewed toward the rich and the well educated, the White and the conservative.

Bush made a powerful political and cultural appeal to White men; Dukakis had notable success with women, in large measure because of his forceful defense of reproductive rights. He also won the traditionally Democratic lion's share of Black voters and the majority of non-Cuban Latino voters. Factoring out the gender gap and the minorities gap from the turnout figures, the electoral equation brutally belies the myth that "the American people" gave Bush his victory. The reality in this election is that Bush won with the votes of a quarter of the eligible electorate and a plurality of rich White men.

The Nation **11/28/88**

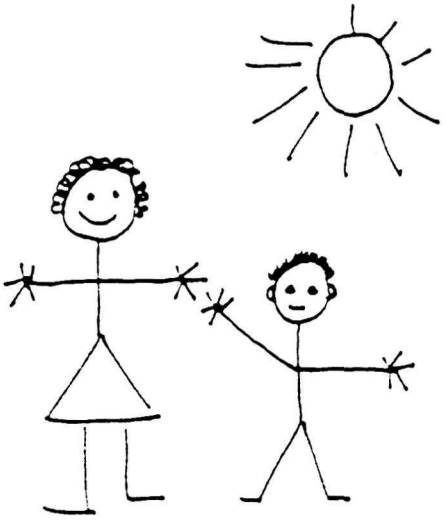
Strictly personal

A young man was talking with the Virgin Mary in heaven and asked her a personal question.

"Mary, I noticed that you always look sort of sad on the statues and pictures of you holding the baby Jesus," said the young man. "Why were you so sad?"

Mary pulled the young man aside. "I have never told this to anyone before," she whispered, "but I was kind of hoping for a girl."

Catholic Bulletin, **Minneapolis**
Quoted in *Daughters of Sarah* 12/88



Prayer for children

Blessed God, you have created life to begin with childhood, a time of innocence, laughter and exploration. Bless, we beseech you, the children of this world. Grant unto them the nurture they need for strong physical growth, keen minds, balanced emotions, and a holy spiritual life. Send unto them teachers to inspire an inquiring and discerning heart, to enable curiosity toward their surroundings, and a knowledge of this global village. Bless them with love, hope and vision; and keep them ever in your unfailing compassion and protection, for the sake of the one who loved children, Jesus Christ, our Savior.

O God, the Mother of life, bless the children of this world who are dying from hunger, abuse, neglect and war. In the midst of their suffering, send your Holy Spirit upon them that they may know the loving embrace of your arms to cradle and to comfort them, to banish all fear from their hearts, and to give them hope for their life. Forgive us the wrong we have done unto the next generation of your children by our indifference, our inaction, our wrongdoing . . . In Christ's name we pray. Amen.

Episcopal Women's Caucus
Lambeth Conference Liturgies

Symptoms of inner peace

I) A tendency to think and act spontaneously rather than on fears based on past experiences.
2) An unmistakable ability to enjoy each moment.
3) A loss of interest in judging other people.
4) A loss of interest in interpreting the actions of others.
5) A loss of interest in conflict.
6) A loss of the ability to worry.
7) Frequent, overwhelming episodes of appreciation.
8) Contented feelings of connectedness with others and nature.
9) An increasing tendency to let things happen rather than make them happen.
I0) An increasing susceptibility to the love extended by others as well as the uncontrollable urge to extend it.

Whitefish Peace Alliance Newsletter

So many homeless

George Burns, who at 92 is still on the road performing, tells about sleeping on the floor when he was a kid on the Lower East Side. When he complained, his mother scolded, "You should be glad you have a floor to sleep on." The story has a bittersweet twist these days.

Fellowship **Magazine 12/88**

Country booby-trapped

"Reagan Junior" seems to have no plans of his own for the nation. He's going to continue with Reagan's policies, he says. Is he that unsure about himself? Think about this: We've got our country booby-trapped with 60,000 nuclear weapons and missiles. One is enough to deter a sane leader; no number is enough for an insane leader.

Nancy Wysolki

On the other hand

Persons of courage never need weapons, but they may need bail.

Ethel Mumford

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Courageous Incarnation: A theology

Intimacy is a powerful topic. It informs the identity of individuals, groups, and churches. It is at once a singular and a social reality. In proper English, "intimacy" does not refer to an abstract, privatized space. It signifies "pressing into" — touching and defining — the heart of a matter, whether that subject is the profound understanding of a person, or the unique characteristics of a relationship between two people, or the corporate identity church members express as they engage one another. Intimacy is about self-affirmation, relationships with others, and our awareness of God.

Intimacy for me is also a matter of living and dying. I remain tender about the death from AIDS of my former husband and lifetime friend, Bruce Thompsett, a man who was both very Anglican and very intimate. Consequently I want to offer practical theological nurture to those who think Christians must choose between being intimate or being Anglican, spiritual or sexual, repressed or liberated, or any other dangerous dualism that reflects disembodied images of humanity, abstract, distancing visions of God. I am still discovering in concrete, human terms how my theological identity as an Anglican informs the way I experience intimacy. Therefore I have chosen to press into the theological heart of Anglicanism, by focusing on the courageous doctrine of the Incarnation.

Dr. Fredrica Harris Thompsett is Academic Dean and Professor of Church History at Episcopal Divinity School in Cambridge, Mass. This article is excerpted from an essay in a forthcoming collection honoring the Anglican theologian, William J. Wolf.

Like most of our biblical and Reformation ancestors, I believe that theological knowledge can be a source of strength. For many of our early Christian ancestors, knowledge about God was a source of comfort and new life. It was essential for mission. The Apostle Paul knew the practical, persuasive power of the theology of the New Creation. In the earliest New Testament text, he told the Thessalonians, "we would not have you ignorant (about your questions)." The Thessalonians wondered about heaven, who would get there first, how and when this would happen. When Paul responded with an image of being drawn up into the arms of God, they were less fearful. He then urged them to "comfort one another" with this knowledge (*Thess. 4:13-18*).

Church members today are not unlike the Thessalonians. We have our own questions: about monogamy, about AIDS, about our own bodies, about self-affirming sexual lifestyles, about whether as Christians we have to make compromises that diminish our fully organic, sensuous selves. I do not believe God would have us ignorant about these questions. We, like the Thessalonians, are challenged to find in our local Christian communities comfort, strength, encouragement for mission, and relief from undue fears.

In other words theology, then as now, is about intimate identity. It presses into, touches, and defines who we are. Mature identity is always local and expansive, addressing "Who are we?" and "How do we relate to others who are different from us?" When we reflect for a moment on these two questions, we may recognize the basic issues that young persons explore in peer groups, inquiries that Commissions on Ministry ask applicants for ordained ministry, dimensions that each of us embody and discover in our sexual identities, and questions we whisper to loved ones in our dying.

In Anglican theology one doctrine, the Incarnation, has been the guiding principle for belief and practice. In New Testament theology the potential goodness of humanity is dependent on the Incarnation, upon the God who came to live among us as God and as human. This fully embodied doctrine — proclaimed in "the Word became flesh and dwelt among us full of grace and truth" (*John 1:14*) — offers powerful, comforting assurance that God is for us and not against us. It is a theological vehicle that grounds knowledge of God, humanity and the world in which we live. A European theologian once characterized the Anglican Communion as the "Church of Christmas Day," which is to say, the church of the Incarnation.

The prism of the Incarnation reveals what distinguishes Anglican identity from other Christian affiliations. Unlike most popular Protestant theology, Anglican theologians emphasize the goodness of God's direct relation to the created world. Even in the Ash Wednesday service, the contemporary Episcopal Prayer Book affirms a God who "hate[s] nothing you have made." We believe in a God who encourages us, in Prayer Book language, "to rejoice in the whole creation." This means that God is not indifferent to this earth or the ways in which we inhabit it. Whether we wish it or not, God is in our lives.

Secondly, Anglican theology is notably and distinctly optimistic about humanity and the grace-filled possibilities

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# of intimacy

by Fredrica Harris Thompsett

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Robert F. McGovern

we are given to "amend our lives." Anglicans do not have to degrade humanity to elevate God. As Richard Hooker described it in the 16th century, the purpose of the Incarnation was to alter human nature towards conformity with God; "God hath deified our nature, though not by turninge it into him selfe (God's self), yeat by makinge it his (God's) owne inseparable habitation." Furthermore the doctrine of the Incarnation, must also be taken as necessarily including the Atonement. On the basis of the passion, death and resurrection, Christ has already acted for us. Together the Incarnation and the Atonement express the saving, liberating character of Christianity.

This relationship implies a third, distinctive aspect of Anglican theology, one that is seldom, if at all, affirmed by TV evangelists. The Incarnation presents a radical exercise that is for God's sake as well as ours. The doctrine of the Incarnation invites and provides a basis for humanity's co-responsibility with God in Christ. Dorothee Soelle frequently refers to God's need for us to do God's work in the world, calling humanity "God's hands."

What if this doctrine of the Incarnation — the Event of Jesus: power in Flesh — this doctrine and *not* the Fall shaped our expectations of one another, our relationships, and our future mission as a church? What if there were no major crises between being and doing, no seemingly split consciousness between being fully Christian and fully human? What tools, old ways, would we have to give up? What practical theological tools could help us shape a more humane future? What would our identity look like, if we were courageously Incarnational?

Let's clean out the rusty tool box first, so we don't trip over any old axes. As the Black poet and theologian Audrey Lorde reminded us in her essay, "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House."

Perhaps the most personal work is giving up egocentricity about our own sexual identity. The way we define ourselves can become a barrier to welcoming others. For example, the belief that marriage really is the best state for everyone is heterosexist. There are other forms of "sexualcentrism." This is a word I just coined to describe the habit of disparaging the sexual relations of others just because they are not our own.

Here's a painful remark I heard recently; "It's too bad AIDS is spreading to normal persons like us, who don't deserve to get it."

The most dangerous version of stereotyping an "other" leads to abstracting that person, or groups of persons, into the image of an enemy who therefore becomes a legitimate target of aversion, exclusion, degradation and violence. On such personal roots, racism, homophobia, domestic violence and the genocidal "final solution" of the Holocaust were and are nourished.

There is another set of tools I would like to excise by name. These are those hierarchical oppositions which contemporary French feminists Helene Cixous and Catherine Clement have described as a "double braid" around the necks of all who seek to be fully embodied Christians. Among these destructive dualisms are culture over nature, day over night, head over heart, form over matter, thinking over feeling, male over female, master over slave, parent over child, white over black, etc. Without a lesser "other" in a hierarchical relationship, there could be no dominance, no submission. If there were no outcasts, those who seek domination would have to invent them. There are a batch of old tools that need to be thrown out.

Fortunately, transformative tools are available. I have in mind six (no doubt there are more) practical theological tools that are biblical in their radicalness and Anglican in Incarnational persua-

sion. Following the practices of those early witnesses chronicled in Scripture and mystics throughout the ages, I suggest we develop our capacities for what theologian Simone Weil once described as a way of looking that is first of all attentive. I do not mean staring, or gazing patronizingly. I do mean the kind of open looking that recognizes tension, ambiguity, difference, wonder and mystery.

Secondly, theologians and psychologists alike are recognizing that we need to encourage insights from different epistemologies. One way of knowing that I believe is essential for members of an Incarnational church is described as "connected knowing" in a recent book, *Women's Ways of Knowing*. Connected knowing involves intimacy and understanding between the self and another person or material form. Even rational, scientific epistemologies need not be dispassionate. Barbara McClintock, whose work on the genetics of a corn plant won a Noble Prize, said she could write a biography on each of her plants; "I know them intimately, and I find it a great pleasure to know each of them."

Thirdly, if Christians are willing to admit that we live in a world characterized by pluralistic cultures, then the social sciences, rather than philosophy, need to "play the principle role of dialogue partner" with theology, according to Roman Catholic theologian Robert J. Schreiter. All sources that help us examine the context of human lives should be enlisted, including economics, political science, sociology, psychology and anthropology. The social sciences can help keep us from disincarnating theology.

Flexibility is another essential theological tool for courageous Incarnationalists. Brazilian liberation theologian Leonardo Boff describes flexibility as a basic category in biblical theology:

> *God was infinitely flexible toward humanity, accepting its reality with its undeniable limitations and onerous ambiguities . . . the resulting Church clothed itself in a courageous flexibility toward the Greeks, Romans, and barbarians, accepting their languages, customs, rituals and religious expressions. It did not demand any more than faith in Jesus Christ.*

Indeed, Anglican theology has a long history of doctrinal flexibility. Anglicanism was the one Reformation religion that consciously avoided becoming a confessional tradition. Our unique Anglican approach understands that the faith continues to be, in the words of a 1922 Church of England report, "handed down to us in the context of a living fellowship." If flexibility ceased to be a basic theological category, the church would cease being Anglican and become more akin to an evangelical sect.

Theological flexibility requires a complementary mode of exercising authority. For Incarnational Anglicans, authority should be based on cooperation, rather than subordination, domination, or oppressive partnerships (even if they are sanctioned by law). Anglicans have traditionally redefined the nature of authority and questioned the way power is exercised in the institutional church. Throughout our history we have reformed both the content of tradition and the ways tradition is formed and passed on. There is no reason to stop now.

Like other Reformation churches, we also have to face the tension of living in the contradiction between authority and personal salvation. An ethic of authority based on cooperation allows us to live with this and other creative tensions. This mode of authority is signaled in the first section of the "Outline of the Faith" in the new Prayer Book which appropriately begins with a definition of human nature: "We are free to make choices: to love, to create, to reason, and to live in harmony with creation and with God."

There is one final theological tool that is essential for Anglicans — valuing, not merely tolerating, differences. For example, whether we admit it or not, many women and some men have suffered from oppressive, culturally-derived stereotypes of "masculine" men and "feminine" women. If we were to look for gender differences with assistance from the social sciences and greater theological attentiveness, we would no doubt develop a new appreciation for complexity, a sense of particularity, and a good deal of humility. Differences would remain but there would be a number of new variations, an enriched not impoverished humanity, and an expanded consciousness for the whole of creation.

In addition to naming and valuing differences, what are some other implications for a people of God guided by courageous Incarnational theology? Imagine a concrete, living Christian church in which inclusion, not exclusion, shapes identity; where understanding is valued over assessment and connection is deemed more important than separation. It would be a place with a new immunology to hierarchical "principles," a home beyond inculcated vileness about human flesh where no one has to lie about the embodied testimonies of human experience. My predecessor at the Episcopal Divinity School, John Booty, has written that Episcopalians "need not hide differences and keep peace as much as accept creative tension, assure constant dialogue, and *anticipate gain* from whatever conflict occurs within the orbit of mutual respect and love." In an Incarnational community that is both Anglican and intimate, there is no such thing as a "no-body." God did not choose to dwell in a nobody! The courageous doctrine of the Incarnation invites, indeed demands, the best we have to offer — our fully embodied sensuous selves. Whether in the arms of our loved ones or the feeding nurture of the eucharist, Episcopalians are called to be Anglican and intimate. TW

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Whither *a luta continua*?

by Mary Lou Suhor

To readers who have turned to Barbara Harris' column each month for her wit and wisdom concerning social issues facing the church and world: The bad news is that her busy agenda as Bishop-elect of the Diocese of Massachusetts has interrupted its publication, but the good news is that she has agreed to become a member of THE WITNESS Editorial Board, which will guarantee her appearance periodically in our pages.

THE WITNESS will assemble a special issue in April around her historic election Sept. 24, when she became the first woman to be named an Episcopal Bishop in the United States and the first in the worldwide Anglican Communion. We are hoping that a contribution from her will appear in that issue.

Meanwhile Bishop-elect Harris, former executive director of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, has been feted at a number of celebrations.

Perhaps the most notable was the presentation of the Philadelphia Bowl for outstanding achievement to Harris by Mayor Wilson Goode at City Hall Dec. 12. Citing her long career as an advocate for the hungry, the homeless, and her ministry to prisoners, Mayor Goode said she was being honored for helping to seal the crack in our Liberty Bell a little more, and sending out the message that in this country sex and race are not barriers to higher achievement.

The Rev. Paul Washington, Episcopal priest and lifelong community activist, guest speaker for the event, emphasized that the reception or rejection of Barbara Harris as Suffragan of Massachusetts in the consent process taking place in the church would spell out the future of that institution.

Gathering of consents from a majority of 118 Diocesan Standing Committees and Bishops has been marred by spurious attacks on Harris' educational and personal background, particularly by the Prayer Book Society, Episcopalians United, and the Evangelical and Catholic Mission.

For example, Prayer Book Society literature labeled Harris and her colleagues in the Episcopal Church Publishing Company as "Marxists" and "a group of loonies" who for years "have sullied the image, patriotism and stature of Episcopalians through radical and often bizarre actions and statements."

Washington told the assembly at Philadelphia's City Hall that he had received calls asking, "Is Barbara going to make it?"

"We have a way of asking the wrong questions," he pointed out. "The real question is, will the church make it?"

He traced the history of Blacks in this country, introduced to the church "while shackled before a Bishop in an ivory chair who sprinkled water on them to convert them from 'Black savages' to Christians. We were no longer infidels but Christians, baptized in chains. And in those days the churches bought slaves as investments to rent out to farmers who couldn't afford them. The churches were supported by our free labor," he said.

These were Harris' forebears, he pointed out. And being elected a suffragan bishop of the church, "she knows that in 1918 the first two Black suffragans were assigned as Bishops for Colored people."

Washington said that at times he was "thoroughly disgusted" with the church, "but I have not despaired because God has always been able to raise up stones to do God's will."

"I've done a lot of marching around justice issues with people, both churched and unchurched. God is not without witnesses. The question remains, will the church make it? How many women, how many Blacks have got to live and die before the church recognizes God's call to them?"

With regard to those who "demand impressive credentials" Washington said, these have nothing to do with religion. "Barbara knows what it means to fight for justice, not only for her own people but for all. God has given her that which is required to be a witness and a champion of the people. If by chance she doesn't 'make it', may God have mercy on that institution called the church."

Philadelphia Councilwoman Augusta A. Clark presented a resolution on behalf of City Council citing Harris' contributions to the community.

In the audience were the Rt. Rev. Allen Bartlett of Philadelphia and his Suffragan, the Rt. Rev. Frank Turner, and clergy from other denominations; family members and friends of the Bishop-elect, and members of the National Political Congress of Black Women who sponsored the reception following the ceremony. TW

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Confronting racism in Japan

by Susan E. Pierce

Failure to give one's print or to carry the passbook are punishable by up to one year in prison and a $1,600 fine. Since 1952, more than 500,000 have been arrested for not having the passbook on their person.

The above sounds like a description of the apartheid system in South Africa. But it comes from a pamphlet about discrimination in Japan against ethnic Koreans and Chinese, the majority of whom are second and third generation residents. All foreigners in Japan are required to carry an Alien Registration Card. However, the majority of foreigners (80-90%) are Koreans and Chinese. They, or their ancestors, came to Japan as immigrant workers or slave labor during the colonial period — 1910-1945 — when Korea and China were annexed by Japan.

When World War II was over and Korea was freed from Japanese rule, the U.S. Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) occupation government had administrative control over Japan and Korea from 1945-1952. The legal status of Koreans in Japan after the war was decided by SCAP, which, as the Cold War with the Soviet Union intensified and the Korean conflict broke out, became less concerned with democratizing Japan and more concerned with retaining the loyalty of many war-time Japanese leaders.

At the end of World War II, many of the 2 million Koreans living in Japan voluntarily returned to Korea. However, 600,000 Koreans chose to stay, fearing the conditions in their war-torn, unstable homeland. Also, for more than half of them, Korea was a distant homeland because they had been living in Japan since before 1930.

SCAP first treated Koreans as "liberated" nationals, believing they would all return to Korea. In 1946, SCAP declared that all Koreans staying in Japan were considered Japanese nationals. However, in the increasingly paranoid Cold War atmosphere, SCAP was worried about the loyalty of the Koreans. As the occupation was ending, SCAP suggested that the new Japanese-led government institute an alien registration program based on the 1940 Smith Anti-Sedition Act and the 1950 McCarran Internal Security Act, both used in the United States to harrass activists.

When the San Francisco Peace Treaty, signed by Japan and the Allies, went into effect in 1952, the Japanese government almost immediately passed the Alien Registration Law. Koreans and Chinese, even those who had held Japanese citizenship since 1910, officially became foreigners, losing any rights they had had.

The Alien Registration Law requires that all foreigners resident in Japan for more than a year register and be fingerprinted, and the process has to be repeated every five years. They must carry their Alien Registration Certificate at all times and must produce it on demand, or face interrogation, arrest and/or fines. Koreans complain that they are often stopped and asked for their certificates for no apparent reason while going about everyday business.

The law originally required that all aliens over age 14 register; in 1982, that was changed to age 16. Failure to comply incurs adult penalties. In Japanese culture, to be singled out, to "not fit in," is a source of shame and embarrassment.

It is mandatory for aliens to include their occupation and place of employment when registering. Any changes must be reported promptly. Job security is a symbol of status in Japan, and Koreans, due to discrimination, have to accept low wages and unstable jobs which they lose whenever there is a recession. Koreans are saddled with the added burden of re-registering every time they change jobs.

As aliens, Koreans live with the ever-present threat of deportation. There was reportedly a case in which a Korean resident in Japan got involved in a traffic accident and was not carrying his certificate. For both offenses, he spent 18 months in a detention center usually reserved for those awaiting deportation. Foreigners can be arrested for failing to renew their certificates or register changes of address.

What Koreans, in particular, find so unjust and demeaning about being obligated to register is that their families have lived in Japan for generations. Their culture and their language is Japanese. Deportation to Korea means being sent to a totally unfamiliar country where they can't even speak the language. They perceive themselves as Japanese of Korean descent. The Japanese see them as outsiders.

A colonial mentality is at the root of the bigotry directed against ethnic Koreans. When Japan ruled Korea, the occupation government attempted to stamp out the native culture. The Korean language was banned. Koreans were forced to take Japanese names — one of the most famous examples of this was the Korean marathon runner at the 1936 Olympics whom Japanese authorities forced to compete under a Japanese

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name. He was punished when he defiantly wore a Korean flag on his running jersey.

Another persistent problem is the Japanese insistence that the people of Japan are unique and it is impossible for a foreigner to comfortably assimilate without surrendering all ethnic identity. This means that any ethnic Korean who wants to apply for naturalization has to take a Japanese name and permit a household search by authorities to ensure that any traces of non-assimilation have been removed.

But since 1979, there has been a growing movement against enforced registration and fingerprinting. More than 18,000 Koreans and other nationalities have refused to be fingerprinted and the movement has gained international attention. Activists say that the anti-fingerprinting protests are a direct challenge to the Japanese government and to deeply entrenched attitudes in Japanese society. Many of those who have joined the movement have done so in reaction to generations of discrimination.

Yi Young-soo was one of 14 human rights activists from Japan to meet U.S. supporters and make known their opposition to the Alien Registration Law. The group came to Chicago in May 1988 at the invitation of the Chicago Committee for Human Rights of Koreans in Japan and the Midwest Social Justice Network of the National Council of Churches. Yi's story was typical of the experience of ethnic Koreans in Japan.

She was born to a Korean father and a Japanese mother in 1951 in occupied Japan. Both her parents had been born in Japan and were at the time considered Japanese nationals. But in 1952, when the U.S./Japan peace treaty went into effect, Yi said, "My father was suddenly stripped of his Japanese nationality, with no consultation or word of warning. Since nationality in Japan was reckoned patrilineally until very recently, I, too, lost my Japanese nationality. Neither parent could understand how Japanese could suddenly be declared 'foreigners.'"

Yi said when the Alien Registration Law went into effect in 1952, her father, who had been forced to "Japanize" his family name from Yi to Rika, was registered under his Korean name and her name was also changed. "The government changed our nationality and name just like that. We had no recourse but to obey," she said.

Her parents divorced, and Yi lived with her mother. Though Yi's mother was Japanese, their position was still precarious. "My mother tried to verify her Japanese nationality, Yi said, "but the authorities would not allow it. She had to go on social welfare to support us, but because we were not 'self-supporting,' we became subject to deportation under the Immigration Control Act. We lived in constant fear of expulsion to some foreign country.

"The longer Korean families live in Japan, the less secure the residence rights of subsequent generations become. The children and grandchildren of those with permanent residence rights receive only three-year special residence permits. We are discriminated against when looking for an apartment, entering high school and college, taking out a loan or finding a job. It never fails."

Korean or Japanese?

But making the effort to assimilate and become "Japanized" presents a whole other set of problems for Koreans. Kim Fung-suk, another activist and fingerprint refuser, explained, "Becoming a Japanese national means becoming an "ethnic" (*Yamato*) Japanese. Koreans (or Chinese) hoping to naturalize must change their real name, give all 10 fingerprints to the police, have their personal privacy violated by public officials looking for proof of assimilation, and deny their ethnic roots.

"This would be the equivalent of forcing American Jews to adopt a WASP name, lifestyle and personal identity as a condition for acquiring full civil rights," said Kim.

Koreans and Chinese have been the leaders in the anti-fingerprinting movement, but they have been joined by a growing number of Westerners. Ronald Fujiyoshi, a Japanese-American United Church of Christ missionary who lives in Japan, became a fingerprint refuser after his experience of living and working among Koreans in a section of Osaka.

Fujiyoshi first became aware of the extent of discrimination against Koreans when he got involved in a fair housing movement.

"One real estate dealer advertised a listing with the words *'Gaijin fu akimasen.'* ('Foreigners refused. No chance.') When we approached this real estate dealer, he claimed he was trying to do the Koreans a favor by telling them not to apply because there would be no chance they would be allowed to take that listing," said Fujiyoshi.

Fujiyoshi and other activists tried to talk to the real estate dealers, but, according to Fujiyoshi, "They said that Koreans were dirty, and because they ate a lot of garlic and *kim chee* (pickled cabbage made with garlic and hot peppers), it would cause trouble when sharing the common toilet of dormitory-type apartments with Japanese. And finally they mentioned the usual stereotype of Kore-

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ans drinking until late at night and bothering the neighbors."

"In all my years of living in Japan, Korea, Southeast Asia and America, I have not found these traits to be the monopoly of any one racial or ethnic group," said Fujiyoshi.

A strong believer in human rights, Fujiyoshi has been in Japanese court since 1981 arguing his right to refuse fingerprinting. He told the Kobe District Court in 1983: "The question of my guilt before the law is also a question of the justness of those very laws."

The price for refusing to be fingerprinted can be high. At the least, refusers risk arrest, interrogation, harassment, and at the worst, deportation or being unable to leave the country for fear of not being readmitted. Currently, a French and a Chinese national with families and jobs in Japan have been barred from reentry because they refused fingerprinting.

But the anti-fingerprinting movement has the sympathy of a growing number of Japanese. For example, the Kawasaki and Okayama municipal governments are among the 1,000 municipalities who have issued Alien Registration Certificates to Korean refusers and did not report them to the police. And 10 million Japanese have reportedly signed petitions in support of the movements.

The movement has found strong support in the United States, particularly among Japanese-Americans who had personal experience with racial discrimination when they or their parents or grandparents were shipped off to detention camps during WWII because the U.S. government doubted their loyalty.

An Episcopal priest in Chicago, the Rev. Seiichi Michael Yasutake, is an active member of the U.S. support movement. He supplied the material on which this article is based. His family spent WWII in detention camps, and he was one of many Japanese-Americans who fought long and hard to successfully win reparations from the U.S. government.

Yasutake hosted the Korean and Japanese activists during their visit to the United States and was part of a fact finding tour of Asian-American, Black, and White representatives of the U.S. Committee for Human Rights of Koreans in Japan. Yasutake told his hosts that "As an American of Japanese ancestry, I identify quite naturally with minorities facing discrimination in Japan."

He added that ending racism in Japan would benefit society as a whole. "The rights of the Koreans are critical for the health of the Japanese people. As long as people are acting superior to other human beings, they are victims of a sick society and they need to be freed from this illness," he said.

The Korean rights movement received support from the national Episcopal Church when the July 1988 General Convention passed a resolution calling on the Japanese government to end discrimination against Koreans and other minorities. Yasutake was instrumental in getting the resolution submitted and passed. The Consultation, a coalition of Episcopal Church social justice groups, has endorsed the movement, as has the National Council of Churches, the American Friends and the NAACP.

A group composed of Blacks, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, Asians and Whites traveled to Tokyo to join demonstrations taking place on December 10, the 40th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The rally took place in front of the Ministry of Justice. The timing of the protest was crucial, as the Japanese government has plans to switch by 1990 to a laminated I.D. card — with much stiffer penalties for non-compliance — instead of the traditional booklet, and organizers feel the next year will be their last chance for a major action against the card. Protestors in Japan were joined by simultaneous demonstrations at Japanese consulates in cities across the United States.

Activist Kim Fung-suk summed up the feelings of those who are opposed to forced registration. She said, "I reject this dehumanizing process. I reject the government's policy of promoting a mono-ethnic ideology that destroys the dignity of non-Japanese minorities. As a human being, as a Korean, I will fight for social and political justice, and for the right of all people to live in this society as equals."

For more information on the Korean and other minority rights movement in Japan, contact the Rev. S. Michael Yasutake, 2744 Bryant Ave., Evanston, IL 60201. Telephone: (312) 328-1543. TW

My old blouse

I had gotten it second hand
And it was my favorite —
well-worn, even darned a little
But one day I gave it to Komanya,
A young man
Who needed a white shirt
for his Baptism.
It was the kind of blouse
that would look all right on a man —
Cotton knit with V-neck
and short sleeves,
a small zip at the back.
He wore it the day he was baptized.

A year later now,
I attended infant Baptisms
this morning;
I watched as fathers and mothers
filed into the church
with their children.
Suddenly I saw my old blouse again
Strutting down the aisle
On a toddler —
Komanya's little brother.
Worn with zip in front,
it trailed the floor
Looking like a small kanzu.
My eyes moistened as I watched
the waters of Baptism
Wash over my blouse once again.

Komanya wasn't there.
I wonder if he had
no other shirt to wear.

Ann Klaus, M.M.
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Of centers and margins

by William McKinney

The oldline churches — the Presbyterian, Episcopal, United Church of Christ, and Methodist bodies who share a common theological heritage and current cultural affinity — are in a deep funk. Using a phrase I wish were mine, *Newsweek* said recently that they have moved from "mainline" to "sideline." As usual they were at least partly correct for these churches are no longer at the center of things as they once were. Of course there is strength in congregations that the press consistently fails to recognize, but theologically and institutionally these are tough times for the groups who once dominated American religious life.

For most of American history the oldline churches were a dominant force religiously and culturally. To use a baseball metaphor, they were the only teams on the field. With disestablishment in the early 19th century, the oldline groups were forced to admit other teams, but they still owned the stadium. They gave up their established status, but retained their cultural and economic power.

By the early 20th century the old Protestant mainline gave ground to "newcomers" like Catholics and Jews. And in what historian Robert Hand has called the "second disestablishment" they gave grudging acceptance to religious pluralism. By 1957 Will Herberg could point to Protestantism, Catholicism, and Judaism as "three ways of being American." Through the 1950s, however, the old established churches continued in the not unimportant role of umpire.

Since the 1960s the oldline churches have been forced onto the field of play itself. The rules of the game no longer seem clear and, as in baseball, it is hard to keep track of the teams. We face new questions: What does it mean to be "mainline" when there are said to be as many Muslims in America as Episcopalians? What does it mean to be mainline when it is not Edmond Browning or James Andrews or Avery Post but rather Pat Robertson who stares out at us from the covers of *Time* and *Newsweek*? What does it mean to be mainline when the public knows Michael Jackson is a Jehovah's Witness and Marie Osmond is a Mormon — but most would be hard-pressed to name a major public figure who is a Presbyterian?

Come with me to what has long been the symbolic center of American liberal Protestantism in the United States, the corner of 120th St. (also known as Reinhold Niebuhr Place) and Claremont Ave. in New York City. On the northwest corner is Riverside Church, from whose pulpit such distinguished preachers as Harry Emerson Fosdick and William Sloane Coffin have spoken not only to a neighborhood congregation but also to the nation and the world. Today Riverside is beset by internal struggles and financial difficulties that resulted in a deficit of about a million dollars in 1987.

On the northeast corner is Union Theological Seminary, a bulwark of liberal Christian thought and home to several giants of 20th century Protestant theology. Union has stood for intellectual rigor and interfaith dialogue in a world of religious and cultural pluralism. Today it is on the verge of selling or leasing one of its dormitories to help raise the additional $2 million a year it needs to maintain the current levels of programming.

On the southwest corner is the Interchurch Center, home to the National Council of Churches and major agencies of a half-dozen Protestant denominations. When it was dedicated in 1958 about 30,000 people gathered to watch president Eisenhower lay the cornerstone. David Rockefeller brought greetings from his father, who provided the land for Interchurch Center, as he had for Riverside Church and Union Seminary. Rockefeller predicted that the address "475 Riverside Drive" would soon be known worldwide. Yet today the center prepares for the departure of two key tenants as the Presbyterians move to Louisville, Kentucky, and the United Church of Christ goes to Cleveland.

Just across Broadway from Union Seminary are the editorial offices of *Christianity and Crisis*, founded by Reinhold Niebuhr as a liberal Protestant voice on public issues. Today its staff struggles to maintain circulation and meet its payroll.

The institutions clustered here come as close to being sacred space in America as liberal Protestants have. And yet there are those who point to the area as a symbol of the moral and religious failure of leaders of the oldline churches.

William McKinney is director of educational programs and professor of religion and society at Hartford Seminary. He is co-author, with Wade Clark Roof, of *American Mainline Religion* (Rutgers University Press). This article is excerpted from the July 1988 issue of *Grapevine*, a newsletter published by the Joint Strategy and Action Committee, a coalition of the national mission agencies of Christian denominations.

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That has been the consistent line of critics from within and without. A rather scurrilous new book by Edmund and Julia Robb, for example, called *The Betrayal of the Church*, presents reams of so-called evidence convicting liberal church leaders of everything from a commitment to totalitarianism to compulsive desire for self-destruction.

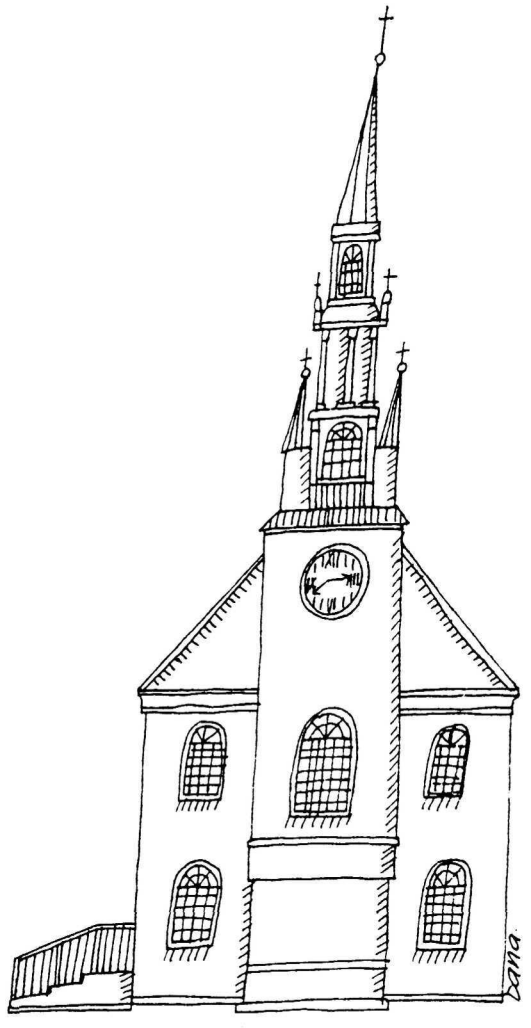
For the most part Christ's mission has, in my judgment, been well served by the people who lead our churches. Our General Assemblies and General Synods and our church leaders make mistakes but I invite anyone to compare their record over the past three decades with any comparable group of major American institutions. They have not failed their people.

My point is that the relationship between the oldline churches and American culture has changed. They are no longer at the center of things. They no longer own the stadium. And it is unlikely they will ever do so again. Yet our churches and members have not caught up with that change. We cling to the days when it was possible to speak of a "cultural mainstream" and to the times when local clergy and national church leaders were among the most important interpreters and custodians of that culture.

Our instincts lead us to the center. Deep in our hearts we believe ourselves to be "mainline." We want desperately to believe that, while we may be temporarily out of step with the religious or political views of many citizens in our society, in time they will catch up to us. Who among us has not secretly rejoiced in the troubles of the televangelists and hoped that millions of viewers will see the light and come home to the oldline churches?

As late as the 1950s it was fairly clear what it meant to be at the center. Among other things, for the oldline churches, it meant a New York headquarters. New York was the place to be since it was the undisputed center of economic power and communications and the seat of the oldline political establishment.

Today "New York" means something quite different. If in the 1950s it symbolized a position at the center of the culture, today it is for many a symbol of distance and alienation. "New York" has come to mean "other than the grassroots." The concentration of denominational headquarters in the East, says Jim Wall of the *Christian Century*, "has been a mistake, giving them a distorted view of the country." Relocation, he adds, "is long overdue" and needed to realign the denominations with "the needs and attitudes of the ordinary members." Not for Wall but for many others the issue of location of denominational offices has provided an outlet for latent hostility to cities. People say that New York has "too many minorities," and "too many Jews" and "too many feminists" to be an appropriate location for the offices of a respectable church body.



All the talk about demographics and economics, the question of headquarters location, is an attempt to reestablish a relationship with the American heartland, to send a message that the Presbyterian, Lutheran and UCC churches are still "of the center." Yet I'm convinced that moving denominational headquarters to Louisville or Chicago or Cleveland or St. Louis will do no more to restore the role of these churches at the center than a move to New York did in the 1950s. The issue is not geography. Nor is it really the personalities or the ideological or theological views of the people who hold leadership positions in the churches. The real issue is how we will deal with the fundamental change in the relationship between the oldline churches and mainstream culture. The issue is whether we are now not able, perhaps for the first time in American history, to shape a relationship to American culture, based not on our being here first, or on what the culture expects of us, but on a biblically-oriented vision of the church's role in the world.

That's something new for churches that have been at the

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center of things for so long they don't know how to act when they are off-center. It's new and rather scary. We would much rather go back to the way things were when people looked to the oldline churches for leadership and direction.

The oldline churches have, of course, been disestablished before — and we can learn something about our present opportunity if we remember how our mothers and fathers in faith dealt with their experience of disestablishment.

In 1818 Lyman Beecher, the hotheaded preacher who played a pivotal role in the history of liberal Protestantism, was pastor of the church at Litchfield, Conn., and the leader of the effort to preserve the established status of Congregationalism. Beecher lost. In his own words, "They slung us out like a stone from a sling." It didn't take him very long, however, to recognize that the removal of the church from the center of things could be turned to an advantage. Before long most church leaders agreed that when the churches were no longer dependent on state support "it threw them wholly on their own resources and on God."

When the oldline churches of the 19th century recognized that the center of American society was no longer their sole possession, they discovered a new freedom to be the church. Disestablishment unleashed energies the churches hardly knew they had.

We are in a similar position today. Oldline religion has again been disestablished and our challenge is to forego the temptation to reestablish our position at some imaginary center of the society. We need instead to take full advantage of the possibilities that exist closer to the periphery.

Looking to the future

Now what does all this theoretical talk about the relationship between oldline Protestantism and the center, about disestablishment, mean for churches and people who care about them? Let me suggest several possibilities.

First, it challenges the way we think about ministry and our mission. For the most part the denominations and local churches I work with are approaching questions of mission with a sense of loss.

I take history very seriously but this is not a time to be dwelling on restoration. The oldline churches have no hope of reaching out to the new populations of America — to people of color, those drawn by TV preachers, to those who struggle to make ends meet — if they remain bound to the notion that it is possible or desirable to restore the churches to their earlier position of dominance. It is only when we accepted the fact of our own new off-centeredness that we will have a chance of partnership with peoples whose experience has not been of the center but rather of the margins.

Second, accepting the fact of our disestablishment challenges us to rethink assumptions about our own institutions and their appropriateness for the challenges that face our communities and their churches. Most of our assumptions about church life come not from the New Testament but from periods of American life in which we enjoyed a certain cultural hegemony. We hold firm to the old rules as if they were ordained on high.

We need to break the chains that bind us to ways of doing things that, however appropriate they might have been at earlier points in our history, prevent us today from the new challenges we face. Where is it written that effective ministry always demands three years of post-college study in an accredited seminary? Where is it written that virtually all of our theological education funds will go to the preparation of ordained clergy and virtually none to the preparation of laity for their ministries in the world? Where is it written that every congregation must be able to support a full-time minister, or occupy a building with a steeple, or own an organ, or gather for worship for one hour a week beginning no earlier than eight and no later than eleven on a Sunday morning?

The genius of Lyman Beecher and his 19th century partner was their recognition that disestablishment brought the need to create new institutions for the new roles the old churches would need to play — not so much because the old institutions weren't working anymore, but because in the words of the hymn, new occasions created new duties. Tract societies, foreign and home mission movements, educational institutions, and social reform efforts ranging from abolition to temperance to women's suffrage came into existence largely because laity and clergy in oldline churches saw the need to create new institutions based on post-establishment thinking.

Third, post-establishment thinking challenges the oldline churches to articulate a distinctive and a distinctively religious vision. John Murray Cuddihy has written that mainline religion today is "happen-to-be" religion. "My religion? Well, I happen to be a Presbyterian." "I happen to be a Methodist." "Or I happen to be a Lake Wobegon Lutheran." Establishment religion creates a religious style that is calculated not to give offense. But maybe it's time to risk giving offense to some of the groups vying for the center of American religious and public life. Maybe it's time for the oldline churches to go beyond "happen-to-be" religion, offering the people of our cities an alternative for much of the pap that passes for biblical religion on the airwaves and street corners of our neighborhoods.

This is not meant to be an endorsement of the major denominations' new-found emphasis on programs in evangelism and church growth, most of which seem to me to contain very little good news and not much potential for church growth. For the most part their resources are addressed not to American communities of the 1980s but those of the 1950s.

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What about beliefs?

Ask yourself what is actually known about the religious convictions of the oldline churches of your community. My hunch is very little. People may have a sense of the programs, history, or even positions on certain public issues, but for the most part the content of the faith is a mystery. In what may be the best illustration of the prevalence of our pre-establishment thinking, we assume that people know what these churches stand for. And the churches themselves are largely to blame.

Finally, taking advantage of our "off-centeredness" gives us a chance to hear the word of God in fresh and invigorating ways.

A year ago I preached in my home church in downtown Hartford. Center Church, the first Church of Christ in Hartford, was founded by the Rev. Thomas Hooker in 1632 and is the "founding church" of Connecticut. Its Main St. location and its steeple rising above the city — though now dwarfed by office buildings — are silent reminders of the role the church played in the city's past. The church has had its ups and downs over three centuries and it struggles today to figure out what it means to be an historic oldline church in a city whose residents are predominantly Black and Hispanic, a city that has been ranked the fourth poorest in America. Its 300 or so members, mainly White and middle-class, mostly from the suburbs, are committed to the city and to the church's mission, but they aren't really sure what that means.

The Lectionary reading for the day was the first chapter of Paul's first letter to the church at Corinth: "Consider your call, my friends; not many of you were wise according to worldly standards, not many were powerful, not many were of noble birth; but God chose what is low and despised in the world, even things that are not, to bring to nothing things that are, so that no human might boast in the presence of God."

This struck me then as an appropriate text for Center Church and strikes me now as an appropriate one for many other churches as well. In the early years of the American experiment, our churches were able to see themselves as "not wise by earthly standards," as "not of noble birth," as "the weak," as "the low and despised." In the early years these churches could see themselves over against the center as represented by the churches of the lands they fled. Paul's words were reassuring.

Later, in the halcyon days of the Protestant empire, such a reading became more difficult. Paul's words are hard to deal with when the church is at the center of things, when the church owns the stadium and sets and enforces the rules of the game. They weren't written for people at the center but for people on the periphery. I suspect there were years when they weren't welcome words in many oldline congregations. They just didn't fit any more. One suspects they were much more welcome in the churches of immigrants, Blacks and others who felt excluded by the churches that dominated the city's religious life.

Paul's words are empowering, however, when the church is closer to the margin. Today, no longer at the center of things, Center Church and oldline churches more generally are in a position to hear the word of God break forth in fresh and unforeseen ways. Accepting our off-centeredness will require all of us to learn new ways of thinking and acting, but it remains the only way our churches and communities can look forward to the future. TW

Letters . . . *Continued from page 3*

and tolerance. It seems to me that, if more people were to write, these folks might just begin to realize that there's a bigger world out there, one in which the sorts of brutal arrogance they espouse scarcely resembles what others call "faith."

Meanwhile, thank you for your magazine — and for your gift to us of Bishop-elect Barbara Harris.

The Rev. Robert Mackie
Hanover, Mass.

(Those wishing to write to protest the actions of the Diocese of London against the Lesbian and Gay Christian Movement (LGCM) and the Diocese of Sydney against AngGays can write to the heads of the respective churches. In England: The Most Rev. & Rt. Hon. Robert Runcie, Lambeth Palace, London SE1 7JU, England. In Australia: The Most Rev. John Grindrod KBE, Bishopsbourne, 39 Eldernell Ave., Hamilton, Queensland 4007, Australia. — Ed.)

WITNESS in new listing

Our Editorial Staff has recommended that we secure your permission to abstract articles from your publication for inclusion in *Religious and Theological Abstracts.*

These abstracts of published articles appear in hard copy in more than 1,000 libraries and research facilities throughout the world, as well as on CD-ROM, rendering these scholarly contributions accessible to a wide academic community. Scholars are motivated to go directly to the sources. In addition to indexing these articles we also publish annually the subscription address of those journals we abstract. There is no financial charge for our services. (See page 25.)

J. Creighton Christman, D.D., Editor
Myerstown, Pa.

Superb work

I love the understanding, depth and clarity of the articles in THE WITNESS. Keep up the good work!

John Sivley
Norfolk, Va.

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THE WITNESS

1988 Index

This year THE WITNESS celebrates the 72nd year of its founding, and the 15th year of its "resurrection" after the death of former editor William B. Spofford, Sr. We are proud of our long history of advocacy for the oppressed. The following index of articles which appeared last year in the magazine illustrates not only our concern with social justice and peace issues, but also our advocacy with those who are engaged in Christian witness around those issues.

Articles listed under the categories of Social Action and Theological Reflection illustrate our emphasis on the action/reflection theological model.

Librarians, researchers and students have found this tabulation helpful in the past, which makes the tedious nature of assembling it all the more worthwhile to editorial assistant Susan Small.

THE WITNESS can also be found in Religion Index One, a publication of the American Theological Library Association, and next year will appear in Religious Theological Abstracts (See Letters.) In addition, University Microfilms International of Ann Arbor reproduces our publication in microform: microfiche and 16 or 35 mm film.

AUTHORS

Anderson, Craig B. 11/88
Bean, Kevin 10/88
Biddle, Craig 2/88
Boesser, Mark A. 2/88
Brewster, Mary Jane 2/88
Burt, John H. 6/88
Callahan, Nancy 11/88
Chavez, Cesar 7-8/88
Coleman, Roger 12/88
Crew, Louie 6/88, 12/88
Crumm, David 7-8/88
Dalbey, Gordon 7-8/88
Darling, Pamela W. 9/88
Day, Samuel Jr. 12/88
Faramelli, Norman 5/88
Fletcher, Joseph 2/88
Frew, Randy 2/88
Gallagher, Ann Maureen 12/88
Gallup, Grant 3/88
Gibson, Nell 4/88
Golden, Renny 1/88
Gordon, Mary Beth 12/88
Gracie, David M. 11/88
Hamilton, Michael 7-8/88
Harris, Barbara, monthly column
Hartzler,Emma Blosser 11/88
Hawkins, Richard T. 3/88
Heyward, Carter 5/88
Higgins, Jean 6/88, 10/88
Hines, Deborah H. 1/88
Hoffman, Pat 7-8/88
Holder, Leonora 7-8/88
Kenyatta, Muhammad 5/88
Killough, Elizabeth, 10/88
Krok, Peter 5/88
Lewis, James 1/88, 9/88
Littleton, Mark R. 4/88
Marable, Manning, 5/88, 10/88
Meyer, Charles 4/88
Montgomery, Nancy 6/88
Moore, Paul Jr. 10/88
Muhlenkort, Sharon Swedean 4/88
Myrick, Judith C. 5/88
Nobleman, Roberta 4/88
Parenti, Michael 12/88
Pasternak, Beatrice 12/88
Peacock, Virginia 2/88
Peete, Nan Arrington 9/88
Pierce, Susan, monthly
Ramos, J. Antonio 11/88, 12/88
Rankin, William 3/88
Rester, Sue Spofford 7-8/88
Richardson, Saundra 12/88
Scott, Thomas C. H. 12/88
Silverstrim, Elaine 2/88
Sinclair, Minor 1/88
Small, Susan A. (Index) 1/88
Spofford, William B. 11/88
Suhor, Mary Lou, monthly
Taylor, Barbara 1/88, 2/88
Teska, William J. 2/88
Williams, W. Hazaiah, 5/88
Willie, Charles V. 3/88
Wilson, Godfrey 3/88
Woodson, Helen 2/88
Young, Ellen Roberts 12/88

SUBJECTS

ANGLICAN COMMUNION (LAMBETH CONFERENCE)

500 bishops, 1 Nan Peete — even odds (Interview with Nan Arrington Peete), Mary Lou Suhor 7-8/88
Doing the Anglican shuffle (Interview with Pam Chinnis), Susan E. Pierce 7-8/88
EWC plans Lambeth presence, Nancy Montgomery 6/88
Lambeth puts on a new face, Barbara C. Harris 10/88
Reflections of an Episcopal priest: In the fullness of time, Nan Arrington Peete 9/88
Weaving the dream, Susan E. Pierce 10/88

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CENTRAL AMERICA

Amanecer in English, Mary Lou Suhor 6/88
Consciousness-raising in Guatemala, Editorial; Susan E. Pierce 4/88
El Salvador: A shifting reality, James Lewis 1/88
Executive Council in Central America (Part I): Nicaragua — On retreads and prayers, Susan E. Pierce 4/88
Executive Council in Central America (Part II): Lessons from a servant church, Susan E. Pierce 5/88
Final vow of obedience (Silvia Maribel Arriola, Renny Golden 1/88
Joint heirs: A modern parable, David M. Gracie 11/88
National Guard in Central America, Elizabeth Killough 10/88
The risk of going home, Minor Sinclair 1/88
U.S. embargo hurts Panama (Interview with James Ottley), Susan E. Pierce 9/88

ECONOMICS/CLASSISM

Do you know the way to Shakopee? Helen Woodson 2/88
Freedom Quilting Bee puts Possum Bend on the map, Nancy Callahan 11/88
Good 'development'? Mark A. Boesser 2/88
Hispanics call U.S. church to action, J. Antonio Ramos 11/88
How you like me now? Susan E. Pierce 9/88
Preachment to people power, John H. Burt 6/88
Six steps to 'where we ought to be,' William Rankin 3/88
Superpatriotism: The importance of being number one, Michael Parenti 12/88
Thatcher piously oppresses the poor, Kevin Bean 10/88
UFW fights harvest of poison, Pat Hoffman 7-8/88
UFW grape boycott plea, Cesar Chavez 7-8/88
U.S. embargo hurts Panama, Susan E. Pierce 9/88
Union busting — against the common good, Editorial; Mary Lou Suhor 6/88
Union busting at 'St. Elsewhere,' Susan E. Pierce 6/88
With liberty and eco-justice for all, Editoral; Mary Lou Suhor 7-8/88

EPISCOPAL CHURCH

(See also General Convention and In Memoriam)

A ceremony for the new family, Mary Beth Gordon 12/88
Can't give up says Tutu, Susan E. Pierce 6/88
Cheers for Bishop-elect Barbara Harris, Mary Lou Suhor 10/88
Consciousness-raising in Guatemala, Editorial; Susan E. Pierce 4/88
Counting the House, Barbara C. Harris 4/88
Creole revolutionary: Roger Desir, Susan E. Pierce 3/88
ECPC lauds prophetic election, Editorial 12/88
Episcopal Church as voyeur, Louie Crew 6/88
Executive Council in Central America (Part I): Nicaragua — On retreads and prayers, Susan E. Pierce 4/88
Executive Council in Central America (Part II): Lessons from a servant church, Susan E. Pierce 5/88
Going the third mile, Barbara C. Harris 11/88
Hits and Misses, Susan E. Pierce 1/88
How poverty mars U.S. society 6/88
Much ado about everything, Barbara C. Harris 6/88
Namibia, ground of hope, Nell Braxton Gibson 4/88
Preachment to people power, John H. Burt 6/88
Presenting the family medallion, Roger Coleman 12/88
She's female, Black and powerful, William B. Spofford 11/88
Thanks for the memories, Barbara C. Harris 12/88
The winds of change, Barbara C. Harris 10/88
Tons of mail hail new Bishop-elect, Mary Lou Suhor 11/88
Union busting at 'Saint Elsewhere,' Susan E. Pierce 6/88
WITNESS wins three press awards 7-8/88
Women bishops: No question about it, Charles V. Willie 3/88

GAY MEN/LESBIANS

AIDS ministry: Curing the sickness of homophobia, Richard T. Hawkins 3/88
Anglican Church launches witch-hunt against gays, Susan E. Pierce 11/88
Episcopal Church as voyeur, Louie Crew 6/88
Same sex marriage is nothing new, Susan E. Pierce 10/88

GENERAL CONVENTION

Consultation to lobby in Detroit 4/88
ECPC Awards 6/88
ECPC dinner will hear noted actress (Vinie Burrows) 4/88
Episcopal Visitors: Symbol of institutional sexism, Pamela Darling 9/88
General Convention Commentary: Smack dab in the middle, Mary Lou Suhor and Susan E. Pierce 9/88
General Convention host Coleman McGehee: Portrait of a feisty bishop, David Crumm 7-8/88
Hispanics call U.S. church to action, J. Antonio Ramos 11/88
How you like me now? Susan E. Pierce 9/88
International figures surface life and death issues (Emilio Castro, Miguel D'Escoto, Samir Kafity), Mary Lou Suhor 9/88
Nominations sought for awards 1/88
Outcasts and 'incasts' at General Convention, Mary Lou Suhor 6/88
Sacrificing justice for unity, Editorial; James Lewis 9/88
Same sex marriage is nothing new, Susan E. Pierce 10/88

HEALTH

AIDS ministry: Curing the sickness of homophobia, Richard T. Hawkins 3/88
Call it not love, Roberta Nobleman 4/88
Episcopal Church as voyeur, Louie Crew 6/88
Healthcare in the 1990s — Who can afford it? Charles Meyer 4/88
Star-spangled suffering, Mary Lou Suhor 4/88
UFW fights harvest of poison, Pat Hoffman 7-8/88
UFW grape boycott plea, Cesar Chavez 7-8/88
With liberty and eco-justice for all, Editorial; Mary Lou Suhor 7-8/88

IN MEMORIAM

A bishop for all seasons (J. Brooke Mosely), Carter Heyward 5/88
A wellspring has gone dry (John H. Coleman, Jr.), Deborah Hines 1/88
Episcopal Church loses two giants (Jean Dementi and Mattie Hopkins), Mary Lou Suhor 9/88
In celebration of Mattie, Barbara C. Harris 9/88
Janette S. Pierce 1931-1988, Mary Lou Suhor 2/88
John H. Coleman, Jr.: A bridge builder moves on, Susan E. Pierce 1/88
Laying it on the table (John H. Coleman, Jr.), Barbara C. Harris 1/88
Legacy (Janette S. Pierce), Susan E. Pierce 3/88
Noted social activist dies (Robert S. Potter), Mary Lou Suhor 10/88

INTERNATIONAL

(See also Central America and South Africa)

Anglican Church launches witch-hunt against gays, Susan E. Pierce 11/88
Cheers for Bishop-elect Barbara Harris, Mary Lou Suhor 10/88
Creole revolutionary: Roger Desir, Susan E. Pierce 3/88
How *glasnost* affects religion, William Teska 2/88
International figures surface life and death issues (Emilio Castro, Miguel D'Escoto, Samir Kafity), Mary Lou Suhor 9/88
Namibia, ground of hope, Nell Braxton Gibson 4/88
NCC sets seven trips to USSR 2/88
Scars of conflict in the Holy Land, Michael Hamilton 7-8/88
Superpatriotism: The importance of being number one, Michael Parenti 12/88
Thatcher piously oppresses the poor, Kevin Bean 10/88

PEACE EFFORTS

Do you know the way to Shakopee? Helen Woodson 2/88
El Salvador: A shifting reality, James Lewis 1/88
H-bomb trucks take on new look, Sam Day 12/88
How *glasnost* affects religion, William Teska 2/88
Joint heirs: A modern parable, David M. Gracie 11/88
Scars of conflict in the Holy Land, Michael Hamilton 7-8/88
Superpatriotism: The importance of being number one, Michael Parenti 12/88
The risk of going home, Minor Sinclair 1/88

RACISM

(See also South Africa)

A silent apartheid within (Native Americans on reservations), Craig B. Anderson 11/88
Black counterstrategies, Manning Marable 5/88
Black Theology: Living the Gospel from the heart, Saundra Richardson 12/88
Martin Luther King, Jr.: Trials of a prophet, Editorial; Muhammad Kenyatta 5/88k
Monitoring the hatemongers, Barbara C. Harris 2/88
Racism: a ravaging sin, W. Hazaiah Williams 5/88
The politics of intolerance, Manning Marable 10/88
White racism still victimizes minorities, Norman Faramelli 5/88

SOCIAL ACTION

Executive Council in Central America (Part I): Nicaragua — On retreads and prayers, Susan E. Pierce 4/88
Executive Council in Central America (Part II): Lessons from a servant church, Susan E. Pierce 5/88
Final vow of obedience (Silvia Maribel Arriola), Renny Golden 1/88
Freedom Quilting Bee puts Possum Bend on the map, Nancy Callahan 11/88
H-bomb trucks take on new look, Sam Day 12/88
Ministry to the banned, Judith Myrick 5/88
UFW fights harvest of poison, Pat Hoffman 7-8/88
UFW grape boycott plea, Cesar Chavez 7-8/88
Union busting — against the common good, Editorial; Mary Lou Suhor 6/88
Union busting at 'St. Elsewhere,' Susan E. Pierce 6/88
With liberty and eco-justice for all, Editorial; Mary Lou Suhor 7-8/88

SOUTH AFRICA

Back to basics: People's education in South Africa, Barbara C. Harris 3/88
Can't give up says Tutu, Susan E. Pierce 6/88
Ministry to the banned, Judith Myrick 5/88
Namibia, ground of hope, Nell Braxton Gibson 4/88
South African crucifixion, Mary Lou Suhor 5/88
Terrorism: A Botha export? Barbara C. Harris 7-8/88

THEOLOGICAL REFLECTION

Black Theology: Living the Gospel from the heart, Saundra Richardson 12/88
Cities 1988 (Part I): The new wilderness, Barbara Taylor 1/88
Cities 1988 (Part II): Keeping our feet on the ground, Barbara Taylor 2/88
Expose *public* sin, Craig Biddle 2/88
How Christ liberates the oppressor, Thomas C. H. Scott 12/88
Humanism and theism: A conflict? Joseph Fletcher 2/88
'Last Temptation' not heretical, Paul Moore, Jr. 10/88
Six steps to 'where we ought to be,' William Rankin 3/88
The Annunciation: Let it be! Grant Gallup 3/88
The taming of the feminine, Beatrice Pasternak 12/88
The used woman, Sharon Swedean Muhlenkort 4/88

U.S. GOVERNMENT/REPRESSION

Creole revolutionary: Roger Desir, Susan E. Pierce 3/88
Do you know the way to Shakopee? Helen Woodson 2/88
H-bomb trucks take on new look, Sam Day 12/88
National Guard in Central America, Elizabeth Killough 10/88
Superpatriotism: The importance of being number one, Michael Parenti 12/88
The ordeal of Alejandrina Torres, Elaine Silverstrim 2/88

WOMEN

500 bishops, 1 Nan Peete — even odds (Interview with Nan Arrington Peete), Mary Lou Suhor, 7-8/88
A problem of inclusive language? Gordon Dalbey 7-8/88
Call it not love, Roberta Nobleman 4/88
Cheers for Bishop-elect Barbara Harris, Mary Lou Suhor 10/88
Do you know the way to Shakopee? Helen Woodson 2/88
Doing the Anglican shuffle (Interview with Pam Chinnis), Susan E. Pierce 7-8/88
ECPC lauds prophetic election, Editorial 12/88
Episcopal Visitors: Symbol of institutional sexism, Pamela Darling 9/88
Freedom Quilting Bee puts Possum Bend on the map, Nancy Callahan 11/88
Reflections of an Episcopal priest: In the fullness of time, Nan Arrington Peete 9/88
She's female, Black and powerful, William B. Spofford 11/88
The Annunciation: Let it be! Grant Gallup 3/88
The ordeal of Alejandrina Torres, Elaine Silverstrim 2/88
The taming of the feminine, Beatrice Pasternak 12/88
The used woman, Sharon Swedean Muhlenkort 4/88
The winds of change, Barbara C. Harris 10/88
To Dot — the forgotten Spofford — with love, Sue Spofford Lester 7-8/88
Tons of mail hail new Bishop-elect, Mary Lou Suhor 11/88
'Truth' marching on, Virginia Peacock 2/88
Weaving the dream, Susan E. Pierce 10/88
Women bishops: No question about it, Charles V. Willie 3/88

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Philly Bowl to Bishop-elect

Barbara C. Harris, Bishop-elect of the Diocese of Massachusetts and first woman to be elected Bishop in the Episcopal Church and worldwide Anglican Communion, was presented the prestigious Philadelphia Bowl by Mayor W. Wilson Goode Dec. 12 at City Hall. The award, of Wedgwood China, is engraved with scenes of historic events and personages from Philadelphia's history. It is awarded for outstanding achievement and service to the city and citizens of Philadelphia. (See story p. 17.) As THE WITNESS went to press, a majority of Diocesan Standing Committees had just approved her election and the consent process now moves to Diocesan Bishops for endorsement. Photo courtesy Office of the City Representative/Philadelphia.

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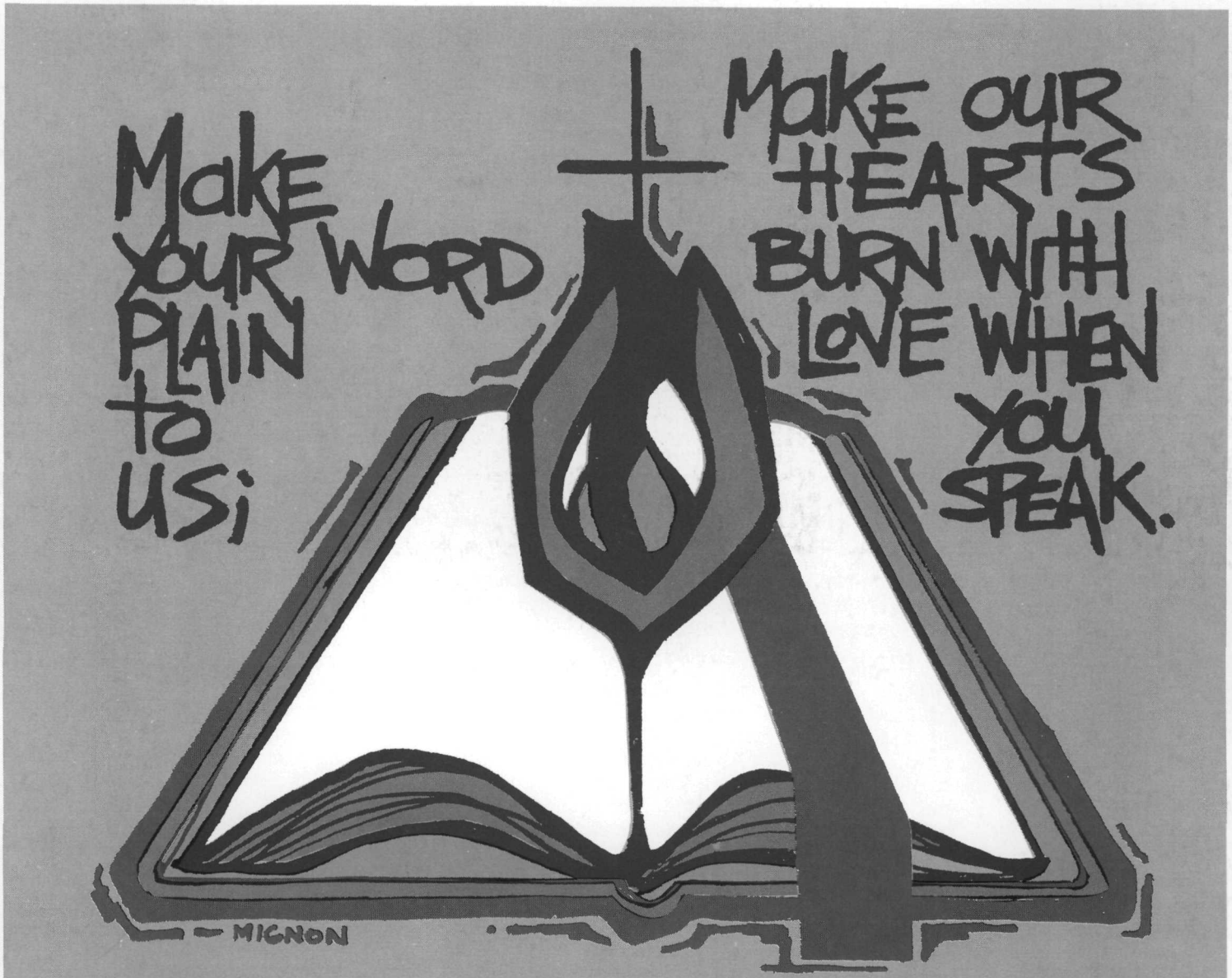
THE WITNESS



'Chicken kingdom' maims workers
Katerina Katsarka Whitley

Matthew Fox's last workshop
Shepherd Bliss

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Letters

Life on the power edge

The December issue of THE WITNESS was full of useful information and good reporting. THE WITNESS continues to be the strong publication that inspires all of us.

Increasingly as the days pass, I find myself feeling very good about my own past association with the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. When the critics of Barbara Harris speak about her writings and pronouncements, and liberal/radical associations in negative tones, I say "They are anything but, and she's where the church should be, and praise the Lord for her courage of convictions."

I know on the one hand it has been necessary to defend Barbara against all the garbage and innuendos, lies, and propaganda that have come from those who would not see her become bishop.

There is, however, and always has been, a certain truth which is in our Book which states how protesters will react against those who would do the will of the Lord *(Matt. 10:17-22)*. We should not be surprised. The level that resistance has reached is indeed a shock, especially coming from our brothers and sisters in Christ.

But justice and love are not given to us by those who would live in darkness. Power is not shared willingly. Our job is to continue to witness, to work, to live on the power edge. I have no doubt that Barbara, as bishop, and THE WITNESS and ECPC will persevere as agents of justice and builders of a true community. Our inspiration and internal strength to do the will of God is not based on the abstract, but on the concrete lives of those we read about and remember in the THE WITNESS. It is a great list and it will grow. We can only progress from strength to strength. I for one, believe that the struggle will continue and that together we can and will win.

The Rev. Canon Kwasi A. Thornell
President,
Union of Black Episcopalians

WITNESS unfair

The statement by the Board of ECPC on Ms. Harris' election is quite remarkable on many counts. You condemn the alleged "smear campaign" which you allege has been launched against Ms. Harris by "certain conservative groups" namely the Prayer Book Society, Episcopalians United and the Evangelical and Catholic Mission. You suggest that they have attacked her on a personal level, that they have used a "McCarthy-type" campaign to smear her. Yet you do not offer one shred of substantiating evidence that what you say is true. That

Time magazine's report on Harris 'simpering, value laden' — Hiatt

*(**Time** magazine ran a one-page story Dec. 26, 1988 about Barbara Harris' historic election as Suffragan Bishop of Massachusetts. The Rev. Suzanne R. Hiatt, professor of pastoral theology at Episcopal Divinity School, wrote the following to **Time's** Letter to the Editor section, critiquing its story, and sent a copy to THE WITNESS. -- Ed.)*

It is hard to know where to begin in protesting *Time's* simpering, value-laden reportage of the election and confirmation of Barbara Harris as a Suffragan Bishop in the Episcopal church. If there is a "worldwide crisis" in Anglicanism brewing over Bishop-elect Harris, it is a concoction largely mixed by journalism such as yours.

First, you cite the old "ecumenical argument" that Rome will no longer seek reunion with Anglicans if we take a certain action, in this case they may not ask us back for "several hundred years". If Rome wants us back at all they might begin with a gesture of good faith by amending the 19th century Papal decree pronouncing the ordination of all Anglican clergy (male and presumably female by extension) "totally null and utterly void". As the holder of an honorary degree from a Roman Catholic College, I do not despair of good relations with my Roman Catholic brothers and sisters, though I don't expect an invitation to the Vatican any time soon. I can live with that.

I can also live with non-recognition of my bishop in the Church of England. In fact all my sister priests from all over the world and I have lived with that all the years (15 in my case) we've been ordained to that office. As in the case of Rome, non-recognition by Canterbury has not impacted the ministry of the many women priests outside the British Isles very profoundly. In fact a number of us have managed to exercise our priesthood in England over the years, despite the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and Parliament itself. Non-recognition will not be new to a Black American woman or the people ordained by her. It will be as always hurtful and insulting but not serious.

As for her ministry being unrecognized throughout the world as your article implies, there are women priests in Anglican churches in North and South America, Europe, Asia, Africa and the Antipodes. Bishop-elect Harris could

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would seem to me to be in keeping with McCarthyism itself.

You use *Gal. 3:28* as the text which is fulfilled in Ms. Harris' election, yet you also say that Jesus "favored" certain groups. Is this not inconsistent? Either we are all one in Jesus or we must accept that Jesus favors some people over others. You seem to want the text to fit your causes, but will not let it apply to the whole church.

My reason for not supporting Ms. Harris has nothing to do with sex, race, class or any of the other "isms" you throw at anyone who does not agree with you. It has to do with her not having the qualifications which the church has required of its bishops in the past i.e., her lack of experience as a rector of a parish, her lack of seminary training, her apparent unwillingness to accept those who do not hold her party lines as seen in her suggesting that one conservative group was demonic, for example.

There are some in the church who are honest, faithful, loving believers who, right or wrong, cannot accept this action. Let us all love one another enough not to trample their feelings under the heel of the boot of blind liberalism.

The Rev. George F. Weld, II
John's Island, S.C.

Jesus had no Ph.D.

I am astounded that those who dissent on Barbara Harris' election as bishop, set up standards for her, and themselves, that neither Jesus Christ nor his disciples, nor Mary nor Joseph, could meet — none of whom had been to college or seminary (or whatever was commensurate for their day).

"He came to his own and his own received him not." Of course not, the temple high priests had questioned his credentials: He hadn't been to college or rabbinical school, had continued to work in the marketplace, and all his disciples were common workers and hadn't been to college or rabbinical school either, and they continued to work at their jobs, off and on. The more things change, the more they remain the same!

"As ye would have done it to the least of these . . . ye have done it unto me." (And if you don't think the sexist/racist priests, bishops and standing committees don't think Harris, a *woman*, a *Black* woman, is "the least," you need your head examined!

Neither Jesus nor his disciples had "10 years of parish experience" either, and neither could have met the 1988 standards for bishop, according to the conservative clergy and laity in Episcopal Church land.

Abbie Jane Wells
Juneau, Alaska
(More letters on page 14)

make an extensive world tour without facing the sting of non-recognition in her own churches. There are ordained women deacons in nearly all Anglican churches, including the Church of England, indicating that the movement is toward rather than away from the ordination of women on the world scene.

I have neither the time nor the inclination to do the research necessary to refute your statement that she is "apparently the first divorced person ever elected an Anglican bishop." On the face of it the assertion sounds too sweeping to be verifiable. In any case she is certainly not the first divorced person to be an active bishop in the American Episcopal Church. I can think offhand of two others right here in New England. Furthermore, Ms. Harris' chief challenger and one other candidate in the recent Massachusetts election were divorced persons, one re-married. Had the runner-up been elected I doubt we would have heard much about his divorce; we didn't during the election process.

Ms. Harris' lack of a college degree and her lack of experience as a full-time parish rector may be unusual but she will not be unique among American bishops, let alone world bishops, in these regards. Neither qualification is mentioned in the canonical requirements for episcopal orders. Most American bishops are awarded honorary degrees upon their election to the episcopate. Bishop-elect Harris already holds a D.D, from Hobart-William Smith College and will surely be awarded additional degrees over the next few years.

As for your characterization of the 72-year old WITNESS magazine as the voice of the Episcopal Church's "hard left," it does ring faintly of red-baiting. How would one define the "hard left" of a church sometimes called "the Republican Party at prayer"? Would it be those Episcopalians who believe in a graduated income tax or the right of working people to organize unions? The only specific position you cite as an example of this "hard left" posture is advocacy for the ordination of homosexually-oriented persons. Is human rights advocacy an exclusively left-wing activity?

Your article does point out Bishop-elect Harris' humor, competence and proven ability to exercise imaginative leadership. You do acknowledge that these gifts will be useful to her and the church in the future. For that much at least I thank you. My real quarrel with your reporting is its tone and the way in which it leaves a general impression of the Anglican Communion that I know to be inaccurate. If your reporting about an institution I know so well can be so off the mark, how can I trust what you tell me about situations with which I am less familiar.

The Rev. Suzanne R. Hiatt
Cambridge, Mass.

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THE WITNESS

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THE WITNESS

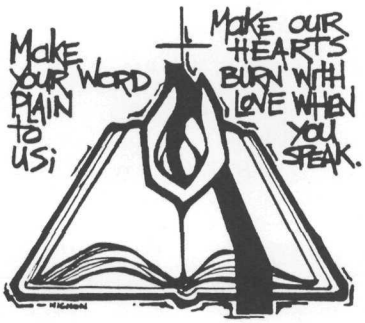

Table of Contents

6 **'Chicken kingdom' maiming workers**
Katerina Katsarka Whitley

10 **The feminization of unions**
Ruth Needleman

12 **Episcopal parish hosts Matthew Fox's last workshop**
Shepherd Bliss

15 **Boycott makes apartheid unprofitable**
Susan E. Pierce

18 **Notes from the Underground Church**
Malcolm Boyd

Credits Cover graphic Margaret Longdon, design TSI Visuals; photos p. 6, 8 Drew Wilson, *The Virginian-Pilot*; photo p.7, Laura Allen; cartoon p.9, *Journal of Women's Ministries*; photo p. 11, Marat Moore from *Feminizing Unions*; Fox photo p. 13 courtesy Friends of Creation Spirituality; graphic p. 21, Huck.

Editorial

Workers, unions merit advocacy

The time is ripe for an official Episcopal Church resolution supporting workers and unions. The Rt. Rev. John H. Burt, board member of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, in a recent study of church literature going back to the '30s, found that the only such relevant pastoral pronouncement came from the following two brief paragraphs in a 1982 Labor Day message issued by the Urban Bishops Coalition:

We reaffirm the right and desirability of workers in the United States to organize and form unions. Without giving our blessing to the behavior of any particular union or any particular issue between labor and management, we insist that in an adversarial workplace, where one class of people owns the property and another sells only its labor, collective bargaining is a just avenue to the adjudication of relationships. It provides a route that avoids control by one side of the rights of the other.

Therefore, we decry the growing wave of anti-unionism mounting in the nation today which asks people to forget the struggles that led to this form of negotiation as a just way to settle differences. We urge church people and others not to judge this issue on the basis of a particular case but rather on the basis of the fundamental principles involved. As long as the workplace is organized by the artificial division between ownership and labor, it is necessary to support the right of workers to organize and to negotiate for their rights as employes. We reject any notion that one class of people can be trusted to hold the interest of another class of people in higher priority than their own self-interest. To endorse such a notion is to invite the renewal of abandoned forms of exploitation and to regress to paternalism.

One example of the renewal of abandoned forms of exploitation, given the decline of unionism, has been a radical deterioration of health benefits. In the past, most Americans won health insurance as a fringe benefit through their jobs because of hard-fought union struggles. But today over two-thirds of the uninsured in the United States are workers or children of workers. In a recent publication, Dr. David Parish, assistant professor of internal medicine at Mercer University in Macon, Ga., reported that "a large percentage of seasonal workers, the self-employed (plumbers, painters, etc.), workers in small companies and low income workers do not carry health insurance. Workers who make near minimum wage and do not have employer insurance find coverage for themselves or their dependents unaffordable. A worker earning $700/month ($4/hour) would spend over 28% of his/her gross income to purchase a low budget $150/month family health insurance policy. Workers whose companies pay part of their insurance but nothing for dependent coverage are often forced to cover themselves but not their children." (*Blueprint for Social Justice* 1/89)

Unions were once perhaps the strongest advocates for health care. But now almost 40 million people have no health care coverage.

This issue of THE WITNESS carries articles which offer a glimmer of hope — the feminization of unions and subsequent strengthening thereof, and the growing interest of women in non-union plants in organizing to obtain goals. Also, the international ramifications of union solidarity become evident in the African mineworkers' struggle and the Shell boycott story.

A resolution by Executive Council urging support of workers and unions, which might be ratified at next General Convention, would be most helpful, indeed. And, remembering the recent history of the Shell boycott resolution, it will require careful tending and continued support to carry the day.

Special Harris issue in April

Barbara C. Harris, Bishop-elect of the Diocese of Massachusetts and former executive director of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, won the necessary majority of votes from Diocesan standing committees by Jan. 3. Her election was almost certain to be approved by diocesan bishops, and her consecration has been scheduled for Feb. 11 in Boston.

Since the date conflicts with closeout of our March publication, THE WITNESS will produce a special issue analyzing the event in April.

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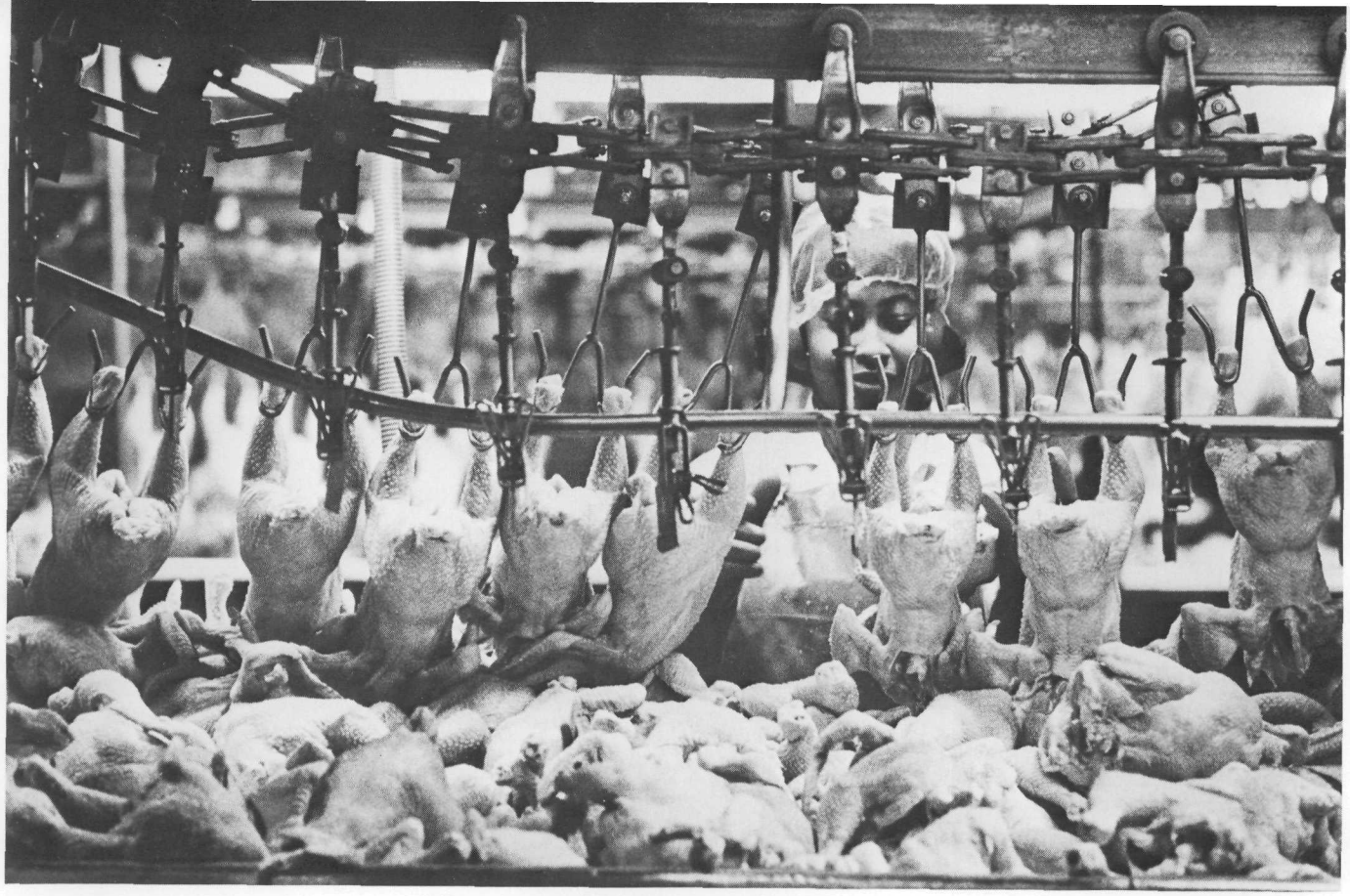

Perdue worker shackles chickens at the Lewiston, N.C. plant.

'Chicken kingdom' maiming workers

by Katerina Katsarka Whitley

In rural North Carolina the road stretches between fields of cotton, soybeans and tobacco. Traffic is sparse and drivers greet each other with a wave of the hand. They don't have to know one another; they are just being neighborly.

In the northeastern part of the state friendliness is as characteristic as poverty, but one is more visible than the other. In our small towns one rarely sees the homeless, pitiful bundles that disturb the passersby of northern cities, but misery hides in homes crowded with single women and many children.

I usually see them at the post office in the beginning of the month, when the food stamp line is longer than the one for postage stamps. Sometimes they stop me in the supermarket, these single mothers I used to know as girls in high school.

"And what are you doing now, Sheila?" I ask.

"Working at Perdue," is usually the answer.

Perdue is the "chicken kingdom," as they call it in these parts. One of the company's poultry processing plants is in Robersonville, just a few miles down the road from where I live. Most of my White friends don't even know these places are there, except when driving through, they catch the oppressive odor of the plant. The other plant, the largest owned by Perdue, is near Lewiston, an hour's drive away. This plant is the pride of the county commissioners, and employs about 2,000 people at a starting pay of $5 an hour, a high wage here for unskilled workers.

But, unless one is a worker at Perdue, it is hard to see what is going on inside. The processing plants are like fortresses. Guards stand at the gate, and are surprised when anyone asks to enter. The appropriate supervisor has to be contacted on the phone and then, after a long wait, one only sees the public relations person. Recently the Rev. Jim Lewis, director of Christian Social Min-

Katerina Katsarka Whitley is editor of *Cross Current*, the newspaper of the Diocese of East Carolina, and is a communications consultant for the Presiding Bishop's Fund for World Relief.

istries for the Diocese of North Carolina, and I tried to visit the Lewiston plant. We were told to come back in two months for a pre-arranged tour. But the invitation never came.

Why all the secrecy? Women who have worked in chicken processing factories tell me they are not pretty places. The chickens, an unbelievable number of them, are hung 30 a minute on the conveyor belts by hooks, and are then dipped into boiling water that removes their feathers. They pass in front of the women at dizzying speed, women who do the same job every minute, eight hours or more every day. The names of their tasks are not pretty either: debeaking, deboning, eviscerating, gizzard skinning, wing-tagging.

So what? It is a job, after all, in an agricultural area that at best has only seasonal employment, and it pays well. County politicians and the unemployed rejoiced to see Perdue come to northeastern North Carolina.

But one is left to wonder how high the health costs of a job have to be before it is no longer worth the pain. The manual activity that brings packaged chicken parts to supermarkets and makes food preparation so much quicker than in the past exacts a tremendous toll on the health of the workers. Ninety percent of the Perdue workers are women, and they are almost always Black.

The eviscerating and trimming are done with lightning speed. A woman must perform the same motion — lifting her arm to cut or pull parts — on 90 chickens a minute. The line has gotten faster and faster — in 1979 it moved 56 chickens a minute. Workers said that the line is slowed when a guest, like a commissioner, or even Frank Perdue himself, is ushered in, but the rest of the time it is unbelievably fast. The pace of work causes carpal tunnel syndrome, a painful swelling of the lining of the tendons in the wrist, the result of repetitive action.

The work environment is difficult. The

Sarah Fields-Davis

women have to wear layers of clothing against the extreme cold in the plant, three pairs of gloves to protect their hands against sharp tools and shattered chicken bones, boots to be able to stand in the streams of hot and cold water mingled with chicken fat, and ear covers to protect them from the noise.

Now the U.S. government plans to do away with the USDA inspectors who walk the floor constantly "because Perdue has a good record," said Sarah Fields-Davis. That will result in a speeding-up of the line to 120 chickens a minute, she said. It seems impossible to visualize.

Fields-Davis is the director of the Center for Women's Economic Alternatives (CWEA) in rural Ahoski. With six other women who work at the Center, she tries to educate poor Black women in 17 counties about the hazards of the workplace and their rights as employees.

CWEA was started in 1984 by community organizers Beulah Sharpe, a Black woman who had experience in organizing workers, and Cindy Arnold, a young, White Duke University graduate who was determined to make a difference in the lives of poor, rural women. Sharpe died from a heart condition after the Center was established and Arnold went on to define and expand the work. She has since gone to Texas to work for the rights of other poor people.

But present director Fields-Davis continues to be a thorn in the flesh of the "chicken kingdom." She came to North Carolina as an activist from the coal mining region of West Virginia. When her deaf son had nowhere to go to school, Fields-Davis found a law on the books requiring the Board of Education to educate any deaf children in the state, and helped herself and other parents who previously had to send their children away to school. She was instrumental in getting the services of a nurse/midwife for the area. She had to contend with "a lot" of trouble with the Klan, she said, which moved her to seek legislation to make the activities of the Klan illegal in her county. Fields-Davis was so effective that then-President Jimmy Carter invited her to a White House conference of 300 women gathered to deal with issues affecting women. In 1985 the Ford Foundation sent her to Nairobi for the Conference on the Decade of Women.

A new person on CWEA staff is Earlene Barkley, who has worked with Head Start in New Jersey and organized day care workers in North Carolina. She is in charge of the Poultry Project and makes it clear that her first concern is the worker.

She says that the Project is moving slowly because the change must come not from a pre-packaged plan or a set of strategies designed by the Center, but from the women themselves wanting to get involved to bring about change.

"We are moving out of isolation," Barkley added. "I see the work as moving out of the local level and bringing together organizers from different states."

Can the effort be successful?

"Without question," she answered. "The feeling comes from the workers — not right away, not in a year, but we'll have progress."

Her sympathy and hope are focused on the workers. This past summer, Don Mabe, Perdue's president and chief executive, outlined the company's objec-

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"Draw-hander" extracts chicken entrails at Perdue's Accomac, Va. plant.

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tives in the *Perdue News*: "To maintain our sales at $1 billion, to improve quality, to lower our costs, and to keep our property in better shape." Nowhere does he mention working conditions.

Barkley concedes that businesses must make a profit and nobody wants Perdue to close down — just change its ways. The Poultry Project organizers are asking for the following modifications, which they say will be simple to implement and effective:

- Redesign the tools.
- Slow down the line.
- Rotate the workers to different jobs.

After four years, changes still have not occurred at Perdue. But the Center has won litigation for many workers who were fired because of illness caused by the assembly line conditions.

Fields-Davis and Barkley and their community organizers move with intelligence and purpose in an environment hostile to Blacks and unskilled workers. There are also women in these counties who are members of the Center's board despite their comfortable jobs and better living conditions.

Director Fields-Davis said that "things are going great at the Center." They are expanding fast, trying to educate women who work at the Emporia plant in Virginia doing deboning, a task which is hard on the workers' hands.

"It would be very easy to talk about poultry from the standpoint of the consumer," Fields-Davis said, "and from an environmental position," noting that salmonella has been a health hazard in these plants and chicken feather dust creates polluted air, but added, "there is little emphasis on the worker."

This is the vacuum the Center tries to fill. "We are proposing flooding the Industrial Commission with workers' compensation complaints to get their attention. We also need to get a safety net for those workers who will talk to the media," said Fields-Davis.

It is a hard reality. What makes my life easier — the deboned chicken breasts that are so easy to cook — takes a toll on the health of those who prepare them. Must we remain silent and enjoy our convenience? Who will speak out for the worker? TW

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• **Healthcare in the 1990s — Who can afford it?:** A penetrating analysis by hospital chaplain Charles Meyer, showing how seven recent changes have sent healthcare prices soaring, making it unavailable to the poor, the elderly, the medically indigent. Highly recommended by Maggie Kuhn of the Gray Panthers as a resource. Includes guidelines on how churches can deal with ethical and technical implications. Also in this issue: Roberta Nobleman's account of incest, "Call it not love," a social problem largely ignored by the churches.

• **God and Mother Russia:** Episcopal priest William Teska interviews Konstantin Kharchev, USSR Councillor for Religious Affairs, on how *perestroika* affects religion; major articles by Sovietologist Paul Valliere, Bill and Polly Spofford, Mary Lou Suhor on their visits to the USSR; statistics on major religious bodies in the USSR; Dr. John Burgess' assessment of the 1986 Human Rights Seminar sponsored by the National Council of Churches in Moscow. (28 pages)

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Short Takes

Top religion story of 1988

In the year marking the millennium of Christianity in Russia, the Soviet Union took some significant steps toward increasing religious freedom, while the Russian Orthodox Church, having survived decades of persecution and atheistic propaganda, appeared to obtain a new degree of cultural status and influence. The government-sponsored celebration of the millennium of Christianity in June, in which churchpeople and secular academics (and significantly, Raisa Gorbachev) participated, offered vivid evidence of a rapprochement between church and state. More tangibly, the Soviets reopened some churches and monasteries, freed some religious dissidents, allowed a new influx of Bibles into the country, authorized some church groups to perform charitable work and permitted favorable discussions of religion in the media.

"The time has come," announced a Communist Party publication, "to put an end to a suspicious and unfavorable attitude towards believers and their ideals of care for people, love and moral self-improvement." This *glasnost* for religion — the muting of official atheism and the emergence of religion as an element in national discussion — is the top religion story of the year in the view of the *Century's* editors.

***The Christian Century* 12/21-28/88**

Gee whiz, folks

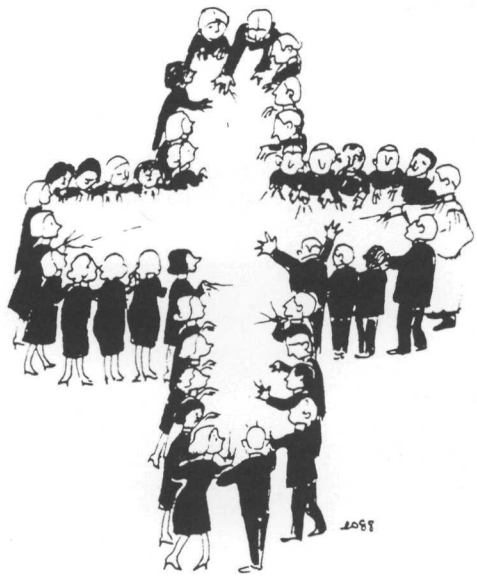
Capt. Will C. Rogers III, commanding officer of the U.S.S. Vincennes, commenting (in the *San Diego Union*) on the downing of an Iranian airliner last July by his guided-missle cruiser: "We had a lot go right. Everyone is focusing on what went wrong."

***The Progressive* 1/89**

Quote of note

Nothing is really work unless you'd rather be doing something else.

Sir James Barrie



Journal of Women's Ministries

"Will everyone stop pulling in different directions? After all, we agree on the basic shape!"

Shell loses pesticide suit

A jury ruled Dec. 19 that Shell Oil Co. was responsible for cleaning up three decades' worth of pesticide pollution at the Rocky Mountain Arsenal, a project that could cost up to $2 billion.

The verdict was a victory for 250 insurance companies, which argued that Shell knew of the pollution at the facility northeast of Denver and therefore was not covered by its 800 different insurance policies any more than a homeowner who set fire to his own house would be.

The verdict, reached on an 11-1 vote after five days of deliberation, seemed certain to set a precedent in determining who will pay for cleaning up pollution — the polluter or the polluter's insurance companies. The Congressional Office of Technical Assessment estimates that the cost of cleaning up all toxic dumps in the country will be $100 billion.

***The Philadelphia Inquirer* 12/20/88**

Gorby merits response

In his speech to the United Nations Dec. 7, Mikhail Gorbachev seized the political initiative from a dormant Reagan Administration, outlined his vision of a new world order and set the foreign policy agenda for 1989 and beyond. Gorbachev's proposals — unilaterally cutting conventional military forces, redeploying thousands of Soviet troops in Eastern Europe in a defensive posture, converting military enterprises to meet domestic needs, placing the UN and its agencies at the center of a new alignment, welcoming the Palestine Liberation Organization's position vis-a-vis Israel, revising emigration rules for Soviet citizens and allowing Third World debtor nations a 100-year moratorium on loan repayments — all are in the U.S. interest.

Gorbachev's proposals and their timing confront the community of cold-war pundits, officials, and other assorted experts with an unprecedented choice. Conventional skepticism — are Soviet reforms sincere? — seems increasingly displaced from reality in a world where, as Gorbachev said at the UN, the bell now tolls for all of us. If the old reflexes win out again, we may lose the chance to seize reforms that are clearly in our interest.

***The Nation* 12/26/88**

> Courage is fear that has said its prayers. Anon.

No doctors in this house

White South Africans have one physician for every 326 people. For Blacks, the ratio is one for every 3,400. There are only 20 Black dentists and 70 Black pharmacists for a Black population of some 25 million. The infant death rate among Blacks is about 100 per 1,000 births. The White infant death rate is 14 per 1,000.

Medical Education for South African Blacks

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The feminization of unions

by Ruth Needleman

Unions will never be the same. Millions of new women in the work force are rewriting labor's agenda and transforming the culture of unionism in America. Two-thirds of all new workers are women. Two-thirds of all new union members are women. And these trends will continue into the next century.

Faced with declining membership in traditional manufacturing strong holds, unions have sought to recruit this growing female constituency. Industrially-based unions have established white-collar departments, appointed women to organizing positions, and introduced a new language of female concerns into their resolution books and bargaining packages. Unions historically rooted in female occupational areas, service industries and the public sector have also revised their practices and made structural and programmatic accommodations to address women's issues.

Female involvement at every level of union activity and decision-making will strengthen the trend within organized labor that historically has advocated greater rank-and-file participation, greater internal democracy, more collective and community-oriented practices, and more progressive stands on national and international issues ranging from budgetary priorities to peace and disarmament. The attitudes, style of work, scope of concerns and political preferences of today's female union activists — tomorrow's union leaders — will help rekindle a social unionism like that fostered by the CIO at the height of its organizing campaigns — a social unionism that is needed today to inspire workers and galvanize a movement. What's more, if past experience is any indication, women will conscientiously take on a lion's share of the day-to-day organizational work required to rebuild that movement.

What evidence supports such claims? Drawing on existing research, surveys and studies, this article will explore the potential that growing female labor participation holds for transforming union life and influence in the decades ahead.

Changing female participation

More women are in the paid labor force than ever before — 54.6 million, representing 57% of this nation's female population. That compares to less than 34 million women in the labor force in 1972 and 24 million in 1962. Their numbers have increased by more than a million a year since the 1960s, with the largest increases among married women, women of child-bearing age, and mothers. Today women constitute 45% of the work force, compared to 37% twenty years ago. By the year 2000, the U.S. Department of labor predicts a 25% increase in the numbers of women in the job market; more than 80% of women between the ages of 25-54 will be working.

This dramatic change in the composition of the U.S. work force reflects a variety of developments: changes in labor markets, in family structure and in levels of income as well as a transformation of cultural values and assumptions.

The decline in real income for families with only one wage-earner, along with the increased dislocation of male manufacturing workers, has forced record numbers of married women into the labor force. Rising divorce rates and the increase of female heads of households have also affected participation rates. A steady rise in service occupations over manufacturing since the mid-1950s has intensified the demand for female labor. Between now and the year 2000, eight of the ten occupations that will produce the most jobs are in traditionally female labor markets — mainly service, unskilled and low-paying. Equally significant is the expansion of part-time and temporary work, historically a female ghetto.

By reducing the time needed to handle household chores, new technologies have also facilitated the move to work outside the home, easing the double burden of women workers. But the most important support and encouragement to women entering the labor market, especially those seeking non-traditional work, has come from the upheaval in social relations and the challenge to cultural stereotypes brought about by the women's movement of the late 1960s and '70s. Organized women, from the early consciousness-raising groups to NOW and the National Women's Political Caucus, have altered irreversibly women's expectations and self-perceptions.

What has not changed, however, is the occupational segregation of women. Well over 80% of female workers hold traditional jobs in clerical, health care, public service and light manufacturing. Because unions concentrated their organizing historically in manufacturing, the vast majority of women were not and still are not union members.

The most dramatic shift in female union membership patterns came in the

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Women account for a growing percentage of organized workers — from 27.6% in 1977 to 33.7% in 1985. And recent surveys suggest that women are more likely to join unions than men.

1960s with the organization of public sector and health care workers. Until that point, most female union members were employed in areas of light industry. Today the typical union woman is between the ages of 25 and 44, and works for the federal, state or local government, in transportation, communications or in public utilities. Another important trend in the development of employee associations among nurses and teachers, which involve large numbers of women. The absence of unionization in private sector offices, retail stores, and other service areas, however, explains the very modest overall growth in the number of organized women.

Why were unions so slow to respond to the influx of women into the work force? Until recently, there were relatively few efforts on the part of unions to organize any workers, and even fewer with a special appeal to women. Male union leadership, like society as a whole, still perceived women as less "organizable" — as temporary workers, less economically motivated than men, more identified with their employers than with their peers, and less willing to take the risks and make the commitments that union organization entails. With some significant exceptions, most unions focused their energies on servicing their existing constituencies and did not feel compelled to seek new ones. When confronted with sharp declines in their membership base due to major cutbacks and changes in heavy industry, unions turned defensively to organizing.

Some of the early attempts at unionization seemed to reinforce popular stereotypes about women, when efforts to organize retail stores, insurance companies and offices met with failure. Unions relied on old approaches with male organizers speaking a "blue-collar" language and fostering a male culture, and meetings conflicted with family obligations or overlooked childcare needs — almost insurmountable obstacles in these early organizing drives. Unions, however, rarely recognized these problems in their approach; they blamed the women. At the same time, management's stake in maintaining a low-paid unorganized female work force was enormous, and corporations spent millions, broke laws (with impunity) and hired scores of consultants to block union drives. It was a fatal combination — corporate consciousness and union unconsciousness.

Some of the breakthroughs occurred, ironically, in those industrial unions geared almost exclusively to meet the needs of a male membership, like those in auto, steel, even coal-mining. The women pioneers who hired into non-traditional jobs following the enactment of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act had strong economic motivation; they also had perseverance and a sense of entitlement, fostered by the emerging women's movement. Hardly a single one of these women would have credited the women's movement; the decision has been their own. But the opening was there, and it had not existed previously. Conditions on the job — a combination of company discrimination and peer resistance — further cultivated a gender-based identification. In order to deal with an unfriendly environment, including inadequate locker, washroom and shower facilities, work shifts hostile to parenting, and conditions threatening to reproduction, women sought out each other for support. Many of the first

women's caucuses and committees were formed in non-traditional workplaces and in unions with relatively small female memberships. The UAW was among the first unions to promote the establishment of women's committees; the largest district in the Steelworkers produced a women's caucus, and in mining, women founded the Coal Employment Project.

In some of the international unions with the largest female membership, there was a tendency to downplay the need for special attention to women's

Continued on page 22

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Roman Catholic theologian silenced by Vatican:

Episcopal parish hosts Matthew

"This is my last workshop before going under house arrest," Dominican theologian Matthew Fox quipped at St. John's Episcopal Church, Oakland, Calif. in December. "I've been giving workshops for 17 years, and I don't know when I'll give my next one." Beneath Fox's humor and playfulness was a touch of sadness.

The Vatican demanded that Fox cease lecturing, preaching and teaching as of Dec. 15 because of his controversial ideas. Fox has agreed to a semester sabbatical from the Institute in Culture and Creation Spirituality (ICCS), which he founded 11 years ago at Mundelein College in Chicago and which is now located at Holy Names College in Oakland.

But in the two months before his pending silence, Fox was quite outspoken. On Oct. 20 he held a press conference in San Francisco, which produced articles in *The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times, Chicago Tribune* and many of the nation's newspapers. The week before his silence Fox spoke to a national audience on NBC-TV's Today show. His supporters also purchased a full page ad in *The New York Times* to detail his side of the conflict with the Vatican and to solicit help.

In what he describes as "an act of good faith" Fox will pull back from his active public schedule for a few months. He plans to go on a "vision quest" under the guidance of a Native American spiritual leader and visit Latin America and Africa. He will spend time with Brazilian theologian Leonardo Boff, who was also silenced by the Vatican. "Perhaps we'll have a meal at which neither of us talks," he laughed. Then Fox will examine his conscience to determine whether or not to remain silent.

What has upset the Vatican so much, I recently asked the 47-year-old priest. "The real issue between the Vatican and me is patriarchy," Fox answered. "I don't think anyone would argue the case that the Vatican is at home with feminism." Fox added that feminism "keeps certain people awake in the Vatican" who fear "that the women are coming, the women are coming."

In the most recent of his dozen books, *The Coming of the Cosmic Christ* (Harper and Row), Fox writes, "The church is a giant, patriarchal dinosaur that is dying." In a pastoral letter entitled, "Is the Catholic Church a Dysfunctional Family?" Fox scored the church for its deafness to the suffering of the oppressed and its silence in the face of the "killing of Mother Earth." Fox notes "signs of creeping fascism" in his letter. Elsewhere he has referred to "the spiritual sloth" in the "current neurotic papal regime." Fox admitted to this reporter, "It is difficult to be a Roman Catholic in this era. The cry for freedom is strong and cannot be stopped."

Asked what he would do if given the ultimatum of leaving the church or ceasing to affirm creation spirituality, Fox said he wants to remain within, but he will not abandon creation spirituality.

"Creation spirituality comes from the deep and ancient traditions of the most oppressed peoples, the native or primal peoples of the world," he explained, "and from women's experience." He described it as a movement of Christians and other spiritual seekers which blends social justice, medieval mysticism, feminism, transpersonal psychology, native spiritualities and other progressive movements. "Creation spirituality is in many respects a liberation theology for first world peoples," he said.

Fox's accuser in the Vatican is the powerful Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger. "Deviant and dangerous" are the words Cardinal Ratzinger uses to describe Fox's ideas. He has condemned Fox for being "a fervent feminist," for sometimes referring to God as "Mother," for hiring Starhawk, a self-described witch, and for affirming homosexual persons. Fox has admitted to each of these allegations, asserting that they are all traditional Christian affirmations. Fox supports women having a more active voice in the church and society and continues to stand by Starhawk.

"I hired Starhawk for her feminism and scholarship. Her non-violent commitment to oppose militarism and nuclear madness are admirable. She is a deeply moral and committed person. The essence of her ritual work is play and recovering the humor and strength in the goddess tradition," he stated.

"Movements make the Vatican very nervous," Fox notes in talking about the creation spirituality movement, "because the Vatican isn't moving. Ours are times for holy impatience, disobedience and

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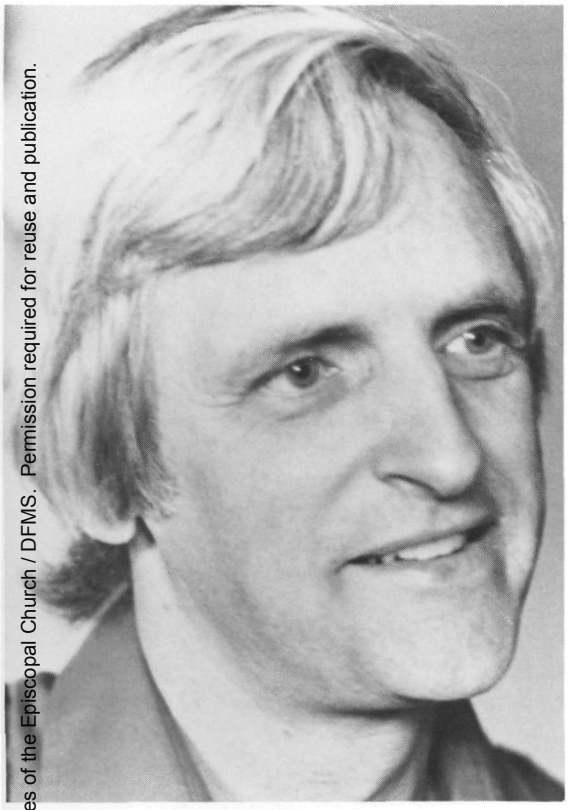
Shepherd Bliss, D.Mn., was ordained a United Methodist minister, and worked as a missionary in Latin America. He now teaches Men's Studies at JFK University near San Francisco.

Fox's last workshop

by Shepherd Bliss



Matthew Fox

discontinuity."

While others in the Roman Catholic Church share Fox's perspectives, he has emerged as the most vocal representative of these ideas in his writing and travels across the United States and around the world.

Among those working with Fox and supporting him in his struggle with the Vatican have been men and women from many religious communities. The Rev. Rob McCann, rector of St. John's Episcopal Church where Fox held his final workshop, is himself a former Roman Catholic priest. He sits on the board of Friends of Creation Spirituality, which publishes *Creation* magazine whose editorial board includes Buddhist scholar Joanna Macy, physicist Brian Swimm, and goddess advocate Charlene Spretnak. This "deep ecumenism," as Fox describes it, is precisely one of the things which bothers the Vatican.

"We were excited to have Matt Fox here at St. John's," McCann said. "We felt part of an historic event and our parishioners felt honored by Matt's presence. His support of women is particularly refreshing. Our parishioners liked the balance of talking, art, dance and the slides of Hildegaard de Bingen in Matt's workshop."

At this event, Fox focused on material from *The Coming of the Cosmic Christ*. He encouraged those filling the church's sanctuary to follow their "heart wisdom." Observing that "our hearts are in our bodies," he began the workshop by taking participants outside on a glorious day to teach circle dances where they looked into each other's eyes while chanting to the earth, air, water and fire.

"We have split the universe from the soul," Fox lamented. "Religion has cut itself off from the cosmos. We need to realize that the world and the psyche are together."

"Scientists are writing some of the most amazing work on mysticism," Fox said, defining mysticism as "an interest in the mysteries." He added, "Radical amazement is how Rabbi Abraham Hescel describes mysticism."

Fox has been criticized as a theologian for not being original, scholarly or deep. But McCann commented after the workshop, "Matt invited us all into theological reflection — not just the elite theologians. It was exciting for my parishioners and me to recapture the Cosmic Christ, to use the image from Matt's new book. Matt taps the physicist, the mystic and the prophet within each of us."

The Rev. John Conger, an associate at St. John's and a psychologist, reflected, "Matt Fox is the herald of something new — some profound change in the church. His incorporation of feminism seems to be what the war with the Vatican is about. The old guard in the church does not seem to have a clue about women."

On the evening before his final workshop Fox gave his last lecture at the First Unitarian Church of Berkeley — to which 600 people came. Fox rooted himself that evening in the poetry of Rainer Maria Rilke and Walt Whitman. He noted that the Cosmic Christ tradition began before Jesus. "Christ was not Jesus' last name." He acknowledged the Jewish heritage of the Cosmic Christ and its presence in various religions, "One of the great contributions of Christianity to the Cosmic Christ tradition is that of the wound. Christ was a wounded man."

Fox followed the wounded theme the following morning at St. John's by talking about the divine child within each of us who is "born in God's image" and then wounded, as Swiss psychiatrist Alice Miller describes, by a variety of abuses. Fox contrasted the Cristos tradition to the Greek patriarchal God Cronos: "Cronos ate his children and is the patron saint of our consumer society.

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We consume our youth."

Fox asserted that the recovery of the mystic tradition, one of his major goals, includes recovering the divine child. "All the mystics celebrate divinity as the child. We were all mystics as children. There is still a mystic inside every one of us — our capacity to make connections. God is a playmate," Fox declared, "but artists have made God a tired old man with a long white beard. God is a divine child. One of the issues between the Vatican and me is the tired adult versus this affirmation of the divine child. Just as the Vatican has trouble with me calling God Mother, it has trouble with me calling God a child."

Fox's spiritual critique goes far beyond the Catholic Church. Though affirming the importance of social action for justice, he challenges those "good-intentioned persons working intensely and sacrificing much for peace and justice" who suffer "burnout, pessimism, lack of creativity, spirit and imagination." To those he says, "Behold the universe. Behold its fulsome mysteries. Behold its glory. Behold your connection to all things. Beauty abounds. Partake of it."

But lest this be confused with the so-called New Age spirituality with which Fox has been associated, he adds, "Certain trends in the New Age are all space and no time; all consciousness and no conscience; all mysticism and no prophecy; all past experiences, angelic encounters, untold bliss, and no critique of injustices or acknowledgements of suffering and death. In short, no body." Fox adds that the New Age "has raised important questions, but it is too much light. It leaves out the wounds, the shadow, and says nothing of the struggle for justice."

When I asked Fox to reflect on his current situation, he responded, "The scientist Thomas Berry talks about three ways of change. The first is re-creation, making alternative models. The second is transformation — connecting the old values with the new. The third is confrontation, which is what is happening with us now. We did not ask for it with the Vatican. We have been busy re-creating and transforming. Now we are getting a response from those who are benefiting from and profiting from the old paradigm. We will continue our re-creative and transformative work for change. And now we are also involved in confrontation. All three are part of the work for saving the planet." TW

Letters . . . *continued from page 3*

(While critics protest the rise of Barbara Harris to the bishopric, seeing the event as pushing the role of women in the church too far, other women have had troubles simply remaining in the church because of the oppressive atmosphere. A WITNESS subscriber, who asked that her identity be protected, wrote the following letter to us at year's end.— Ed.)

The church Catholic?

In my parish, where I first came to Christ and incidentally to the Episcopal Church, there is so much discord; I know it's that way in many churches, or I guess it is.

Our vestry won't approve a woman curate — too divisive, they contend, although none of them actually will say they just can't stomach it personally — and they give our priest endless heartache over the perceived threat of some gay people who attend our church ("We don't want to become THAT kind of church").

He preaches harsh sermons on inclusiveness and stewardship, and they smile blandly, sign pledge cards for .0025% of their income and walk right past the occasional minority person who visits. A major complaint among the congregation? He doesn't touch them enough when he puts the Host in their hands.

They complain that there aren't enough programs, and this morning after Eucharist I stumbled on our Christian education director sobbing in her office because the very ones who complain had turned her down again in a request for some help running the programs we do have. They're too busy.

I know this is judgmental. I confess my sin in feeling I'm somehow superior because pettiness bothers me. I know in my heart God has called me to the priesthood, and when I think of seeking approval here to do so, my stomach hurts; that hardly makes me an example of inclusive, Christ-centered love. I believe in the Church Catholic; is this hodge-podge mess it?

Thank God Christ came for sinners. I know which side of the table I'm on; I guess I need to learn to thank God for all these reminders of our need for that boundless, senseless love.

A Texas subscriber

Kudos for Advent letter

How I enjoyed your Advent letter! It fairly vibrated with excitement. Thank you for your good work in providing challenging reading material. Best wishes for the new year from a Mennonite writer.

Elaine Sommers Rich
Bluffton, Ohio

An annual event?

I don't remember any previous Advent letters from THE WITNESS, so if this is a first edition, it was wonderful and I hope you will make it an annual event.

It is always a gift to be kept in touch with those you love and admire.

The Rt. Rev. Robert R. Spears, Jr.
Rochester, N. Y.

(We have been mailing out an Advent Letter for six or more years now — but due to a limited budget we must send it third class. Lest it be taken for "junk mail," we have in recent years labeled the envelope — Annual Subscriber's Letter Enclosed. Our purpose is to be in touch with THE WITNESS family of readers in a more personal way than in our columns. Many thanks! — Ed.)

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Boycott makes apartheid unprofitable

by Susan E. Pierce

When you fill your gas tank at the local service station, you could be unwittingly supporting apartheid. Major oil companies like Royal Dutch/Shell (the parent company of Shell Oil) are doing business in South Africa and the Front-line States, fueling the country's repressive apartheid regime. A growing number of religious and secular labor and social action groups have launched a campaign to make people in the United States and Europe aware that they can strike an economic blow against apartheid by boycotting Shell Oil products.

Shell isn't interested in democracy in South Africa. Shell delivers oil to a government that kills innocent women and children in the Black townships . . . They don't have respect for human dignity. Shell should leave South Africa.

James Motlatsi, President
National Union of Mineworkers

"Petroleum products are the blood of the modern police and military which enforce racist rule in South Africa, illegally occupy Namibia, and invaded Botswana, Lesotho, Angola, and Mozambique," said Catherine M. Kovak in an issue of the *Corporate Examiner*, the monthly newsletter of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR). ICCR, an ecumenical watchdog group, has been at the forefront of the Shell boycott.

In January 1986, the Free South Africa Movement and the United Mine Workers in the United States started a national effort to boycott Shell in response to requests for aid from the National Union of Mineworkers in South Africa. In May of the same year, the South African Council of Churches called for economic pressure on the South African government by the international community. The Shell boycott is now supported by churches and labor organizations in 14 countries.

ICCR announced in June of 1986 that Shell Oil would be added to its list of companies targeted for intensive action. Since then a growing number of organizations have endorsed the boycott.

Royal Dutch/Shell, like many major multi-national corporations, has a long and profitable history of collusion with the government of South Africa. It is one of the largest foreign investors there, with $450 million in assets.

Shell South Africa and its subsidiaries have been involved in the petroleum, chemical and mining industries of South and Namibia since 1900. Shell operates South Africa's largest oil refinery, and owns 50% of the offshore station through which most of South Africa's imported oil is delivered. Shell also operates an oil pipeline with the government, and owns more than 900 gas stations.

According to ICCR, Royal Dutch/Shell plays a vital role in keeping the apartheid system alive. South Africa has no oil resources of its own, and its present petroleum stockpiles would only last nine months. The other alternative, processing oil from coal, is very expensive and cannot provide more than 25% of demand.

And anti-apartheid activists have pointed out that since the 1979 United Nations embargo, Shell has been the only major international oil company to continue supplying oil to South Africa, reportedly having received incentives of an extra $8 per barrel from the government.

Shell has a record of ignoring embargoes. During the 1966-1980 oil embargo against Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Shell

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and British Petroleum supplied 50% of the oil needed to sustain the White minority government. The oil was bought and shipped using a series of dummy corporations set up to evade the embargo. In violation of UN decrees, Shell South Africa also owns and operates three subsidiaries in Namibia.

Shell does a booming business with South Africa's military and police. Though precise figures on military and police petroleum use are secret under South African law, it is estimated that Shell supplies 18% of the oil for the South Africa Defense Force. The company provides gasoline, diesel fuel, methanol for jet fighters and helicopters, raw materials for napalm and defoliation agents, as well as materials used in the production of nerve gas for a South African military unit specializing in biological and chemical warfare.

Selling to the military and police is a condition for Shell's continued operation in South Africa. Under South African law, oil supplies are considered "munitions of war." Shell has agreed to allow the government to take over the company's operations in a national emergency, and to abide by restrictions on revealing how much oil it supplies and for what purpose. For its services to the government, Shell enjoys a secure market, favorable pricing laws and special monetary compensation for supplying already-overpriced imported oil.

Royal Dutch/Shell claims, as do many other corporations which do business in South Africa, that it deplores apartheid and that its employment and philanthropic efforts are a positive force for social change. But closer examination of Shell's record as an employer gives a different picture.

For example, Shell was anything but a benign employer at the Reitspruit coal mine, of which it owns 50%. In February 1985, Black Reitspruit miners took time off from work to hold a memorial service for a co-worker killed in a mining accident. After a disagreement with management over scheduling the service, two shop stewards were fired and two others put on warning; 850 miners went on strike, demanding that the two fired miners be reinstated.

Management responded by sending in agents armed with rubber bullets and tear gas. In the end, 129 miners were fired; others returned to work at gunpoint. Many miners were evicted from their homes and a number were deported. Afterwards union membership at Reitspruit dropped to 18%. The mine owners ignored the resulting worldwide protest.

If Shell won't hear an appeal to morality, perhaps they will hear an appeal to profits.

The Rev. Cecil L. Murray
African Methodist Episcopal Church

The Shell boycott has picked up significant momentum since its inception in 1986. The AFL-CIO, National Organization for Women, Southern Christian Leadership Conference and NAACP are among 75 national organizations that support the boycott.

Both the World Council of Churches and the National Council of Churches have endorsed the action against Shell. Last August, the WCC Central Committee encouraged church support for the boycott, which prompted a letter of protest from L. C. Van Wachem, president of the Royal Dutch Petroleum Company to WCC General Secretary Emilio Castro. Van Wachem wrote that he found "the singling out of Shell . . . totally unwarranted and unjust," on the grounds that there are seven other oil companies in South Africa besides Shell.

While the WCC was not saying Shell's behavior was worse than other companies supplying oil to South Africa, Castro replied, "Shell cannot claim exemption from the radical criticism that is being addressed to oil companies for their involvement."

He went on to explain that the Shell

resolution had come to the floor during the Central Committee meeting at the specific request of the National Council of Churches. Also, the Episcopal Church passed a resolution at its July General Convention stating:

Resolved, in response to the urgent request of Archbishop Tutu . . . that the 69th General Convention adopt . . . the resolution adopted by Executive Council . . . that the Episcopal Church join with those churches and others who have endorsed the boycott against Royal Dutch/Shell; and that this action be communicated to the widest membership in the Episcopal Church, encouraging the membership to participate in the boycott . . . and that we call for expanding of this boycott to include all international oil companies doing business in South Africa: Mobil, Chevron, Texaco, British Petroleum and Total.

The U.S. churches have supported the boycott since its inception. The first was the Unitarian Universalist Church in 1986, followed in 1987 by the United Church of Christ, and in the summer of 1988 by the General Conference of the United Methodist Church, the General Board of the American Baptist Convention and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, and the list continues to grow.

In order to counteract the mounting international pressure, Shell hired Pagan International (PI), a Washington, D.C.-

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based consulting firm. PI is headed by Rafael D. Pagan, Jr. former head of the Nestle Nutrition Center, where he attempted to defuse a boycott protesting Nestle's methods of marketing infant formula in the Third World.

PI felt it was particularly important to target the churches. ICCR obtained a copy of the "Neptune Strategy," a 265-page document divided into sections targeting religious, educational, media, union, civil rights and other groups, the goal being to keep groups from joining the boycott and divestment campaign or from giving these campaigns support.

According to ICCR, the "Religious Groups Strategy" section of the document expresses considerable concern that religious groups may join the boycott, noting that:

"Mobilized members of religious communions provide a 'critical mass' of public opinion and economic leverage that should not be taken lightly . . . If they join the boycott and pressure for disinvestment, it will become a radically different and far more costly problem than it is now."

The sophistication and skill of PI's tactics were evident in July 1988 in Detroit, when the Executive Council of the Episcopal Church called on the General Convention to adopt the Council's resolution supporting the Shell boycott. After intensive lobbying of Convention deputies by a Shell representative, the House of Deputies voted not to pass the resolution, already approved by the House of Bishops.

However, on the final day of legislation, a caucus of Black deputies countered with a strategy of their own. Lined up three and four deep at all eight microphones on the floor, the deputies claimed as a point of personal privilege that the House reconsider the resolution. As one deputy said, "A common theme throughout this Convention has been 'Pastoral Care . . . Archbishop Tutu and our brothers and sisters in South Africa, whose basic rights and very lives are jeopardized by the evil of apartheid, cry out to us for pastoral care. What if we fail to hear this cry in the wilderness? I prayerfully hope that a deputation that voted against B-052 will be inspired by this cry to move for reconsideration." The measure was put to a vote again and passed.

It would have been a serious reversal for the Episcopal Church not to support the boycott. In May 1988, Archbishop Desmond Tutu came to the National Church Center in New York to plead for support from fellow Anglicans. In a statement, Tutu said: "As the South African government escalates its brutal campaign to silence the last remaining voices for peaceful change, effective economic sanctions are more crucial than ever to hasten the end of apartheid . . . Such economic pressures may be the international community's last available instruments to help bring Pretoria to its senses and justice to our land without which there can be no lasting peace."

During Tutu's visit, Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning pledged support, saying, "We will continue to press for economic sanctions through our Washington office. It is tremendously important that the Episcopal Church in the United States serve as a channel for the church in South Africa."

And Episcopal Church leaders have expressed the church's views to the government. The Rt. Rev. Walter D. Dennis, Suffragan Bishop of New York, told the Africa Subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee during a hearing on the work of the church in southern Africa: "Our church has developed an unambiguous coherent policy in opposition to apartheid and we continue to expand our witness to our partner church through our support of the comprehensive sanctions legislation now pending before the Senate."

Bishop John Walker of Washington appeared before the same Committee in June 1988 to add his voice to those calling for legislation to impose full economic sanctions against South Africa. He told the senators: "I wish that the South African government would change without outside pressure. However, when a government refuses to listen to the human cry for justice and freedom, then it becomes necessary for the world human community to make a witness that is loud and clear. Apartheid must end; not gradually, or on some prolonged timetable. Apartheid must end now!"

The effectiveness of the boycott has been acknowledged by the Shell management itself. John R. Wilson, chairman of Shell South Africa, said, "You have to have respect for the anti-apartheid lobbyists and their views. They are right in believing that South Africa can only change by attacking the economy. And of course it is true that the South African economy would suffer a severe blow if a company the size of Shell felt forced to pull out."

Resources

The Peace and Justice Office of the Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Ave., New York, NY 10017, (800) 334-7626, has developed a Shell Boycott Packet, which contains background information and materials to help an individual, parish or diocese to join the boycott.

Other groups with resources on the boycott are:

The United Mine Workers, Boycott Shell Campaign, 900 15th St. NW, Washington, DC 20005, (202) 842-7350.

ICCR, 475 Riverside Dr., Room 556, New York, NY 10115 (212) 870-2293.

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company, P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002, (215) 643-7067, has a study packet, "The Case for Divestment," which gives background on the issue of foreign investments in South Africa.

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Notes from the Underground Church

by Malcolm Boyd

It is frightfully easy for the church to forget its mission in the world, conform to social norms, take on an imperial attitude, and place the machinery and bureaucracy of its "operation" ahead of the scandal of Christ's gospel. That is when the church's true priorities tumble like ecclesiastical Humpty Dumpties.

But when values become twisted, appearances belie reality, and selfishness wears a mask of holiness, movements come to life that remind the church of its essential vocation. Such movements point out that it is presumptuous to come "to this Table for solace only, and not for strength; for pardon only, and not for renewal."

One such movement in the '60s was the Underground Church. I played a curious role in it because I apparently "named" it. As a speaker to the 1967 meeting of the Division of Christian Education of the National Council of Churches in Dallas, I reported that a new Christian movement cutting across denominational lines was rapidly spreading throughout the nation, "bypassing official structures and leadership."

This revolution began with a tiny, committed group of men and women and, I noted, was "forcing changes on the church from the middle and the bottom. I went on to explain that about six months before, I first became aware of an "underground church" which was beginning to acquire power. Existing ecumenical agencies had helped to foster and nurture this groundswell, but they had become too official and inflexible. What I was talking about had already happened in the "basement" of these structures.

I described the people of this underground: "Some go to church and some don't. Those who do are deeply frustrated by existing forms and attitudes, by the ungiving nature of the official church. The movement is deeply concerned about human need. Its religious questions are about poverty, race, war and peace — but with emphasis on doing, not talking."

But what does the Underground Church have to say to us today, when a certain malaise has settled on steeple tops? The church mirrors a social mood of selfishness, a withdrawal into self, a feeling of being not quite able to cope with raw justice and peace issues. A sense of urgency has been dissipated. In human relations, one finds a meanness and ugliness afoot in the land. New energy is called for, stemming from renewed vision.

Shortly after my speech in Dallas, I assembled some voices from "the underground" in a book, *The Underground Church*. One of the voices, The Rev. Robert W. Castle, Jr., evoked powerful images of racism, homelessness and poverty in "Litany from the Underground." His words are as relevant and demanding today as they were then:

O God, who lives in tenements, who goes to segregated schools, who is beaten in precincts, who is unemployed,

Help us to know you.

O God, who has no place to sleep tonight except an abandoned car, some alley or deserted building,

Help us to touch you.

O God, who works all day, who feeds and cares for her children at night and dreams of better days, and is alone,

Help us to know you.

O God, who is overwhelmed by indifference, and apathy, and status quo of so many who are good Christians and in church on Sunday,

Help us to join you.

Racism was, and still is, one of the major issues facing the church and society. In *The Underground Church*, Episcopal priest James E. P. Woodruff wondered if it was the "respectable" church member or "the young Black activist" who bears "the marks of Jesus Christ." He added: "The purpose of the Christian life is sanctification. The failure of the Christian community is that it is uninvolved with suffering humanity. This uninvolvement leads to decay and sterility and a dedication to traditions. Worst of all, the church is permeated with a morbid selfishness. These are symptoms of pathology."

James E. Groppi, a then-Roman Catholic priest who worked courageously for peace and justice, was another contributor who dealt with racism. He said: "I cannot understand how one who proclaims oneself a follower of Christ could think and act as a racist. Christ worked with the poor, the Samaritans and Publicans, the sinners, the afflicted and all the others who were socially ostracized. He understood their

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problems; He had compassion for them in their suffering. He was crucified for His associations, for His defense of the unacceptable." Groppi's words apply equally as well today for gays and lesbians who face discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

Sharon Murdoch, a Head Start volunteer in Appalachia, described how the Underground Church struggled with the issue of poverty: "It's in there fighting, participating in the suffering, feeling the pain — living with it. It's not afraid to get its hands 'dirty' working with the desperate, and trying to right a wrong."

Writers Michael F. Groden and Sister Miriam Clasby cut deeper, their comments relating as much to today's homeless as to the poor in the '60s: "A handout at the door does more damage, perhaps, than good. Sympathy can be a mere palliative; individual kindness risks the danger of obscuring more fundamental responsibilities."

They went on to ask for more radical approaches. "The 'doing' acceptable today is the basic alteration of the institutions, practices and policies of society so that they reflect a more mature sense of justice. The 'way of doing' must attest as well to a recognition of the fact that people are reached today far more decisively by relationship than by logic."

The Underground Church was also concerned with peace, another major issue still confronting us. Daniel Berrigan wrote: "For some of us, peace became the integrating task of existence. We did not chose the task; the task enlisted us. And it was to our shame that as the years mounted and the fury grew, we were not waging peace with the same ingenuity and persistence and skill with which some were waging war.

"At the same time, we found it almost impossible to live 'normally,' to conceive what liturgy might be, or authority, or community, as long as the innocent were being destroyed . . . We could not undertake good housekeeping in the church, while murder was occurring down the street."

But 20 years later, murder is still occurring down the street. *How* do we muster renewed energy to reject and oppose it? *How* do we keep on striving for peace and justice?

Episcopal priest Layton P. Zimmer addressed the crucial role the Underground Church played for activists: "It is important that the Underground Church is nourishment, focus, and stimulation for the carrying out of one's calling in spite of, or even in opposition to, the guardians of yesterday's safest courtesies. It is important because it is helping people realize their humanity as well as their calling of 'Otherness.' It helps them find and maintain their freedom to dissent, to criticize, and it shares strength to take the hard steps away from rewarding conformity toward the harsh meanings of challenge and change."

The Underground Church touched every facet of society in the '60s. During those years I was very close to the life of American colleges and universities, and for two years I lived at Yale. There was an extraordinary mood of idealism among students, accompanied by a concern for social issues and a personal yearning for meaning.

I soon discovered that students were agonizing about the war in Vietnam and the horrors of racism at home, these feelings unearthed by the thrust of the civil rights movement. Although largely alienated from traditional religion, students cried out for understandable answers to deeply spiritual questions.

During this period, a student poet was invited to read from his work at an ecumenical poetry festival in a campus church. He wrote me later: "I was completely stunned. This group saw a whole new meaning to the word 'religious.' Suddenly, I could smell the dank cellar smell that the early Christians could perceive in their underground meeting places. There was truth and love. I was tired of images of a tired Jesus, a defeated Jesus on a tower of wood.

"How did it happen that the vital, breathing, vibrant social radical that was Jesus was hidden behind stained-glass windows and pious amens blocking out the world that He walked in as a man? I learned that night that Jesus was not dead but had climbed down from that pedestal and left the church to make it in the streets. That night left a mark on me that will not let me rest."

Students didn't know it at the time, but their world had changed significantly. So had they. For one thing, they would never again be so vulnerable, so innocent. In the future they would take a more practiced, if cynical, view of establishments and revolutionaries.

They learned from painful public events such as the May 1970 fatal shooting of students during a protest at Kent State University in Ohio. During that same month, violence was barely averted at Yale when 15,000 outside visitors, along with National Guardsmen, came to New Haven. A student told me: "It's a rage we feel. And we don't want it to destroy us. You don't fight rage with rage. You try to get well."

Since the days of student protests and civil rights marches, what happened to the Underground Church? Its seeds were buried deep in soil, to grow in myriad and mysterious ways. It lives in untold people, in movements and communities that nurture, challenge, witness to the Gospel and proclaim in action the new life in Christ. As Episcopal priest and theologian Carter Heyward said at a Feminist Liberation Theology conference, "None of our stories are solos . . . No more crucifixions. God is with us in our vulnerability."

The Underground Church has learned this and now communicates it to a new generation. TW

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WITNESS consultant to prison

Samuel H. Day, Jr., who has served as promotion consultant to THE WITNESS for more than a decade, was preparing to be tried for nonviolent civil disobedience — entering a missile silo — as we went to press.

Day, co-director of Nukewatch, was one of 4,000 social activists who committed civil disobedience last year. He and a group of "peace planters" scattered seeds inside the fences of missile silos in a symbolic act of reclaiming the land.

Bonnie Urfer, also of Nukewatch, was arrested for civil disobedience at three missile silos and sentenced to 18 months in prison last year. Day, former editor of the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* could receive up to 6 months.

"We are prepared to go to jail to challenge laws which sanction nuclear missiles and other weapons of mass destruction," Day said. "We are ready to face the consequences."

Day recently edited a book called *Nuclear Heartland*, a guide to the 1,000 nuclear missile silos of the United States, for Nukewatch. The book has won praise from the *Los Angeles Times, Christian Century,* and the *National Catholic Reporter*, and rolled off the press on the eve of the "peace planting" in which Day participated.

Nuclear Heartland raises consciousness about the Bomb in our midst. Few Americans realize that "the soil of the North American Great Plains is seeded with a thousand intercontinental ballistic missiles — sentinels of the nuclear age — each built to be launched on 31 seconds notice," Day said. "The book describes that unseen underground weapon system — how it got there, what it looks like, how it works, how it has affected people who live close to it, and how you can find it for yourself."

In Cheyenne an anonymous telephone caller promised (but failed to make good on his threat) to "blow away" Day at a book-signing party at the First Congregational Church.

WITNESS readers are urged to buy the book for their own social awakening and to pass it on to the parish library. ($12.50 from Nukewatch, P.O. Box 2658, Madison, WI 53701)

In the accompanying article, another peace activist, Helen Woodson, who is serving 18 years in prison for disarming a Missouri nuclear missile silo with a jackhammer in 1984, describes her most recent act of nonviolent resistance in prison. She also reveals how the U.S. government is using prisoners to do Data Processing for war industries. For her protest, Woodson was placed in solitary confinement. — **Mary Lou Suhor**

A little bit of light

Let us move inward in concentric circles. On the outer rim is Lawrence Livermore Labs, home of nuclear weapons research and one of the top-20 sites of nuclear and chemical contamination in the nation. Recent news reports have focused on Livermore for the wide-spread drug use and dealing among its staff, for fraud and corruption in its Department of Defense contracts and now for pollution of the groundwater and soil. Of the 16 nuclear weapons facilities that have admitted to dumping toxic wastes, Livermore's crime ranks third in severity. The government's response has been to require that the lab make public a list of its hazardous chemicals but only those stored in excess of 10,000 pounds. Radioactive materials need not be listed at all as a matter of national "security."

Let's move inward. The middle rim is occupied by Camp Parks, a partially defunct Army base housing various government offices. Recently the Border Patrol announced it is closing its Camp Parks office because of the threat from Livermore's pollution. But the base will continue to host war games for Army reservists, trucking in the troops, airlifting in the weapons for maneuvers which reduce the landscape to ruts and rubble. Are the soldiers being readied for duty in Central America or the Middle East? Don't ask; that's a matter of "security."

And inward, our concentric circles fast becoming a modern equivalent of Dante's hell. In the middle of Camp Parks lies F.C.I. Pleasanton, home to approximately 700 federal prisoners. We are enclosed by a high double fence, a jumble of razor wire, and gun-toting officers who patrol in trucks. Running through the fence is a black "security" wire, its alarms automatically activated when some prisoner, in a mistaken notion of his/her "security" needs, approaches the fence.

Still inward. Prisoners must be kept busy to generate the dollars to pay for their confinement, and if this happens to turn a profit, all to "security," and since UNICOR can get the War Department's work done cheaply (it has never been de-

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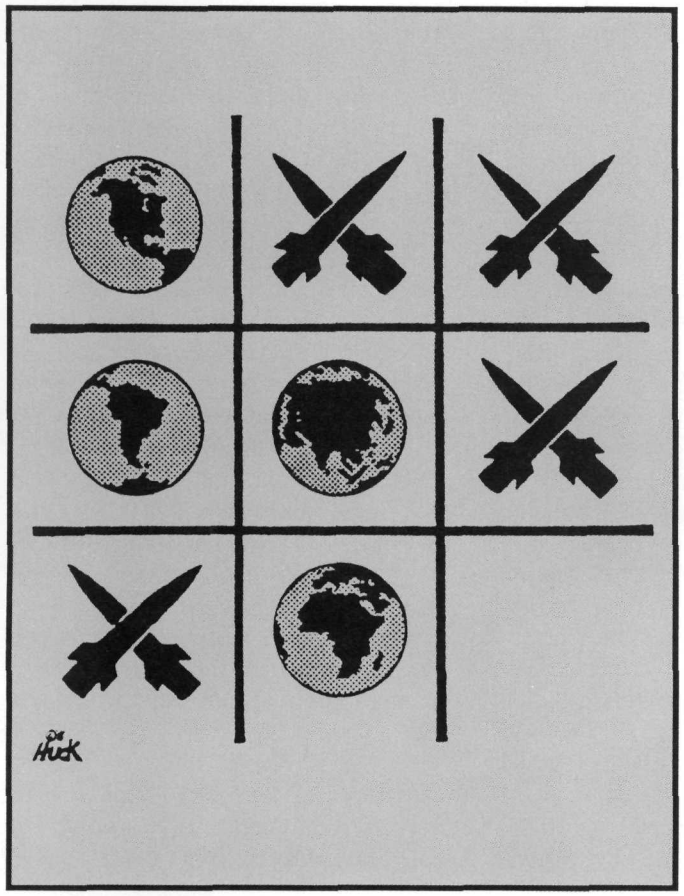
in the darkness

by Helen Woodson

nied a requested contract), it also represents governmental "security."

And now we stop, having reached the epicenter from which I have gazed outward into the concentric rings and inward into soul and conscience. So on December 10, in honor of Gaudete (Rejoice!) Sunday, I walked to the rec field track bearing an athletic bag stuffed with sheets, towels and newspapers doused with flammable nail polish, set the bag in gravel next to the fence and ignited a lovely Advent blaze. Then I hung from the fence a banner reading: "There is no security in the U.S. government, nuclear weapons, chemical contaminants, prisons and UNICOR-military industries. Fences make slaves. Tear them down." And then with toenail clippers, I proceeded to snip the "security" wire, severing it in four separate places. The Gaudete Pruning Hook for sure.



So here I am in the hole, charged with attempted escape, arson, destruction of government property and inciting to riot, and someone is certain to ask what practical, effective good it has done. The answer may be none at all, but it was the better. Thus the federal system boasts 78 prison industries managed by a wholly-owned government corporation called UNICOR which, in fiscal year 1987, generated $319 million, using 15,000 prisoners' labor for $0.22 — $1.10 per hour, on mostly military contracts like cables for nuclear weapons, Hawk guidance systems and combat helmets. Here at Pleasanton, ADP (Automated Data Processing) has handled the movement of ships and weapons for the Navy and the maintenance and replacement of ICBM missiles for the Air Force. The plan to double the present prison population and the elimination of parole and good times will ensure an ample force for the future. Inasmuch as UNICOR enables prisoners to earn a little spending money and make payments on their court-ordered fines and restitution, it is their chief source of income, a good and necessary means of affirming sanity and spiritual health in the face of evil.

And one thing more: We are acutely and painfully aware of the cost in human lives of our twisted priorities, our false security, but we all too often forget that the first victims of our own destructiveness are the creatures of nature. During my six months here, I have had the joy of meeting busy ground squirrels, little birds who strut and dance, and hawks and gulls who ride the wind. Let's just say I did this one for them. (F.C.I. Pleasanton, Cal.) TW

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Unions . . . *Continued from page 11*
concerns, in part because being female was not an issue and in part because the top leadership was male. Nonetheless, unions like the Amalgamated Clothing Workers pioneered union child care centers, and once changes began, the predominantly female unions championed issues like pregnancy disability rights, pay equity and flextime.

The 1974 founding of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) represented one of the most important, coordinated efforts to promote women and women's concerns within organized labor on a national level. In addition to its basic program advocating organizing, affirmative action and greater female participation in unions and politics, CLUW has demonstrated a strong commitment to racial equality; it has a 50% minority membership and leadership.

Women in leadership

How far reaching have the changes been? At the highest levels of the trade union hierarchy, there is still only a miniscule showing of women: three members of the 37-member AFL-CIO Executive Council; this represents, however, a 300% increase over a decade ago. There is only one AFL-CIO Department head (Education), and three presidents of international unions (RWDSU, Flight Attendants and Screen Actors Guild). The AFL-CIO has Coordinator of Women's Affairs but has yet to establish a women's department.

On the other hand, at regional, state and local levels, women are entering positions of leadership, with the support of male as well as female co-workers, and in contested elections. The presence of women in state and local labor councils is no longer an anomaly; and most labor organizations now slate women, although the most common job remains recording secretary. One-third of AFSCME's locals are headed by women, and 50% of local officers are female. CWA reports 15% of its locals have women presidents; the IUE, 12%.

In the workplace women hold large numbers of steward and union representative positions, and not just in departments populated with other women. There are elected female stewards, presidents, and business representatives in majority-male locals. This is an important development and no longer an isolated exception.

It would be wrong, however, to underestimate the roadblocks women confront in becoming more involved in union affairs. They are numerous and more awesome at the top where decision-making power is at stake. The roadblocks, however, are not just obstacles placed in the path of women unionists; many reflect organizational structures and ideological preferences which also discourage male workers from becoming more actively involved and responsible in their unions.

To deal with corporations at the bargaining table and comply with complex laws, procedures and reporting requirements, unions centralized their operations in the 1950s, shifting decision-making away from the local level. Reliance on lengthy arbitration procedures to deal with work problems also tended to disempower workers on the shop floor.

A further discouragement to involvement is the apparent lack of leadership openings. Although turnover rates vary dramatically from local to local, and are lower at the top than at the bottom, union leadership has become a lifetime career for many officers.

Studies on local union participation argue that members tend to get involved if they have adequate information about the union, are given concrete ways of contributing, know someone in office, socialize with current leaders, experience relative job satisfaction, and feel that their efforts will accomplish something. Otherwise, workers do their job and go home.

While all workers have to contend with these factors, they present greater difficulties for women. Women are the "outsiders," less likely to know someone in office, to be part of the in-leadership crowd to socialize with that circle, or for that matter to be satisfied with their job. Moreover, women have less access to union information, and are prevented by family and home responsibilities from "hanging around" the union hall or the local bar.

Probably the most difficult barrier to surmount is that of gender stereotypes which play a major role in shaping attitudes and voting preferences within unions. Traits dealing with competence are considered male and those relating to emotion, female. Male traits are valued within the world of work and generally coincide with leadership qualities; female traits have been viewed as an impediment to being an effective leader.

For women to overcome these cultural stereotypes and general obstacles, they must usually meet higher standards of skill and knowledge, work twice as hard, and organize a broad base of support within the local. Not every woman in leadership has had to overcome all these obstacles, and many women have attained positions of influence only to discover that to do their job, they have to adopt the same methods and attitudes as their male predecessors. The pressures on women leaders to conform are powerful; studies show that women leaders in token numbers in any organizational framework will experience extreme pressure to act like one of the guys or to maintain a low profile and take a backseat.

But the successful efforts of women leaders over the past decade have changed the attitudes of many of their male co-workers, not only toward

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women but toward the union as well. Women have created openings for involvement, and have shown that organization among rank-and-file workers can produce change. They have raised the expectations of all their members. Women expect more form their unions, feel more a part of their locals, and as a result expect more from themselves as participants. In may cases, as women have moved into local positions of leadership, they seem to have narrowed the gap between leadership and membership which has plagued organized labor in recent times.

Female styles of work

How have women been able to move from the sidelines into leadership? Are they in any way different from the traditional male paths to leadership or the established approaches? The answer is yes and no. Some of the choices women have made reflect their status as "outsider" or minority and are no different than others in their situation would make. But there are also gender specific characteristics.

Women, for example, have identified lack of self-confidence as a major factor inhibiting their greater participation in union activities. Women refrain from running for office or assuming posts of responsibility because they feel they do not have adequate skills, knowledge or ability. In part, this reluctance reflects the internalization of gender-based stereotypes. Women who have run PTAs, church organizations and community groups, raised vast sums of money, and involved hundreds of people in working toward a common goal maintain that they have no skills. Similarly, women who balance a full-time job with responsibility for home and children decline union positions because they are "too difficult."

When women do decide to run for union office, however, in order to overcome their lack of self-confidence, they seek training, education and collective support. They set high standards for themselves, and therefore tend to be better prepared and more educated when they finally do attain leadership positions.

To get their demands on the bargaining table and their issue's on a union's agenda, women have learned to frame their concerns in a way that will appeal to the self-interest of their male co-workers and to the public at large. Within the union, women have argued convincingly that health and safety issues (work load, weight limits, health and reproductive hazards) are not women's issues, but workers' issues. Women have addressed their co-workers as husbands, sons, parents and brothers, showing men that their workplace behavior and needs, like women's, are shaped by family and home life. To the public, women have argued justice, patient care, quality education, improved services, jobs and the fate of this nation's children.

At the level of national politics and international concerns, women have often been associated with progressive causes, advocates of peace and supporters of social legislation. Although few studies exist which probe the priorities and preferences of union women on national issues, a survey of hundreds of local women leaders participating in the summer schools provides an indication of the kinds of leadership we can expect from union women on these issues.

Female union members polled were strong supporters of women's issues: 95% believed in a woman's right to choose whether or not to have an abortion; 95% supported the Equal Rights Amendment; a generous majority supported affirmative action and federally subsidized child care. Only 4% of the women advocated an increase in the defense budget; 70% called for a decrease. 90% urged more spending on education and more efforts to feed the world's hungry and protect human rights. A majority opposed any U.S. intervention in other countries, and only 9% indicated they would back the sending of U.S. troops.

Conclusion

From the narrowest survival perspective, labor must organize these new women workers — to maintain their numbers, to prevent the use of cheaper female labor to lower wages, and to thwart employer efforts to expand the part-time, temporary and subcontracted work force. To accomplish this organizing challenge, women must be utilized, trained, promoted and welcomed into positions of power. And accommodations need to be made to facilitate women's involvement — adjustments in meeting and working schedules, greater emphasis on training, and a campaign of reeducation to combat gender stereotypes and discriminatory practices at all levels of the union.

But labor's future will also depend on its ability to learn from women activists, from their style of work and their approach to problems. New ideas, new methods, new programs cannot be feared or fought; there must be more openness, flexibility and innovation within the house of labor. Today's leaders must be willing to cede control and share power, not only with women but with rank-and-file activists across the nation. To increase participation, commitment and union consciousness, there must be greater access to information, more democratic decision-making, more concrete channels for involvement, more emphasis on initiative and less on loyalty. Union leadership does not a need a set of answers for today's problems; it needs a better approach to solving problems. The answers will follow.

(The above article is excerpted from "Feminizing Unions" (1988), a Labor Research Review *publication produced by the Midwest Center for Labor Research, 3411 W. Diversey/Suite 10, Chicago, IL 60647. $7.00. Reprinted with permission.)* TW

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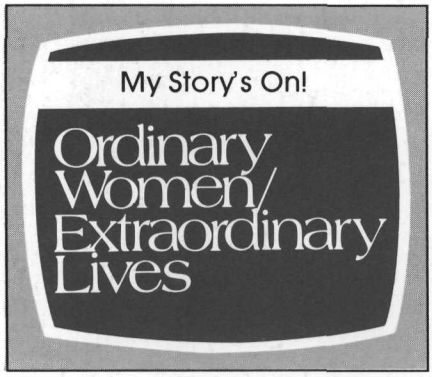

Edited by Paula Ross, Berkeley, Cal.

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THE WITNESS

Battling unjust immigration laws
Aurora Camacho de Schmidt

Can liberal churches grow?
James Mikulski
Kittredge Cherry

Feminist missionary in Canterbury's court
Susan E. Pierce

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Letters

Will *we* make it?

Your "Whither A Luta Continua" article (January) went right to my heart. Paul Washington's words were particularly impressive. Will we *all* "make it?" The Holy Spirit alone must draw us forward to truly love one another. I accept and embrace Barbara Harris as my bishop. She and Desmond Tutu can bring redemption to our organized religions.

I also wrote to Parker Rossman about his slavery piece in that same issue and thanked him, sending on articles I wrote on the subject for further documentation.

It recalls an experience I had on the Sinai desert, when I asked my guide, "Why do some Bedouin tents have a white flag?" She replied sadly, "That means they have a marriageable daughter ready for trade. A 12 or 14-year-old girl is traded by her father for a dromedary or a few goats. According to Moslem law, a man may have up to four wives and a wife means free labor, so it's to his advantage."

When women use the word "bonding", it is well to recall those of our sisters who, like Hagar, was a bond-woman. Even Sarah, in driving Hagar out of her household, was responding to cultural expectations dictated by men. Sarah and Hagar were caught in the male web which is as long as recorded history.

That web still exists today. A reporter in New Delhi tells of buying a woman for less than the price of an equal pound of mutton. In some places, then, it's cheaper to buy a woman than meat.

White flags are everywhere for those who have eyes to see and hearts to feel the bonding.

Sister Margaret Ellen Traxler
Institute of Women Today
Chicago, Ill.

Bumbletime again

Mr. Bumble read, marked, learned and inwardly digested much of the church comment about the election of Barbara Harris as a suffragan bishop, then paraphrased his earlier observation re "the law": "If a church supposes that . . . the church is an ass — an idiot."

When queried as to which "side" he applied his unbowlderized Plain Elizabethan English, he expressed astonishment: "Why to all of them, jointly and severally, except Ms. Harris!"

"She applied for the job, had a new picture taken, received CEO approval (aka diocesan), prepared her campaign material, subjected herself to group interviews; the electors who wanted her worked hard, won in a close election against a well-known local cleric. Those displeased with her election should have said their words before the event and on the floor of the Convention, studied their tactics and fielded a more to their liking, and electable, candidate. Upon losing they should have gathered *a la* Democrats, and planned to nominate, support, and field a more electable candidate next time."

But Mr. Bumble, you seem to chastise only her opponents as sour grapes losers?

"Indeed not. Her supporters are equally deserving of my kinder and gentler terms. They expect too much. They are unfair to her personally, with their grossly effusive praise, raising in themselves and others expectations that are unlikely to come to pass, and place a monkey on her back. One advocate said: 'It is far more than an election. It is really an embracing of the feminine spirituality. And that is going to be a monumental change.' Her election is no more that than the elections of Meier, Thatcher, Bhutto or Gandhi or confirmation of S. O'Connor or E. Dole were embracings of feminine politics or law.

"The opposition smacks of Chicken Little. This sect has been electing highly unqualified White male bishops for centuries: White males with much church administrative experience, much service as clerics, two or three 'earned' academic degrees, husband of one wife, who nonetheless supported racism, sexism, military action, gunboat diplomacy, crusades, slavery, destruction of the environment, oppression of the laborer, and who support social action only as paternalists or 'Junior League' type involvements, who were distinguishable in no serious way from non-Christians. If this sect elected only the 'right person' to be bishop, whether male, female, of whatever epidermis, marriage status, employment history, sexual orientation, it would have only 1%, maybe 1.5%, as many CEOs (aka bishops) as it does!"

So, Bumble, since you are displeased with her supporters and opponents, and think so little of the current crop of this sect's leaders, what would she have to be to generate real enthusiasm in you, and her election to be truly significant?

"Well, since you ask: If she had told the CEO of that sect that she would agree to be vice-CEO only if he would move from Weston to live in public housing, and let her live in his palace in Weston, then her election would have some significance! That would be real apostolic succession! Feminine spirituality? No, just Christian and apostolic witness."

McRae Werth
Blue Hill, Maine

Joyful day remembered

There have been a number of stories in the media on progress toward the consecration of the Rev. Barbara Harris as the first female bishop of the Episcopal Church, but the date of her elevation was assured on Jan. 24. It was a joyful day of celebration for those of us who have prayed for the removal of racism, sexism — all that keeps us from knowing the love of Christ in the Church.

You of THE WITNESS are honored in the support and encouragement you have given to Barbara Harris, and through her,

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to all of us. Congratulations and thank you.

Sara L. Morrison
Washington, Iowa

Ambrosian parallels

Recent letters in THE WITNESS protested that Boston's Bishop-elect Barbara Harris lacks experience. Perhaps I can help put this in perspective.

In 374 C.E. the episcopal election in Milan resulted in the selection of a Roman civil administrator as bishop. He was an unbaptized Christian at the time, and in the span of a week he was baptized, confirmed, ordained deacon, ordained priest, and consecrated. This is somewhat less than Barbara Harris' nine years as a priest. It did not seem to impair significantly the episcopal effectiveness of St. Ambrose.

Ambrose is an interesting parallel for Barbara Harris in a number of other ways as well. He brought to his office considerable experience from activities other than ordained ministry. He was renowned for his eloquence. He grappled with the problems of the faith and the great issues of the day. He was not afraid to confront secular authorities in the interest of justice. And, of course, he became a great bishop.

No doubt there were disgruntled Milanese as well, asking whether "such a person" was " the best-qualified shepherd for this far-ranging, historical diocese." It is a legitimate question. Allow me to suggest that the appropriate answer, now as then, is "yes."

Alan S. Hejnal
Upland, Cal.

Admonishing the Pope

In response to the excellent article in your January issue by Monica Furlong on "The Pope's lost battalions," let me recall this Pope's first visit to the United States, during which he appeared in Notre Dame University's stadium, and was carried on TV nationwide.

The huge stadium, with the Pope at one end, was filled with the faithful and the curious. When his speech was completed, members of the audience were welcome to use microphones, available to all, to make comments or ask questions. A nun, dressed in a blue habit, asked with due deference, "Your Holiness, when can we expect nuns to become priests?"

The Pope was prepared and answered softly but firmly. "Sister dear," he intoned, "if Christ (not God, as Monica Furlong's article recalls his saying on the same subject) "if Christ had so intended, then at least one apostle would have been a woman."

"Oh, yeah?" said a woman, watching TV that day in Tucson, Ariz. In a letter-to-the-editor of that city's evening newspaper, she related what was seen and heard on TV. Then she added, "If Christ's intentions are to be a precedent, then all Roman Catholic priests today should be Jewish."

The Rev. Shirley Heermance
Columbia, Mo.

Surprise prison visit

Would you please send me a copy of the article entitled "The ordeal of Alejandrina Torres" by Elaine Silverstrim? It appeared in the February 1988 edition of THE WITNESS. Through a series of strange but wonderful circumstances I have had the experience of visiting Alejandrina in San Diego at the Metropolitan Correctional Center. She told me about the article, and I would like very much to read it. Thanks for being who you are and being there!

The Rev. Patricia Backman
Fallbrook, Cal.

What price 'inner peace'?

Having just read "Detention in El Salvador" and "Trafficking in human lives" (January) with mounting feelings of pain, grief and distress, my eye landed on the item, "Symptoms of inner peace" in Short Takes. This gave me the same sort of jolt I get when I am watching a painful documentary on TV and then some inane commercial comes on. Can *inner peace* and *compassion* possibly be compatible?

For example, Symptom 2 of Inner Peace is "an unmistakable ability to enjoy each moment." I have to say I do not think I "enjoyed" the above two articles. Symptom 4, "a loss of interest in interpreting the actions of others" — what does this mean, when we are talking about people who are enslaving or killing or terrorizing or torturing other people? Symptoms 5 and 6 — "a loss of interest in conflict" and "a loss of the ability to worry" — I suspect might be considered by psychotherapists to be evidence of "flat affect," or "dissociation," which are symptoms of pathology. But perhaps I'm wrong. Perhaps I should cancel my subscription to WITNESS because it is *loaded* with stories about conflict, and I should be losing interest in conflict if I'm getting "inner peace." And what if nuclear arms are proliferating and George Bush promises more of the same?

I think this definition of "inner peace" is totally inadequate for Christians. I think Jesus would flunk such a test. And I still believe *there can be no peace without justice*. Not even "inner peace." Does anybody else wonder about that?

Lauren Sullivan
Lompoc, Cal.

Amnesty a sham

I would like to follow up on the excellent article by Susan E. Pierce, "Confronting racism in Japan" (January).

In honor of Emperor Hirohito, in whose name Korea was conquered, colonized and terribly exploited, the Japa-

Continued on page 23

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THE WITNESS

Table of Contents

6 **Battling unjust immigration laws**
Aurora Camacho de Schmidt

10 **Athens church joins 'overground railroad'**
Mary Lou Suhor

12 **Raising Lazarus: Can liberal churches grow?**
Kittredge Cherry & James Mitulski

16 **The encounter of world religions**
Owen Thomas

20 **Feminist missionary in Canterbury's court**
Susan E. Pierce

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Editorial

On the road to Jerusalem

This month's cover carries artist Thomas Daye's concept of a Black Christ riding into Jerusalem midst the acclaim of the crowds, celebrated liturgically as Palm Sunday.

Throughout the ages, artists have tried to capture the person of Christ in various ways, many of them controversial. Witness the female Christa, with breasts, and Scorsese's characterization in "The Last Temptation of Christ." And so will the humble carpenter from Nazareth "in whom there is neither male nor female, Jew nor Greek, slave nor free" continue to confound and renew us as we struggle to become an *alter Christus* on our own paths to salvation.

On Palm Sunday, Christ's entry into Jerusalem was a joyful event, accompanied by the huzzahs of the crowd. "And yet," wrote theologian Romano Guardini in his classic, *The Lord*, "suppose a Roman officer in shining armor had trotted by just then on his blooded mount, his orderly troop behind him, a fragment of that great army which bore the power of Rome across the world. What would he have thought had he seen the poorly dressed man on his donkey, a coat as a saddle, the heterogeneous crowd about him?

"This, then is how it is when God descends. The apparent folly and danger of it are so great that the just and orthodox prepare for legal condemnation . . . (Those who greeted Jesus were) simply the average crowd as it is to be found everywhere in workshop, store and street, a crowd in which we all could find our place . . . How difficult it is to recognize the self-revealing God, to steer clear of the scandal to the worldly sense of propriety and righteousness!"

On Feb. 11 in Boston, Barbara Harris began a similar journey to Jerusalem when she was consecrated Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese of Massachusetts, and first woman bishop in the Anglican communion worldwide — an event which marked a quantum leap for African-American and women's history.

The Rev. Paul Washington, homilist, reminded the church that this Easter moment had not come without many Good Fridays in between for Blacks in this country.

And the Rev. Van Bird at a dinner the night before the event, registered confidence that "in God's time, the People of God will adjust to this new reality — and the church will continue her witness in the world, strengthened and enriched by this experience." That time will be hastened, he said, if we are mindful not only of the historical significance of the event, but also the theological, revelatory and prophetic meaning, pondering two things:

"God's methods, means and timing of revelatory and prophetic interventions in human history — religious and secular — have usually been contrary to our expectations, filled with mystery and paradox, and have forced us to choose sides. Therefore, we should not be too surprised that Barbara has been chosen as God's means of speaking to the church in this historic moment.

"It is most important that we, supporters and dissenters alike, remember that God does not always nor even usually call us because we are finished products or perfect instruments for service. Barbara's gifts are many and well-known. However, that is not why she was chosen. They are but ingredients in a life journey that God will now take and mold and re-mold into a new vessel, a new instrument, a new person whom God can use in the years ahead in a new way. Not only do we have this treasure in earthen vessels, but if the vessel becomes cracked, God, like a potter, does not cast it away. God reshapes it into a new vessel."

Therefore, Bird charged the new bishop, "when the church ordains and consecrates you a bishop in the Church of God, remember that the God who created and redeemed and has now called you to a special ministry will begin the task again of accepting who you are, as you are, and making you into what God would have you become. Your only obligation is to be faithful and obedient."

Surely Harris faces trials ahead in her episcopate, but the grace of God and prayers of "the crowd" will carry her through the dark nights. Meanwhile during this Eastertide we celebrate the Kairos, the new birth, the new prophetic moment for the Church. Let the hosannas and alleluias ring!

(THE WITNESS will run a special issue on the Harris consecration in April. See notice page 9.)

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The spirit of the law vs. the law of the Spirit

Battling unjust immigration laws

by Aurora Camacho de Schmidt

. . . to oppression, plundering and abandonment, we respond with life
Gabriel Garcia Marquez
The Solitude of Latin America, 1982

When the new Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) was signed into law in November 1986, some three and a half million Latin American undocumented immigrants were in the United States. They were here and have kept coming here because of what author Gabriel Garcia Marquez calls "the persistent advantage of life over death." They came mostly because they had to, not because they wanted to.

The immigrants came to a nation increasingly intent on fortifying itself against their presence, and yet eager to use their cheap and reliable human power. They saw themselves as saving their lives, feeding their families, surviving. But some of their hosts saw them as a danger to national unity and sovereignty, usurping jobs, spoiling neighborhoods, taxing social services, useful only as a disposable labor supply.

They crossed the border aided by smugglers and often risked their lives in the process. Over one million of them fled war and had to traverse more than one foreign country to find refuge. Young men turned the hunt by the U.S. Border Patrol into a game of high stakes requiring wit and resolve. But helicopters, electronic sensors and weapons made for unequal encounters.

When women arrived in large numbers, the United States knew this migration was permanent. Women came to build a community, to plant the seed of their children in the new, hostile home. Not even a law designed to starve them out could uproot them again. They came to stay.

What the law said

President Reagan signed the Immigration Reform and Control Act three years ago. The law offered the possibility of legalization to undocumented people who had arrived before January 1982, and to farmworkers who could prove they had worked for at least 90 days during the year before May 1986. At the end of the application period, close to three million immigrants — perhaps less than half the total undocumented population, which also includes Asians, Europeans, Caribbean peoples, etc. — had applied for temporary residence. This program could not have been implemented without the help and constant vigilance of organizations representing the immigrants' interests. The lure of legalization attracted support for a legislative package that contained a dangerous provision: employer sanctions.

The logic of employer sanctions is simple and one-dimensional — if we want to stop illegal immigration, let's stop employers from giving jobs to illegal immigrants. Too bad things just don't work that way. During eight years of debate, churches, civil liberties groups, minority organizations, and lawyers' organizations — not to mention employers — have opposed employer sanctions. They warned Congress about the discriminatory power of the policy: All minorities and foreign-looking persons could be suspect at the job site. Some opponents explained that the nature of a restructuring global economy is extreme flexibility. In the name of higher profits, transnationals can send jobs abroad — to Taiwan, northern Mexico, South Korea — or create substandard jobs in its nooks and crannies, where workers have no protection. The idea that employer sanctions would "save jobs for Americans" and stem the flow of illegal migration was unfounded.

Yet the precarious political balance of legalization and employer sanctions allowed a bad law to pass. Growers, the most notorious employers of undocumented labor, lobbied hard and got to have their cake and eat it too. Employer sanctions were not implemented in the fields until last December, and several programs make it possible for agricultural employers to recruit new legal temporary foreign workers.

The sponsors of IRCA wanted "to regain control of our borders." The ostensible motive for immigration reform was "to protect jobs for Americans," but the old racism and chauvinism of the Nativist movement was at work again. Even the legalization program was reluctantly given, and thus fraught with problems. There is no way of estimating how many applications will be successful and how many will be denied in the end. IRCA became the expression of the fears of people who could not imagine a future pluralistic society.

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Effect of the law

Employer sanctions make IRCA an instrument for *control*. Every employer must check documents that prove authorization to work in the United States for anyone hired after November 1986. The employee and employer must both sign a piece of paper, the I-9 form, attesting to the fact that documents have been presented and the employee has a legal right to work. Failure to ask for documentation or to sign and keep the I-9 form results in fines and even prison terms. False attestation or use of fraudulent documentation by the employee can bring even heavier penalties.

According to a November survey conducted by the General Accounting Office (GAO), which must study the implementation of employer sanctions and report to Congress once a year for three years, a large proportion of all employers — 22% — do not know anything about the law. Half of those who do know are not in compliance before inspection. And, more disturbing, of all employers surveyed by the GAO, 16% are engaged in illegal discriminatory practices as they attempt to comply with the law — for example, refusing to hire legal residents who are not citizens.

The law has effects the GAO research team did not see: loss of jobs, and, more frequently, the acceptance of substandard jobs by many undocumented people. The GAO has the authority to recommend termination of the employer sanctions provisions if they cause "widespread discrimination," but not if they simply oppress undocumented immigrants. The organizations that helped implement the first phase of the legaliza-

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tion program refer to the people not included as "residual population," estimated to number over three million. These people have always lived clandestine lives, but the law has given them a new degree of illegality, and this makes them vulnerable to exploitation. At the same time, the existence of this large group as a labor reserve jeopardizes the interest of poor U.S. workers, who cannot compete with them for substandard wages.

Central American refugees are not recognized as such by the U.S. government, and thus fall under the category, "undocumented worker." IRCA hurts these refugees by destroying their livelihood in the United States when they cannot go home.

Legislators are surprised that people would not choose to go home in spite of such hardship. But the new level of difficulty must be endured, because there are no options. The war in Central America has intensified, and the prospect of economic recovery is farther away than ever. For example, U.S. dollars sent home by Salvadoran refugees are now the third largest source of revenue for the country. The capacity of Salvadoran refugees to contribute to the life of those at home is an element in the political equation.

Mexico is another case. Its crushing foreign debt means no margin of subsistence for poor people and no prospects of growth in the near future. But while U.S. foreign policy wastes opportunities to cooperate in Mexico's economic stability and to help end the war in Central America, the government treats refugees and immigrants — the symptoms of these problems — as a plague to be eradicated.

Rather than causing undocumented immigrants to return home, the net effect of employer sanctions is to trap them in substandard jobs and inhuman living conditions. For my employer, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), an organization working for peace and justice, this is hard to accept.

Resistance to the law

On Nov. 22, 1988, the American Friends Service Committee went to court in opposition to the employer sanctions provisions of the Immigration Reform and Control Act. The AFSC claimed that the law violated its right to the free exercise of religious beliefs. Since Quakers believe in the sanctity of all life and the equality of all human beings, the AFSC as an employer could not engage in discriminatory practices.

Seven individual co-plaintiffs joined the suit, most of them Quakers, and myself, a Catholic. Either as prospective employers or employees, we would not sign a paper designed to exclude people we know and love who happen to be undocumented immigrants and refugees. As I am also an immigrant who left Mexico to get married 21 years ago, the action took on a profound personal significance. But I joined the suit to express a communal rejection of a law that is unfaithful to the vision of the people of the United States. We hope that the court will exempt us from employer and employee obligations under IRCA. We also hope that the law will be publicly debated again, now that we can document its cost in human suffering. The fact that over 25 different religious organizations have joined the suit as friends of the court may give the government and the public pause.

The AFSC has been involved with Mexican farmworkers for three decades, and its Mexico-U.S. Border Program has observed the development of immigration policy reform and the changes in Latin American immigration since 1979. Later on the AFSC started programs in public education and networking on Central American refugee issues, bringing a direct understanding of the region based on AFSC's international programs.

Working with the Border Program, I was part of that history for five years. And I have come to agree with Catholic theologian Henri Nouwen's statement that the spiritual destinies of the United States and Latin America are intimately bound. I see this in the phenomenon of undocumented immigration, in the mystery of people twice rejected who dwell among us.

No solution in sight

Because of employer sanctions, the IRCA is an explosion with aftershocks. Federal policy is designed to eradicate a class of human beings from U.S. society, giving the signal that it is appropriate and good to do so.

The great abstractions of policy have a human face in the Lower Rio Grande Valley, which is the closest point of entry by land for Central Americans. The Valley contains some of the poorest urban areas in the United States. The 1982 Mexican economic recession brought new levels of unemployment to this traditionally Chicano area of rich land and poor people.

In November 1988 the authorities of Cameron County in the Valley asked the Federal government for help. An unprecedented influx of refugees had been arriving in south Texas for the last few weeks, and was straining the area's capacity to provide basic services for them and the Valley's own people. Because of employer sanctions, many more refugees have been forced to file for political asylum, even when the chance of getting it is negligible, since that is the only way of acquiring a temporary work permit. Nicaraguans, already a large proportion of asylum applicants, came in even larger numbers after Hurricane Joan. The Harlingen office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service was swamped, and so were the poorly funded projects for free legal representation.

On Dec. 12, INS Commissioner Alan Nelson promised to send more adjudicators to Miami, Los Angeles and Harlingen in the Valley to expedite the proc-

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essing of political asylum applications and proceed with deportations when necessary. Most asylum applicants from Central America know that they are simply "buying time" — three or four years — before their petition is denied. Nelson's decision could reduce this period to 30 days. On Dec. 15 Nelson made "an administrative decision," banning refugees from traveling outside the Lower Rio Grande Valley, prohibiting filing for asylum in a place other than their point of entry, and denying them work authorization. The goals of this policy, according to the INS, were to deal with scores of frivolous applications, restrict travel to Miami and Los Angeles, and discourage new migration.

In a matter of days thousands of refugees found themselves stranded, crowding cheap motels, camping outside a local shelter or in a condemned building with neither electricity nor plumbing. These were very cold, damp days. Many children were sick with respiratory infections. And most of the refugees faced deportation within 30 days after a routine application for asylum. While there were heroic gestures of welcoming on the part of the community, even those favorably disposed towards the refugees felt angry and powerless. Many people saw the Central Americans as a potential criminal threat and a health hazard.

On Jan. 6 a lawsuit was filed on behalf of the immigrants, resulting in a temporary restraining order, later extended until Jan. 31. On the same day the chief of the local Border Patrol announced that the number of arrests of undocumented border crossers *had not* diminished under the new policy.

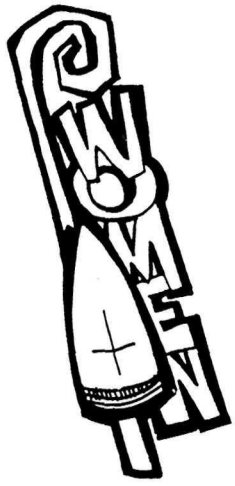
Meanwhile, the exodus of people from the Valley was felt in Miami and Los Angeles. In Miami, refugees had to vacate a baseball stadium they had been living in so that spring training could begin. The community remembered the mass arrival of Cubans in the Mariel boatlift eight years ago. On Jan. 13, Florida Senator Bob Graham wrote to President Reagan: "Florida has suffered enough. We've been strained to the breaking point by crisis immigration." Miami officials asked for Federal aid "to seal the borders." In mid-January, amidst riots in the Black neighborhoods of Overtown and Liberty City, Black leaders expressed resentment towards the preferential treatment of Nicaraguans and other Latinos.

Late in December, the Border Patrol in California announced the use of Dutch-trained dogs to detect concealed immigrants at border crossings. Makeshift labor camps in California's North County were bulldozed, even though most dwellers were newly legalized immigrants and had no place to go. A local resident expressed the feelings of the community about the camp population, mostly Mexicans: "They're bush people . . . they don't know how to flush a toilet, they don't know how to take showers. They are animals." On Jan. 25 the news broke that the Immigration Service planned to dig a four-mile ditch in the Otay Mesa area of the California-Mexico border near Tijuana. Defended by the Justice Department as a drainage to benefit Mexico and a deterrent to drug traffic, the ditch was finally acknowledged by local Border Patrol officers to be a means to stop undocumented immigrants.

No easy solution is in sight. Ironically, as long as the war in Central America continues, a harvest of refugees will come to the center of power. As long as communities in Mexico are unable to sustain young life, undocumented workers will follow the steps of other generations going north. As long as the economy of the United States functions in a way that inexhaustible labor reserves can be marginally incorporated, the illegal workers will serve an economic purpose and continue to boost profits.

The fact of the matter is that over three million men, women and children who live in the United States have been declared legally expendable. Over one million of these are refugees from Central America. If the people of the United States cannot see their way through all the dilemmas posed by undocumented migration, they can now see the effects of a law built on injustice. This is why the AFSC went to court.

Taking exceptions to employer sanctions, the AFSC stands with undocumented men, women and children. It affirms their act of migrating as an option for life. TW



Coming up in **THE WITNESS**

April issue

Theological and sociological implications of the Barbara Harris Consecration Feb. 11 in Boston. Featuring:

Li Tim Oi
Rosemary Ruether
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and others . . .

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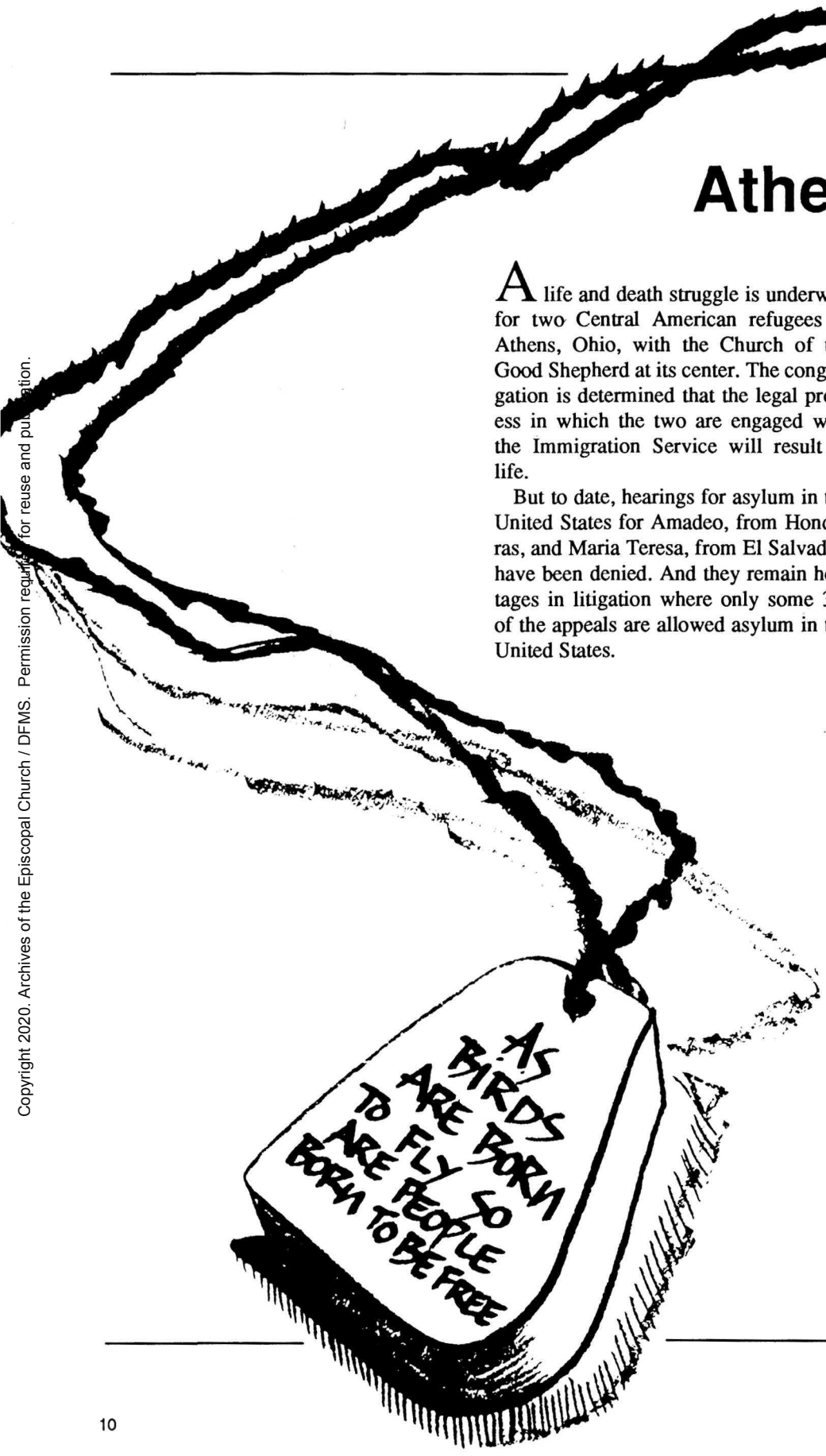
Athens church joins

A life and death struggle is underway for two Central American refugees in Athens, Ohio, with the Church of the Good Shepherd at its center. The congregation is determined that the legal process in which the two are engaged with the Immigration Service will result in life.

But to date, hearings for asylum in the United States for Amadeo, from Honduras, and Maria Teresa, from El Salvador, have been denied. And they remain hostages in litigation where only some 3% of the appeals are allowed asylum in the United States.



"It's a long and tedious process," said the Rev. E. Francis "Mike" Morgan, rector. "The government claims in these cases that they are economic refugees who come to this country for good jobs. But in so many instances, as with Amadeo and Maria, deportation would virtually be a death sentence."

Amadeo was a union organizer in Honduras, where four of his co-workers were killed. The corporation for which he worked was later implicated in the murders by a Catholic radio station there, he said. He fled the country in 1985, fearing assassination. He was an outspoken advocate of land reform, and believes his country is exploited by transnational corporations which plunder it for agricultural cash crops and minerals. Part of his job as a union worker was to push for fair wages. He received the equivalent of $12 for a workday that could last up to 16 hours.

Maria, a skilled seamstress, worked in a pants factory in El Salvador before her sister and brother-in-law were both murdered by death squads because of their opposition to government policies. Eight children survive. Maria was visited afterward by death squads who told her the same thing would happen to her. She fled, leaving a teenage daughter behind.

The two never use their last names for fear of assassins "coming in the night," even in this country, and for fear also of placing their remaining families in jeopardy.

"The Church of the Good Shepherd has become the 'church of record' for

'overground railroad' by Mary Lou Suhor

Amadeo and Maria Teresa, offering food and shelter, since last June," Morgan said. "But we just play a part in an overall ecumenical effort, together with Quakers, Presbyterians, Catholics, etc. in a support group called the Central American Relief Assistance Committee (CARAC)."

"We are not in a 'sanctuary mode' in that Amadeo and Maria Teresa are here legally. However, two bids for asylum before a federal judge in November were not only struck down, but Amadeo was jailed. The judge set an extraordinary $25,000 bond, which we got knocked down to $7,000 by a letter-writing campaign.

"Amadeo was judged an 'unreliable' and 'unbelievable' witness, but he was questioned for three and a half hours, which caused him some confusion about specific dates."

Bob Merlino of CARAC described the INS representatives as hostile. "They more or less played with Maria's testimony, questioning her as to whether she 'asked' those who visited her if they belonged to death squads, for example. And one of them shook his finger at Amadeo and told me to warn him he'd better not try to escape or they would put him behind bars for a long time."

After the hearing, Amadeo was transported to the Boone County Detention Center in handcuffs, and spent the first three days in isolation in a small cell, without shoes or socks, he said. Then he was incarcerated with other inmates.

He described his "recreation" to the *Athens News*. "They would take us to a small viewing room, and one of the videos featured a rape scene where they were raping a girl. Here were 19 and 20-year-olds watching this."

Amadeo told the *News* that he communicated with other prisoners through pantomime and broken English, responding when asked why he was there, "I did not rob anybody, I did not kill anybody. I don't drink and I don't use drugs. I am here because I was defending the rights of the people of Central America."

What is next for Amadeo and Maria?

"Both are now back at the rectory and would love to work, but we can't get them a green card," Morgan said. "We are now trying, as part of CARAC's 'overground railroad,' to arrange asylum in Canada. We have filed forms with the Canadian consulate in Detroit. They have a refugee quota and we're hoping Maria and Amadeo will be accepted, but it's a long wait. The Anglican Church in Canada has been helpful in giving us a number of references. They work ecumenically in this effort as well.

"The adjudication is under appeal, but we've been told that there is no way, realistically, that the cases can be won. It is simply a device to buy time to avoid deportation and get them to Canada. Of course, they feel their lives are still threatened and they remain fearful."

Meanwhile, the Church of the Good Shepherd continues to work and pray that the ongoing life and death drama will end opting for life.

Las Calabazas

The foot of the refugee woman,
Maria Teresa
bobs up and down,
up and down stiffly.
Her right leg crossed
over her left, she sits
with a face shuttered tight
in our living room chair
through the long introductions.
I bring lemonade.
With the glasses are gourds
sawed in half to hold nuts.
She bursts into flower
crying, "*Las calabazas!*"
Her words tumble over
each other, "In Salvador
always we use them,
these gourds, for the spoon,
for the drinking.
I know them, these little ones,
know them so well!"
The talk turns to politics,
factions, maneuvers . . .
Maria Teresa fades out,
shuts her eyes, strokes
the bowl of a gourd
like the head of a child.
It burns in my brain
how her hand scooping beans,
dipping water for rebels
at nightfall was bound
to be lopped off,
be dropped in a ditch
with the rest of her parts
by a death squad that drives
an American jeep
if she hadn't escaped.
How our haven, our handshakes
no matter how warm,
can't compare to the steel
of that fact, to this
feel of a gourd
this touch of home ground.

Helen Horn

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Raising Lazarus: Can liberal

Can liberal churches grow?

Statistics say no. In the past 15 years, membership in six major liberal denominations in the United States plummeted by 14% to 20 million, while membership in seven major conservative denominations climbed a whopping 44% to 22 million.

Liberal experts say no, too. At Pacific School of Religion (PSR), one of the nation's most liberal seminaries, a professor burst into laughter when we said we wanted to attend a seminar at the conservative Crystal Cathedral as part of an independent study on church growth. The message we got from PSR faculty as well as students was that while Christians should reach out to meet the needs of all people, church growth smacks of forcing our ideas on others — a liberal no-no. We were blocked by the assumption, largely shared by liberals and conservatives alike, that church growth and social justice are mutually exclusive. An unspoken factor was fear: fear of change, fear of failure, fear of success.

But after a semester of engaging the question, "Can liberal churches grow?" we say yes. It's happening at our church through techniques we culled from evangelical churches. Raising the declining membership of liberal churches may require a miracle on the order of Jesus raising Lazarus from the dead, but it will surely happen if we follow God and our convictions with passion.

We — a gay man and a lesbian — serve as pastor and student intern in the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Community Churches (UFMCC), a denomination ministering primarily to the lesbian and gay community. Our congregation, Metropolitan Community Church of San Francisco (MCC-SF) is located in the heart of San Francisco's largest lesbian and gay neighborhood.

MCC-SF is a non-creedal eucharistic church that uses inclusive language in every aspect of worship. We have a communally-written statement of purpose, which says in part, "While recognizing our connection to the historical Christian church, we believe we are a *new* witness to God's all-inclusive love and acceptance . . . Our vision is that the world will be unified through acceptance and celebration of human diversity." Our church's theology resembles that of many mainline Protestant traditions, influenced by feminist and liberation theologies. However, the worship is characterized by an evangelical fervor seldom found in those churches. At the same service where the sermon decries the sin of sexism, people raise their hands in the air while ecstatically singing choruses usually heard only in charismatic churches. Our congregation strikes a balance rare within our denomination; UFMCC congregations commonly embrace a strict evangelical model, inhibiting their ability to appeal to the unchurched or post-churched. No liberal Protestant church in the surrounding area is larger — yet with a Sunday attendance of about 300, our church is by many standards only medium-sized.

UFMCC developed and grew from a handful of churches to over 250 congregations between 1970-85, the same period in which many denominations traditionally termed moderate or liberal suffered a decline in membership. For example, *The 1987 Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches* recorded, among others, the following declines: the Presbyterian Church USA lost 24%; the Episcopal Church, 16%; and the United Methodist Church, 11%. If stock in corporations declined this significantly, those companies would be in danger of insolvency. During the same period, theologically and politically conservative churches made enormous gains: the Assemblies of God increased 233%; the Mormon church, 86%. This looks like the place to invest! Membership statistics don't tell everything, but if they are an indicator of an organization's future viability, liberal churches may turn out to be the dinosaurs of the 21st century.

While other churches may postpone facing this fate, various seemingly contradictory factors compel us to consider church growth. Every Sunday we see at least 10 "first-timers" at our worship — our small sanctuary was becoming uncomfortably full at the morning service. We also have had a unique incentive in recent years: a majority of the men in our congregation are infected with the AIDS virus. While we are attracting newcomers, many members and friends have died, and more will in the foreseeable future. This attrition could make it difficult to provide the same level of care we have in the past. We are left with no choice but to master the principles of growth, although growth means change, a daunting prospect in a church already relentlessly racked by grief. A line from the regular closing hymn of

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churches grow? by Kittredge Cherry & James Mitulski

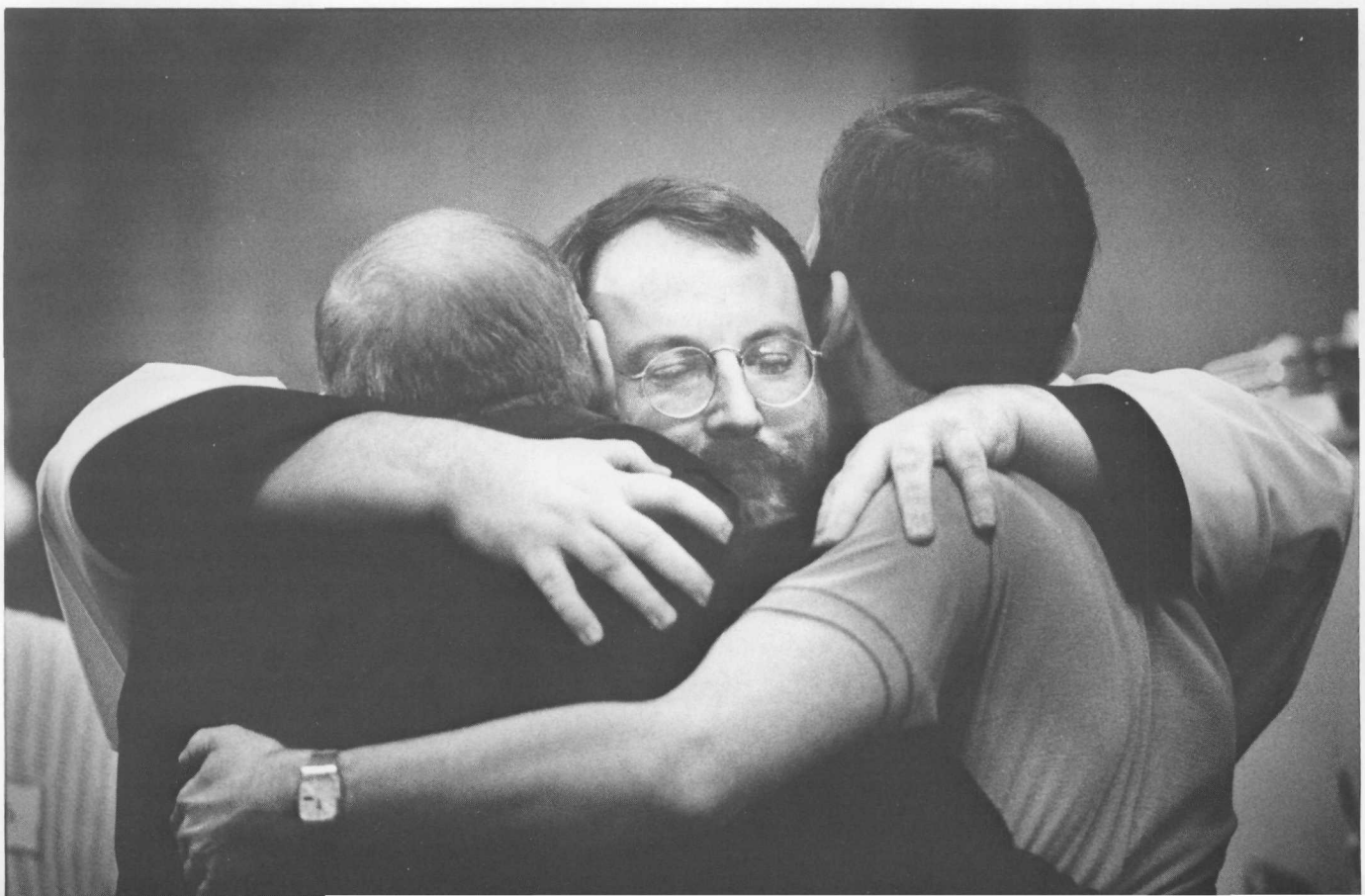
our evening service could become a plea to prevent growth, if addressed to the church rather than to God:

Change and decay in all around I see/ O Thou who changest not, abide with me.

Before we could begin implementing specific church growth techniques, we had to go through a process of theological reflection. Our first idea of where to begin this process was seminary. Since we both attend PSR, we looked through its course catalogue — and found nothing. It seems that only conservative seminaries teach church growth. Fuller Theological Seminary, America's premier conservative seminary, was one of the first to offer courses, and now a Doctor of Ministry degree, in church growth. Similarly, only conservative denominations sponsor church growth workshops. Of these, the most liberal we found was Robert H. Schuller's Institute for Successful Church Leadership at the Crystal Cathedral in Garden Grove, Cal. It also welcomes members of UFMCC; lesbian and gay couples receive the same discount as married heterosexuals. Schuller built this 10,000 member congregation of the Reformed Church of America from nothing in 1955 by borrowing successful secular ideas to create what he terms "a dynamic shopping center for Jesus," an idea that strikes liberals as nontheology. Despite the difficulty of getting the faculty of a liberal seminary to take church growth seriously, we finally convinced a professor to sponsor our independent study. We also found three other like-minded students, including one from West Germany.

Our first major class activity was attending Schuller's three-day institute. We learned much, especially about the importance and methods of outreach, but as liberals in a conservative context we had to filter out most ideas and translate the rest. For example, Schuller became passionate about his "possibility thinking" in a debate with the Rev. Robert Pierce (MCC pastor from Florida) during the question-and-answer period: "Believe in the possibility of enjoying heterosexual sex! Heterosexuality has

The Rev. Jim Mitulski embraces parishioners during a service at MCC-SF.



Tom Levy/San Francisco Chronicle

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more possibilities than homosexuality, because there's the possibility of children and that holds the possibility of Thanksgiving dinner when the kids come home." However, we hadn't come to receive Schuller's blessing on homosexuality, but to learn about church growth.

While we perceived the church growth institute as painfully conservative, we also discovered there are those who recoil at its liberalism. "For the most part, church growth-ers are seen as the liberals in my denomination," said the Rev. Alan Breems, pastor of a Christian Reformed church in Michigan. He explained the conservative opposition to growth comes from his church's ethnic background and strong covenantal theology, and, his wife Beth added, "The belief that the church is there to take care of *us*." Thus, church growth is seen as conservative by liberals, liberal by conservatives. They share a common fear that reaching out to more people will compromise their theology.

Ultimately, we looked beyond the conservatism and allowed the Crystal Cathedral to be our catalyst. Schuller's message was that churches grow by reaching the unchurched, which can only happen by meeting their needs. Just as he urged his more conventional church colleagues to re-examine the anachronistic character of their churches' program and worship life, we, too, went away asking ourselves if our church was interesting and accessible to new people, or to those who have been hurt by Christianity and its abuses. Schuller quoted surveys showing that the main reason Americans don't attend church is because it is "boring." He asked if people must grow up in our church in order to understand it. Nobody has grown up in MCC, since it's only 20 years old, and it has an interdenominational flavor. Maybe this is a reason we're growing. Schuller went so far as to criticize the concept of denominational identity as meaningless to the unchurched.

The institute also prompted us to wonder what impact would growth have on our church? Would it dilute our commitment to progressive causes — or to God? The issues raised even caused dissention among the six members of MCC-SF who attended. We became a microcosm of the liberal Protestant establishment, arguing about the value of the conference one night over a spaghetti dinner. The pastor, concerned for the future of the institution, debated with a student intern who wanted to maintain institutional integrity and ethics. These dialogues, and even the tension, proved to be one of the greatest resources for clarifying our values.

We continued to ponder such contradictions in our class at PSR. The question came into sharp focus through Ludwig Moeller, the student from West Germany. Church growth is somewhat suspect there because it smacks of catering to vulgar public tastes. People ordained by state-approved churches such as Moeller's are guaranteed jobs, no matter what the size of their congregations, leaving little incentive for church growth plans. German parish membership is often large, since citizens are ordinarily assigned to a church. But national attendance is much lower than in America and shrinking. Against this backdrop, we saw clearly how U.S. churches fit into American capitalism, with entrepreneur-pastors forced to build congregations so their salaries can keep up with inflation. Being paid directly by the congregation keeps pastors in touch with the people, but it may also keep their mouths shut on controversial issues.

We also consulted a number of written resources. Predictably, the seminary library contained scant material on church growth. Schuller's book, *Your Church has a Fantastic Future*, succinctly summarizes his philosophy: A church with a positive attitude will achieve positive growth. His advice on preaching, "never be controversial in the pulpit," flies in the face of liberal tradition. He prescribes sermons on self-esteem in place of sermons on social justice.

A speaker at the Schuller institute, C. Peter Wagner, professor of church growth at Fuller, articulates a theory of growth based on traditional evangelical values in his book, *Your Church Can Grow: Seven Vital Signs of a Healthy Church*. But two of Wagner's assertions should distress the liberal reader. The first is the "homogeneous principle." He writes, "a healthy, growing church . . . is composed of basically one kind of people." He quotes Donald McGavran's *Understanding Church Growth*: "People like to become Christians without crossing racial, linguistic, or class barriers." This observation generally makes even the most liberal Christian into a prooftexter — we cry, "What about Galatians 3:28?" Yet while UFMCC membership is diverse in religious background and, to a lesser degree, race and social class, we share a common sexual orientation and marginalization by the dominant culture. As appalling as Wagner's theory on homogeneity is, it accurately describes both liberal and conservative churches.

On the other hand, Wagner's second assertion is less accurate. He separates social service — i.e., feeding the poor — from social action, "the more radical demand to change the structures of society so that the poor and oppressed will get a fairer share of the social pie." He concludes, "To the degree that socially involved churches become engaged in social action, as distinguished from social services, they can expect church growth to diminish." But what about ul-

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tra-conservative Jerry Falwell's Baptist church in Lynchburg, Va. at one end of the political spectrum, or ultra-liberal F. Forrester Church's Unitarian congregation in New York City at the other extreme? Both are lively, politically active, growing churches. Our study group agreed that we don't need to outgrow social action. It is an important mission of the church, a component that we must maintain as we grow.

Here are a few of our specific strategies. Some were refined at the Crystal Cathedral; some originated there. We found that consistency in applying these has paid off:

1. We expanded our Sunday worship schedule to three services, each with a different character. This challenges our congregation to affirm differing tastes in worship while we continue to espouse the same statement of purpose. Rather than dividing our congregation, this change enriches us; we have more liturgical worship in the morning and more evangelical in the evening. We sustain our commitment to lay participation amidst differing styles.

2. We expanded our program life. We hired several part-time staff members to develop programs. Concerned about the underrepresentation of women in our congregation, we funded a women's program coordinator. Our response to the AIDS crisis included a weekend retreat for 100 men. Recognizing the specific needs of these constituencies has kept us one church, in defiance of Wagner's homogeneity principles. When we overcame our distaste for Schuller's "church as shopping mall" metaphor, this diversification proved successful.

3. We expanded use of our building by making it available to over 70 groups which now use it regularly. As the emerging community center in the Castro neighborhood, we find the unchurched turning to us in increasing numbers for life-cycle ceremonies such as baptisms, weddings and funerals.

4. We appropriated state-of-the-art techniques from the secular world. We purchased a computer, and our use of desktop publishing and financial development software enabled the most successful stewardship campaign in the church's 18-year history. We also retained a professional fundraiser to help us expand our donor base and launch a capital fund drive for a new building.

5. We appropriated some marketing tips suggested by Schuller. Working with the assumption that most people aren't aware of us, we expanded our advertising in gay and lesbian publications, listed ourselves in several places in the white pages, redesigned our church bulletin with the first-timer in mind, and produced a monthly newsletter that we send to over 1500 supporters.

By consulting our resources, dissecting them in our study group, and trying them out at MCC-SF, we became convinced adherence to our values and our God will ensure growth. It will keep our churches from being boring, the main reason Americans avoid church.

Many liberals lament that their congregations were reduced when they adopted inclusive language and women's ordination. We suggest they haven't gone far enough: They may have made sufficient changes to alienate some members, but not enough to reach the unchurched and therefore to grow. For example, churches effectively limit who can be members when they limit who can be ministers. The United Methodists and other denominations recently affirmed rules against ordaining lesbians and gay men, causing a surge of interest in UFMCC as their members flee. Churches won't grow unless they are not only for members, but also for the unchurched — or, as we find, the post-churched who come with suspicion bred in other churches. We must sometimes take unpopular stands to embody Christian ideals, but liberal U.S. churches aren't shrinking because of activism. Far from being too prophetic, we seem pathetic in our unwillingness to stand for anything.

Making liberal churches grow, like the raising of Lazarus, requires an infusion of holy spirit. Our reproach to liberal churches echoes the words of Mary, Lazarus' sister: "If Jesus had been there, my brother would not have died." While disagreeing with conservative values, we admire the fervent personal connection with God that attracts so many new members to these growing denominations. We fear that our liberal churches lose identity — and then members — when we ignore spirituality to concentrate on improving human relations and institutions according to our values.

Our recommendations to the rest of the liberal Christian community are:

- Swallow your pride and approach evangelical church sources with an open mind.
- Make church growth a topic of discussion in liberal contexts: as a course in seminaries and a theme of denominational and inter-denominational conferences.
- In your church's worship and program life, stay close to the heart issues of your congregation.
- Believe you have a valuable message. And if you don't have one, get one!

We believe strongly in the mission of the churches: to enable people's connections with God and each other. Together, these relationships can bond us into radicalizing institutions that can embody God's passion for justice. If we face our fears, stick to our values, and love God with all our hearts, liberal churches will grow. We need to rekindle our hope in miracles. One miracle involved may be our resourcefulness in applying the community organizing skills gleaned from evangelical churches as well as the feminist, gay liberation, civil rights and labor movements. To paraphrase Schuller, liberal churches have a fantastic future. TW

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The encounter of world religions

by Owen Thomas

World community is not just a nice ideal to which we ought to give lip service. Rather it is an absolute necessity for human survival. Any local strife, whether in the Middle East, Africa, Asia or Latin America, can escalate into an East-West conflict with the terrible danger of nuclear war and the annihilation of human life on earth. So we live in a society which desperately seeks some measure of world community in order to survive.

The political aspect of the search for world community has claimed the most attention. But ecological issues are not far behind. Ever since the Club of Rome, an international association dedicated to promoting global understanding of political and economic forces, issued its original report in 1972, we have known of the danger of social breakdown as a result of the interaction of five factors: rapid population growth, widespread malnutrition, accelerating industrialization, pollution of the environment and depletion of non-renewable resources. When combined with the political problems of achieving progress on these issues and avoiding nuclear war, the human prospect is dark indeed.

In the face of these huge, intractable problems, the question of relations between the religions of the world seems fairly simple and not very important; certainly little attention is devoted to it at the highest level of government.

The problem is usually looked at in this way: Religion is understood to be

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Owen Thomas is Professor of Theology at the Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass., and author of *Attitudes Towards Other Religions* (University Press of America, 1986). This article is adapted from an address given at Cornell University.

only a by-product of culture, a symbolic projection of the values and ideals of a particular culture or group. So religious differences are simply a minor aspect of cultural differences, and they will tend to disappear as science and technology continue to produce an effectively universal civilization based on industrial production and rapid communication.

Furthermore, religion is understood as an entirely private, individual matter. Therefore we can get on with reducing international tensions and promoting economic development and technical advance without muddying the waters with such extraneous issues as religious differences.

This, however, is a typically secular Western view of the relationship between religion and culture. And it appears to Asians and Africans simply to be another example of Western arrogance and cultural imperialism which they have come to detest. They see religion as integrally related to and inseparable from all aspects of life — as the foundation of their culture. Religious beliefs about nature, humanity, society, history, and the divine determine their views of the family, the state, the economic order, and so forth. Furthermore, the peoples of Africa and Asia are not willing to discard religious beliefs to get on with other matters. They see their new independence as an opportunity to reaffirm and revitalize religious traditions as the basis of national and cultural integrity.

Secular Westerners often assume that the age of holy wars is long past. But the 20th century has seen too much bloodshed and war in which religious differences have been a fundamental factor: the partition of India in 1947 and continuing strife between Sikhs and Hindus and Muslims; wars in the Middle East, not to mention conflict in Northern Ireland and other areas. Moreover, there is a widespread conservative revival among world religions today. Witness the rise of Shiite Islamic fundamentalism in Iran and other Middle Eastern countries, the increasing strength of the Orthodox Jewish parties in Israel, and the emergence of the conservative Protestant New Right as a political force in this country.

It is becoming clear that the problem of relations between religions of the world is a decisive factor in the quest for world community and peace.

In this context, how should we understand the relation between the great religions of the world? In particular, how should we understand the relationship of Christianity to other religions? How do we believe God is related to other religions? Are they part of the divine plan? These issues are receiving increased attention today. Programs in religious studies at colleges and universities are experiencing increased enrollments as young people address themselves to these questions.

There are various Christian attitudes toward other religions, some traditional, some new.

First, there is the attitude that Christianity is the truth and other religions are false. There is some basis in the Bible for this view. According to the prophets of Israel, the religions of the nations are idolatry, the worship of false gods. The Christ of St. John states, "I am the way, the truth, and the life; no one comes to the Father but by me." Peter in a sermon in Acts states, "There is salvation in no one else, for there is no name under heaven given among men by which we must be saved."

This was a common view in the history of the church. Luther strongly affirmed it, and it has been reasserted in our century by Karl Barth and by many conservative theologians. The obvious difficulty with this view is that some other religions share some beliefs with Christianity. Judaism and Islam, for example, assert the reality of a personal creator God. So it is difficult to see how they can be false.

A view at the other end of the spectrum from the True-False view states, "You can't say that one religion is better than another." This is relativism, one of the most deeply ingrained modern attitudes towards religion. Its popular form claims that all religions are equally true. This is sometimes expanded to assert that any religion which denies that all religions are equally true is guilty of falsehood, thus paraphrasing songwriter Tom Lehrer's assertion: "I hate people who don't love each other!"

The difficulty with this concept is of course that various religions hold views of reality that are sharply different, if not contradictory, and thus could in no sense be equally true. More sophisticated versions of relativism hold that each religion is relative to its own culture, and is the most appropriate expression of the values of its culture. It claims we cannot know the absolute truth, but only the truth for us. We may believe that Christianity is true for us, but cannot go on to assert that it is true for all people. Relativism can also be interpreted to mean that different religions are simply different paths up the same mountain, and that all reach the same goal.

A third view often presented is that all religions have the same essence. The intrinsic nature of religion is hidden under all the multiplicity of outward forms that make them seem so different. This essence of religion may be a matter of doctrine or teaching, moral conviction or imperative, or a particular kind of experience. A popular form of this view is that the essence of all religions is mysticism, the perennial philosophy exemplified by Neoplatonism in the West and Vedanta in the East.

Another version of this view holds that while other religions embody the essence of religion in varying degrees of perfection, Christianity constitutes the purest and fullest manifestation. The main difficulty with this view is that

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study has shown that there is no such identical essence in every religion.

A fourth approach to relations between religions is called synthesis, the view that each religion contains some part of the whole truth, and that all these fragments combined will produce the true religion. For example, Bahai, a religious movement with roots in 19th-century Iranian Islam, claims to be a synthesis of the teaching of all the great religious leaders of the world.

The difficulty with this approach is that every synthesis is constituted from one religion's point of view: in the case of Bahai, it is Islamic mysticism. But the various religions apparently affirm contradictory things about the nature of reality and thus cannot be synthesized into one coherent world view.

Another attitude, quite popular in the last century but not so widely held today, sees the history of religion as a progressive evolution from lower to higher forms with Christianity being the highest stage of development. Christianity is seen as the fulfillment of other religions, such as Judaism, based on Jesus' words, "I came not to abolish the law and the prophets but to fulfill them."

The difficulty with this view is that the history of religions does not indicate any such development, nor does it suggest that the deepest insights of Hinduism, for example, are fulfilled in Christianity.

A more biblical version of this development/fulfillment approach, the dominant view among Roman Catholics, asserts that in all of human history God is working out the divine plan of salvation for all people. However, the revelation in Christ is the final truth which other religions perceive less clearly and mixed with error. This is the view developed by Karl Rahner and Hans Küng and enunciated in the documents of the Second Vatican Council.

This concept seems again to overlook radical differences between religions. It is hard to see how religions with such diverse interpretations of human fulfillment can be interpreted as different ways to the same ultimate salvation.

A current debate on the attitude towards other religions centers on the uniqueness of Christ. The most recent proposal, the theocentric approach represented by Knitter and Hick, allows for the distinctiveness of Christ but questions the finality and normativity of Christianity.

Finally, there is an attitude which indicates an approach to, rather than a specific understanding of, the relation of Christianity to other religions — an approach called dialogue. This view encourages serious and open dialogue with other religions, giving testimony to our faith, and listening carefully to the witness of others.

To some, the way of dialogue seems to give up the Christian mission to preach the Gospel to all people, to witness to God in Christ. But there is no contradiction between witness and dialogue. Because we Christians believe we have a truth worth sharing, we are able to witness to it. And we can engage in dialogue because we believe our partner is worth listening to. Only those who have heard the testimony of Buddhism, for example, deserve a hearing from Buddhists. In fact, the Christian church has always learned from other religions and is still learning.

The basis of dialogue is that we are all creatures of God, created in the image of God with freedom and responsibility. We are also sinners estranged from God, our neighbors and our true selves, but capable of being redeemed by God. We share a common humanity, needs, fears, hopes — especially a hope for justice and peace, and an end to war, hunger and oppression.

It is impossible to predict what will result from such dialogue. But those who have participated testify that it can be a moving and transforming experience, a way to deeper understanding of their faith, enhanced by new insights from another faith. Thus some hope that through dialogue we may move toward mutual transformation and become closer. It is probably only through dialogue that we will perceive the best way to understand the relationship between Christianity and other religions.

The urgency of the international political situation means we cannot wait for dialogue to ease tensions deriving from religious differences. However, if Jews, Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, and Christians can sit down and talk together, it could lead to a relaxation of tensions threatening the existence of life on earth. TW

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Short Takes

Pluralism the rule

Other religious traditions have recovered from their colonial subjugations and are now presenting themselves as universal alternatives to the Christian faith . . . These religious traditions have made so many inroads into even the "Christian" West that religious pluralism has become a reality in almost every society. Today there are more Muslims in France than there are Reformed Christians, and more Muslims in Britain than Methodists. Religions are no longer in far-off lands. Further, the minority churches that live in the midst of other faith communities are under much pressure to rethink their own attitudes and relationships with their neighbors. They are becoming more and more convinced that they must seek and build truly human communities with them. They are convinced that they can no longer find answers to the problems of life all by themselves. For good or for ill, a large number of communities will need to come together in order to work for common goals and achieve tangible results . . . There is a developing discovery of the riches of other faiths.

S. Wesley Ariarajah
The Bible and People of Other Faiths
Orbis 1989

Quote of note

People who talk about themselves are bores. People who talk about others are gossips. But people who talk about you are interesting conversationalists.

Singer Lisa Kirk

Share the wealth

What we give to the poor
for Christ's sake
is what we carry with us
when we die.
As Jean Jacques Rousseau says:
"When we die
we carry
in our clutched hands
only that
which we have given away."

Peter Maurin
The Catholic Worker

A dollar of hope

When Mikhail Roshchevsky was 10-years-old, he was evacuated during World War II with his brother, mother and grandfather to the city of Tumin in the Ural Mountains. Wartime destruction had left his home area in the Soviet Union in shambles; his father had been wounded while serving in the Army.

After three years of hardship, the people of Tumin learned that American relief supplies had arrived. Mikhail received some canned food, his friend a pair of pants. When his friend reached into the pocket he found a crumpled dollar bill. Mikhail offered to trade a can of food for it. What his friend deemed a useless piece of paper, Mikhail saw as "a dollar of hope."

Recently Roshchevsky, now a professor of physiology with the Academy of Sciences in Syktyvkar, visited All Saints Church, Pasadena, with three other Soviets, all members of the Soviet Peace Committee, as part of a friendship program.

Stepping to a microphone, he pulled out the 1935 Silver Certificate which he had saved all these years. He promised himself, he said, that someday he would travel to the United States and return it.

Before a deeply moved audience he presented the bill to the Rev. Hans Holborn, (left, above) chair of the Southern California Chapter of the US-USSR Citizens Dialogue.

— Marilee Embree

NOW March set April 9

THE WITNESS magazine will be among sponsoring entities for NOW's March for Women's Equality/Women's Lives April 9 in Washington, D.C. beginning at 10 a.m.

Purpose of the march will be to show overwhelming support for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and to keep abortion and birth control safe and legal.

Attacks launched recently against *Roe v. Wade* would seriously hinder the kinds of reproductive health options available to poor women and women of color.

Participants are urged to wear white, in the tradition of the Suffragists. While THE WITNESS will not sponsor a delegation as such, readers are asked to march with their local delegations.

In addition, April 10 has been scheduled as a Lobby Day for the ERA and against anti-abortion amendments. For further information: National Now Action Center, 1000 Sixteenth St. NW, Suite 700, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Tax resistance time

Income tax is not the only way the government raises money for war making. The first telephone tax was imposed by the War Tax Revenue Act of 1914. In 1965, Congress planned to phase out the phone tax. With the escalation of the Vietnam war, however, the tax was raised and extended. Again in 1982, rather than phasing out the tax as planned, Congress extended it to help finance the massive Pentagon buildup.

Synapses Messages 1/89

More bad news

For the average working American, the wages of one working day out of ten goes to finance the military.

If you would like information about war tax resistance, a nationwide network of tax resisters, counselors, support groups are available to help you. For information on telephone tax resistance or other efforts, contact the National War Tax Resistance Coordinating committee, P. O. Box 85810, Seattle, WA 98145 (206-522-4377).

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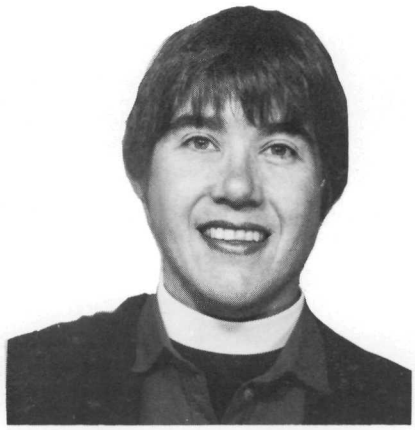
Feminist missionary in Canterbury's court

by Susan E. Pierce

When the Rev. Suzanne A. Fageol was a missionary in the West African nation of Liberia, she lived through several coup attempts. Now, as a missionary in England, she is engaged in a spiritual and moral battle with the Church of England where the weapons are legal briefs instead of bullets. The Church of England does not ordain women to the priesthood and does not permit foreign women priests to celebrate the Eucharist. However, as the pastor of St. Hilda's Community, a London-based group started two years ago by Anglican men and women who wanted non-sexist, inclusive worship, Fageol has openly defied that ban.

Fageol, a U.S. priest canonically resident in the Diocese of Chicago, recently in Boston to attend the consecration of the Rt. Rev. Barbara Harris, the Anglican Communion's first woman bishop, talked about how she came to England and how her St. Hilda's Community ministry has been at the center of the conflict over women's rights in the British church.

Raised in the U.S. Virgin Islands, Fageol graduated from the University of Vermont in 1971. She did missionary work in Malawi in East Africa, then returned to the United States and got a Master's in Divinity degree from Seabury Western Theological Seminary in 1979. She left her home diocese of Chicago, which did not then ordain women, and prepared for ordination under Diocese of Newark Bishop John S. Spong. She was ordained a priest in 1980 by Bishop Leland Stark at her parish in Chicago and returned to the Virgin Islands to work. "But I was longing to go back to Africa," Fageol said. Her prayer



The Rev. Suzanne A. Fageol

was soon answered with a phone call from mentor Spong. "Bishop George Brown of Liberia had a dream that he should bring a woman priest there. He asked Bishop Spong to recommend someone, and he called me. I was on the next plane out," said Fageol.

When she arrived in Liberia in 1982, she said Brown told her, "I have hired you as the first woman priest in Africa." Later that year, the first native African woman priest was ordained in Kenya. Fageol first was on the cathedral staff, and then went to Cuttington College, — which was founded, as was Liberia itself, in the last century by African-Americans freed from slavery. As chaplain, she supervised the school's training program for the priesthood. She smiled at the memory: "It was a good thing I had my textbooks."

Other memories of Liberia were less pleasant. Since the 1980 coup in which an army sergeant, Samuel K. Doe, seized power, the country has been rocked by periodic unrest. During one such time, Fageol was hiding 40 women in her house on the college grounds. "When the soldiers came on campus, they headed straight for the women's dorm. I was terrified they'd search my house and the women were so scared they couldn't keep quiet."

After three years in Liberia, the bishop urged her to go for a doctorate in African Christianity. "The best place to do that was England. When I arrived in 1984, I realized my mission there very soon," Fageol said, sensing from the start the subtle oppression of women in British society.

Enrolled at the University of Aberdeen, Fageol found herself suffering from culture shock. "I grew up in the Caribbean. Africa was home to me. England was foreign."

When asked if she brought anything from her African experience to her ministry in England, she looked thoughtful. "They required two very different approaches. For example, in Liberia, not being African and coming in at the end of the missionary era, I had a certain amount of privilege, but I would have never presumed to make any feminist statements.

"But in England, a Western culture, I feel more confident about raising feminist issues," said Fageol, noting that many U.S. clergywomen who come to England shy away from causing controversy by openly celebrating Eucharist. Her willingness to take risks, she feels, makes an important pastoral statement: "A lot of people here are happy there's someone like me; they say it's like having an oasis in the desert," she said.

Fageol feels that Barbara Harris' consecration sparked the conflict at St. Hilda's that became a media event.

The trouble started last fall when the

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Diocese of London decided to move against the Community. For at least a year, Fageol had been celebrating Holy Communion for Community worship services in the ecumenical St. Benet's Chapel at Queen Mary College in East London, with the college chaplain's permission. However, though the chapel is used by Anglicans, Methodists and Roman Catholics, the owner of the building is the London Diocesan Fund. Reportedly, under the Church of England's Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Measure of 1963, it is an actionable offense to use any unauthorized form of service. Under that law, it would be illegal for a woman priest to celebrate Eucharist on consecrated ground, because at present no English bishop has authority to license women to officiate as priests of the Church of England.

In October, a law firm representing the Diocese sent a letter to members of the Community stating that if they did not stop holding services in St. Benet's, they would be sued for trespassing. Fageol found the Diocese's timing interesting, because, she said, the services had been taking place for quite some time.

"In 1986, the General Synod voted not to allow visiting women priests to fully exercise their ministry. So St. Hilda's was the culmination of a long history of women wanting to openly celebrate Eucharist. It's been done, but in secret, behind closed doors. We decided we'd had enough — we wanted a place to offer ordained women hospitality and where people could worship with an inclusive language liturgy," said Fageol.

She got involved in the Community when "they asked me to act as their priest. At first, there was no Eucharist. We spent time getting to know each other."

The Community had its first Eucharist led by Fageol in 1987, and advertised services openly in *The Church Times*, the national church paper. Bishop of London Graham Leonard found out about the services taking place at St. Benet's and threatened to fire the Anglican chaplain. Leonard withdrew the threat when the Community agreed to worship in the common room next to the chapel.

The exodus from the chapel, Fageol said, made a strong statement. "There was one candle left burning inside, and all the women were gathered outside. 80 men and women showed up for that service, and word started to get out," she said.

Worship continued in the common room without incident, said Fageol, until one October morning, "out of the blue, in the *London Sunday Times* was a big headline: 'Woman priest defies bishop'." She felt that Church of England conservatives, worried by the July Synod's cautiously positive pronouncement on women's ordination and the September U.S. election of Barbara Harris as bishop, were putting pressure on Bishop Leonard to stop St. Hilda's activities.

The letter from the Diocese's lawyers soon followed, claiming that the chapel and common room were church property and off-limits to the Community. However, said Fageol, the Community made a consensus decision to return the following Sunday. Consequently, Fageol received a letter from Leonard ordering her to cease her activities. It became apparent that returning to the college could leave Fageol and the Community open to prosecution. So, said Fageol, "we had a parking lot Eucharist." On Oct. 29, in the dark and near-freezing temperatures, the Community held services in a parking lot outside the chapel.

"We had international press coverage, and a huge crowd showed up," said Fageol.

According to founding Community member and noted theologian Monica Furlong, it gave a whole new meaning to worship. "Going to church has never been so exciting," she said.

After their eviction, the Community has found a home in a Methodist church. As St. Hilda's continues to grow, Fageol has found she is called to a full-time ministry. "There are groups all over England that want to start something like St. Hilda's, but they need help," said Fageol. To that end, she used her time during her most recent U.S. trip to find support for her feminist missionary work in England.

Marge Christie, president of the Episcopal Women's Caucus, said the Caucus will give whatever assistance it can and is actively seeking donations to fund Fageol's work in England. Sally Bucklee, Caucus board member and one of the planners of the Women's Witnessing Community at Lambeth, said "Supporting our sisters in other places is a vital part of networking."

Money raised in the United States, said Fageol, will help further the work of St. Hilda's and permit the publication and distribution of inclusive language liturgies and feminist worship models through groups such as Women in Theology, a national network devoted to developing feminist theological training.

None of the furor surrounding Fageol, not even the threat of prosecution under ecclesiastical and civil law in England, has swayed her conviction. She has even decided to suspend her doctoral studies to devote time to her ministry. She said it was crucial that she and the Community not give up. "It was only because the Philadelphia 11 embarrassed the Episcopal church that the church changed. It's so necessary to keep the pressure on."

Those wishing to make donations to the fund supporting the Rev. Suzanne Fageol's feminist missionary work in England may send them to: The Episcopal Women's Caucus, PO Box 5172, Laurel, MD 20707.

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The cultural crisis in education

by Manning Marable

A central crisis of the White Western world today, especially its educational institutions, is a cultural crisis.

For centuries, White American and Western European educational institutions have established their curricula and educational assumptions upon a series of ethnocentric distortions. Creative, talented Black intellectuals, writers, poets and scientists are traditionally ignored, while the architects of slavery, racism and economic oppression are championed. For example, Aristotle, the father of modern Western philosophy, was also the earliest defender of slavery and the "natural" inferiority of slaves and women. Do the writings of Protestant reformer Martin Luther provide the sole treatment of religion worthy of study — or should we also turn to the thoughts of Martin Luther King, Jr.? Does Thomas More's *Utopia* or the *Leviathan* of Thomas Hobbes tell us more about politics than the writings of Frantz Fanon or C.L.R. James? Can a young Black woman or man better learn about life by reading a White novelist, or by reading Toni Morrison, Alice Walker or Richard Wright? Which writer's work is more relevant to an understanding of humanity: Plato or W.E.B. DuBois?

Dr. Manning Marable, Chairperson of the Department of Black Studies at Ohio State University, is a member of THE WITNESS editorial board. His column, *Along the Color Line*, appears in 140 newspapers

When education reflects the mythology the White West has created for itself, the answers to these questions become obvious. The curriculum in traditionally White, mainstream environments reinforces ethnocentrism and ignorance of nonwhites' cultural and intellectual creativity.

Black and progressive educators have long recognized that the cultural battleground is absolutely decisive in the broader political and economic empowerment of oppressed people. The values taught to our children largely determine their behavior. If a people are not seen as active creators of culture, playing significant roles within history, they will be ignored within our children's textbooks and classes.

In America, our economic system rewards people who possess certain values and styles of behavior, such as aggressiveness, competitiveness, initiative, and individualism. But in their most extreme form, reinforced by the constant quest for dollars, such values deteriorate into greed and materialism. Culture becomes anything which can be marketed for a profit. The media reflects the lowest level of public awareness and political discussion — "trash TV," symbolized by Geraldo Rivera, is the logical result. Sexuality all too often becomes a commodity which can be bought and sold. Religion is marketed by hypocritical televangelists seeking dollars and wealth more than the salvation of souls.

The cultural conflict is waged most intensely in the field of education — especially on college campuses. White, conservative traditionalists are fighting any changes in the Western Civilization courses to ensure that the next generation of young White people is properly indoctrinated in reactionary, racist values. At Stanford University, after two years of bitter debate, the faculty senate voted to overthrow the university's Western civilization course requirement. The new required course includes readings by people of color. Stanford's modest acknowledgement of nonwhite cultures within its curriculum has been denounced by former Education Secretary William J. Bennett, who condemned the university for "trashing the classics" and capitulating to students' demands.

As America becomes increasingly Black, Hispanic and Asian, academic institutions will be pressured to change their curricula to reflect the cultural values and literature of nonwhites. The phasing out of the Western culture program foreshadows a more intense future struggle over faculty and administrative posts, and the entire curriculum as well. As students begin to read DuBois, Baldwin, Hurston, Robeson and others, they will inevitably acquire a critical perspective on racial issues, which assumes a link between scholarship and social reform. TW

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Letters . . . *Continued from page 3*

nese Ministry of Justice recently announced it expects to pardon all fingerprint resisters. According to resister Ronald Susumu Fujiyoshi, a United Church of Christ Japanese-American missionary, there are some 300 fingerprint refusers, including 36 whose cases are in progress in the Japanese judicial system. Fujiyoshi and most others whose court cases are still pending will refuse such a "pardon", expected to be proclaimed before the late Emperor's state funeral.

Fujiyoshi and others are insisting that they have done nothing to be "forgiven" for. It is rather the Emperor and the Ministry of Justice that need to abolish all laws that discriminate against Koreans, other minorities and foreigners. In the meantime a Korean youth who turns 16 still must register, and all Koreans and other foreigners must still carry the registration card with them at all times. As Pierce points out in her article, this is just like South Africa.

The public gesture of "amnesty" by the Ministry of Justice is only a public relations act — an attempt to stop the dissatisfaction on this issue by a growing number of concerned people both in Japan and abroad.

I greatly appreciated THE WITNESS' calling attention to the prevailing "civil rights movement" in Japan. It helps in our mobilization of human rights efforts both in Japan and in the United States. I am encouraged by an increasing number of Christians in support of this movement, including my fellow Anglicans in Japan.

The Rev. S. Michael Yasutake
U.S. Committee for Human Rights of Koreans in Japan
Evanston, Ill.

About congregationalism

John Wilson's characterization of congregationalists (Letters, November) is misinformed and misleading. Irresponsible individualism on the part of congregations, synods, members or leaders is neither the polity nor the practice of congregational churches. With the rest of the church we depend on scripture, the guidance of the Spirit, the teaching and tradition of the People of God, and careful research and debate in the search for faithful responses to God's calling. It is an injustice to suggest that congregationalists are "accountable to no one for (their) opinions and pronouncements." The name "congregationalism" is an indication that we have understood and structured accountability in a different way from episcopally and presbyterially organized churches. Although with the rest of the church we believe that we are individually and collectively (in whatever collections) accountable to God and to one another, we have structured accountability so that leaders are accountable to congregations and congregations are accountable to other congregations.

In view of John Wilson's concern with bishops who, in his judgment, do not teach the faith or behave in a Christian way, he might better study congregational experience and insights rather than use congregationalism as an epithet. Early Congregationalists had similar problems with bishops of the Anglican Church and with episcopacy.

Lawrence C. Gilley
United Congregational Church
Maxixe, Mozambique

Miserable magazine

Please remove my name from your mailing list. I subscribed for just one year and was terribly disappointed. Barbara Harris' views on abortion, homosexuality, her vicious tone in writing are not in keeping with the posture of a Christian woman. I really do not want that miserable excuse for a Christian magazine in my study.

John Goeb
Milwaukee, Wisc.

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Susan Keller
Adelphi, Md.

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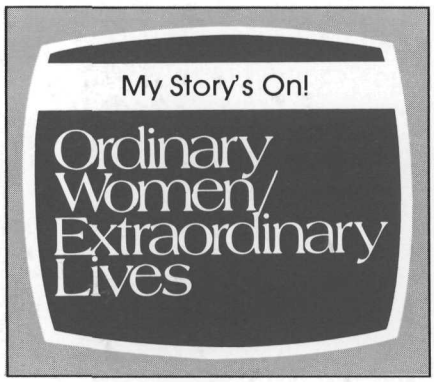

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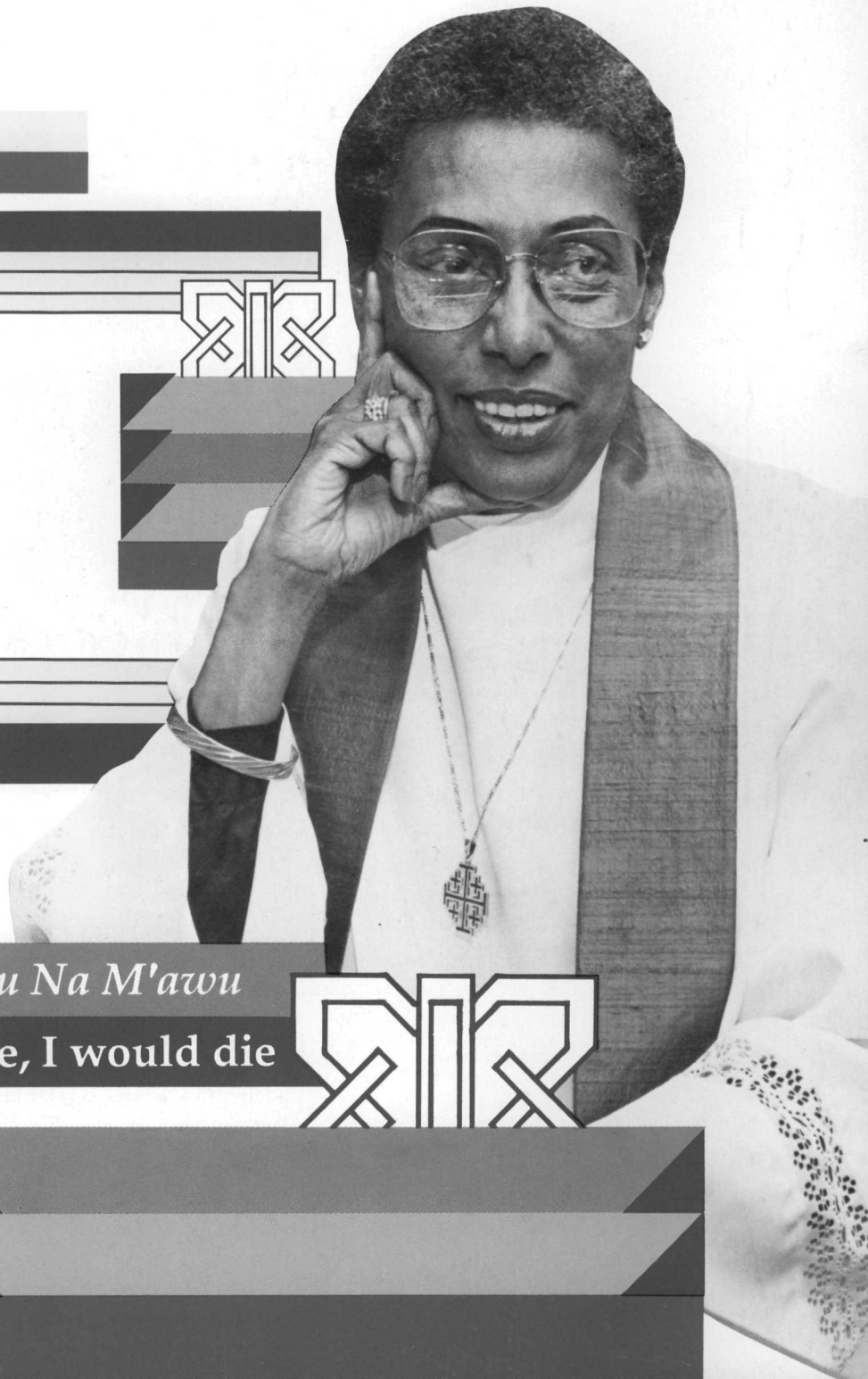

Barbara Harris: Bishop

- Li Tim-Oi
- J. Antonio Ramos
- Rosemary Ruether
- Robert L. DeWitt
- Monica Furlong
- Paul Washington

Nyame Nwu Na M'awu

Could God die, I would die

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Chronology of events concerning women in holy orders

1862 The Bishop of London orders a deaconess with the laying on of hands.

1885 Deaconesses are ordered in the Episcopal church.

1920 Lambeth Conference (of all Anglican bishops) concludes "ordination of a deaconess confers on her holy orders."

1930 Lambeth changes its mind, asserts deaconesses are *not* in holy orders.

1935 A Church of England commission reports it finds no compelling reason for or against ordination of women, but affirms an all male-priesthood.

1944 Bishop R. O. Hall of Hong Kong ordains Li Tim-Oi as priest. In the face of worldwide censure, she ceases to function as a priest for many years.

1964 General Convention changes the canons to read that deaconesses are "ordered" rather than "appointed."

1965 Bishop James Pike formally recognizes Phyllis Edwards as a deacon because of her ordination as a deaconess.

1966 U.S. House of Bishops receives report on "The Proper Place of Women in the Ministry of the Church" and asks the next Lambeth to consider the ordination of women to the priesthood.

1968 Lambeth refers the question of ordaining women to the member churches of the Anglican Communion for further study. It endorses the principle that deaconesses are within the diaconate.

1970 At General Convention in the House of Deputies the lay order passes but the clergy order rejects ordination of women as priests. The bishops do not vote on the issue.

1971 The Anglican Consultative Council, an international lay and clergy body meeting between Lambeth, declares it is acceptable for a bishop to ordain a woman with consent of his national church or province. The Bishop of Hong Kong ordains two women. Episcopal women begin to be ordained as deacons.

1972 The House of Bishops votes 74-61 in favor of the principle of ordaining women as priests.

1973 The General Convention rejects ordination of women to the priesthood and 56 bishops issue a statement expressing distress.

1974 *June*: Sermons preached in Cambridge, Philadelphia and Syracuse call for ordination of women to the priesthood. *July 10*: Bishops, priests, deacons and laypeople meet in Philadelphia to plan an ordination. *July 29*: Service at Philadelphia's Church of the Advocate. Two retired and one resigned bishop ordain 11 women deacons to the priesthood. A diocesan bishop is present but does not ordain. *July 30*: Some of the women priests are inhibited by their bishops from priestly functions, some inhibited as deacons; others agree voluntarily to refrain from priestly ministry. *July 31*: Presiding Bishop John Allin calls a special meeting of the House of Bishops to deal with the questions raised by the ordination. *Aug. 15*: The bishops meet in Chicago, decry the action of the four bishops as a "violation of collegiality" and declare the ordinations did not fulfill the necessary conditions for validity. The 11 women state they cannot accept the bishops' actions. Dr. Charles Willie resigns as vice president of the House of Deputies in protest. *August*: Charges are filed against the Philadelphia bishops. *October*: The House of Bishops reaffirms its 1972 endorsement of the principle of women's ordination, but agrees almost unanimously not to act until an affirmative action of the next General Convention. *Oct. 27*: The Rev. Alison Cheek, the Rev. Carter Heyward, the Rev. Jeannette Piccard publicly celebrate an Episcopal Eucharist in New York's Riverside Church. *November*: The Rev. Alison Cheek celebrates at St. Stephen's and the Incarnation in Washington, D.C. at the invitation of the Rev. William Wendt who is charged and later tried for violations of the canons. *December*: Two women priests celebrate at Christ Church, Oberlin, Ohio at the invitation of the Rev. Peter Beebe who is charged and later tried for canonical violations.

1975 *April*: Board of Inquiry reviews charges against ordaining bishops — declares the matter is doctrinal and should be handled by the House of Bishops. *July*: The Church of England's Synod approves the principle of women's ordination. *September*: Bishops of the Church of Canada endorse women's ordination. *Sept. 7*: Bishop George Barrett, resigned Bishop of Rochester, ordains four women deacons at the Church of St. Stephen's and the Incarnation in Washington. *Sept. 19*: The House of Bishops meeting censures the actions of the Philadelphia bishops.

1976 *September*: General Convention approves the ordination of women to the priesthood and episcopate, and agrees that the previous ordinations may be regularized, not repeated. *November*: The Church of Canada begins to ordain women priests.

1977 *Jan. 1* marks the date that women may be ordained to the priesthood under Episcopal Church canons. *October*: At a House of Bishops meeting Presiding Bishop Allin announces he "is unable to accept women in the role of priest" and offers to resign. Bishops affirm Allin's leadership and adopt a "conscience clause" which states no bishop, priest or layperson will be penalized for opposing the ordination of women.

1978 Lambeth accepts women's ordination in principle, but recommends that no province consecrate a woman bishop "without consultation with the Primates and overwhelming support in any member Church. . . lest the Bishop's office become a source of disunity instead of a focus of unity."

1988 *July*: General Convention passes "Episcopal Visitors" resolution, which permits — for a six-year period — congregations or clergy opposed to a woman bishop to ask for a visiting male bishop. *August*: Lambeth states that provinces may appoint a woman bishop, but no part is obliged to and all are asked to respect each other's standpoint. *Sept. 24*: The Rev. Barbara C. Harris is elected Suffragan Bishop of Massachusetts on the eighth ballot. *November*: The Archbishop of Canterbury issues a statement saying "The Church of England does not canonically accept the ministry of women priests and bishops."

1989 *January*: A majority of diocesan Standing Committees and bishops consent to Harris' election. *Feb. 11*: Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning leads the consecration of the Rt. Rev. Barbara C. Harris in Boston before a crowd of 8500 — 60 bishops participate in the laying on of hands.

Updated from a chronology compiled by **Janette S. Pierce** for *Daughters of Prophecy*, a special WITNESS issue on the 10th anniversary of the "Philadelphia 11" ordinations. Pierce, managing editor of *The Episcopalian* when she died in January, 1988, was a leading supporter of women's ordination.

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THE WITNESS

Table of Contents

4 **Happy-go-lucky Bobby now bishop in God's church**
Marjorie Nichols Farmer

6 **Li Tim-Oi on Barbara Harris**
WITNESS interview with Li Tim Oi

9 **Patriarchy strikes back**
Pamela W. Darling

12 **Paul Washington makes history again**
Susan E. Pierce

14 **From England, with love**
Monica Furlong

16 **Uppity women and authentic ecumenism**
Rosemary Radford Ruether

18 **On gender, education and ideology**
J. Antonio Ramos

20 **The ECPC/WITNESS connection**
Robert L. DeWitt

. . . and full color consecration photo on page 25

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Spirited, happy-go-lucky Bobby . . .

Bobby Harris 1948

"Slim, spirited, happy-go-lucky Bobby . . . Future: Surrounded by starry-eyed music students." That's what the June 1948 Milestone, the yearbook of The Philadelphia High School for Girls, had to say about Barbara Clementine Harris, who just over 40 years later, was to be consecrated a bishop in God's holy catholic church.

I came across this yearbook entry as I was working recently with other Girls High alumnae on a history project. With this heightened remembrance of things past, it is perhaps not surprising that my journey on the midnight train from Philadelphia to Boston Feb. 11 was a journey into nostalgia, into sharply focused memories of my own childhood years in Cambridge, Mass. My father was then pastor of St. Paul's African Methodist Episcopal Church, an old church steeped in the living history of the Black religious experience, expressed then as now in music and preaching that evoke response from the deepest levels of my memory, reaching beyond word and vision into a prescious awareness of God's presence throughout life and beyond time.

As an adult, an English teacher, and a lover of the great tradition of English literary mysticism and the history of the English church, I made with my husband the choice of raising our sons in the Episcopal Church and working actively in the congregation. With the example and encouragement of Barbara Harris and other "way-showing" women — among them Pauli Murray, Mary Adebonojo, Nan Peete — I have been given the great privilege of priesthood in this church.

But I have never lost a certain sadness at leaving behind an essential core part of my religious experience — the music and the worship style of my childhood. One must make choices, I reasoned; you can't have it all. Nevertheless, I thought, I must surely find a few moments away from the formal, liturgical Episcopal celebration and get over to Cambridge just to see if St. Paul's Church is still there, and to hear with outward ears the melodies that are ringing in my heart.

Well, I didn't get to Cambridge at all. How can I express my amazement, my joy, when I picked up the service book at Hynes Auditorium and saw on the opening page that the choir of St. Paul's A.M.E. Church would be "singing the Bishop-elect in" with the great old hymns of the African-American church: "Ride on, King Jesus — no man can hinder me!" . . . "In dat great gittin' up mornin' fare thee well, fare thee well."

You can have it all, Barbara's consecration said to me; you don't need to "steal away" to another place to be made whole. "There's plenty good room" right here in this celebration, in our corporate worship of God. You can be confident in bringing to worship all of your gifts, all the ways that God has spoken, moved, worked, and sung — in your life.

That was the particular message for me — a sharer with Barbara of the Black heritage. That is where my understanding of the event began, as it must for each of us, with the keen sense of wholeness and integrity of the self, and its holiness before God.

But what is most to be honored is the grace that flows from this self-knowledge, opening the way to acknowledgement and responsiveness to the uniqueness of each member of the human community.

I saw that what was happening for me was happening in vivid little epiphanies all over that auditorium — and beyond the visible congregation, through the media and throughout Christendom and beyond — wherever God's people were standing ready to learn how we connect to our brothers and sisters everywhere.

The Rev. Li Tim-Oi, our sister priest, the first ordained in the Anglican communion, must have felt her own experience affirmed as the Chinese congregation sang the 23rd Psalm in their own language; the Gaelic blessing sung by the choir of Holy Trinity Church celebrated that special part of the English-Gaelic heritage; *O Sacrum Convivium* sung by the Schola Cantorum of the Church of St. John the Evangelist spoke to the classicists among us. And as Eleanor Farmer, a member of Barbara's Philadelphia congregation, offered her clear soprano rendition of Mozart's *Alleluia,* she expressed the broader experience of Black Episcopalians. The Gospel read in Spanish as well as in English, and the messages on Barbara's vestments written in Ashanti and in Greek — all expanded the theme of the day — "A bishop for God's people."

The Rev. Marjorie Nichols Farmer, Ed.D., is priest-in-charge of the Church of St. Matthias, Philadelphia; and a participant in The Episcopal Women's History Project.

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now bishop in God's church

Marjorie Farmer

Pauli Murray, the first Black woman ordained to the priesthood, said of her poems in *Dark Testament,* "I speak for my race and my people — the human race and just people." That is what Barbara did for all of us in her consecration service — through her choice of music, her preacher and other participants, her vestments, her manner; most effectively by her grace in being clearly, enthusiastically and unaffectedly herself. The "scandal of particularity" opens the way for the honoring of community.

There are other ways through which Barbara's episcopate has released and will continue to release the captives among us. Not only those who were gathered in Hynes auditorium as supporters, but the dissenters as well were heard. Barbara said in an informal conversation with a group of women clergy the day before the service, "What we will have in Hynes is 'the church gathered'" — and so it was, the whole church — the church which does not need to fear or to quench dissent, but to struggle continuously to understand its roots as each of us works to make of our own fragment of the truth the wholeness that is God's will for our lives and our ministries.

There is new freedom for women, of course, to be and continually to become whole persons, discerning and exercising God's gifts for ministry; but not only for women — for men as well, who have new reason for being able to affirm their maleness as part of God's gracious self-expression, not as a matter of superiority or inferiority.

This consecration spoke — as Paul Washington said so eloquently in his moving sermon — clearly and affirmatively to the outsider, the rejected, the socially excluded; our knowledge of Barbara's distinguished earlier career as a corporate executive spoke clearly also to the world of the governing class, the corporate leaders, the ultimate "insiders."

In a brief conversation with Barbara a few hours after the consecration, I could not resist a word of totally unexpected thanks for the gift of my childhood's presence in the service. There were so many people around, she had hardly time to be more than startled. "But Marjorie, I had no way of knowing that — how can you thank me for it?"

And that's just the point. Just by being clearly, authentically, unaffectedly herself, honoring God's gifts and presence in her own life, Bishop Harris just naturally invites the wholeness and freedom of all God's people.

As her high school classmates knew, Barbara celebrates in her life the joy — and the fun — of being a person in God's image, living in community with God's people. "Just pray me over," she said to her friends at lunch on Friday.

Each of us, carrying out faithfully our own ministries wherever God calls us, can own this new perception of our special place in God's wholeness and love. We can know that that place begins where we are, being our own best selves, made in God's image — women, men, Asian, Hispanic, European, African, American — each a part of the divine self-expression.

As Barbara told her friends in our preconsecration visit, when we discern and make ourselves available for whatever is the special work of the Holy Spirit in each of us, "beautiful things keep happening." TW

Bishop Harris confirming at St. Stephen's, Boston 1989

Jim Solheim

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Mark Ellidge/*The London Times*

Two pioneers at Lambeth, 1988

The Rev. Florence Li Tim-Oi is the "spiritual godmother" of women's ordination in the Anglican Communion. Li Tim-Oi, now 80 years old, was born in Hong Kong to a Chinese Christian family. She was serving as a deaconess in the Portuguese colony of Macao when the Japanese invaded South China in 1940.

Refugees came pouring into Macao, which was neutral. Anglican Bishop of Hong Kong and South China Ronald Hall sent a priest to celebrate communion whenever it was safe to travel, but soon none dared make the hazardous trip. Hall, hearing of Li Tim-Oi's extraordinary work with Macao's refugee community, said he would ordain her if she came to Xingxing, a week's journey through the war zone.

She made the trip and in the winter of 1944 was ordained the first woman priest in the worldwide Anglican Communion. When word of her ordination reached England, it caused an uproar. Bishop Hall was reprimanded by Archbishop of Canterbury William Temple and censured by his fellow provincial bishops.

To spare Hall, Li Tim-Oi voluntarily "returned" her priesthood and continued to quietly serve the church until the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s closed the churches and she was sent to cut wood in the hills.

But she remained true to her faith and was priest of the first church to reopen in Canton in the 1970s. In 1971, the Diocese of Hong Kong voted to ordain women and reconfirmed Li Tim-Oi's priesthood.

Li Tim-Oi now lives with her sister in Toronto and assists at a local church. She met Barbara Harris at the 1988 Lambeth Conference, and walked in the procession at Harris' February consecration. The first woman priest shared her thoughts on the first woman bishop with THE WITNESS in the accompanying interview.

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Li Tim-Oi on Barbara Harris

Do you think it is significant that the first woman priest in the Anglican Communion is Chinese and the first woman bishop is African-American? What does this mean for the Anglican Church?

In spite of the stormy controversy over the suitability of Barbara C. Harris as bishop, her consecration is, in my opinion, entirely God's will. I cannot help recalling what Jesus said to his disciples: "You did not choose me. I chose you and appointed you to go and bear much fruit." So, as I see it, Barbara Harris has really been chosen by God to do more important work for the glory of the church. I am convinced that as a bishop, she will be capable of developing her parish into a boundless communion that stretches behind the "White circle."

I, a Chinese woman, was ordained the first Anglican woman priest and now Harris, a Black woman, is consecrated as the first woman bishop. To me, this certainly has great significance, since the Anglican Communion was predominantly in the hands of the White race in the past. This evolution helps the Anglican Communion play an increasing role as peacemaker in a multi-racial society. And it cannot be denied that racial peacemaking is particularly important as the 21st century is fast approaching. This connection immediately calls to mind what St. Paul said: "For Christ Himself has brought us peace by making Jews and Gentiles one people. With His own body He broke down the wall that separated them and kept them enemies."

You met Barbara Harris at Canterbury — can you give your impressions of her?

I had the privilege of meeting Barbara Harris on July 15 last year when a photographer from the London *Sunday Times* brought her to my hotel. Afterwards, the photographer drove us to the Canterbury Cathedral grounds to have some photos taken of the two "first ladies." Barbara then had great prospects of becoming the first Anglican woman bishop.

As I talked with her I was struck by her neat and well-groomed appearance, but was impressed more especially by her sharp features, bright eyes, alertness and friendly, radiant smile. Since our meeting, I always remember her as an energetic, capable and determined person. Moreover, she impressed me as being very kind and understanding. In conversation with her, I gathered she was quite aware of the important role she was expected to play in the church of God should she win the election as bishop.

What do you think Barbara Harris can bring to the episcopate?

Harris had eight years of experience in parish work, which is not such a short period. I daresay that an intelligent person like her must have acquired much valuable experience which will help her in her challenging job. If people are honest and have no prejudice against women clergy, and if they would bring themselves to recognize the importance of loving one another in Christ, they should have no reason not to welcome a valuable person like Harris to the episcopate. Now Harris is in the prime of her life; on the basis of her experiences she will undoubtedly have much to contribute. She will learn from the senior bishops and colleagues and enrich and deepen further her spiritual life.

In giving encouragement and support to Harris as the first Anglican woman bishop, I quote what Jesus said: "I have told you this so that you will have peace by being united to me. The world will make you suffer. But be brave! I have defeated the world." Thus, Jesus taught us how to overcome hardship by being closely united to Him.

Your ordination in 1944 caused a tempest. Barbara Harris' election has caused much controversy, too. Can you tell us how her situation today compares to yours years ago?

Harris' consecration has opened up the way for other women to enter this vocation in the future. Unfortunately, this seems to cause alarm to the male clergy who are inclined to think that this is still the man's world and the bishop's place should be occupied by men only!

I feel very sorry that Harris has had a really hard time. Severe attacks and criticism have been hurled at her before, during and after the election campaign, questioning and cross-examining her suitability for the position. I believe, as many others do, that if Harris was a man the attacks and criticisms would have

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been much less harsh.

My own ordination in 1944 certainly caused a tempest — but that was 45 years ago. The late Bishop Ronald O. Hall, who ordained me during wartime, was mercilessly attacked and censured by the bishops at the Lambeth Conference of 1948, who accused him of overstepping his authority by ordaining a woman priest. I suffered a lot not only for my fate but for the greater embarrassment that Bishop Hall was brought to face by his fellow bishops. Today, I am comforted by the fact that in the history of the movement for the ordination of women in the Anglican Communion, Bishop Hall's name will occupy a conspicuous place.

Did you ever believe that a woman would become a bishop in your lifetime?

Thirty years ago I never would have dreamed this would happen. However, in the last decade, having witnessed the rapid progress made in the ordination of women, especially in Canada and the United States, I began to believe that one day women could be made bishops. And now my conjecture has become a reality. We must, however, not forget to give recognition to the efforts of the movements for the ordination of women to the priesthood, which have definitely made a considerable impact in quite a few countries. Here it may be relevant to refer to the Bible story which tells of a woman who was bent over and could not straighten up at all. "Jesus saw her and called out to her: 'Woman, you are free from your sickness.' He placed his hands on her, and at once she straightened herself up and praised God."

Sisters in Christ, we have already had our backs straightened. We must express our gratitude to God for the new woman bishop and pray that God will support her and give her strength, courage and wisdom to carry out her duties.

Are there any other reflections you would like to share with WITNESS readers?

In Harris' case, as in my own, the gender question has been the basic cause of opposition and strong disapproval from an overwhelming number of bishops and other Christian leaders.

It is indeed a great pity that people who have harsh words against ordaining women keep forgetting or ignoring what St. Paul said: "So there is no difference between Jews and Gentiles and between men and women; you are all one in union with Christ Jesus".

As human beings, we all agree that no one is perfect. Concerning the criticisms of Harris' suitability as bishop, one may conjure up the picture of the High Priest Joshua: "The Angel said to his heavenly attendants, 'Take away the filthy clothes this man is wearing!' Then he said to Joshua, 'I have taken away your sin and will give you new clothes to wear.'"

May God give Barbara Harris His richest blessing and grant her a refreshed mind and a new spirit to carry out her new challenging and sacred duties! TW

NCR editorial:

Anglicans one, Rome zero

Demonstrating wisdom and pastoral concern beyond what Roman Catholicism has yet mustered, the Boston Episcopal Diocese consecrated a woman bishop. Barbara Harris became the first woman bishop in any of the three major branches of Christianity (Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, Anglican) claiming apostolic succession.

Meanwhile the Roman Catholic bishop of Charlotte, N.C., was refusing to let women have their feet washed in a Holy Thursday ritual. Bishop John Donoghue based his ruling on an arcane Roman interpretation of some liturgical Latin. It makes about as little sense as the primary theological reason for excluding women from the priesthood.

Jesus called only men, some traditionalists say, so only men can serve. But Jesus was working in a heavily patriarchal society that shut women from public life at nearly every turn. Fortunately, he was like the rest of us in at least one respect: He learned as he went along.

Whether the arguments preclude ordaining women or washing their feet on Holy Thursday, both cases are essentially as frivolous as they are pastorally deficient, and the people of God should waste no more time before laughing them out of court. *(Reprinted by permission.* National Catholic Reporter, *P.O. Box 419281, Kansas City, MO 64141.)*

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Patriarchy strikes back

by Pamela W. Darling

"If any of you know any reason why we should not proceed, let it now be made known."

At most ordinations, these words are followed by a polite silence, and the service continues. But on Feb. 11 in Boston, two White men rose to speak. John Jamieson, a layman from Chicago, representing the Prayer Book Society, asserted that to continue would be an "imposture" because women simply cannot be ordained. The Rev. James H. Cupit, Jr. of New York implored the Presiding Bishop not to proceed, citing the resulting impediments to union with Roman Catholic and Orthodox churches. Bishop Browning quieted the booing congregation and responded that the issues raised had been "well-ventilated" in preceding months and that, scrupulously observing all prescribed procedures, the church had determined to proceed.

And so it was done. But, as the Rev. Paul Washington wisely noted in his consecration sermon, the objectors remind us that some still sincerely believe this action is contrary to God's will. We need to take the protests seriously, not because they are valid, but because two contradictory world views are struggling to shape the future of the Episcopal Church, and indeed of American society. The battles over the election and consecration of Barbara Harris as Suffragan Bishop of Massachusetts reveal the dimensions of the struggle between these two views. John Throop, a Harris opponent, was probably right when he said that she "will demonstrate all the worst nightmares of what women in the episcopate will be like to the traditionalists."

Another opponent, William Oddie, took a different approach, observing that "what American traditionalists had feared was the election of a woman bishop who would seem to confirm the hierarchy's claim: one of the quieter and more moderate women clergy who could be used to demonstrate by her mildness that nothing has really changed, that no one is threatened."

Oddie is an English columnist for *The Christian Challenge*, a publication begun in 1962 "to defend the Christian faith as embodied in traditional Anglicanism, defined in Holy Scripture, and enshrined in the Historic Book of Common Prayer" and "to resist false teaching within the church." Throop is Executive Director of Episcopalians United for Revelation, Renewal and Reformation (EURRR), formed in 1987 to "challenge the direction the church's leadership has taken in biblical and moral matters." Their comments are part of a chorus of outrage and objection which began as soon as the vote was reported in Massachusetts.

Polarization of U.S. religion

Why does the very idea of elevating a woman to the episcopate generate urgent debate, and the choice of Barbara Harris confirm the worst nightmares of traditionalists? What is being threatened by Harris' election?

Observers of the American scene in recent decades have noted an increasing gulf between two sets of convictions about how the world is and ought to be. These are variously labelled as conservative vs. liberal, traditionalist vs. modernist, biblical fundamentalist vs. secular humanist, or patriarchal vs. feminist. Nationally, the split is most easily recognized in the phenomena of the Moral Majority, the New Right, and the coalition seeking to outlaw a woman's choice about abortion.

Within the churches, this conflict is evident in attacks on the National Council of Churches and the growth of televangelist fundamentalism; in the controversies, takeovers and expulsions over Scriptural inerrancy and orthodox teaching; in the Roman Catholic hierarchy's leading role in the "pro-family" movement; and in the Episcopal Church's struggles over social justice ministries, the language of the Prayer Book, the ordination of women, and sexuality.

Those for whom the heart of the Christian Gospel involves following Jesus' example — healing the sick, feeding the hungry and preaching good news to the poor — grow impatient over the preoccupation of other religious people with issues of authority and church order, or with changing patterns of personal relationships.

But the personal does have enormous political import, and structures of theology and ecclesiastical polity both reflect and create the social environment of our daily lives and ministries. Issues such as how we address God, who can be a priest, and what kinds of interpersonal behavior is approved all work together as part of a total world view, a framework within which we determine values, make decisions and discover meaning in our lives.

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The traditional world view — the patriarchal framework — is threatened by the consecration of Barbara Harris. Only by understanding how the various pieces of that framework reinforce each other can we begin to fathom the depth and passion of the resistance to her consecration.

What traditionalists say

Reviewing the rhetoric opposing Harris' ordination to the episcopate in the context of traditionalists' overall programs offers a valuable case study in the escalating clash of world views:

Item: "Cancer of terrorism endorsed by national Episcopal leadership" was the headline of a Prayer Book Society (PBS) news release following the confirmation of Harris' election. The release discusses the support which Harris and the Episcopal Church Publishing Company (ECPC) — of which she was Executive Director — gave to Hispanic activist Episcopalians Maria Cueto and Steve Guerra. Cueto and Guerra were jailed for refusing in conscience to testify before a Grand Jury investigating the Puerto Rican liberation movement.

The Prayer Book Society's agenda has clearly broadened since its founding to preserve the 1928 Prayer Book. As its brochure proclaims, "We are, indeed, traditionalists because we believe the church is a place of worship — not a platform for secular humanism." In the PBS view, the ECPC "has for years sullied the image, patriotism, and stature of Episcopalians through its "radical, Marxist, left-wing extremism."

Item: Sharing the PBS concern about social activism and "Marxist" politics, EURRR's Throop cited Harris' advocacy of "homosexual rights, the feminization of worship, and the Sandinista government in Nicaragua" as evidence that she is unacceptably "far to the left," while telling the *New York Times* that "we have no problem with the fact she is female or Black."

EURRR's overall agenda provides a helpful context for Throop's statements about Harris. In a letter publicly inviting support for its challenge to Episcopal Church leadership, EURRR listed five issues under the heading, "We oppose": The ordination of practicing homosexuals, normalization of homosexuality as an alternative lifestyle, sexual relations outside marriage, liberalization of the church's position on abortion, and inclusive language. Apparently the ordination of women was originally a sixth item — but, acknowledging differing views among EURRR organizers, they compromised by warning that ordaining a woman as bishop could lead to schism. Despite Throop's disclaimer, Harris' views are the more threatening precisely because they are expressed by a woman, and a Black woman at that — why mention her race at all if it is "no problem"?

EURRR's opposition to Harris is thus consistent with an overall agenda which seeks to uphold the traditional American social order in opposition to recent movements for freedom and equality — between men and women, and between races.

Item: Sharing a concern for order and sexual conformity, the Evangelical and Catholic Mission (ECM) — founded to resist the church's 1976 decision to ordain women — issued a pastoral letter in November 1988. It declared that with Harris' election, "the final crisis of the Episcopal Church is now upon us," and decried this rebellion against the "God-given order of the church." The principles cited as the foundation of order are the familiar four points of the 1888 Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral — the Scriptures, Creeds, Sacraments and historic Episcopate.

Although the connection between these points and the "final crisis" is not explained, the ECM letter echoes EURR and the Prayer Book Society concerns, summarizing the threat epitomized by Harris' election:

> *At the root of the present crisis is the rejection of God's revelation of Himself and His will for humanity in favor of religiosity tailored to human convenience. This rejection expresses itself in the challenge to the central authority of Holy Scripture, the denial of Jesus Christ as the full, perfect and sufficient self-revelation of God, the proposals to rewrite the language of the Bible and liturgical prayer to suit humanistic ideologies, the decay of marital discipline, and the pressure to abandon the received standards of chastity, as well as the purported admission of women to priestly and episcopal orders. The institutions of the Episcopal Church have allowed, aided, and encouraged these deviations.*

So strongly do the signers feel about the "crisis" that they have called a synod of "clergy and laity holding the convictions we have declared. . . to consider how we shall be the church within the Episcopal Church," a move observers think may lead them out of the church altogether.

Curiously, the issue of women — though it was the triggering factor — appears almost as an afterthought in the ECM statement. This suggests that to conservatives, the traditionally subordinate place of women in church and society is the hidden but essential element upholding existing authority structures.

Oddie's piece in the December *Christian Challenge* furthers this suggestion: He writes, "Within the Episcopal Church there are two worlds, hermetically sealed from each other . . . women's ordination is seen as a key symbolic issue defining the line of separation." He goes on to bewail Harris' "strident social activism" and the state of the Episcopal Church, which has bought into "the Harris package of radical feminism (including God the Mother), left-wing political activism, the sexual revolution, and theological

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and liturgical modernism." In this scheme, feminism has surpassed communism as the paradigmatic threat facing the world we know.

In the same issue William DeMerritt criticizes Harris and THE WITNESS for concerns "centered around feminist and minority causes, racism, labor, capital punishment, nuclear arms, Grand Jury resisters, and international issues ranging from South Africa and Northern Ireland to El Salvador, Haiti, Guatemala and Nicaragua." This follows criticism of her unconventional educational preparation for ministry, which "defied custom." Here again is the implicit belief that "proper" education would promote conformity to societal norms.

Then DeMerritt makes an odd and telling comment: "She has been excused from being a part of a functional marriage or family setting, a projection [*sic*] that both political and ecclesial America expects for other office seekers . . . Instead, Harris, who is divorced, maintained a separate apartment from her mother and unmarried sister."

Lessons for days ahead

All these criticisms, objections and arguments are interlocking elements in the social/religious framework of White middle-class America: women belong in the home; sex belongs only in heterosexual marriage; education should produce standardized behavior; government policies and actions are not to be questioned; those marginalized by economic status, race or ethnicity, gender or sexuality, are to remain silent and invisible; life-and-death decisions are made only by men who wage war, execute criminals, and decide whether women may have abortions. All this is sanctified by a church whose hierarchical order is God-given, and whose worship and Scriptures are in masculine language because that is how God has revealed Himself.

Though disparate on the surface, each prescription and prohibition deals with power and the authority which justifies its exercise, and constitutes ways of managing the differences between human beings, race and gender being the most fundamental. At the top of the hierarchy are wealthy, straight, White men.

Challenging any aspect of this order threatens the entire structure, and the sense of place and personal identity of everyone in it. Those comfortable with the status quo have much invested in the preservation of this order. Those excluded from power and privilege have little to lose if things change.

And things are changing. The traditional economic structure is decaying. The melting pot has overflowed, losing its ability to assimilate diverse people into some idealized norm. Blacks, ethnic minorities, women, gay men and lesbians are resisting subordination to the straight, White male power structure. And some Christians have re-examined Scripture, liturgy and theology, discovering fresh insights in ancient texts which suggest other possibilities for the organization of human society.

Rather than rejecting "the authority of God's revelation of Himself and His will for humanity," these believers are challenging traditional interpretations of that revelation, questioning not the authority of Scripture, but the authority of the interpreter. In response, those who traditionally had the power to interpret are galvanized into asserting their authority by appeal to ancient custom, and trying to shore up the structure wherever it is challenged.

So far, this conservative reaction has had more effect on secular American politics than on the Episcopal Church. The generalized "leadership" of the church is criticized as much as Harris herself by the various traditionalist groups. But this fact must not lead to complacency.

Traditionalists in the Episcopal Church are very attuned to the range of issues which constitute the conservative paradigm, as their articulate opposition to Barbara Harris demonstrates. Unfortunately, some who welcome her election seem a bit vague about its implications. Many really would have preferred a less controversial woman to break into the brotherhood of the House of Bishops. That would have enabled them to sustain the comforting fiction that ordaining women is really no big deal, and life will go on as before, all structures and privileges intact.

Evidently the Holy Spirit decided we ought to let go of that fiction, to work more deliberately and creatively on the newly-emerging paradigm of church and society.

But the full emergence of the new is by no means assured. We must assume that as the danger to the old order increases, so will the traditionalist backlash. Some supporters of women's ordination are preoccupied now with damage control, trying to hold together the church and the Anglican Communion — to keep the traditional order intact — and are not eager to face the fact that many of their opponents' arguments are profoundly accurate.

Thus there is much work for us to do. We must pay careful attention to the rhetoric of the traditionalists — not for the sake of refuting their arguments, but to let that rhetoric instruct us about the terms and conditions which have shaped the old order, so that we can articulate a compelling vision of the new to replace their "worst nightmare."

For both traditionalists and the "feminist cabal" they fear, Barbara Harris' ordination to the episcopate symbolizes the beginning of a new order for church and society. If the process of change is to continue, if she is not to be tokenized by a self-protecting structure of power and privilege, we must find ways to win the hearts of those who fear change, to call to conversion those whose privilege binds them to the dysfunction and evils of the old order, and to speak plainly the eternal Word of God's saving love. TW

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Preacher makes history again

by Susan E. Pierce

We cannot, and we must not, overlook the fact that this woman who is being consecrated today is not just an American woman. She is a Black woman. Called at one time a Negro. Called at one time colored. Stony the road that you've trod. Bitter the chastening rod felt in the days when hope had died. Yet with a steady beat, have not our weary feet come to this place for which our fathers sighed? However, while our church will have consecrated 17 persons of African descent to the office of a bishop, including one woman, to this date, only seven Black priests have ever been elected to be priests or rectors in White congregations.

The Rev. Paul Washington
Consecration sermon

Some preachers lull congregations to sleep with soothing words; others terrify with images of hellfire and damnation. Then there are preachers like the Rev. Paul Washington, who are so eloquent and filled with the spirit of the word that for a moment, it seems as if the gates of heaven are nudged open. During his remarkable sermon at Barbara Harris' consecration, Washington held the assembly spellbound for nearly an hour. In an outpouring of spontaneous emotion, people laughed, wept and called out as he shared his vision of what Barbara's consecration meant to the church and the world. At the end, the crowd of 8500 gave him a standing ovation.

From 1962 to 1985, Washington was rector of the Church of the Advocate, in one of Philadelphia's most impoverished neighborhoods. Over the years, he and his congregation offered the Advocate as a haven for the hungry and homeless and for a variety of controversial causes, such as civil rights marches and Black Power meetings. In 1974, the Advocate made headlines and generated much debate when Washington hosted the July 29 "irregular" ordinations of 11 Episcopal women deacons as priests. When he retired from the Advocate, a former parishioner, the Rev. Barbara C. Harris, replaced him as interim rector until she got a job offer she couldn't refuse.

In his "retirement," Washington is on countless boards and committees in Philadelphia. He assists his wife Christine, serving as chaplain for the Advocate Community Development Corporation (ACDC), of which she is founder and President. ACDC provides affordable housing for North Philadelphia residents.

For all his fiery style in the pulpit, Washington is an easy-going, soft-spoken conversationalist. In a recent interview, he reminisced about the consecration of his long-time friend, the role of Blacks in the Episcopal Church, and how the events of July 29 differed from those of Feb. 11.

In this continued drama of the incarnation the eternal word speaks ". . . Today I send you one who has spent enough time in prisons ministering to prisoners and captives to have almost served a two-year sentence herself. Oh my church, today I am sending one to you who is from a church that feeds hungry people . . . provides clothes for naked people. A church that is about to build 25 units of housing for the homeless. I am sending one to you who went down to Mississippi to lift up those who were participating in their own oppression, to lift them up to participate in their own liberation . . . Today I am sending you one who burns when others are offended."

Many in the Episcopal Church objected to Harris' election because of her strong social activist background. "One reporter at the consecration press conference raised the question of Barbara being a radical," recalled Washington. "I said I advise anyone using the term to look it up. 'Radical' comes from 'radix,' which means getting to the root. And Barbara will speak to the root of a problem, and I'm glad she will. The people who object to this are those interested in maintaining the status quo — but the status quo is not the kingdom."

Washington was one of the first people Harris called when she found out she'd been elected. He never had any doubt that she was the one for the job. "In terms of Barbara handling herself, I have no fears. It's hard to imagine it could have anyone else — Barbara was the person," he said.

On Saturday afternoon, September 24, I received a call from a friend, one who is very, very dear to me. She said, "Paul, guess what?" I said, "What?" "I just got a call from David Johnson, the Bishop of Massachusetts. He said that I've been elected to be a suffragan bishop." I softly exclaimed, "What? I can't believe it." She continued, "I can't believe it either. How could I have been elected to be a bishop in this church?" That news to her was as incredulous as the news was to another woman some 2,000 years ago when she asked,"How can this

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be, seeing I know not a man?"

To some, Harris is a symbol of everything that's wrong with the church. Washington noted wryly that being a pioneer is not easy. "Prophets have always had a rough time," he said. "Jesus said, 'O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, you that kill the prophets and stone those sent to you.' People don't want to be reminded of the abject reality. People resent precedents — it means the door has been opened, others are coming in, and it's not a comfortable thought."

He cautioned, though, against the other extreme — expecting that her consecration would magically cure racism and other societal ills. "She can't do anything alone. Any group that is down can't be lifted up —they have to lift up themselves, and struggle and fight to stay up," he said.

Did you come to see the first woman consecrated as a bishop in the Episcopal Church? If that is all you came here for, you have missed the point. This isn't just a woman. This is a woman who was born in slavery. This is a woman who has had to struggle. She has been despised. She has been rejected. She has been kicked in the teeth. She has been counted in our society as nothing. When she entered America there was a sign over the gate saying "Abandon all hope all you who enter herein."

Harris' consecration signaled a shift in the role African-American culture plays in the Episcopal Church, according to Washington. "The consecration, the service itself, might cause people to say, 'Now something outside is in the mainstream, someone who has had the Black experience.' It was the biggest consecration in history and it was a total mix of traditions. That's a sign of change," he said.

Then that awful day; July 29, 1974. Eleven women were ordained. They were untimely ripped from their mother's womb. It shook this church to its very foundation . . . Barbara, you were in California that morning, you jumped on a plane and came to your church and you led the procession. You did not know when you led that procession that God was preparing you to lead another procession.

When asked how the service 15 years ago — at which he was also the preacher — and the one in Boston differed, Washington replied, "It felt different, no question. It has the establishment's stamp of approval. We didn't have to go through on February 11 what we went through on July 29, which is a victory for the church."

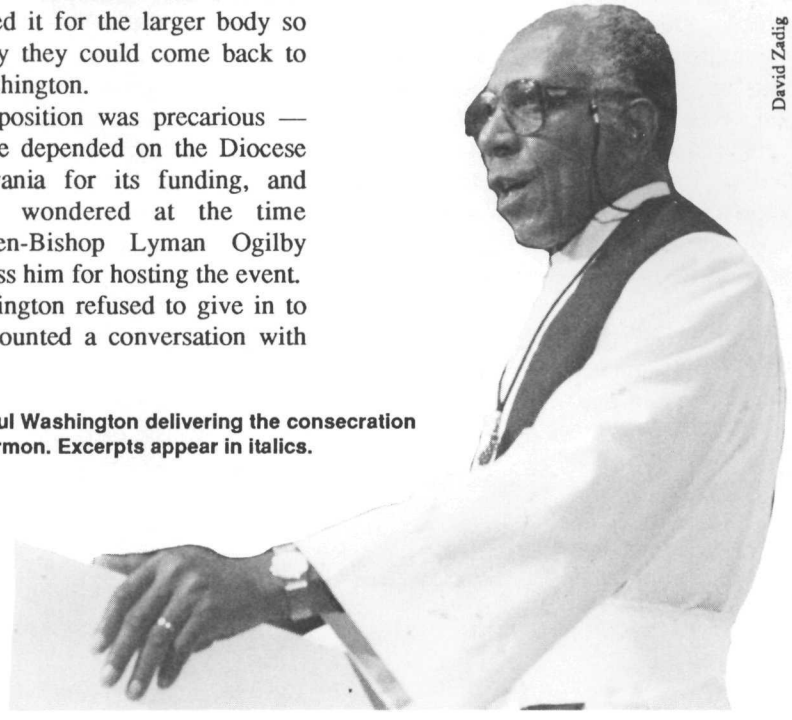
All involved in the July 29 ordinations were putting their careers and possibly even their safety at stake, Washington recalled. "As I look back at the suffering of July 29, there were those who felt a divine imperative to right this wrong, and to take risks.

"Those present on July 29 were what I call a 'remnant.' This refers to a faithful few and goes back to Jewish history, when the Jews were in exile, and scattered. The remnant held onto the faith and preserved it for the larger body so that someday they could come back to it," said Washington.

His own position was precarious — the Advocate depended on the Diocese of Pennsylvania for its funding, and Washington wondered at the time whether then-Bishop Lyman Ogilby would dismiss him for hosting the event.

But Washington refused to give in to fear. He recounted a conversation with resigned Bishop of Pennsylvania Robert L. DeWitt, one of the ordaining bishops, who told Washington that some of the women were afraid of violence and wanted to have a private ceremony. "I told him that would be a deception," said Washington, "and to count me out. Bishop DeWitt said, 'The church is very, very small right now. We can't afford to lose you.' So we took the risks — we were disobedient to the church, but obedient to God."

. . . I think of a collect in the Book of Common Prayer: "Grant that we may so pass through things temporal that we finally lose not sight of things eternal." Being creatures of flesh and blood in this world our first actions and reactions are usually in response to the temporal . . . In doing so, however, we may not give ourselves sufficient time to pass beyond the temporal demand to the divine imperative. So don't let the world, don't let anyone set your clock or agenda. You are marching to the beat of a different drummer. If you wait on that beat, you will always be on time, and on target. TW



David Zadig

Paul Washington delivering the consecration sermon. Excerpts appear in italics.

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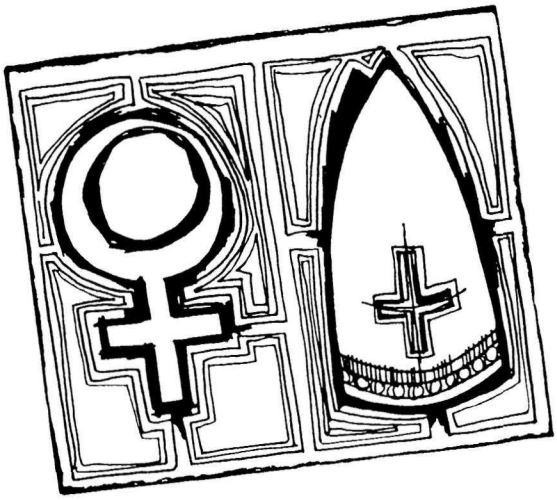

From England, with love . . .

by Monica Furlong

It is not too much to say that I was changed by attending Barbara Harris' consecration. Like most churchgoers I am inured to boredom, long patches of irrelevance, words that are no more than words to me, and prayers that rarely touch my heart. Occasionally a good sermon, a good choir, a well-read lesson, will pull me out of the fog of absent-mindedness and towards the warmth and light of living religion, but what church services have mostly taught me is a resigned patience and a feeling that the whole thing has little, if anything, to do with me and my life. Certainly past experience had not prepared me for that extraordinary Saturday in February when Barbara Harris was consecrated, for the color, the drama, the piercing truthfulness, the weeping, the laughter, the joy, the singing. It was a service that did not demand patience, that did not induce boredom, that made the Christian religion come unmistakably, almost unbearably, alive, that spoke to the heart, simply and clearly. It spoke because of the courage and integrity of the Episcopal Church of the U.S.A., it spoke because of the courage and integrity of Barbara Harris, and it spoke because of the passion of its huge congregation.

A woman, a *Black* woman, stood in front of us, challenging, for no other reason than that she *was* Black and a woman, centuries of prejudice and oppression. But, as many in that rapturous audience knew well, there is no way out of oppression except for individuals to make the scary journey of doing what is different, of breaking the mold, of taking the path that has no comforting role model walking ahead. And whenever that happens those who prefer custom and certainty and habit, no matter what it costs in human waste and limitation, predictably rage together, like the heathen in Handel's Messiah.

In Britain we often cloak our raging in an icy coldness more wounding than any insult. Such a coldness was all too evident at the press conference after the consecration when it emerged that not only had the Church of England sent no official representative, but that no English bishop had sent a message of goodwill. Publicly, that is. It was rumored that in a private message carried by a woman who had traveled from England there were messages from bishops. But this was not an occasion for private pleasantries but for public acclamation, not so much a moment for the "courtesy and respect" of which both the Archbishop of Canterbury and Archbishop Robin Eames of Ireland had spoken so stiffly, but for love and caring.

Of course, the official response was not the only response that mattered from the Church of England. Five women, all much involved in the women's ordination movement, attended, and several male clergy. Alan Webster, the ex-Dean of St. Paul's, London, made a moving speech in a place where it really mattered — at the press conference. Back at home there was a day's rejoicing and prayers at St. James, Piccadilly, at which one banner read "God is an equal-opportunity employer." The Movement for the Ordination of Women (MOW) hired Fulham Palace, until a few years ago the residence of the Bishops of London, for a celebration. Up and down the country, people held services, watched television, exchanged excited impressions.

The Sunday before the consecration the St. Hilda Community, an influential little group which advocates "non-sexist liturgy" and invites visiting women

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Monica Furlong, a feminist theologian and writer, is a leading figure in the Anglican women's rights movement in England. A founding member of the St. Hilda Community in London, a non-sexist worship group, she is the author of numerous books and articles.

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priests to celebrate at its services, lit a candle and prayed for Barbara, instructing two of their members to carry loving messages to her on their behalf. For them, as for MOW, it compensated for years of hard work, ridicule, and charges of how "selfish" they were to trouble the Church of England with the concerns of women.

In Britain it must be said the sin of sexism is still scarcely recognized. Bishops make fine, noble speeches about racism in this country (and quite right, too). But most of them live far from the streets and neighborhoods where the racial conflicts are fought. The gender conflict, on the other hand, is uncomfortably close to home — it affects relationships with their wives, their mothers and daughters, their secretaries, the women deacons who now serve under them. Old unhealed wounds are opened, some real shift in the structures of power is asked for. Worst of all, in this slow-moving country, it involves *change*.

This leaves the women in the Church of England in an odd position of having a great deal of token support from the bishops, while finding it to be a sort of fairy gold. Turn to your valiant supporters when you are being attacked by the opposition, expect them to speak up, or to vote at some crucial debate, and suddenly all but one or two of them are silent or gone, turned to dust in your hands. Some of them have fits of courage, and in moments of vision will make a statement that thrills the blood. But the Old Boy Network, which, to a depressing extent, *is* the Church of England, has a discipline so subtle that the bruises don't even show. Nobody in that regiment marches for long to a different drummer.

Yet perhaps this discovery has been the most useful that women have made. On the one hand it has made us much stronger and more self-reliant, and has caused us to look closely and critically at the church in a way unimaginable even 10 years ago. We know now that we are not just interested in getting women ordained as we were when we first asked for this — now we want much more. We want the church changed to an extent at present almost unimaginable and we are prepared to put a lot of work and thought into making sure it happens. The eye-opening process has made us much more appreciative, too, of the handful of men who have stood with us through good times and bad — busy parish priests who have turned out to our meetings and services and conferences, in some cases damaging their careers by doing so. Other men who have cheered us and urged us on when times were hard, often seeing the issues of unfairness and injustice more clearly than we saw them ourselves, encouraging us to forget being "good girls" and insist on the changes we needed.

Finally, of course, the whole process has taught us to love and trust and appreciate our sisters as we move out of old fears and timidity. We have learned so much about how to work together, how to express Christian thinking in words and prayers and various kinds of action. What has been rich about the whole thing has been the extraordinary release of our energy. "It's like being part of the early church," one woman said to me. A long-imprisoned genie, or Jeannie, has been let out of its bottle, and its newfound strength is something to marvel at.

One of the things the Jeannie has achieved is that we have actually got to know women in other parts of the world, who once seemed impossibly far away. At MOW's Canterbury Conference in 1986, as hangers-on at the edges of the Lambeth Conference, and as joyful participants at Barbara Harris' consecration, we have become friends with women in Africa and India and South America and Hong Kong, in Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States — we write and telephone and share the coming church with them and they hear us and understand us in the way that so many of our fathers in God in this country repeatedly fail to do (though the door is always open). The network grows, and grows stronger.

There is no doubt that at present the strongest allegiance of some of us is to the women of the Anglican Communion — it is an allegiance that transcends national and church frontiers — and at this time in particular it is to Barbara Harris and the women of the Episcopal Church.

This comes as a sort of love letter to all of you and to the church that made this historical decision, a decision that points to the end, however distant, of sexism, as it also incidentally points to the end of racism. In a world torn by racism and sexism Barbara's election is a loving and healing act, one that will have unforeseeable creative consequences.

Never mind courtesy and respect, those are not in question. Like the fairy godmother at the christening we think we can do much better than that. Please accept, Barbara, our wonder, our enthusiasm, our joy, our delight, our pleasure, our laughter, our tears, our hope, our pride, our sympathy, our support, our loyalty and above all, our love. We think it's smashing, marvelous, bliss, fantastic, the nicest thing to happen in years. We will make songs about it, we will tell stories about it, we will tell our daughters, and our daughters' daughters. It will become a myth and a legend and part of that history of which women have been most deprived. The soil of Massachusetts will become special, sacred to us. When we go there we will say "This is the place where Barbara Harris . . ." and we will tell the story all over again and be glad for ourselves and for other women. For in Boston, one Saturday morning, history was made, and those whose hearts were groaning and travailing in the Spirit to give birth to the future came to help that birth happen.

And they rejoiced . . . TW

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Uppity women & authentic ecumenism

by Rosemary Ruether

Among the panoply of arguments in the Anglican Communion against the consecration of women priests, and now of Barbara C. Harris as bishop, is that such procedures would jeopardize ecumenical relationships with Rome. The Pope himself has encouraged this concern with a note to the Archbishop of Canterbury, echoed by an occasional conservative Roman Catholic bishop, such as Raymond Lessard, a member of the 24-member international Anglican-Roman Catholic unity talks.

But, as far as I know, there has been no general outcry from Roman Catholic bishops, nor from Roman Catholic theologians or laity against these Anglican developments. One has a suspicion that if conservative Roman Catholics could not be found to oppose the ordination of women, some Anglicans would invent them.

There are several startling assumptions that lie behind this right-wing "ecumenical argument". First of all, the assumption seems to be that church unity lies in relations between the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury — a kind of mutual appreciation club between patriarchs. Unity is seen as an alliance, or even a merger, between heads of corporations. Thus it does not seem startling to these "ecumenists" to imagine a Rome-Canterbury alliance based on insulting and disregarding the full humanity and Christian status of the majority of both churches — namely, the women.

It is hardly imaginable that these right-wing Anglican ecumenists would regard principles they hold dear — such as forfeiting the right of clergy to marry or accepting the Vatican I decrees of the Pope's infallibility and universal jurisdiction — as expendable for the cause of unity with Rome. Yet, with a reactionary papacy sternly upholding celibacy for Roman Catholic priests and intervening throughout the world in episcopal appointments to shore up centralized control, it is unlikely there would be much give by the papacy on these issues in any final negotiations.

The occasional acceptance of an already married Anglican priest into communion with Rome does not fundamentally change the Vatican's principle of priestly celibacy as normative. But the issues of infallibility and universal jurisdiction are really the key ones. Anglicans delude themselves if they think the present Pope plans to surrender these claims.

Rather than a false optimism that unity is around the corner between Anglicans and Rome, impeded only by uppity women, it would be more helpful if Anglican ecumenical theologians would reflect on what communion and church unity is all about. Is church unity primarily institutional corporate mergers, with the ideal goal being one centralized global organization? Or is not church unity and communion fundamentally spiritual, an experience of being one in the Spirit that long preceded in Christian thought any hierarchy above the level of the local communities?

Does not true unity in the Spirit need to respect cultural differences and even a certain diversity in theological and liturgical traditions, as well as a plurality of self-governing historical churches? The historical plurality of the churches needs to be viewed not only as a scandal, but also as a gift. The richness of understanding in the cultural expression of the Christian message cannot be found in one tradition alone. It is this dialogue within the variety of traditions that gives us insights into the fuller and truer catholicity of the church.

Moreover, a certain plurality of churches may be important to preserve genuine Christian freedom. Does anyone really want one universal papal ecclesiastical empire? Would it not be more helpful for the welfare of the Roman Catholic Church if Anglicans spent more time defending their own tradition of communion between autocephalous churches, rather than muting a critique of the papal model of church unity based on global monarchical centralization?

Many other strange assumptions underlie the right-wing Anglican "ecumenical argument" against women's ordination. For example, it is taken for granted that ecumenical relations between Anglicans and the rest of world Protestantism is irrelevant. Apparently only ecumenism with Rome and Constantinople counts. They yearn to get into the "old boys' club" of patriarchs. The fact that 500 million Christians — almost a third of world Christianity — are Protestants, and Anglicans are part of that growing body of churches that ordain women, is ignored.

The patriarchal ecumenists, in fact, have a strange habit of speaking as though there were not already between 15 and 135 years of experience with ordained women in many Christian churches. Even among "priestly churches" that claim unbroken apostolic succession of bishops from the Middle Ages, we have the example of the Swed-

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Dr. Rosemary Radford Ruether, noted feminist author and theologian, teaches at Garrett Theological Seminary in Evanston, Ill.

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ish Lutheran Church, which has ordained women since 1958. Instead, women's ordination is constantly spoken of as though it were an untested, impending disaster.

Another odd assumption, and one which Anglican patriarchal ecumenists share with the Pope, is that Christian practices which have gone on for most of the historical memory of the church must therefore be infallible. The church as a historical institution is not recognized as an expression of sinful and fallible human beings capable of significant wrong-doing in long-established practices.

This assumption of indefectibility in long-established practices is hardly in accord with what we would have to acknowledge in many other areas. For example, beginning with the New Testament (rooted in the Old) and carried on by a major line of theologians, canon law and church practice until the mid-19th century, slavery was justified as a morally acceptable expression of the divine will for human relations. Can anyone today doubt that such a long-established tradition was sinfully erroneous?

Religious and racial animosity toward Jews has been accepted among Christians for an even longer period. Significant questioning of these views only began after the Holocaust of 1942-45. Yet can anyone question that this long-established practice of anti-semitism was sinfully erroneous?

The history of sexism in the church parallels these forms of discrimination. Like them, sexism has only begun to be condemned by the modern recognition of the full personhood and equal dignity of all human beings. Is it not likely that the exclusion of women from ordination reflects a similar history of error for which the churches have only begun to repent?

Authentic inter-communion between divided churches must be based on truth and justice, not on the flattering sense of belonging to one of the oldest exclusive male clubs. Such decisions to enter into communion should spring from prophetic renewal among these churches of the vision of the Church as a community of redemption.

Anglicans could best serve this cause of prophetic renewal by affirming that repentance from sexism is an integral expression of this Christian vision, not an expendable accommodation to contemporary society. They should make clear that the recent shift to women's ordination among growing numbers of churches reflects this rediscovery of the original vision of the church as a community of equals, rather than lamenting that this might disqualify them for membership in the patriarchal club.

A formidable number of Roman Catholics see the ordination of women as a necessary development that must take place in their church in order to move forward in the Vatican II vision of the Church as People of God. An impressive share of the pastoral ministry in the Roman Catholic Church is, in fact, being done by women, precisely because of the untenability of an all-male, celibate clergy.

Roman Catholic theologians and Scripture scholars have made clear that the recent Vatican declarations against women's ordination cannot be sustained, theologically or scripturally. Karl Rahner, the leading 20th-century Roman Catholic theologian, even called the Vatican Declaration of 1976 against women's ordination a "heretical" document. An "ecumenical" alliance of Canterbury and Rome that sold out these reform movements would not be regarded as helpful by these Roman Catholics. Rather, it would be seen as an insult and a barrier to the authentic future of the Roman Catholic church and genuine ecumenism.

Therefore I suggest that Anglicans pluck up their courage to play the role of a prophetic avant-garde. By ordaining women to the priesthood — and now the episcopacy — they are helping to lead the way to that true reform, renewal and unity that can only come from the Christian churches being faithful to the gospel message of equality in Christ, and no longer modeling their ministry on the patriarchal family and society. TW

Episcopal bishops lay hands on head of Barbara Harris. John Tlumacki/*The Boston Globe*

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On gender, education, ideology

by J. Antonio Ramos

The recent election and historic consecration of Barbara C. Harris as Suffragan Bishop of Massachusetts and first woman to be named a bishop in the Anglican Communion, has surfaced a series of issues which I believe should be debated openly and publicly in the Episcopal Church and ecumenically. The unwarranted and regrettable personal attacks against her should not obscure the important theological implications of her ordination to the priesthood and subsequent consecration. In spite of divergent positions and the emotional factors involved, it is important to address these implications since they relate to the ministry and mission of the Episcopal Church, the Anglican Communion and the wider Catholic and Evangelical community. I will focus primarily on three:

1) The gender issue,

2) The so-called "second-class" education issue, and

3) Political and ideological issues.

But first, let me share some preliminary thoughts about the ecumenical dimensions and the unique contribution of the Episcopal Church in that arena.

At stake is not just the validity of Barbara Harris' orders to priesthood and episcopacy, but the validity of such orders for any woman, not only in the Episcopal Church but in the wider Anglican Communion and the Catholic tradition which we uphold and have historically maintained. What is involved is no less than the doctrines of Creation and of God's redemptive action in history through Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit.

At this time the Episcopal Church is moving ahead on the issue of women's ordination to the priesthood and the episcopate, in spite of the controversy and pain these decisions cause. The church's action is making a lasting contribution to understanding what constitutes the fullness of orders for both men and women, and to reconsidering other related issues, such as expanding the concept of a triune God, and of Christ's own royal priesthood.

As we tackle these important theological questions, undoubtedly we need to take seriously the past and our catholic heritage and traditions. However, we also need to remind ourselves constantly that we are a servant community in a journey towards God's kingdom. In that journey we are confronted with the struggle of women for dignity, equality, justice and their rightful place in society and in the church, just as Peter and Paul were confronted with the issue of the mission and ministry of the church in the gentile world. Or as Martin Luther King was confronted with issues of color and race in his time.

When I review the events of the last 15 years — the turmoil of Philadelphia in 1974, the intense meeting of the House of Bishops in Chicago, the emotionally-charged 1976 General Convention, and the historic election and consecration of Barbara Harris — I wonder if we are not once again confronted with a situation parallel to that of Peter and Paul and Martin Luther King?

1) The gender issue

I have come to the conclusion that to insist that the validity of the priesthood and episcopacy is contingent on a person's gender is *heretical* thinking, just as it was *heretical* in the first centuries of the church when the Donatists claimed that the validity of orders conferred or sacraments celebrated were contingent on the moral dignity of the person conferring or celebrating.

The Episcopal Church has already pronounced itself unequivocally on the doctrinal question of gender. After the 1974 Philadelphia ordinations, the church Court of Inquiry appointed to examine charges brought against the four consecrating bishops present ruled that the issue involved was a *doctrinal* one, which the House of Bishops had to resolve. At the Special Meeting in Chicago, on the basis of the report submitted by a panel of theologians, the House of Bishops ruled that the Philadelphia ordinations were "valid but irregular." Then the 1976 General Convention, acting as it has done since 1789 to resolve matters of discipline, doctrine and worship in the Episcopal Church, voted to open all orders to women. Finally, when the Diocese of Massachusetts democratically elected Barbara Harris, the appropriate consents were given and the consecration was held in accordance with ancient catholic traditions prescribed in the Prayer Book.

With due respect to those who continue to insist that women cannot be conferred with, nor in turn confer, valid orders, and therefore cannot confer any valid sacraments (i.e. Baptism, Holy Eu-

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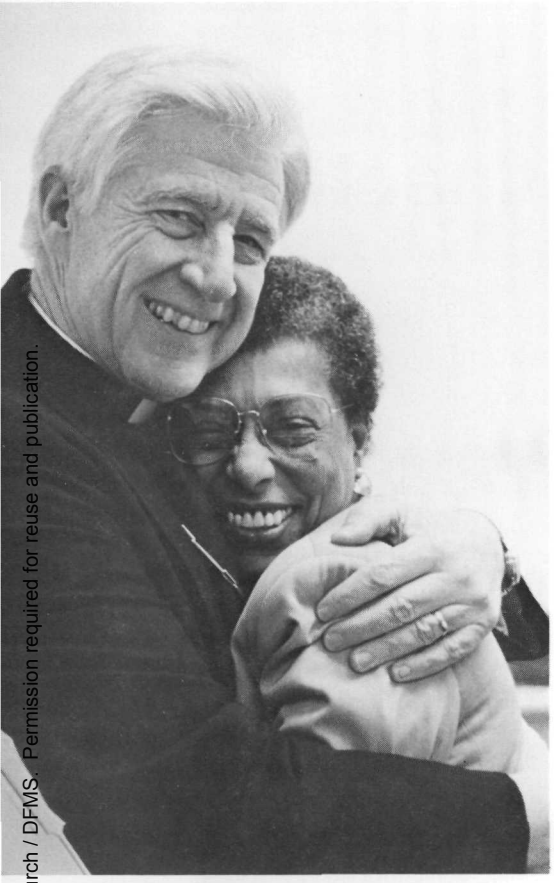

Jim Solheim

David E. Johnson, Bishop of Massachusetts, welcomes Barbara C. Harris, his new suffragan, with a hug.

charist) to others, in my estimation, these persons pursue the Donatist route.

Today we do not find ourselves in the ecumenical situation of the first centuries when the church was one. However, if that were the case, I would be among the first to welcome a universal council to rule on the issue of gender as a prerequisite to qualify for orders.

2) The education issue

I was born in a remote, poor rural area of Puerto Rico. Although my family was one of the "better-offs" in that community, we lived in a simple wooden house, two to three (often five to six) to a bed. In those days the Episcopal Church in Puerto Rico made it a priority to minister to rural people. There was a small church where I grew up, which from early childhood became the center of my life. At the age of 10 I wanted to follow in the footsteps of the Episcopal priest serving there, who had never been to university or seminary.

The then-Bishop of Puerto Rico, the Rt. Rev. A. Ervine Swift, made it his goal to develop indigenous ministry and work himself out of a job, which he subsequently did. Under his sponsorship I went to a private high school near San Juan to learn English, then to college in Wisconsin and finally to seminary in Cambridge, Mass. I enjoyed the best possible education in preparation for the ministry — little did I know I would end up a bishop at 31.

There are others in the Third World and among the poor in the United States who have had the privilege of such an education — but we are a very small minority. There are many more who, like Barbara Harris, have had to make it through their own efforts and against all odds. They are self-made people whose wisdom and knowledge quite often exceed that obtained in the classrooms of the universities and seminaries of this world. Their theology is born out of their daily and constant encounter with the Word of God in their struggles.

Right now there are a number of bishops in the Episcopal Church who are the product of such a "second-class" education. If university and seminary education were required, what would become of the church in the Third World and in the poor communities of more affluent societies, where such education is for the elite only? In many of these situations alternative forms have emerged for ministry development, which do as good a job and frequently are even more relevant and contextual than those of our recognized institutions. Ultimately the "second-class" concept applied to Barbara Harris and the millions she represents is fostered by those who still believe that nothing good can come out of the "lower classes" and, in a world increasingly populated by the poor and people of color, continue to hold fast to an "aristocratic" view of the church and its orders.

3) Political and ideological issues

In baptism, we promise loyalty to Jesus Christ. In the Episcopal church, when we are ordained to any of its orders we promise to be "loyal to the doctrine, discipline and worship of Christ." At no time are we required to pledge allegiance to the flag of where we happened to be ordained and where we will exercise our ministry. Those who accuse Barbara Harris of "social activism" and question anyone who espouses the cause of the poor and oppressed are trying to pose as being above political bias, when in fact their positions are highly political and ideologically based. In my opinion, they give higher allegiance to the claims of Caesar than to God's, who, as recorded in the Bible, had compassion for the oppressed, prophetically denounced injustice and announced the rule of justice. Jesus of Nazareth, in his life and ministry, in his words and deeds, was biased towards the poor, the outcast, the foreigner, women and the "least ones." If yearly we observe and celebrate the lives of saints, confessors and martyrs, and are constantly reminded of the persecuted Christians of all ages, it is because these men and women decided to pattern their lives upon giving to "Caesar what is of Caesar and to God what belongs to God." Jesus did so and was put to death by the religious and political Caesars of his days. In my view there is no political or ideological neutrality, for even silence in a given situation is an option with political consequences. The fundamental question we constantly face as a community of the faithful, especially in a world of growing poverty and disparity, of social and economic barriers, prejudice and racism, is whether our ultimate loyalty is to God or to some other gods. TW

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The ECPC/WITNESS connection

by Robert L. DeWitt

It was more than a coincidence that when elected suffragan Bishop of Massachusetts, Barbara Harris was serving as Executive Director of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, which publishes THE WITNESS magazine. This journal has more than a 70-year history of pressing for change in the church by bearing testimony to prophetic movements. After a lapse following the death of its long-time editor, the Rev. William Spofford, THE WITNESS resumed publication in 1974. That first issue was devoted to a report on the ordination of the first women priests in the Episcopal Church — the "Philadelphia Eleven." Fifteen years later that historic event has been completed by its logical sequence, the consecration of a woman bishop.

It is difficult fully to grasp just how significant an event that consecration was. As our minds grope for parallels, the controversy in the days of the Apostles over the admission of gentiles comes to mind. Had it not been for that crucial policy decision, the church might well have remained a sub-group within Judaism. There are no "ifs" in history, but one cannot but wonder. Similarly, what would be the future for a church which, in the first century having admitted gentiles to membership, refused in the 20th century to admit women to episcopal as well as to priestly orders? Would it gradually become a relic, comparable to the remaining "male only" business/social clubs? Those associations flourished with considerable vigor for quite some years, but are now increasingly seen as throwbacks, vestiges of a wrong-headed exclusiveness. Is the Church at large headed down that one-way path again? It may be that we will have to wait for the Church of Rome to provide the answer to that question. And perhaps not too long a wait, at that.

It is also appropriate that during her years with the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, Bishop Harris had been writing a monthly column for THE WITNESS entitled "A Luta Continua" ("The Struggle Continues"). It serves not only as an apt designation for her life to date, but also as a fit chapter heading for the experiences about to unfold before her.

The double jeopardy of being Black and female is well-known. Barbara Harris did not, like the goddess Athena, spring fully armed from the brow of Jove, equipped for the struggles of life. Like all of us, and more than most of us, she has had to make her way by increments, facing obstacles and confronting difficulties not of her own making. When her abilities and interests took her into the world of business, a world she came to know well and to negotiate successfully, she never forgot who she was, and Whose she was. This was because she was situated squarely in the life of the Black Church, which nourished, taught and sustained her over the years. Biblical imagery, theology, liturgy and gospel hymns have been her lifelong bread and meat. She is a daughter of the church, raised in the bosom of that family. Of course, it goes without saying that she is not perfect. Neither were Peter or Paul. Nor is any one of us. Regardless, it is this human clay out of which God, for lack of better material, makes laypersons, priests, bishops and occasionally, saints. This time, for the first time, it pleased God to make a bishop of a Black woman; and we marvel at God's audacity.

It is audacious to run counter to two millennia of church history, to ignore the "infallible" protestations of the Pope, to risk conflict and even schism within the Anglican family of churches. Audacious, that is, until we recall whose Church this is. If, indeed, it be the Church of God, and if God is indeed God, we may wonder and marvel, but should not question the authenticity of what a sovereign God does with God's own.

More audacious, it would seem, would be the expectation on God's part that a woman, that any person, can be expected to cope adequately with the testings and harassments awaiting Bishop Harris in both the near and long range future. At her consecration service it was made clear that she can expect non-acceptance from some quarters. Individuals, parishes, other bishops, other branches of Anglicanism — each will in some measure participate in "shunning" her — the

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The Rt. Rev. Robert L. DeWitt, former Bishop of Pennsylvania, was one of the consecrators in the 1974 "Philadelphia 11" ordinations. Former editor of THE WITNESS, he is a member of the magazine's editorial board.

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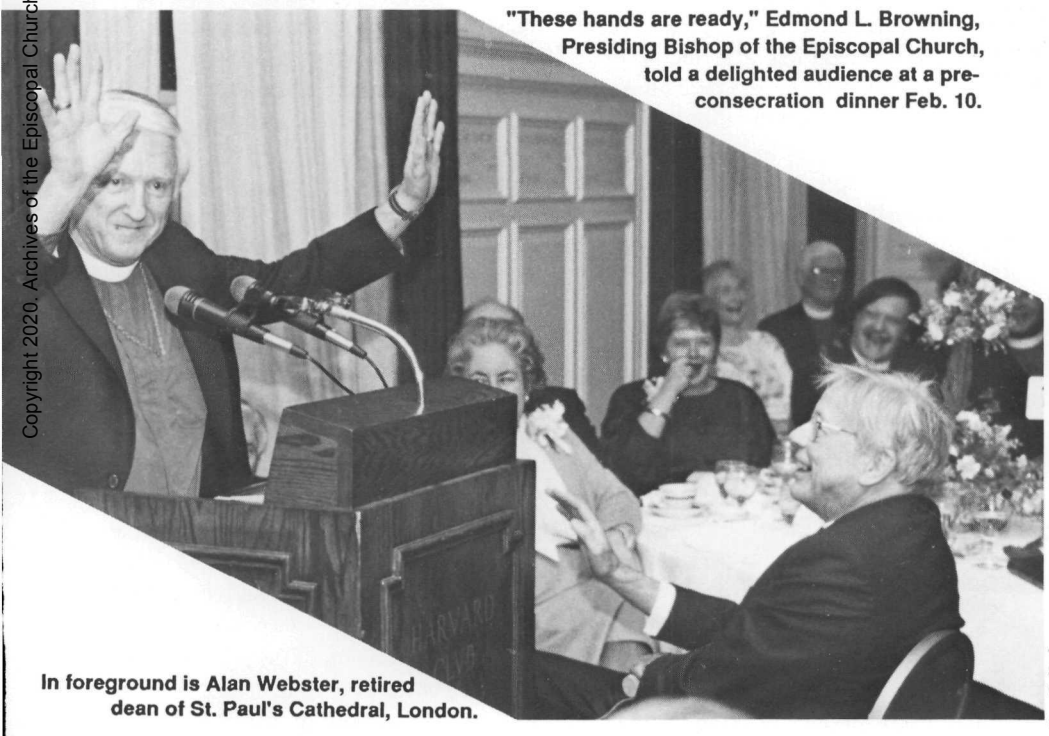
most virulent kind of excommunication.

Did God consider all that, as the Diocese of Massachusetts responded to the Spirit and designated her to be a bishop in the Church of God? To this one can only respond that an all-wise God surely knows what is going on, and is competent to deal with it. Bishop Harris, as we have said, did not "spring fully armed from the brow of Jove"; but available to her is the whole armor of God. And that armor — truth, integrity, the Gospel, faith, salvation, the word of God — consists of resources familiar to the household of faith in which Bishop Harris was reared.

The most reassuring thing about the hazards and the threats which Bishop Harris' consecration has elicited is the Episcopal Church's calm, unhurried decision about her election. Although the election has been front page news around the world, the probability if not inevitability of a woman being elected a bishop is not news. It has been a familiar prospect in the Episcopal Church since the first 11 women were priested in 1974. Since then, approximately 1200 women have become priests, any one of them potentially electable as a bishop. In recent years a number of women priests have been nominated in episcopal elections. Further, women priests are serving a wide spectrum of ministries and are dispersed across the country. They have become an accepted part of the fabric of the Episcopal Church.

Those who continue to question the legitimacy of what has been a very deliberate, slow-paced process seem to loom larger in press accounts than they are in actual numbers and significance. Presiding Bishop Ed Browning, in speaking to a group of participants and officiants on the eve of the consecration service, referred to the painstaking process of consultation he had conducted, both before and after Bishop Harris' election. He concluded by saying, as he raised his arms, "These hands are ready!" The Episcopal Church is responding resoundingly: "Amen!" TW



"These hands are ready," Edmond L. Browning, Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, told a delighted audience at a pre-consecration dinner Feb. 10.

In foreground is Alan Webster, retired dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

Jim Solheim

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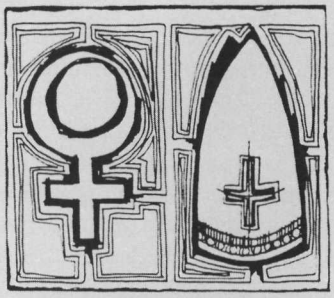

Barbara Harris: Bishop

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Helping to carry the load

by Carter Heyward

The consecration of Barbara Clementine Harris was a magnificent moment in the history of the church. But its significance does not lie primarily in the fact that Anglicans have at last a chief sacramental pastor who is not a "prince," "father," or "old boy." After all, the radical break in the male-stream of Anglicanism's ecclesiastical and sacramental authority occurred not in the consecration of its first woman bishop two months ago but rather in the ordination of a woman, Li Tim-Oi, to the priesthood in China 45 years ago.

Some of the fuss over Bishop Harris' emergence can be understood only in the context of the lament of a remnant faithful to the highly symbolic tradition of preserving all-male sacramental leadership in salvation history. These are the folks for whom the sacred is mediated through the presence of male genitalia. Whether from the perspective of those who hold this titillating view of redemption or of the approximately 1500 women priests around the world, there's really nothing to be said in response to this kinky theology except *yes* or *no*.

The arrival of the first Anglican woman bishop (and of those women bishops who will follow) provides outstanding opportunity for the phallocentric theologians to speak their piece on behalf of a god who gives men and boys a special, sacred thing that women and girls don't have. Happily, the debate about whether this "special thing" is necessary to salvation has been over for more than a decade now in the Episcopal Church. We still hear it rumbling around the Church of England, the church in Australia, elsewhere in the Anglican Communion, and of course among the Romans and Orthodox. But to have it dragged back up in the Episcopal Church, in relation to Barbara and the rest of us, has been both predictable and boring. To this worn-out plea on behalf of phallocentric power, thousands of us said *no* in 1974, and *no* again in 1975. Coming right along, the Episcopal Church said *no* in 1976, and *no* again in the 1989 consecration of its first woman bishop.

But that's not all that happened in the election and consecration of Bishop Harris. In calling her, we asked not only for a woman, but moreover for one whose African-American roots in slavery, suffering, Black culture and the struggle for liberation have made her who she is. Indeed, many of us in Massachusetts wanted a woman bishop of color because we realized it's high time to begin healing the painful rupture between the perceived interests of White women and people of color in the Episcopal Church and in the larger society. Those involved in promoting the election of Barbara Harris knew that the choice of a Black woman could be an immensely empowering symbol for Black Episcopalians and for other people of color in the church as well as for White women, in our attempts to struggle together against racism, sexism, and other structures of oppression in the world and church.

About a year before Barbara's nomination, the Massachusetts chapter of the Episcopal Women's Caucus had prepared educational materials on women and the episcopate and in January 1988, the Episcopal Divinity School in Cambridge had sponsored a continuing education program on women bishops. It was at this conference that Mary Glasspool, rector of St. Luke's and St. Margaret's parish in Allston, first asked Barbara about the possibility of allowing her name to be placed in nomination for suffragan bishop. In subsequent months, Mary Glasspool, working in concert with such Black leaders in the church as Canon Missioner Ed Rodman, managed to pull together a ragtag coalition of Episcopalians of color, White feminist priests and laywomen, and progressive White men to work on Barbara's behalf.

Within a couple of weeks prior to the election, it had become clear to a number of us, including Barbara, that there was at least a real possibility that she would be elected, and that we in Massachusetts would indeed have become a channel through which God is revealing something to us about the sacred power in the lives of historically marginalized women.

Yet even more happened in the choice of Barbara Harris. In her, we consecrated not only a Black woman, but one who embodies a good bit of what is most despised and trivialized within the Anglo culture that has shaped our spiritual tradition. For one thing, Barbara has not been educated in the halls of "educated men," but rather in the course of living life among her people. In choosing such a person, we voiced a firm *no* to those arrogant dimensions of our religious heritage which demean an intelligence cultivated by living with an ear close to sacred ground.

The media was quick to point out that Barbara Harris is also divorced (as was her closest competitor in the episcopal

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The Rev. Carter Heyward, ordained as one of the "Philadelphia 11" in 1974, is Professor of Theology at the Episcopal Divinity School in Cambridge, Mass. A contributing editor to THE WITNESS, she has published numerous books and articles on feminist theology.

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David Zadig

Mary Glasspool, center, who nominated Barbara Harris rejoices with women caucus members Rosanna Kazanjian, left, and Halley Wilcox after Harris is declared winner in Boston election.

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election, as well as her predecessor as Suffragan Bishop of Massachusetts — both of them White, Anglo males). As Paul Washington suggested in his remarkable sermon at the consecration, here is a woman who "knows not a man." Put otherwise, Barbara Harris carries, legally and sacramentally, the full weight of being her own person in a sexist and heterosexist world and church.

Of course many will assume that she is a lesbian, because what after all, is a "lesbian" if not a woman who doesn't need to be attached to a man in order to be fully herself? Bishop Harris represents all women, lesbian and heterosexual, who will not be patronized by heterosexist assumptions about who or what is a "real" woman. In making her our bishop, we said *no* to the anti-erotic tradition which punishes us for daring to live beyond sex-role expectations into the fullness of our capacities to love one another as sisters and brothers, friends and lovers and partners, whether single, divorced, married, celibate, sexually active, lesbian, gay, bisexual, or heterosexual.

And still, we did even more than this in choosing Barbara Harris. In her, we tapped a prophet, a sister with a passion for justice, to exercise spiritual authority among us. Bad enough that it's a "she" and a Black "she" at that. Terrible that she doesn't have the proper degrees or "know a man." But she is also a prophet!

Not that she's the first prophet in the episcopacy. Several of the men who consecrated her have been compelling prophetic figures in the contemporary church. But most male bishops have been elevated to the episcopate precisely because they weren't controversial, or, sometimes, despite the fact that they were. Few men in the history of Anglicanism, and no women until Barbara Harris, have been chosen and made bishop *because* they are prophets. Yet that's exactly why so many women priests and laywomen of all colors, Black Episcopalians, and justice-seeking White men in Massachusetts wanted Barbara as our bishop: because she stands with and for those who have been marginalized or outcast by the dominant forces in the world/church. This is the locus of her spiritual authority.

Like most men, many White women and some women of color as well would find themselves badly compromised by election to the episcopacy. It would be tempting to try, however much in vain, to be acceptable to the old boys' club, to make peace with oppression if that's what it would take to keep peace in the "House" (and we can be sure it would).

The consecration of Bishop Harris signalled another possibility: What if, in the midst of the violent, distressing conditions being generated by the reactionary politics of Reagan-Bush, a small, but nonetheless revolutionary, turn is being made toward the realization of justice among us? What if we are beginning to move together, in ways yet barely perceptible, into a reversal of the nefarious social values which have so damaged us as a people for the last two decades? Could it be that the primary significance of Barbara Harris' consecration is in its signaling a *potentially* radical shift in the prevailing norms of church and society? "Potentially" because neither one consecration, nor one woman bishop in herself, can produce such a shift.

Barbara Harris is a compassionate, intelligent, witty sister with strong political commitments rooted in the liberation tradition of Christian spirituality. Yet, in a very real, historic sense, *Bishop* Harris is, at this moment, primarily a *symbol*, which is a terribly difficult thing for a person to be. She and her consecration represent a global movement, a historical push toward that realm in which justice "rolls down like water and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream." We need to realize that, only insofar as we are moving with her, can she or we hope to see any actual, substantive shifting toward justice and empowerment.

In other words, the future of Bishop Harris, of what she can actually do, is up to us. We have empowered her to bless us by representing God's own passion for justice. In so doing, may she empower us to bless one another as sisters, brothers, and friends of the Sacred Spirit. If we do this, rather than expecting one sister to carry our load for us, we will be bearers of blessing and joy to this friend and bishop, Barbara Harris. TW

Pentecost Again

"The power behind you
is greater than the task
ahead of you."
— The Rev. Audrey Bronson

"Could God die, I would die"
Rainbow light!
Mother-Father light!
It's Pentecost again!

Mother, Sister, Friend of those enslaved
and granddaughter and great-great-great-granddaughter —
but Grandmother to the free,
helper of the homeless, hopeless, helpless ones —
O Christ, be as a Mother to us . . .

"O God, there is something above, let it reach me"
"Today I have not forgotten you, Beloved.
Today I call Myself to you.
Today I send you one who knows
about prison, who knows about hunger,
who knows of hungry, broken lives
and who helps bind wounds and who marches on —
and who knows successes of sheer giftedness,
for My gifts still count!
Here, world, My gift to you, your new bishop,
Barbara Clementine Harris, *as she is.*
See her glowing mitre point to justice,
for the Struggle Continues!
And today she dances among you on fire,
but not alone — just another of My miracles.
Barbara, bring forth — but not alone.
Continue — but not alone.
Wear the mitred hat, the crown of fire,
and remember that My burden borne in love
is a beautiful burden. Barbara, begin —
but not alone. Fire spreads. It's Pentecost again.
Get ready, world. Be born with her,
a new people on this day.
For Shalom, My heart's desire, is coming through,
is coming down into My world.
Sweet World, begin.
It's Pentecost again!"

Consecration
This day was born in Eternity,
this day is a heavenly day.
Sweet, sweet Spirit, we pray
to be as open to You forever
as we are this day.

Right Reverend Bishop Barbara Clementine Harris —
African American, first female bishop among the Apostles
on whom we can lay our eyes and hands . . .
You embrace — in your mitred Pentecost crown of flame,
in your African bright garden, thunderstorm and lightning
symphonic fuscia, purple and gold, in your true
green tree of life worshipping clothes — us.

And our Mother from China, the Reverend Li Tim-Oi,
embraces you, and history resounds with a loud
supernova cataclysm of reviving rainbow joy
as the hands of God fold together around us
and we are held together in new wonder,
and our future pains and past pains
in this meeting moment are transformed
and our once and future wounds are bound
and in this moment is pure, pure gentleness and praise,
for the strong and tender outcasts have been brought home,
and the faces and hands of God that were rejected
are shining on us at last!
It's Pentecost again!

Alla Renée Bozarth
Boston, Feb. 11, 1989

The Rev. Alla Renée Bozarth is one of the "Philadelphia 11," the first women ordained in the Episcopal Church 15 years ago. Now director of Wisdom House in Sandy, Ore., she is author of several books, including poetry. The epigrams, "Could God die" and "O God, there is something above" are translated from the Ashanti symbols on Bishop Harris' vestments. This poem is part of a longer piece.

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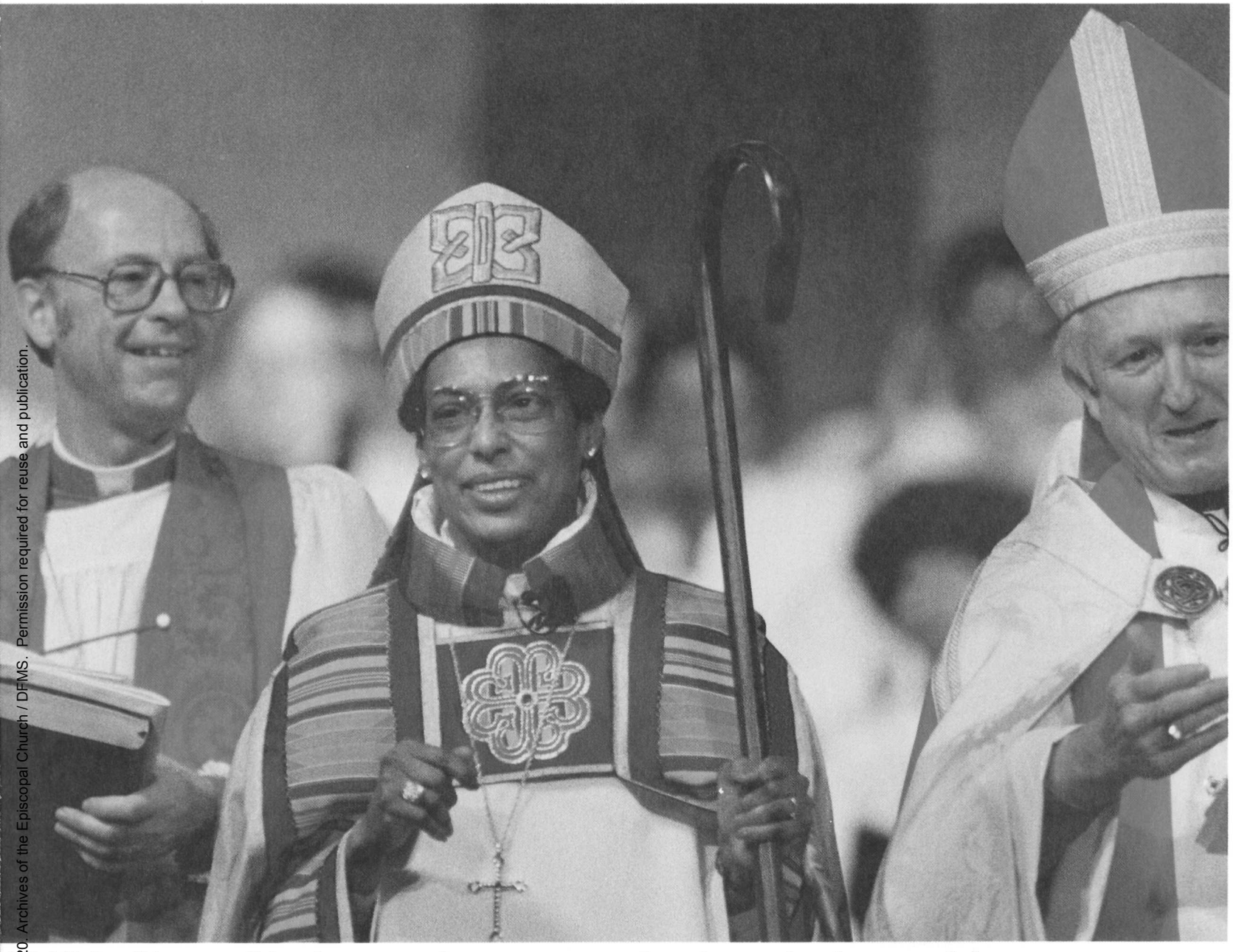

nd Maeda/*The Boston Globe*

She's number one — in the whole world

Following her consecration as Suffragan Bishop of Massachusetts — and consequently as first woman to become a bishop in the worldwide Anglican Communion — the Rt. Rev. Barbara C. Harris faced the congregation Feb. 11 in Hynes auditorium (above).

Episcopal Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning, (right), said that the event was the most exciting he had experienced in his term of office, and as Harris turned to face 8500 cheering well-wishers, Browning whispered to her, "Go for it!"

The Rt. Rev. Allen Bartlett, Bishop of Harris' home Diocese of Pennsylvania, (left), said the Harris election represents "the fullness of ministry which the church corporately decided on in 1976. This is a sign of that wholeness."

Harris' colorful vestments were made of Italian silk and Ghanian women's weave kente. Her mitre bears the Ashanti phrase, "Nyame Nwu Na M'awu" (Could God die, I would die), expressing God's eternity and creation's dependence. Her stole bears "Nyame Bribi Wo Soro, Ma No Mmeka Me Nsa" (O God, there is something above, let it reach me). The cope morse and back of chasuble shows "Onyamedua" — God's tree, a forked post found in most courtyards or planted at the entrances of the chief's palace as a sign of the people's dependence on God. The front of the chasuble bears the Chi Rho, ancient symbol based on the first two letters of Christ in Greek.

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'The ends of the world have met'

— Nan Peete

In 1988, the Rev. Nan Arrington Peete was one of two women priests invited to Lambeth to serve as consultants general by the Archbishop of Canterbury. In a conversation with THE WITNESS, she reflected on the consecration of her friend and colleague Barbara Harris. Peete participated in the service as a concelebrant. She currently serves as canon to the Ordinary in Atlanta, and is a member of the Board of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

Are there any flashbacks from your Lambeth trip that strike you as significant, related to the Feb. 11 event?

Well, in July of last year the *London Times* ran a picture of Barbara greeting Li Tim-Oi. The caption read, "The Rev. Barbara Harris, who wants to be the first woman bishop, meets the Rev. Florence Li Tim-Oi, the first woman priest." What a wonderfully prophetic picture to open the Lambeth Conference! Then on Feb. 11, 1989, Li Tim-Oi came to participate in Barbara's consecration and I watched them exchange greetings during the Peace. For me, this meeting of these two women, so small in stature but so large in spiritual presence, was one of those once in a lifetime, moving moments. It took place quietly and in a simple embrace that brought tears to the eyes. The Word was made flesh.

Could you comment a bit further on how you see that incarnational theology informing the Harris consecration?

As Anglicans, we have an incarnational faith. It is a lived faith, not an intellectual exercise. The Word is made flesh and dwells among us. But how do we live this out? The question now becomes a reality, not just an intellectual discussion, such as had taken place prior to Barbara's consecration.

One of the ways that lived faith is expressed is in the prayer at the end of the Litany for Ordinations. The prayer reads, "O God of unchangeable power and eternal light: look favorably on your whole church, that wonderful and sacred mystery; by the effectual working of your providence, carry out in tranquility the plan of salvation; let the whole world see and know that things which were cast down are being raised up, and things which had grown old are being made new, and that all things are being brought to their perfection by Him through whom all things are made, your Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who lives and reigns with you, in the unity of the Holy Spirit, one God, forever and ever. Amen." That prayer says let the whole world see and know that things which are cast down are being raised up. On Feb. 11 at Barbara's consecration and in 1944 when Li Tim-Oi was ordained, two women who had been cast down were raised up to stand tall in Christ. The ends of the world have met.

What other Lambeth issues are relevant here?

When I was at Lambeth the issue of women in the episcopate was discussed at great length. A resolution was passed that said we would agree to disagree and we would respect each other. Now, how do we live together? It takes on a different cast when there is a person involved. In reflecting on my experience, I think my presence at Lambeth and the presence of Margaret Wood, a priest from New Zealand, gave new meaning to women priests. The Word made flesh tends to transcend some of the stereotypes and previous notions some have of what it means to be a priest.

Barbara's election and consecration have also prompted us to examine the traditions of the church. The church in the United States calls its bishops in a different way than the Church of England. Here, the clergy and laity elect their bishops. They call forth from their own body the person to be consecrated as opposed to appointing or selecting a bishop by committee, as in England. The laity have a very strong role in the church here, and maybe other places could learn from it.

Another issue that is going to get discussed is the unity of the Anglican Communion. This unity is based on our oneness in Christ and not on the gender of the disciples. We confuse, I think the understanding of uniformity and unity — there is a difference.

Finally, the resurrection has made the impossible possible. We rejoice because the possibilities and opportunities which we had once thought closed, God has now opened. Barbara's consecration has made it possible that everybody's gifts can be used to their fullest.

What other images from the consecration were poignant for you ?

It's not often that one has an opportunity to participate and witness history being made. The spirit was electric, the enthu-

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siasm overwhelming. As Barbara processed into the hall, the place just exploded. My first reaction was, this must have been how Jesus felt as He came riding into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. But there comes a moment when you realize that Jesus is going to be sentenced to death. It was very like the point in the service when two people got up to voice their objections to Barbara's consecration.

Then something dramatic happened. Barbara's mother, "Miss Bea," got up and went over to her daughter's side, across the aisle. Barbara told me later that her mother embraced her and told her, "Have no fear. God is on our side. Everything is going to be all right." It was one of those moments mother and daughter shared quietly as though no one else was there.

Of course the laying on of hands with the sea of episcopal red and white was a sight I will never forget. And another remarkable moment was that of the bishops standing around the platform holding up the bread and wine while Barbara was consecrating.

What did the congregation look like; that is, who turned out?

The great number of clergy and bishops present made a profound statement, but it was the tremendous turnout of lay people that reminded us once again that the church is approximately 95% laity. All the different people from various parts of the country representing different ethnic backgrounds, different cultures—it truly was a gathering of the Church catholic! TW

MOVING?

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David Zadig

The new suffragan bishop introduces members of her family to the press, above, from left, Josephine White, her sister, and her mother, "Miss Bea." Not pictured is Sgt. Tommy Harris, who attended his sister's consecration in Air Force blues, beribboned with medals. David Johnson, Bishop of Massachusetts, looks on.

Harris family front row center

"Miss Bea," Barbara Harris' mother, moved from event to event during her daughter's consecration with such joie de vivre and ready wit that Massachusetts Bishop David Johnson said, "After meeting her my first thought was, 'maybe we've elected the wrong Harris.'"

When a shuttle bus arrived to take guests to a festive dinner at the Harvard Club the night before the consecration, Miss Bea, who is in her 80s, greeted the busload of people. Flourishing her cane, she said, "Mother Superior has arrived! Before this I was Mother Inferior," she laughed. Miss Bea still plays the organ at St. Augustine-of-Hippo Church in Norristown, Pa. "Barbara recruited me when she was priest-in-charge, and I'm still playing. 'Bus' takes me," she said.

Francis "Bus" Moseley, a friend of the family for some 20 years, attends services at Philadelphia's Church of St. Andrew and St. Monica and then drives Miss Bea to Norristown. As warden, Mosley trained acolytes under Harris.

Of the consecration, Joey White, Barbara's sister, said, "Of course I'm elated and humbled by this great honor, but I didn't need her election to convince me that my sister is the greatest person in the world."

The Harris family has lived in the same home in Philadelphia for more than 70 years. Miss Bea and Joey are members of St. Luke's, Germantown.

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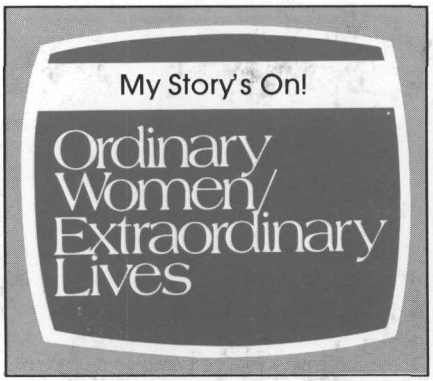

Edited by Paula Ross, Berkeley, Cal.

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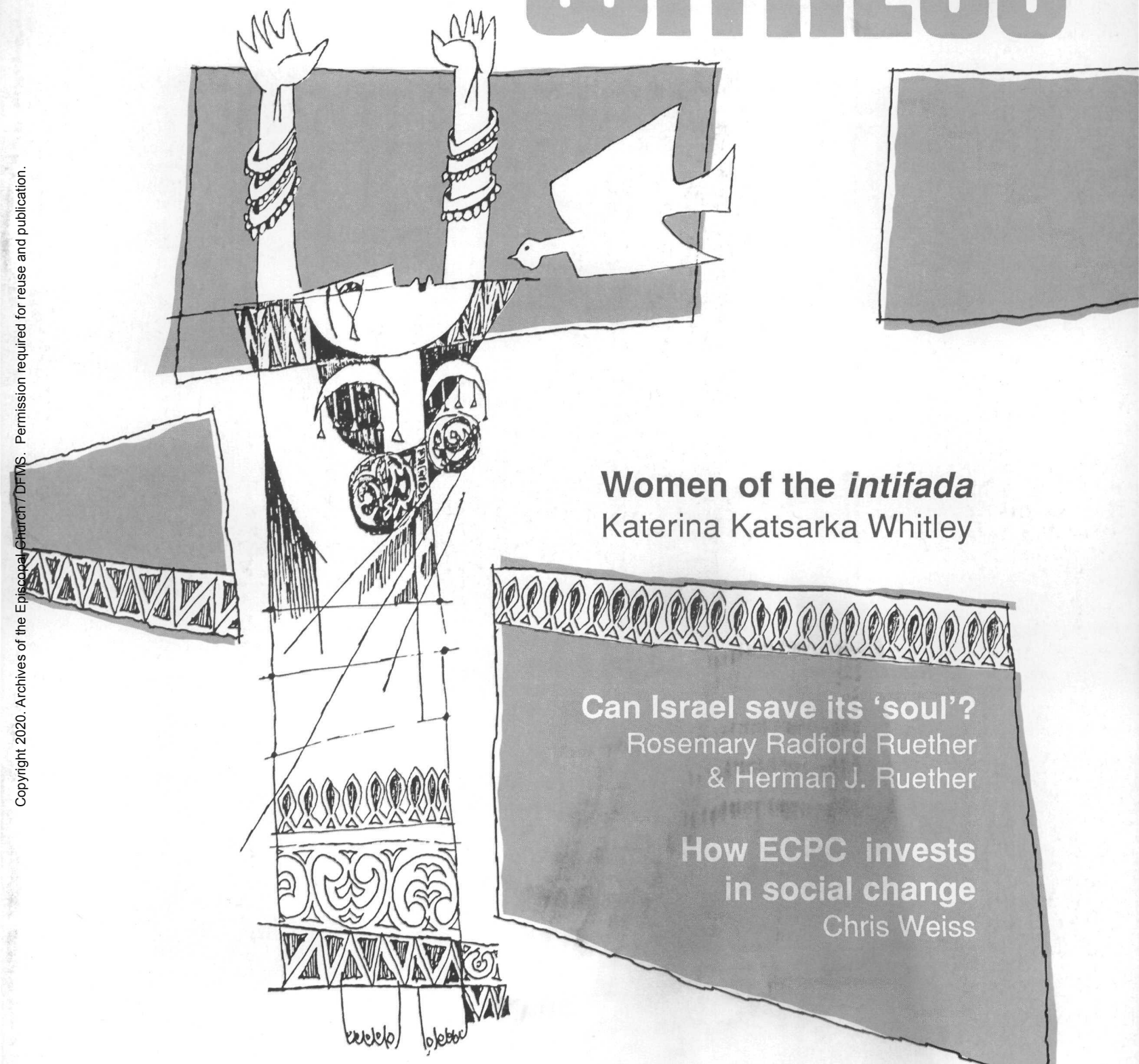

Women of the *intifada*
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& Herman J. Ruether

How ECPC invests in social change
Chris Weiss

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Letters

Article hits home

Aurora Camacho de Schmidt's article, "Battling unjust immigration laws," (March WITNESS) was a solid, to the point, and long overdue analysis, as well as an advocacy piece for immigrants who are steadily being squeezed right out of society like a wrung wash-rag.

The new immigration law, while providing for some at long last a leg to stand on, has major flaws, as Camacho so ably points out. One of its worst aspects — which many national religious bodies have protested to no avail — is the separation it forces upon families. At Immanuel Church, El Monte, where I work along with my friend and colleague Maria Cueto, 70% of our Spanish-speaking parishioners have been undocumented. Through the tremendous effort of Maria Cueto and others in the church, they were processed along with about 600 families, given their temporary resident alien cards, and are now into the second phase of amnesty.

But many are still left behind. For example, one of our parishioners from Guatemala qualified, but her two daughters who came here after January 1982 did not. At ages 17 and 21 they look to a bleak future. Unable to work at any but exploitative and clandestine jobs, they are unwilling to return to Guatemala where they have no immediate family and where economic, social and political conditions are in a state of permanent deterioration. These young women, having lived and gone to high school here, feel like they belong to this society; yet there is no way they can survive unless the law is amended to include family members in its coverage.

The larger task for the church is to be much more insistent and forceful in dealing with the major policy question behind the immigration issue; namely, how our wealthy and powerful nation is going to address more justly the economic and social deterioration of Mexico and Central America — which is causing the sharply increased influx of folk here through sheer desperation to survive.

American industrial and agricultural private investment in those countries, international debt repayment to U.S. banks, and a history of paternalistic diplomacy are intimately related to immigration problems in the United States. The gross injustices of our policies toward El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala must continue to receive our attention, but the larger economic and social conditions in the region — especially Mexico's — should be better understood and addressed.

The Rev. Richard W. Gillett
Pasadena, Cal.

Second suit against INS

Thank you for Aurora Camacho de Schmidt's powerful article about the new immigration law and the negative impact it has on the refugee community. The employer sanctions provisions pose a moral dilemma for all of us. We have reflected on this with our members — more than 40 Catholic religious orders of women and men, as well as administrators of their institutions, and have chosen, like the Friends, to challenge the law in the courts.

On May 1, six members of our Center filed suit against the INS because to comply with the employer sanctions would be to violate the basic tenets of our faith.

We are now in process of asking Catholic institutions, organizations and orders to join us as a "Friend of the Court."

We are grateful to all who are giving effort to this serious situation.

Darlene Cuccinello
Intercommunity Center
for Justice and Peace
New York, N.Y

Lobbies with WITNESS

Just after reading the article by Katerina Katsarka Whitley, "Chicken kingdom maiming workers" (February WITNESS), a story appeared in our local newspaper about how repetitive motion trauma has become the second leading occupational injury in North Carolina.

I will turn our copy of THE WITNESS over to one of our state legislators, who is a committed Christian and lector in our parish. I'm sure she will be interested.

Thank you for continuing to spur our imagination and concern even when we do not follow up with action.

Lucy T. Fletcher
Asheville, N.C.

Zealot forgotten

The excellent Letter to the Editor by Abbie Jane Wells (February) is not entirely accurate. One of the original Twelve had what might be considered doctoral degrees in finance, business administration, and political science, as well as the Bronze Age equivalent of honorary degrees, special grants for advanced study, etc. He came from a prominent family.

The young man was a Zealot, one of those who wanted to prepare themselves for throwing off the Roman yoke, destroying the despoilers of the Temple, and otherwise restoring the Chosen People to the glory they had enjoyed in the days of David and Solomon. He was not one of the most prominent members of the Twelve, but the type of work he was doing — finance and politics, as well as purchasing supplies and distributing alms — meant that he was not

Correction

An author's name was misspelled on the cover of the March issue. He is James Mitulski, not Mikulski. Sorry!

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around with the others on some of the more memorable occasions. There is nothing to indicate that he was distrusted, although there is a possibility that his superior background might have roused some feeling of envy.

There is some evidence to suggest that he regarded himself as one to "help the Master" with the practical matters for which He had no training. This man becomes better known toward the close of Our Lord's earthly ministry. He was Judas of Kerioth.

Pauline Shortridge
Hopwood, Pa.

Kudos from prison

I don't know how you came to send me your magazine, but I appreciate the in-depth articles and the resultant consciousness-raising. My address has changed to federal prison and we await word on whether the government will go for a fifth trial in Philly for the Epiphany Plowshares action.

After a short seven weeks here, new friendships are forming with an Iranian who helped others enter the United States, a resident of China during the Cultural Revolution, a Philippino who speaks of U.S. imperial influence, a subscriber to the *Nuclear Resister*, an '87 jail friend from Pennsylvania, a beginning choir, and a Scripture discussion group. The international presence here is partly due to an Immigration center for deportation hearings.

May the struggle for justice overturn the structures of death.

Greg Boertje
Oakland, La.

Correcting herstory

Monica Furlong's January editorial speaks of "thousands of women throughout Europe and America who were burned as witches." I know of none in this country who were burned. In Salem in 1692, 19 women were hanged and one man pressed to death for witchcraft. I want to set the record straight since I ponder often on the three of my foremothers who were tried there, one of them being among the hanged.

Does this matter at all? Somehow I feel it honors them to recall the shameful occasion accurately.

The Rev. Dr. Anne C. Garrison
E. Lansing, Mich.

Sends support

Magazines such as yours should be supported. You aren't the big circulation commercial magazines.

You present ideas big magazines often avoid. They have these big business advertisers, you know. So here I go subscribing.

Gordon Harrison
Bellevue, Ohio

Rejects 'heretical rag'

I do not want to subscribe to this heretical rag. It has utterly confused the zeitgeist with the Holy Spirit and given the church in America its full schism in the person of Mrs. Barbara Harris.

The Rev. Canon David L. Bristow
Fort Worth, Tex.

Boswell tape available

We certainly appreciated Sue Pierce's article on Professor John Boswell's presentation at General Convention: "1500 Years of the Church Blessing Lesbian and Gay Relationships, It's Nothing New." THE WITNESS was the only publication that acknowledged that the Integrity luncheon occurred. Indeed, *The Episcopalian* apparently decided to avoid all reference to it since they had requested photographs of the event from us. My only disappointment about THE WITNESS article was it didn't mention that a video tape of the speech is available from Integrity for $29.95. Orders can be sent to P.O. Box 19561, Washington, D.C. 20036-0561.

Edgar K. Byham
Guttenberg, N.J.

Needs address

A recent WITNESS article by Parker Rossman, entitled "Trafficking in human lives," refers to the Anti-Slavery Society in London and says that few Americans contribute to it. Would you please print the address of this group?

Madge Askonas
Winnetka, Ill.

(Anti-Slavery Society, 180 Brixton Road, London SW9 6AT, England. — Ed.)

Shell takes issue

As a long-time Episcopalian and professional journalist, I am deeply bothered by your February article in THE WITNESS on the Shell boycott.

To begin, you quote James Motlatsi, President of the National Union of Mineworkers, as saying "Shell isn't interested in democracy . . . They don't have respect for human dignity . . ." Shell South Africa has publicly called for economic, social and political reforms, including effective political participation for Blacks, universal citizenship, an end to forced removal of people, and the further development of a free and independent trade union movement.

Further, you say that "Shell operates South Africa's largest oil refinery . . ." Not true. The Durban refinery, one of four refineries in South Africa, is a 50/50 joint venture of Shell South Africa and British Petroleum.

You say anti-apartheid activists have pointed out that Shell has been the only major international oil company to continue supplying oil to South Africa. This is categorically untrue. No Shell company is selling or shipping oil directly or

Continued on page 23

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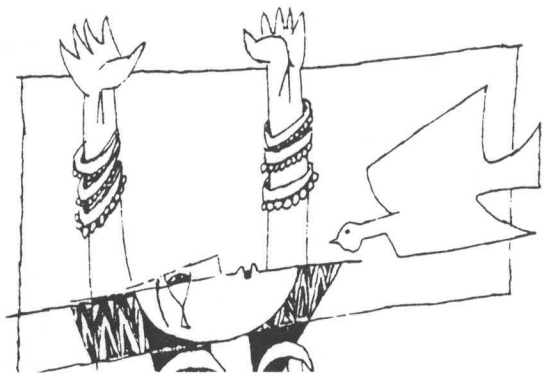

Table of Contents

6 **Women of the *intifada***
Katerina Katsarka Whitley

10 **Can Israel save its 'soul'? (From *The Wrath of Jonah*)**
Rosemary Radford Ruether & Herman J. Ruether

12 **Critical remembrances**
Max Surjadinata

12 **A mother's silence**
Robert Hirschfield

14 **How ECPC invests in social change**
Chris Weiss

18 **'Sweating' together for purification**
Mark Hulsether

20 **Anglican primates' statements in Nicaragua, Panama**

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Editorial

Shell shock and other '815' surprises

Social activists who are "815" watchers — monitoring the moves of the Episcopal Church Center in New York — had reason in recent weeks to rejoice and to rue. Surely Presiding Bishop Ed Browning scored high points for joining Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other prelates in an impressive Anglican visit to Nicaragua and Panama in March. Excerpts from their joint statements about social justice concerns and U.S. involvement there appear in this issue.

But two other recent eyebrow-raising revelations gave pause:

1) The Executive Council vote in February to consider a moratorium on the 19 publications put out by the Episcopal Church and to merge them into one big periodical — posing a threat to minority interests and running the danger of becoming a house organ, and

2) The emergence of the shocking news that fully nine months after General Convention passed a resolution that the Episcopal Church join the boycott against Shell Oil, the Church Pension Fund owns 150,000 shares — more than $6 million — in Shell stock.

Executive Council's vote concerning the future of communications in the Episcopal Church sent up flares in publishing circles, and caused no little trauma among minorities in the church.

A Diocesan Press Service release cited that some 10% of the $1,250,000 annual publications budget at the Episcopal Church Center is the estimated amount needed for the transition to a single publication. But ethnic constituencies are protesting that their concern is *inclusiveness*, not budget cuts. They are complaining that they had little prior knowledge of the resolution, much less time for discussion before its introduction to Executive Council. And at that time, the thrust of the debate turned from the issue of amalgamation to whether the Council had trust in the Presiding Bishop to deal fairly with those groups affected by the merger, ending in an emotional unanimous vote.

The Diocesan Council of New York quickly passed a resolution expressing opposition to the proposed moratorium, followed in short order by a similar motion from The Consultation, the coalition of 12 church-related justice and peace groups. The Consultation, while affirming the need for a comprehensive strategy for communications in the national church, went on to say:

We call attention to the incontrovertible fact that national church publications such as ***Ikhana, El Informador Episcopal, Linkage, the Jubilee Journal, the Journal for Women's Ministries, Asia-America News*** *and other strategic periodicals serve as invaluable evangelism and empowerment tools in addition to being educational and informational materials, broadening the vision, horizons and partnership role of diverse people in the church. We are deeply concerned over the Executive Council's February vote to fold these publications into a single house organ — and how that change will affect the integrity of such publications, and the in-depth coverage of the particular areas of interest and concern they serve.*

We therefore call upon the Executive Council to rescind the moratorium on ethnic and other publications while a long-range strategy for communications is being developed. And we urge all other concerned Episcopalians to join us in expressing opposition to the moratorium.

As a participating member, the Episcopal Church Publishing Company joined the Consultation in its action.

With regard to the church owning big chunks of Shell stock — social activists at first feared recidivism to the time when the CPF operated under the principle that fiduciary responsibility overrode social responsibility in investing. ("Not even for the worthiest of causes can we be diverted from our fiduciary responsibility." *Perspective*, 4/28/86)

That stance had been formidably challenged — and turned around — thanks largely to the bird-dogging efforts of the Diocese of Newark.

So why the lamentable lapse? Well, according to Bishop Alexander Stewart, spokesperson for the CPF, the problem started when a new CPF fund manager gave a list of additional companies the church did not want to invest in to J.P. Morgan and Alliance Capital, without informing their investment managers

Continued on page 21

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An interview with Nancy Nye:

Women of the *intifada*

by Katerina Katsarka Whitley

It was a brilliant sunny day in Washington, D.C. and Nancy Nye was homesick for the Middle East. That's how she refers to Ramallah where she worked and to Jerusalem where she lived for eight years.

She was homesick because her Palestinian husband, Mubarak Awad, was in Saudi Arabia lecturing on non-violence in Islam. Forgetting the difference in time, he had awakened her at 3 a.m. to talk on the telephone.

She was full of memories because a good friend from Ramallah had just arrived that morning and given her news of beloved friends from the place she called home for so long. It was also the anniversary of International Woman's Day, which she had celebrated in Ramallah last year.

Nye is an American Quaker from Ohio, and Awad, a Palestinian Christian born and reared in Jerusalem, is an American citizen. His deportation from Israel, where he had set up his Palestinian Center for the Study of Non-Violence, became a *cause celebre* in the summer of 1988.

Even the Reagan Administration, a champion of Israel, had protested to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir about Awad's deportation.

To no avail. Shamir, threatened by Awad's genuine, peace-making activism, was determined to get rid of him. His presence gave lie to the Israeli protestations that "there is no one to talk to among the Palestinians."

But Shamir did not consider the consequences of letting a dynamo like Awad loose in a world hungry to learn about the status of Palestinians in Israel. Audiences are fascinated by this intelligent, attractive man who can offer so many details on Israeli oppression without once resorting to anti-Jewish sentiments or self-serving propaganda.

I met Awad last fall and he told me that his first marriage to a German woman with whom he has two children had failed because she switched her loyalties from Palestine to Israel. He said that before he would marry Nancy he had sent her to the Middle East for four years to find out if she could live with the Arab language and the Palestinian culture.

Mindful of the myths husbands weave about courtship, I told Nancy this story. She burst out laughing. "Now I will tell you the true version."

A Quaker by conviction, Nye was also a teacher and high school counselor. Concerned about children who left school before graduation, she found employment in Awad's highly successful program of counseling troubled young people in Ohio.

In 1981 the American Friends Service Committee recruited her to work in Ramallah at the respected Friends Girls School there. Awad encouraged her to take the job of principal at the school, established 100 years ago by another Quaker woman, Sybil Jones.

When Awad visited the school in 1983, he asked her, "How do you like living in the Middle East?"

"It's wonderful," Nye answered, "I could live here the rest of my life."

"Good," he responded, "then we will be married."

She looks across the table at me, inside a cheerful Thai restaurant, and her dark eyes twinkle with merriment. "I didn't know then that it was a trial question."

Nye, tall and slender, speaks without hesitation but thoughtfully, giving accounts of both kindness and brutality without changing the volume of her voice. If she talks about Israeli oppression, she recounts it dispassionately, offering proof for her opinions, saying, "That caused me to conclude that . . ."

One such story Nye related happened about a year ago on International Women's Day, when the women of Ramallah decided to have a peaceful, silent march. The men and young boys looked from the sidelines, wishing to join in, but they were told, "No, this is our march, you watch." And so they did.

Nye says: "It was one of the most remarkable experiences of my life. As we marched we saw women looking on from their windows, verandas and balconies. We called to them to join us and they started streaming out of the doorways — all kinds and all ages. There were grandmothers, mothers and daughters with their arms around each other, the grandmothers encouraging the younger women. There were women in the traditional robes, others in blue jeans, professional women — university professors, lawyers, doctors and teachers — and village women.

"We maintained discipline throughout, did not break ranks. The center of Ramallah is a circle from which streets radiate like the spokes of a wheel. We had gone about two kilometers when we reached the circle. Suddenly Israeli soldiers appeared on the roofs of the houses

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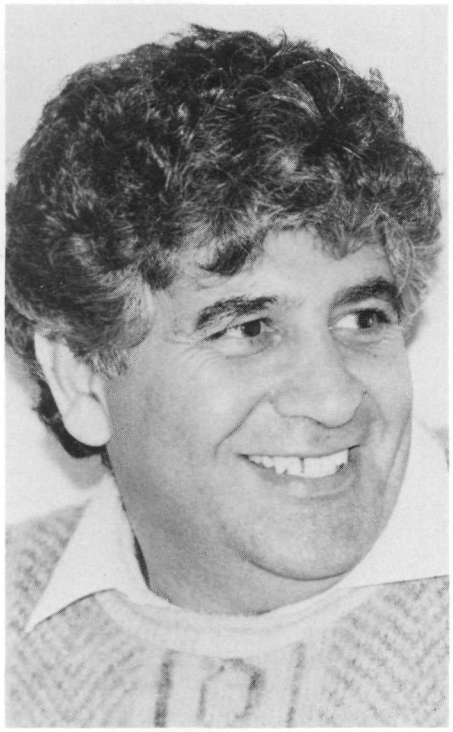
and they simply rained tear gas on us. The women tried to escape by running to the streets, only to be blocked by more soldiers throwing tear gas at them.

"Fortunately, we were very well-prepared with lemons, onions and Vicks. Every woman had something in her pocket and put it on her tongue to help her breathe."

Still many were burned by tear gas canisters and one of Nye's teachers was hit in the back of the head with a rubber bullet.

She ponders this situation anew. "This confrontation was precipitated by the Israeli soldiers. No stone was thrown that day, no one was being threatened or hurt." She concludes: "Just to express yourself causes violent oppression. You are not allowed to speak your mind; you are not allowed to say you want to be free."

Awad believes that because of the *intifada* — the term referring to the current uprising — Palestinian women will never be the same. Their husbands will never be able to boss them again. Nye seems to think that this "steel in the spine" was always there. "Women assumed leadership not because the men are in prison; their leadership surfaced early in the days of the *intifada.*" (For an understanding of the word see *Matthew 10:14*: "And if anyone will not receive you or listen to your words, *shake off* the dust from your feet as you leave the house.")



Mubarak Awad, the "Palestinian Gandhi"

Nancy Nye, former principal of Friends Girls School in Ramallah

She tells of the community organizing as early as January and February of 1988. Most participants date the *intifada*, the "shaking off," from Dec. 8, 1987.

Early on women knew that they were dealing with issues of life, Nye explains. They could not tell their children not to demonstrate, but they would not let them be out in the streets alone, either. Because they cared so much, they stood by their children. Much later, the men decided they, too, would have to get involved. It was the children, and then the women who showed the way.

Before the first month was out the women started packaging first aid kits for each home in the refugee camps and the neighborhoods. At the same time they organized training programs with health professionals and assistants in each group. Both the kits and the training were very specific — antidotes for tear gas inhalation, tourniquets for bleeding, instructions for treating gunshot wounds, punctures, rubber bullet injuries.

In March and April they organized the neighborhoods. They were not just bringing in women for coffee and discussion — they took a census of the neighborhoods, found out what skills people had and what their needs were. They learned who had cisterns to clean out and fill with water, who could store large amounts of kerosene, who had a large room to serve as an alternative classroom. Then people were assigned to committees: health, food, education and protection. In the last case, the women determined which men would stay

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awake for the safety of the neighborhood.

The next step dealt with tilling the soil. In a place like Ramallah where there had been no previous food shortages, nobody gardened; suddenly, in the first *intifada* spring, there were vegetable gardens in every available space.

Awad speaks about a new generosity of spirit that sprang up because of the *intifada*. He tells of going to offer food and help to one camp only to be sent to another: "Go to our neighbors, they have a greater need."

I remembered news stories about the blockade of Kalkilya and Beita, the long weeks of curfew. Nye said that the people stored large amounts of lentils and rice, but in Kalkilya they had to burn their furniture to make a fire to cook the lentils.

Nye also relates touching stories about Palestinian women who became "universal mothers." A friend of Nye's, a college student, was being threatened by a soldier. An old woman came and stood between them. "Leave him alone," she said. "You have to beat me first." And the young man added, "I had never seen her before."

One of the admirable traits of Palestinian culture, Nye points out, is that families displaced because the Israelis blew up their homes and expelled their men are taken care of — not just by the extended family, but by the whole community. And no matter what the deprivation, she says, you cannot find a case of starvation among Palestinians. These are people who have learned to live on practically nothing.

Since I was a teacher and Nye was both teacher and principal, I asked her about education in the area. All the schools have been closed in the West Bank, and off and on in the Gaza strip. It is a strange decision by the Israeli military authorities, who claim the schools incited the kids to violence. But Nye points out the fallacy in the argument. First of all, closing schools allows children to be in the streets and to have plenty of opportunities to throw stones. It creates illiteracy; the little ones have already forgotten how to read. But if Israeli authorities are afraid of violence, why do they not allow the parents to teach their own children? The punishment for teaching (even one's children) is 10 years in prison, and the offender's home may also be demolished.

Nye adds: "At Friends School we were preparing educational packets for the homes, so parents could come get them at their convenience — not at an appointed time, so as not to create crowds. The military came to the school and confiscated all the educational materials. That indicates that it is *collective punishment*. The military governor asked the teachers to go to the compound and he said, 'There will be no education as long as there is *intifada*.' Of course, the affluent have sent their children away to school. But the Israelis like that; they hope the Palestinian youths will not return."

And the sorrow continues.

When asked "What do you do about your anger?" Nye tells of a time, before the *intifada*, when she had a confrontation with soldiers who had hurt people she loved. She was very angry. Awad reminded her there would be a rally in Jerusalem that night by Peace Now, an Israeli peace organization. She said, "No, I can't go. I just can't take it right now."

"Maybe you really *need* to go tonight," her husband insisted, and Nye did go.

"I've had the opportunity since that time to say 'thank you' to some of those who forced me to see that not all Israelis are cut from the same mold. You have to constantly remind yourself and you have to work very hard. I could be very angry but you must see the humanity even in the violent," said Nye.

She shares Awad's philosophy: "When you become angry, a person has provoked you, and then you have allowed that person to rule your emotions, and to have power over you. You should never let someone else's actions control your feelings." She adds: "Palestinians know

Statistics on the *intifada*

— Israeli troops have occupied the West Bank and Gaza Strip for more than 21 years. The *intifada* will not end, Palestinians say, until the Government of Israel ceases its occupation and the 1.7 million Palestinians who have lived under military occupation have their own state.

— Some 75% of the Palestinian population is under 21; children of the *intifada* throwing rocks have confronted the world's fourth-largest military power.

— Most tools of the *intifada* are non-violent: tax resistance, strikes, boycotts of Israeli products, organizing and resignations of Palestinian police officers and tax collectors. With the *intifada* the movement for Palestinian liberation has shifted from armed struggle to mass insurgency.

— Approximately 500 Palestinians have died in the *intifada*, one third of them 18 or younger; 46,000 Palestinians have been seriously wounded; Israelis have arrested more than 20,000 — 5,000 without charge or trial —and have deported approximately 50.

— Palestinian refugee camps, villages, and towns have been placed under curfew or military siege for a total of more than 2,000 days.

— From Vicki Kemper's "The Road to Palestine," *Sojourners*, 4/89

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Arab teenagers from Nazareth smile for the camera.

ultimately that *they* are not in control. They believe *God* is in control. But that doesn't mean that they sit back and do nothing."

Nye told me the reason for Awad's urgency to bring about a solution: "He says, 'We have a real responsibility to solve this crisis so that children are not deprived of their childhood.'"

I told Nye of my connection to the Episcopal Church and about my work with the Presiding Bishop's Fund for World Relief. I asked her, "What can Episcopalians do to help the Palestinians?"

She sees the greatest need and urgency in the offering of medical and reconstructive assistance to children who have been hurt in the violence of the occupation. Many little ones have lost an eye; many have lost limbs or suffer psychological damage from beatings. A friend of Nancy's, a doctor, used to think these children should be brought to the States. Now he knows there are too many. He pleads for doctors to give a month or six weeks of their lives to go to the hospitals of the West Bank and Gaza to offer their medical services.

The Anglican Communion supports a hospital in Nablus, West Bank, and in Gaza City. The Gaza hospital (65 beds) received more than 2000 casualties during the first 11 months of the *intifada.* According to Anglican sources, 120 medical professionals in these hospitals care for an estimated 220,000 patients every year. The need is urgent.

As a mother, a woman, an about-to-be grandmother, I join the Palestinian women as they pray and plead for their children. TW

The truth about Beita

Beita is a Palestinian village of 7,000 inhabitants located 10 miles south of Nablus in the occupied West Bank.

It was the death of an Israeli settler, a young woman named Tirza Porat, that gave Beita its notoriety on the front pages of newspapers, on TV screens, in Israel and abroad, and not the death, imprisonment, or beatings sustained by Arab inhabitants of this village. Initially, the media accused the villagers of stoning Porat to death, whipping the Israeli community into a state of frenzy calling for retribution.

Before the army had a chance to conclude its investigation (which ultimately proved the innocence of the villagers, showing that Porat was accidentally shot by Romam Aldubi, an Israeli settler carrying a rifle) collective punishments were visited on the village.

Two inhabitants of Beita were killed in cold blood and their murder was never charged or tried. Fourteen houses were demolished.

No apology or compensation was ever offered for these mistakes. Six inhabitants of Beita were expelled from the country. Even though the army investigation cleared the citizens of Beita, the village remains under constant surveillance, castigated for committing a crime of which it is the victim.

— From *Beita: Lidice Revisited,* published by ROOTS, 703 G St., SE, Washington , DC

Can Israel save its 'soul'?

by Rosemary Radford Ruether & Herman J. Ruether

The struggle for justice and peace between Israelis and Palestinians has also become a battle within Israel between those who put territorial expansion over ethical values and those who want to give up the Occupied Territories in order to retain what they see as key ethical values and principles. This conflict is referred to as the conflict between the land of Israel and the "soul" of Israel. Those who believe that the 1967 Occupied Territories must be given up, in order to retain the "soul" of Israel, see the occupation as exacerbating to the breaking point all the contradictions that divide Israeli society.

Expansion of land means feeding the militarists who believe that Israel's security lies entirely in military power. Expansion also feeds on the religious ultraright who base themselves on a literalistic and maximalist doctrine of the Promised Land and the messianic violence against the Palestinians. Holding onto the Territories means an endless cycle of violence against the Palestinians. Because the Palestinians can neither be expelled *en masse* (because of world opinion) or enfranchised (without changing the concept of the Jewish state), they can only be repressed. Repression corrodes whatever democratic and humane values remain in Israeli culture and shapes the new generation of young people to be ever more hardened to their task of beating, gassing, and shooting Palestinians.

Holding onto the 1967 Territories also means increasing inflation, indebtedness, and dependency of the Israeli economy upon foreign, especially American, aid. This makes Israel not just the puppet state of American interests, but a conspiratorial ally; the tail that wags the dog of American imperialism. Continued military occupation of conquered territories, land confiscation, and settlements thwart, indefinitely, peace negotiations with the Arab world. It also earns the opprobrium of Third World nations.

Many Jews are wont to claim that the Arabs are moved by an irrational hatred and desire to destroy Israel, and so there can be no peace with them. But this absolutizing of Arab enmity refuses to see that this enmity is rooted in concrete political conflicts that are capable of amelioration. Surrounding Arab states certainly harbor little good will toward Israel at this point. Security issues are real and will continue to be for some time. Arab enmity is rooted in objections to Israel as a Jewish state and as a colonial settler state created by Western imperialism. But it has also been exacerbated by 40 years of warfare in which the surrounding Arab nations have suffered enormous losses of life and property at the hands of the Israeli military.

Anger fueled by this loss of life, land, and property will not disappear in the foreseeable future. But it can be significantly ameliorated by political negotiations that recognize Palestinian national rights. The readiness of the Palestinian and Arab world for this solution to the Palestinian component of the Middle East conflict has been available for 15 years, since 1973. It is Israel and the United States who are the primary impediments to these negotiations.

When pressed to move on this issue of Palestinian rights, Zionists tend to see themselves as embattled by a universal hatred. The claim that "the whole world is against us" has become part of the Israeli national mythology. But as far as the Western Christian world is concerned, in fact, Israel continues to enjoy uniquely favored status. There is a great willingness among Christians to believe that Israel has a divinely given "right to exist" and that it is a land of superior social morals. When this latter belief is unmasked by negative realities, this is not welcome news for most Christians. Many translate this bad news into a worried concern that indicates their continued good will. In short, Christian criticism of Israel has been based primarily on the discovery of historical facts, not

Resource

The Ruethers are co-authors of a new book, *The Wrath of Jonah: The Crisis of Religious Nationalism in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict,* just out by Harper and Row, ($19.95) from which the accompanying article is taken.

***The Wrath of Jonah* analyzes the crucial connections underlying Jewish, Christian and Arab relations in general, as the Ruethers define the political, theological and biblical issues that have arisen as three monothestic peoples laid claim at various times to the same land. They then examine the moral and political dilemmas facing Israel today.**

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Rosemary Radford Ruether, noted feminist author and theologian, is professor of applied theology at Garrett Theological Seminary in Evanston, Ill. **Herman J. Ruether** is a political scientist and former acting director of the Palestinian Human Rights Campaign.

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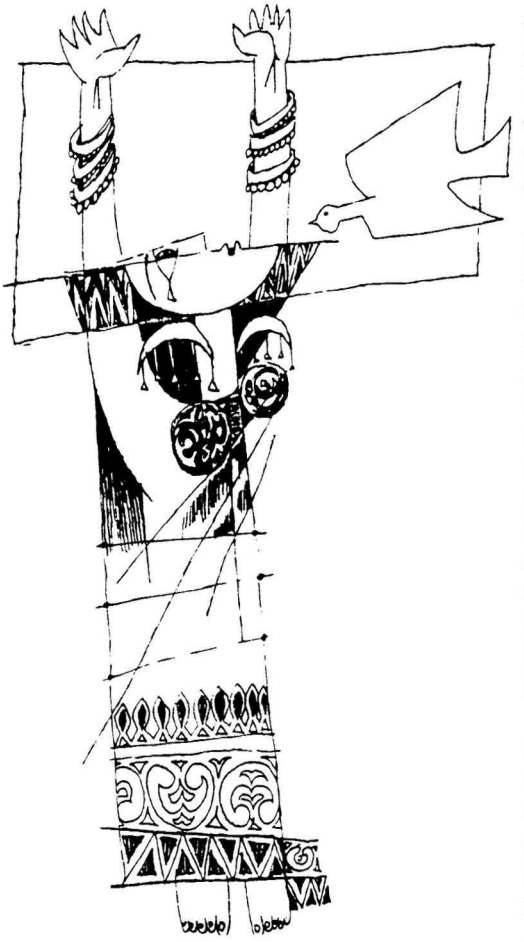
an a priori malice.

One has to ask whether part of the intransigence toward territorial compromise among Israeli leaders does not lie in the need to maintain a perceived threat of the outside Arab world in order to paper over internal conflicts within Israeli society. Maintaining the crisis psychology of war for survival silences the divisions between religious and secular Jews, Ashkenazi and Oriental Jews. Fomenting new dangers, planning new wars of "survival" against the Arabs, prevents Israel from flying apart from internal conflicts.

If this is true, then trading the Territories for peace also would mean facing these internal contradictions. If peace were made with the Arab world, the size of the present military and secret police establishment would lose its justification. Many of their practices would become questionable. It would become necessary to reshape the Israel Defense Forces into a normal army of national defense, not a warrior cult engaged in covert expansion and violent repression of non-citizens. This would also mean facing the militarization of the whole of Israeli society, the virtual autonomy of the military from the civil government, and the domination of the economy by military production. One would also have to curb the expanding secret intelligence services, the *Mossad* and *Shin Bet*, which threaten to make Israel a police state for Jews, as well as Palestinians.

Such reshaping of Israeli society offers many promises. Israel could reconstitute its relationship with the Arab world as a partner in Middle East development. It could cease to be so dependent on American aid and cease to be called in as arms trader and trainer of mercenary armies to bring down popular Third World revolutions. It could also pursue a more positive foreign policy with Third World nations. Also, on the domestic side, it could cease to starve its welfare budget to feed its warfare budget. This



would allow it to address the growing economic gap between wealthy, mainly Ashkenazi, and poor, mainly Oriental, Jews, which threatens to turn into intercultural class warfare. Finally its democratic institutions and humanist values could be reclaimed and redeveloped.

But the decision to make peace by ceding the Territories will not succeed if it is undertaken as a misleading charade, or a new scheme to keep the land while ceding the Palestinian residents to the political control of Jordan. The "peace" proposals of the so-called moderates (Peres) and hardliners (Shamir) have fallen into different versions of this scheme. This 'Jordanian Solution' may no longer be available, since the July 31, 1988 announcement by King Hussein that Jordan no longer claimed legal or financial responsibility for the West Bank. There must be some genuine recognition of Palestinian political autonomy and self-government within at least a mini-region.

The claim that this would create an intolerable "security danger" is questionable. Demilitarization of the Palestinian region can be part of the autonomy negotiations. This might begin by the replacement of Israeli troops with UN troops to assure there are no armed incursions across the borders. This, of course, means not simply that Palestinians could not send armed men across the border but that Israel could not send its armies into Palestinian territory. The Israeli military would have to accept a limitation of its aggression into Palestinian or other Arab lands, which Israel has never accepted since 1948.

The phobia against Palestinian autonomy in a region next to Israel is fed by a self-terrorization of Israeli people, convinced that its Arab neighbors desire its annihilation. This has become increasingly unreal, as both the Arabs and the Palestinians have indicated their willingness to settle with Israel on the basis of a territory restricted and defined by 1949 borders. The power of the Israeli military, including its possession of nuclear weaponry, means that no Arab state seriously wants to go to war with it, despite posturing rhetoric aimed at placating militant elements in Arab societies.

Moreover, with the Palestinian issue settled, much of the impetus for this rhetoric would also decline. Israel might even become, as some of its early binationalist thinkers had hoped, a part of the Arab League, defined as a Middle Eastern or "Semitic" league. It could then trade with Arab nations as a partner, rather than being a pariah nation in the Middle East. The increasing proportion of Oriental Jews in Israeli society, who will eventually assume the leadership of

Continued on page 22

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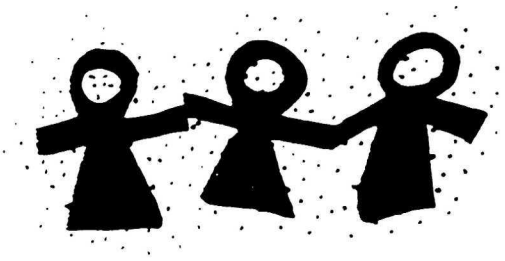


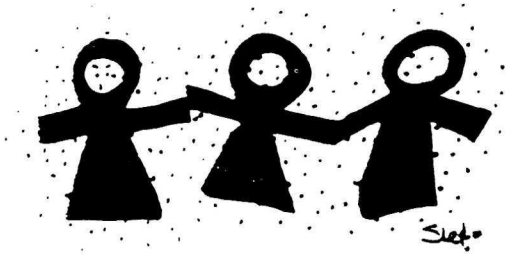
Mother's Day Prayer

The National Council of Churches is urging places of worship to commemorate Mother's Day — May 14 — with the inclusion of a prayer for mothers and children living in poverty in the United States. The text reads:

"Today, we remember the women who brought us into the world. Mothers and children stand together to celebrate life. But there are those beside us, in the shadows, who weep. They are the mothers of America's 13 million children living in poverty. Now is the time to make our hearts vulnerable, to listen, to open our eyes.

"Loving God, give us the light to see our sisters and their families who live in poverty. Give us the compassion to hear their stories. Give us the arms to reach them, the love to hold them close. Give us the courage to take a stand, make a difference and work to eliminate poverty in our time. We pray together for the hope that only you can give."

In the articles at right, two WITNESS authors offer poignant reflections about how their mothers influenced their lives.



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Critical remembrances

In retrospect, 1943 was a critical year in Indonesia. We were a country at war and under Japanese occupation. A year earlier, my father — a Protestant minister fresh out of seminary and in his first parish — had been taken prisoner for allegedly organizing resistance against the Japanese.

My mother decided to move my sister Martha, my brother Peter, and me to Bogor — a town about 30 miles from Jakarta — to live with our maternal grandparents as she actively pursued ways to seek my father's release.

I remember the house, the biggest on the block, located in a narrow side-street off the main thoroughfare. There were only six smaller houses on that street. A school compound across from us encompassed almost half the block.

I attended kindergarten at that school. The only vivid recollection that remains with me to this very day is that each morning we had to stand in formation to salute the Japanese flag as it was raised, while also singing the Japanese national anthem — the first two lines of which I still remember.

Despite living in such critical times, and missing my father, it was a meaningful, indeed, a happy year — principally because of my mother's active, loving care and protection, her strong faith and commitment.

She provided both the text and the context of a lived faith, for her children's physical, spiritual and moral growth. I recall those happy bedtime moments, when we would gather around her to listen to Bible stories.

I recall how my eyes became wet with tears and how my young sister laughed at me because I so identified with Joseph when his brothers threw him into the empty pit. I remember the deep sadness I

The Rev. Max B. Surjadinata is coordinator of the Community Care Program, a project of the Urban League of Westchester, and pastor of Mt. Vernon Heights Congregational Church in Mt. Vernon, N.Y.

A mother's silence

She is dead now, resting beside her mother in the place that was reserved for her. But when I think of Sarah Leah, my mother, I think of another place, another death — the death of her mind, for which there was no burial.

I think of her in her bed in the Queens nursing home after she suffered her stroke. She had for years been senile, but on occasion, in between periods of mistaking a son for a brother, a configuration of elements in the air for her mother, she would make an apt comment, tell a good joke, even remember that she once used to type my articles. The woman curled between the silver bedrails had lost the power of speech, what was left of her memory, plus the ability to recognize her family.

When I came to visit, I would kiss her and whisper my name, first in Hebrew, then in English. Her only response was the occasional bewildered frown that labored up and down the blank landscape. Here, I had to navigate without names, without words, except for those I used to

Robert Hirschfield, a free-lance poet and writer who lives in New York City, is a frequent contributor to THE WITNESS. The above article appeared in the *Women's American ORT Reporter* and is reprinted with permission.

by Max Surjadinata

felt as I heard how Esau sold his birthright, how moved with fear I was upon hearing the story about Abraham being asked to sacrifice his son, Issac.

We heard stories about Jesus and his disciples, Jesus in Gethesemane praying until his tears turned into blood, about the events that led him to the cross.

She also told stories about the persecution of early Christians, about the strong faith of Jesus and His followers.

I now believe that what became formative throughout my life was my mother's care and nurturing love — particularly those prayers which she taught us all to pray: for an end to the war, for those in difficulties, for my grandfather (who was an alcoholic), for the release of my father — always concluding with the words, "if it be your will, O God, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Thus, even at an early age, I received what I now know to be an historical sense of faith that became very decisive throughout my life: an understanding of faith referred to by theologian Richard Niebuhr as a primal force "in a completely central and powerful way, from the very beginning . . . a universally operative force that is seeking proper objects, definitions, form, shape, people" and as "dependence on a value-center and as a loyalty to a cause."

My mother's basic trust, her centering on meaning and values, was revealed to us as children in simple gestures such as saying grace before meals. Mother used to express thanks to God for tiny portions of rice allotted to us, augmented by one fried egg, sprinkled with soy sauce, and divided among five people.

I believe humor played a significant role in my life. An ironic sense developed within me — even at the age of five — as we prayed over those skimpy, crummy offerings; and as afterwards I joyfully joined the older boys from the neighborhood in search of food in the nearby soldier's camp, scrounging around in garbage cans.

I now realize, as I look back, saying grace before meals — even though that meal was scarce — and scrounging for food afterwards were efforts to make sense of the world.

Also significant, it seems to me, was the fact that although I deeply felt my father's absence (he used to take me to church — I remember standing beside him afterwards as he greeted parishioners — and he used to drive me in his Model-T Ford), I continued to live with a hopeful trust. This stems, I now believe, from the fact that my mother provided what Erik Erikson describes as "trustworthy contemporary surroundings; and an all-enveloping world image tying past, present and future into a convincing pattern of providence."

Therefore, although childhood was full of conflicts — the Japanese occupation, the loss of my father, even the witnessing of stark brutality, cruelty, killings and public executions — it was in a strange sense a happy and peaceful time. I believe that my mother set the stage for tranquility and happiness amidst nightmarish and turbulent realities. I learned from her exemplary life to internalize my own faith and confidence in the future — despite an uncertain present. TW

by Robert Hirschfield

try to comfort myself.

Speech was one of my mother's great delights. Conversations with friends and sons, with shopkeepers and strangers, were saved inside her head the way a child hoards sweets. Her stories of the dreaded visits of the Czarist police to her father's *heder* in her native Plonsk followed me from childhood to middle age. Whenever I objected to their repetition, which was often, she would say, "You will miss these stories one day." And I would just laugh and dismiss her prophecy with the wave of a hand.

The decay of her mental and physical condition transpired in drawn-out stages, to each of which I had a chance to adjust. But her silence descended upon me almost without warning. It was there one day like a border that was impossible to cross. The bridge of words had been cut. I was banished to my desert, she to hers.

Her room became my Sinai. Wandering around it, everything I came across looked bleak, parched, as hard as stone. I found myself sometimes having to escape to the nurses' station. "Is there a chance her speech will return?" I once asked one of the nurses. She just shrugged, shook her head. My mother was 83 and considered pre-terminal. After exchanging a bit of small talk with the nurses, I would return to her room where small talk, all talk, was useless. The truth was always there to greet me beneath the glacial crispness of the sheets. Walking away from it did not diminish it. Trying to ignore it only seemed to enlarge it. That meant sitting still and trying to escape the present through the exit of the past. A difficult task. Memories of walks taken together would appear, then quickly disappear into the silence that swallowed up time and events like the sands that swallowed up Korah.

To see that body in which I took root waste and wither, features defaced by a nasal gastric tube, was to see a once-marvelous tree cut down by a conspiracy of seasons. There she lay, mother and stranger both. The mystery had come full circle: Sinai was not just silence, Sinai was revelation. TW

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How ECPC invests in social change

In Massachusetts, a revolving loan fund lends money to a forge threatened with a shutdown. The union has decided to assist the workers in purchasing the company and the fund helps them with the capital to purchase shares. In Alabama, small community development credit unions are assisted by a cooperative to maintain their financial stability. In North Carolina, a woman expands her home-based business through a loan from the development credit union where her savings are invested.

What do all these community-based institutions have in common? They are all recipients of investment capital from religious institutions — churches, religious orders, and the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

Yes, gentle reader, the Episcopal Church Publishing Company does more than publish THE WITNESS magazine. Years ago, the ECPC Board made a decision to invest 10% of its endowment in "alternative investments" to benefit the community. Over the years, some mistakes have been made but rewards have been garnered and lessons learned.

ECPC joins hundreds of other religious institutions in taking a portion of its endowment, bypassing certificates of deposit and treasury bills and placing approximately $150,000 in seven alternative investments. Four of these are intermediaries in the United States, institutions that, in turn, lend money to companies or individuals they have screened and provided with technical assistance in business planning. The fifth is an international development intermediary associated with the World Council of Churches. The sixth is a housing corporation associated with a church in a major U.S. city, and the last is a direct loan to a small worker-owned manufacturer in the South.

The ECPC alternative investment policy is coupled with a membership in the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR). This membership and the purchase of small numbers of corporate shares from time to time gives ECPC a voice, through ICCR, on such corporate resolutions as investment by major corporations in South Africa, a ban on products that have potential to injure women and babies, and corporate policies that discriminate against women and minorities.

Activist investment growing

This activist investment policy is not unusual for religiously-based institutions, but it is gaining more attention as community-based economic development and socially-responsible investing become more popular and well-known. The record shows that these alternatives can be as profitable as mainstream investments.

In a recent article appearing in ICCR's *The Corporate Examiner* the author states that "evidence indicates socially-screened portfolios perform as well as or better than traditional portfolios. Although cutting out companies doing business in South Africa reduces the universe from which to select investments, this reduction does not necessarily reduce the profitability of the investments."

Alternative investments can be made in at least three ways:

- The most traditional one, for both individuals and institutions, is to choose an investment firm that specializes in investments that do not support anti-social activities, such as war and racism. *The Corporate Examiner* listed some of these firms in its December 1988 issue. Other guides to such firms exist as well. As stated, these "socially-screened" companies can provide the investor with a return just as profitable as a more conventional investment firm.
- The second, requiring a little more time and study by the investors, is to deposit money in credit unions or revolving loan funds which have a good track record of investing in community-based development projects. Generally referred to as intermediaries, these investment options offer a range of risk to the investor, from credit unions, which are federally-regulated and insured, to worker buyouts, which are riskier. The advantage that the intermediaries have is that they provide technical assistance to the business in question, requiring a thorough screening for the business concept and the individuals involved. This reduces risk for themselves and the investors, but does not eliminate it entirely.

A good example of an intermediary is the Center for Community Self-Help in Durham, N.C. This organization operates a credit union and provides loans and technical assistance to workers in North Carolina who want to prevent plant closings by buying and owning the

Chris Weiss, an ECPC board member, is founder of Rural Strategies, a West Virginia-based management and consulting service specializing in economic development for women in rural areas.

by Chris Weiss

plant themselves. The Center assists workers with making decisions about ownership and is in a position to lend them money if they decide to own and operate the company. The Credit Union is affiliated with the State Employees Credit Union, which has 56 branches around North Carolina. This greatly increases the access of the Self-Help Credit Union to its members.

Many religious institutions, when they invest in such credit unions, choose to take a lower interest on their capital than they might get in the general marketplace. Thus, ECPC elected to accept a 5% return on its investment when it placed some of its capital in the Self-Help Credit Union, allowing the Center to invest the money for the best return. The "spread" is then available for more loans, or for administrative costs.

• The third, and riskiest, way to invest is directly in community-based ventures. These can be worker-owned companies, housing projects, or cooperatives. This strategy requires that someone or several people in the investor pool be able to analyze business plans and make a judgement about the potential for repayment by the business enterprise. If this choice is made, it is best for the investor to have a relationship of some kind with the project so that there is a partnership (in effect) created between the money provided by the investor and the "doer" of the project.

Housing good example

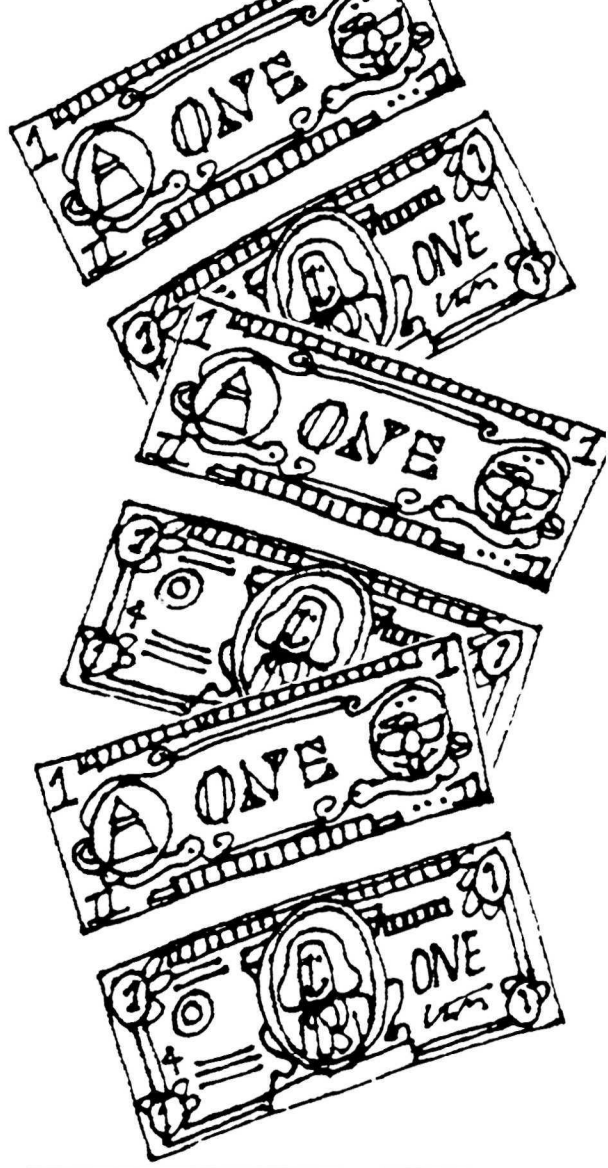
A good example of this strategy is ECPC's investment in the Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation in Detroit. The capital is invested in an alternative investment fund. Another investor in this fund is the Episcopal Diocese of Michigan. The Housing Corporation has been active in rehabilitating St. Paul Manor, an apartment building that was turned into a cooperative for low-income people. Tenants of the building have been taught cooperative principles and home maintenance so that they can keep up and regulate their own building.

Some ECPC Board Members are from Michigan and have a relationship with the people who operate this housing corporation. They have confidence in the group's leadership, and this community-based development corporation has a record of achievement.

Socially-responsible investing is a trend that is still being explored for the potential it might have in this country. A look at the larger picture is instructive in examining what the future might hold for this use of accumulated capital.

The movement for socially-responsible investing grew from two different needs in the investing community. The first was for ways to make a statement about how American corporations did business in the wider world. Individuals and groups wanted to be empowered to use their money to say "no" to racism, or "no" to a company, for example, that campaigned to substitute its product for breast feeding in Third World countries. Investors have achieved this collectively through stock-holder resolutions or through investing in funds that have guidelines with which they agree.

The second goal was to be able to provide a source of capital to communities of need. In the last few years, people have begun to create alternatives to the commercial banking industry. Commer-



Resources

A Socially Responsible Financial Planning Guide **is a useful reference and workbook which helps people incorporate social criteria into their financial decisions, whether they have a large income or live on limited resources. A comprehensive listing of socially responsible financial products and services. 20 pages. Available for $5 from Co-op America, 2100 M St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20063 (202-872-5307).**

Shopping for a Better World **rates the makers of over 1300 brand name products on 10 crucial social issues, and helps shoppers cast their "economic vote" in the supermarket, health food store and gas station. Order for $4.95 from Council on Economic Priorities, 30 Irving Pl., New York, N.Y. 10003.**

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• **God and Mother Russia:** Episcopal priest William Teska interviews Konstantin Kharchev, USSR Councillor for Religious Affairs, on how *perestroika* affects religion; major articles by Sovietologist Paul Valliere, Bill and Polly Spofford, Mary Lou Suhor on their visits to the USSR; statistics on major religious bodies in the USSR; Dr. John Burgess' assessment of the 1986 Human Rights Seminar sponsored by the National Council of Churches in Moscow. (28 pages)

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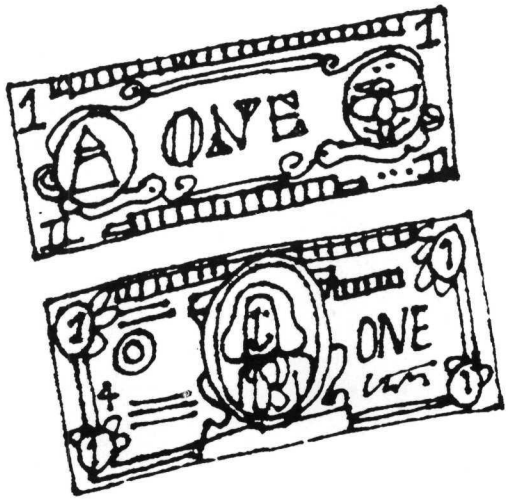
cial banks are reluctant to lend to non-profit groups, to micro-enterprise entrepreneurs, and in some cases have "redlined" minority communities to restrict loans for housing or commercial needs.

In addition, during recent years, the banking industry has changed, consolidating into a few holding companies concentrated in urban centers. As a result, community people in low-income and rural communities are concerned



that capital for housing, small businesses, and all aspects of community-based economic development will disappear.

Credit unions, revolving loan funds, and guarantee funds are all ways that groups such as women's organizations, or low-income and rural people have developed to fill the need for access to capital in their communities.

Religious institutions have begun to form partnerships with non-profit organizations working to preserve housing and jobs in their communities, and to dedicate capital to community development projects.

The fact that this kind of partnership is not well understood, at least by the federal government, is illustrated by a recent article in *The Appalachian Reader*, a quarterly newspaper from Kentucky.

According to an article in the winter edition, "a recent ruling by the National Credit Union Administration has dealt a severe blow to credit unions that serve low-income members." The agency ruled that no more than 20% of credit union deposits could be held by non-members. According to the manager of the Central Appalachian People's Federal Credit Union "this ruling will have a devastating effect on our ability to serve the financial needs of our low-income members."

Efforts to get the ruling overturned are being made by the National Federation of Community Development Credit Unions. The purpose of this ruling was to restrict credit unions from recruiting and offering incentives to out-of-state investors. The effect is to limit the choices religious institutions have when they decide to invest their money.

This kind of barrier, along with lack of information on alternatives for religious institutions and other individuals, restricts the amount of capital currently available to community-based development. The new Implementation Committee created by the resolution on economic justice at the last Episcopal Church Convention in Detroit will look at some alternatives for institutional investing, as well as alternative funds.

In the last analysis, the movement for socially-responsible investing is all about choices and money. The decision is to be deliberate about investment strategies, to spend some time investigating corporate practices, to get to know some of the local players in community-based economic development. It is "putting our money where our mouth is."

The power to affect people's access to capital can be ours if we so choose. How we decide to control money for the greatest social good can be more than a choice for the greatest return on our dollar. The return can come in improving people's lives. TW

Short Takes

Option for the poor

An editorial entitled "Fifty Hours for the Poor" which appeared in both the Journal of the American Medical Association and the American Bar Association reads in part:

"The privilege to practice law or medicine has carried with it the obligation to serve the poor without pay . . . We believe that all doctors and all lawyers as a matter of ethics and good faith, should contribute a significant percentage of their total professional efforts without expectation of financial remuneration. We believe that 50 hours a year — or roughly one week of time — is an appropriate minimum amount. In the church this is called stewardship. In law, it is called *pro bono publico*. In medicine, it is called charity. In everyday society, it is called fairness."

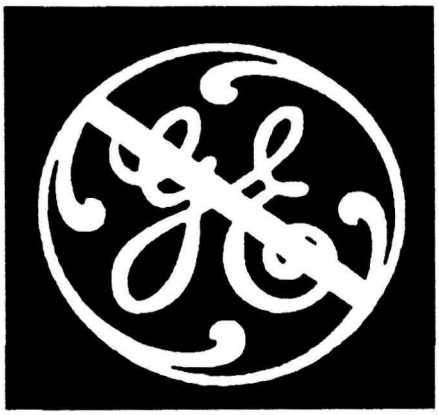
Initiatives, published by the National Center for the Laity, pointed out in publishing this data recently that some fascinating conclusions can be drawn from the editorial. Among them:

- The normal work week for doctors and lawyers is 50 hours.
- If the ABA and AMA would heed the above advice, the nation's poor would have at their service the equivalent of 13,000 full-time doctors and lawyers, giving their time and skills personally and without pay.

And, *Initiatives* asks, will other professional bodies follow suit — such as the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants, the National Education Association, etc.?

Receives Langston award

The Rev. Robert Warren Cromey, rector of Trinity Episcopal Church, San Francisco, was awarded the Dorothy Langston Human Rights Award given to a straight person who has rendered outstanding service to the cause of gay and lesbian rights at the Annual Cable Car Awards Ceremony recently.



GE — third largest in weapons

The boycott of GE products organized by INFACT to protest GE's emergence as the U.S.'s third largest weapons producer and its involvement in preparation for nuclear and non-nuclear war, is growing day by day:

The city of Berkeley, Cal. officially joined the boycott by unanimous vote of its city council;

The UCLA student organization endorsed the boycott and within a week student stores had pulled all GE products from the shelves and donated them to charity;

Following endorsement by the Leadership Conference of Women Religious, a Catholic health system in Illinois switched its million dollar purchase of new CAT scanners to a GE competitor.

Amidst the rhetoric about an "outbreak of peace" GE is still receiving $16 million of the public treasury each day for weapons production. The GE boycott is also exposing the trail of radioactive waste that nuclear weapons leave across the land.

For further information: INFACT, 256 Hanover St., Boston, MA 02113.

With justice for all

The nuclear bomb is an equal opportunity destroyer.

Ron Dellums

Planetizing nonviolent action

So many of Latin America's problems have roots in the United States of America that we need to form a solid, united movement, nonviolently conceived and carried through, so that pressure can be brought to bear on the capital and government power structures concerned, from both sides of the problem at once. I think that may be the only hope for a nonviolent solution in Latin America today; and one of the most powerful expressions of nonviolence may come out of that international coalition of socially aware forces, operating outside governmental frameworks. Although it is obvious that nonviolent movements for social change must internationalize, because of the interlocking nature of the problems they all face, and because otherwise these problems will breed war, we have hardly begun to build the skills and the strategy, or even the commitment, to planetize our movement for social justice.

Martin Luther King, Jr., 1967
Canadian Broadcasting Massi Lecture

Quote of note

The best art is political and you ought to be able to make it unquestionably political and beautiful at the same time.

Toni Morrison

Vulgarization of faith

One is embarrassed to be called religious in the face of religion's failure to keep alive the image of God in the face of man . . . Little does religion ask from contemporary man. It is ready to offer comfort; it has no courage to challenge. It is ready to offer edification; it has no courage to break the idols, to shatter the callousness. The trouble is that religion has become "religion" — institution, dogma, securities. It is not an event any more. Its acceptance involves no risk, no strain. Our greatest danger is not lack of faith, but the vulgarization of faith.

Rabbi Abraham Heschel

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'Sweating' together for purification

by Mark Hulsether

The conference entitled "Dialogue on Lakota and Christian Spirituality" began not with a speech — as most ecumenical dialogues do — but with a traditional Lakota purification ceremony, or "sweat." Two dozen of us donned gym shorts and towels in an outdoor changing booth. Then we entered a small igloo-shaped, canvas-covered structure called a sweatlodge. Inside the sweatlodge we were led in prayer by Rudy Runs Above, a traditional Lakota spiritual leader from Rosebud, S.D. "Sweating" for purification was more than a figure of speech, as water was poured over red-hot rocks specially prepared for the ceremony. All participants — Native American and White, clergy and laity — prayed to God in their own way, using two different languages and many different words. But a strong theme of unity came through the prayers, and many commented on the strong sense of spiritual power they experienced through the ceremony.

The entire two-day conference — held at Mazakute Episcopal Church in St. Paul, Minn. — emphasized experiential learning like the "sweat" instead of academic discussions of conference reports. And throughout the sessions, the major emphasis was the continuing power of traditional Native American spirituality — both for Lakotas raised as Christians and now reintegrating traditional practices, and for White Christians who are interested in learning from Native American spirituality.

The end-of-year conference was organized by Mazakute Episcopal Church — a predominately Native American congregation — and the Minnesota Committee on Indian Work, a ministry based in the Episcopal Diocese. Participants included traditional Lakota spiritual leaders, or medicine men; an Episcopal bishop; many Lakota peple who had participated in traditional Lakota religious ceremonies; and numerous Christian clergy with diverse experience in Lakota communities. Around 60 people attended; the group was half Native American and half White. The majority were Episcopalian or Roman Catholic, reflecting their dominance in Lakota country. There were a handful of people from other Christian traditions.

Conference sessions focused on personal experiences of Lakota religious ceremonies, especially the vision quest and the sun dance. Invited speakers and audience members testified to the power of Lakota spirituality, often in moving ways. Because traditional Native American culture has been harshly suppressed in the past, speaking about Lakota spirituality in public was a bold and difficult move for many Lakotas.

Doris Leader Charge, a faculty member at Sinte Galeska College in Rosebud, S.D., told about growing up on the Rosebud reservation during a time when the practice of Lakota religion was illegal. People were jailed for going to healing ceremonies. (Indian freedom of religion was not guaranteed by law until the 1970s.) Even the Lakota language was forbidden. As a 5-year-old on her first day at school, she was punished because she spoke Lakota to translate her teacher's command for her cousins who could not speak English.

Later, at an Episcopal boarding school, she was not only forbidden to speak her language, but was taught that Lakota religion was devil worship, and was threatened with excommunication if she prayed in traditional ways. Many participants told similar stories. Robert Anderson, bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Minnesota, formally apologized for the role of Christians in this history.

The main point of the stories, however, was not to criticize past abuses but to speak about the continuing importance of Lakota spirituality. During Doris Leader Charge's Christian experience, which included memorizing the Book of Common Prayer, she also went to traditional ceremonies. When this was impossible, as it was at boarding school, she thought about the ceremonies and hoped her people were praying for her. When she was able to practice her religion openly, she did so.

Today she continues as an Episcopalian. "The Lakota religion and Christianity both pray to the same God," she said. "They are not in conflict." But she confessed, "The Episcopalian religion doesn't mean as much to me — maybe because I *had* to learn it." Lakota religion, in contrast, is a way of life. "It is something I live 24 hours a day," she said.

Mark Hulsether is currently a Ph.D. candidate in American Studies at the University of Minnesota. The above article appeared earlier in *Soundings,* the publication of the Diocese of Minnesota.

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"All my life," said the Rev. Virgil Foote of Mazakute Church, "I had been told that being an Indian was not good." But in a dream he was told to stand up and be proud of his heritage and to go on a vision quest for self-understanding. As he participated in the vision quest and sun dance, the Bible came alive for him. He perceived that God, the Creator, acts in all creation, and all creation is good, including the Indian part. He came to believe that the spirit messengers in Lakota tradition were no different than angels in Judeo-Christian tradition.

Foote also told of witnessing many examples of the power of God's spirit. In one case, he told how a parishioner was healed after a prayer service which used both the pipe and the eucharist. Thinking about the "rightness" of a Christian using the pipe, he had often thought about the biblical story in which the disciples asked Jesus whether they should stop someone from healing, simply because the healer was not from their group. Jesus replied, "Anyone who is not against us is for us." (*Mark 9:40*)

No one at the conference disputed the importance of Lakota people overcoming the shame they had been taught and recovering the power of their traditional spirituality. But some questioned if Lakota and Christian practices should fit together. Given the long history of suppression, it is not surprising that fear and division persist. According to Dr. Howard Anderson, past president of the Native American Theological Association, every Lakota congregation has tension between those who feel there is too much integration of traditional practices and those who feel there is too little. This remains true despite a trend toward greater openness to tradition.

The Rev. William Stolzman, S.J., spoke against blending two powerful tradtions, not because either was illigitimate but because either could lose its uniqueness and integrity. This was the conclusion of a lengthy dialogue between Christian and traditional spiritual leaders on the Rosebud reservation — a dialogue he participated in and described in his book, *The Pipe and Christ*. Other participants were suspicious of sharing the most highly revered aspects of Lakota spirituality, especially the pipe, with Whites who might misunderstand, abuse, or trivialize them — in short, co-opt them and undermine their power.

Another sore point was the exclusion of menstruating women from Lakota pipe ceremonies. According to Doris Leader Charge, this practice is often misunderstood by Whites as implying that menstruation is dirty. In fact, she said, it honors the special power of women. Nevertheless, the prohibition implies serious problems for blending traditions if it implies excluding menstruating women from Christian services where a pipe is used.

Although no one disregarded such concerns, most of the speakers stressed a need for *more*, rather than less, blending of traditions — especially for Native Americans raised in both traditions, for whom combining beliefs is most natural and the issue of cultural identity is most acute. For Whites, the question was more complicated, since most were not concerned about Lakota religion. They were usually interested in gaining deeper insight into their own Christian tradition through learning from traditional Lakota ways.

The Rev. Steve Charleston, director of Cross-Cultural Studies at Luther Northwestern Theological Seminary, predicted that North American Christianity is on the verge of a new reformation, and that insights from Native American traditions will help Christians rethink and revitalize their faith.

In keeping with the conference's emphasis on experience and practical unity, participants worshipped together at the close of each day, blending traditional Lakota and Christian worship styles. For many, the emotional highlight of the conference occurred on the first night, when Rudy Runs Above led a healing ceremony centered on the ceremonial pipe and traditional Lakota drumming and singing. To close the conference, the Revs. Virgil Foote and Harold Eagle Bull led a Christian worship centered around the eucharist and hymns.

In both services the traditions blended in a way that seemed natural for most participants. At the healing ceremony prayers to God were addressed both through Lakota words such as *Wakan Tanka* (Great Spirit) or *Tunkasila* (Grandfather) and in terms more familiar to White Christians like "Creator" and "Holy Spirit." During the final Christian liturgy, Galen Drapeau led the congregation in prayer using the pipe.

In the closing session of the conference, Bishop Robert Anderson expressed strong support for the dialogue. "We saw powerfully in the (healing) ceremony that the spirit won't be contained; the spirit will blow where it wills," he said. Anderson stressed that Christianity is not a fixed and unified package of doctrines, but a tradition which is always in a process of change as it responds to new situations. He saw the current dialogue as part of this process. Although there were White sins to confess, Lakota fears about co-optation, and important differences between the traditions, he believed that conference participants had a fundamental sense of common humanity before God and a powerful experience of the presence of the Holy Spirit.

To express this sense of unity, Anderson described a circle of diverse people at prayer, not necessarily *praying together* — in the sense of making their traditions indistinguishable — but praying *before God* together in their different ways, so that a new kind of unity is created by their action.

Most who attended the conference went away feeling that they had experienced this kind of unity, not simply talked about it. TW

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God's people have suffered enough!

As Christians around the world prepared for Holy Week, an international delegation of four Anglican bishops traveled to Central America where the suffering exemplified by Christ's journey to Calvary is part of every day life. Building on friendships forged at the international gathering of Anglican bishops at Lambeth, Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning of the U.S. Episcopal Church, Archbishop Desmond Tutu of Southern Africa, Archbishop Michael Peers of the Anglican Church in Canada, and Archbishop Orland Lindsay of the Anglican Church of the Province of the West Indies, visited Nicaragua along with Bishop James Ottley of Panama, who hosted the group during their stay in his country.

The primates, guided by Bishop Sturdie Downs of Nicaragua, visited the hurricane-devastated Atlantic Coast and saw evidence in all parts of the country of the destruction wreaked by the contra war. In Panama, the delegation saw clear evidence of how U.S.-imposed sanctions, intended to force Gen. Manuel Noreiga's ouster, have caused great hardship to Panamanians.

After a tour of each country, the primates issued a joint statement. Following are excerpts from those documents:

Statement on Nicaragua

This historic gathering of bishops is reflective of the full concern of the entire Anglican Communion for peace and reconciliation in [Nicaragua].

It is significant to note that we come at the beginning of Passiontide, the most sacred period of our church calendar. This was not an accident. The Nicaraguan people have described their life and spiritual journey as a constant passion — they live each day as a *via crucis*. Our presence is a show of solidarity and a demonstration of a faith in a loving and reconciling God.

God's people have suffered enough!

One cannot visit the country without being overwhelmed by the toll on life and property caused by a chain of events — the oppression of the Somoza regime, earthquake, hurricane, an agonizing civil war, and forest fires — to name the most devastating.

We are especially moved by the enormity of the destruction on the Atlantic Coast — in Bluefields.

The suffering of mothers who have lost their children, children who have lost their parents, families divided through civil strife is all too apparent.

Nicaragua suffers from the international debt crisis affecting many Latin American and other developing nations . . .

We have, during our visit, felt deep distress and anger when we have seen the intense suffering inflicted on the people of Nicaragua by the "contra" war — a war financed by people sitting in the safety of foreign capitals.

Our Nicaraguan experience has given us a new sympathy for the view of great numbers of people in the developing world that U.S. administrations have been prepared to subject entire peoples to the ravages of war to pursue their economic interests and because of objections to the ideological complexion of their governments.

We have heard the U.S. government justify its refusal to impose further sanctions against apartheid in South Africa on the grounds that they would cause suffering. We find this argument to be in total conflict with the U.S. government's willingness to impose sanctions on Nicaragua and Panama and to inflict the evil of war on the people of Nicaragua.

We affirm the right of the region to determine its own future. We urge the governments of North America and Europe to support the implementation by Central American nations of the Esquipulas II peace process.

We have heard reports from human rights agencies in Nicaragua that have documented abuses and violations committed by both the Sandinista government and the counterrevolutionary forces. We denounce all such violations and urge both the government and contra forces to respect the basic human rights of the people of Nicaragua.

Our witness to Nicaragua's physical devastation causes us to urge our government to respond to the overwhelming need for development assistance, especially in the Atlantic Coast area where reconstruction assistance is needed to aid in the recovery from the effects of Hurricane Joan.

We support the prophetic witness of the Episcopal Church in Nicaragua and that of the ecumenical community in their efforts to be peacemakers and reconcilers, and we will urge our churches to be fully supportive of the Episcopal Church and its mission and ministry.

Statement on Panama

We have come to rejoice in the courage and liveliness of the people in the face of great difficulties and to be a witness to do all that we can to assist in the struggle of all people for justice, with a hope that their differences can be reconciled.

We have been informed by various

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groups and organizations of the disastrous effects of U.S. sanctions against Panama. These sanctions have led to the destruction of the country's economy, caused immense suffering of the poorest of the poor, increased unemployment, and aggravated social problems. It is also apparent to us that the government of Panama uses the effect of these sanctions to rally nationalist support against the United States. This paralyzes many people, who, like the majority of Panamanians, are opposed to sanctions, but who are restricted from speaking out for fear of being labeled in favor of General Noriega. We can therefore say that these sanctions inflict a double oppression on the citizens of Panama.

We believe that these sanctions, opposed by the general population, and inflicted by the United States in an attempt to force the ouster of General Noriega, must cease. The U.S. policy has failed, and their continued imposition helps the government to direct attention from the real, serious internal economic and political crisis. We call upon the U.S. government, therefore, to immediately end the sanctions placed on Panama, so that unjust suffering can be alleviated and so that the overwhelming domestic problems can be brought to light and addressed by the people of Panama, as a sovereign independent nation, without external oppression and interference.

During our visit, we heard allegations of serious human rights abuses perpetrated by the government. . . We call for the release of prisoners held without trial and for an end to persecution of opposition party members.

We have also heard that newspapers, radio stations, and a television station had been closed and that those still operating were subject to censorship. . .

We believe the media should be allowed to operate freely.

We commend the holding of the general elections set for May 7, 1989.

They are a sign of hope for the society, and the fact that all Panamanians have been promised the right to vote is one of the reasons we can oppose the implementation of sanctions on Panama while supporting them against apartheid in South Africa.

However, their legitimacy will be open to question both in Panama and in the international community if they are conducted with the media restricted and in the absence of credible international observers. We therefore urge the government of Panama to lift all restrictions on the media . . .

Arising from discussions at our meeting with General Noriega, we as Primates of the Anglican Communion intend asking the world church community to appoint a delegation to travel to Panama and observe the elections on our behalf.

One cannot visit Panama without reflection on the canal and its history as it has been a source of great opportunity and great dismay. As a matter of fact, the Anglican-Episcopal Church came to Panama to minister to many of the workers who had come from the Caribbean Islands at the time of its construction.

We have visited with the churches and heard their concerns and hope and agree that, if the church is to help bring about peace and reconciliation between brothers and sisters in Panama, between opposition and government differences, it is necessary to work without taking partisan positions in the political arena. Trust needs to be planted, so that reconciliation can be attained.

We commend and encourage the work being done by the Christian churches together in their effort to attain this reconciliation and peace among the Panamanian family. And we will urge our churches to be fully supportive of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Panama in its mission and ministry. TW

Editorial . . . *Continued from page 5*

that this list was an *addendum* to an already lengthy list of banned corporations, not a *replacement*. The investment managers carefully adhered to the new list but ignored the previous one.

Accordingly, in late June or early July, 1988, the Shell shares were purchased and now the CPF is trying to divest with all deliberate speed.

Perplexing questions remain. Why did the mistake take so long to surface? It seems no copies of the list and the correspondence to the investment firms had been circulated, and the people responsible have since left the CPF, and a recent board meeting dealt mostly with orientation of new members, and apparently the purchase did not come to light until March of this year and, and, and ... As some might say, the dog ate my homework.

Further, although the CPF has made a clean breast of its mistake, peacemakers are concerned about what it means for a pension fund worth $1.5 billion to give *witness* in the '90s. Might this involve more than occasional proxy voting on shareholder resolutions and quiet divestment in the dead of night?

What about taking more seriously social justice issues such as the nuclear arms race, and examining the CPF portfolio for companies that make nuclear weapons — like GE?

And what about corporations that claim to have pulled out of South Africa and Namibia when they have set up a subsidiary to deal through? And companies like IBM and Hewlitt-Packard which provide computers for the South African military?

It is one thing to correct an administrative error. But the CPF Board could witness to the world in its future meetings that it wants to be a major force in changing the direction of the Fund. A clear policy statement to that effect would be a welcome step in the right direction. TW

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Ruether . . . *Continued from page 11*
its government, would also make it seem more acceptably part of the Arab world, rather than a "colonial settler state" of Europeans. Without giving up the advantages of Western education and skills, these Oriental Jews could relearn Arabic and reintegrate their Arabic cultural roots into their Israeli identity as an advantage, rather than a disadvantage, in dealing with their Semitic cousins.

Limiting Israel's territorial claims and allowing it to redevelop its culture and institutions in this direction means giving up three cherished Zionist myths: (1) that Jews have an a priori right to the whole of Palestine, (2) that the other people resident there historically, the Arab Palestinians, do not have a parallel claim on the land as a national community, and (3) that Israel must be an outpost of European people and culture, not a part of the "Levant." It is these three Zionist myths that have walled Israel into a segregated, hostile, and violent relationship to the rest of the communities that live around it.

Giving up these three myths would demand a fundamental shift in the understanding of Jewish identity, or, rather, a decision in favor of a pluralist, rather than an ethnocentric, understanding of Jewish identity. We have suggested throughout this study that there are two different ways of construing the relationship of the particular and the universal. Both of these ways have existed in the Jewish tradition. One of these ways is to construe one's particular identity, in this case as a national, ethnic, and religious community, as unique and incomparable with the particularity of any other community. One's particularity separates this people from all other people and calls them to special obedience to God. This separation from other nations is construed as conferring a special holiness on the Jewish people. The gift of the land is seen as giving Jews a priori rights to the land that supercedes that of any other people.

These ethnocentric views of election misconstrue the religious idea of election by transferring it to superior innate qualities of Jews themselves. The religious idea of election does not claim any innate superiority for Jews but only a calling to be faithful to God by observing the commandments. If they do not do this, they are no more holy than any other people and their land is as unholy as any other land.

The universalist tradition affirms Jewish particularity in solidarity with the particularity of other people. Concern for Jewish distinctiveness grounds an equal concern for the rights of other people to exist in distinct ways. Human beings must limit the claims of their own distinctiveness in order to accommodate themselves to the rights of others to live, side by side, with themselves. This is the fundamental biblical ethic of "loving thy neighbor as oneself."

This ethic of mutual solidarity does not mean an anonymous universalism. Anonymous universalism generally conceals a hidden agenda of one group to set itself up as the "normative universal." This was the false universalism of Hellenism and of Christianity, which demanded that Jews stop being distinct in order to merge into a Greek or a Christian-defined "universal humanity." This type of false universalism has rightly been resisted by Jews through the ages. Rather, mutual solidarity means pursuing that mode of being for oneself that obliges one, at the same time, to be for others. This is the authentic ethic of mutuality that both Jewish and Christian ethics have sought, the one tending to err in the direction of ethnocentrism and the other in the direction of an imperialist false universalism.

To love one's neighbor as oneself means also that one cannot love everyone "equally." Human beings and cultural communities are finite. The ability to imagine and relate to infinite varieties of people is limited. Real uniqueness in persons and peoples is not affirmed by a generic diffuseness, which has no real content. Rather one must locate it in the concrete relations between different people who are actually called, either by choice or by historical circumstances, to live side by side with each other. The quest of Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs for a just and peaceful coexistence is an instance of the difficulty and challenge of that ethical commandment.

The struggle of Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs to find a way, personally and politically, to live together in one land reflects a worldwide dilemma and challenge. Is not, in fact, every land, every nation today a microcosm of many nations, many peoples? The nationalist myth of one land, one state for each ethnic, racial group has evaporated in the reality of global migrations and settlements of human groups. The task of creating justice and peace between Israelis and Palestinians, as two people claiming one land, mirrors the task of creating justice and peace between all peoples on one earth.

If we are to claim that God is the God of all nations, this can no longer mean a demand that all nations convert to one religion but a recognition that there is one ultimate unity behind the many names for divinity. We must see ourselves as children of the one God from whom all peoples spring. People have shaped themselves into distinctive historical communities. We are summoned to become sibling people to one another and caretakers of the one earth we all share. TW

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Letters . . . *Continued from page 3*

indirectly to South Africa.

You say Shell was anything but a benign employer at the Rietspruit coal mine, of which it owns 50%. During the 1985 Rietspruit incident, you claim miners were ordered to return to work at gunpoint. Absolutely not. Those desiring to work were provided with an armed escort to protect them from those who threatened assault and intimidation.

You go on to say that after the incident, union membership at Rietspruit dropped to 18%. Actually, Shell South Africa was instrumental in ensuring that the recognition agreement with the National Union of Mineworkers was maintained, despite the fact that union membership had *fallen below* the threshold level. As a result, union membership rose from 20% in March 1985 to 73% in March 1986.

You list the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church as supporting the boycott. Not true. Finally, we remind you of the important distinction made by the House of Bishops when it approved the "redrafted" boycott resolution, which differed from the Executive Council's original action. As you know, the House of Bishops added "we call for expanding of this boycott to include all international oil companies doing business in South Africa: Mobil, Chevron, Texaco, British Petroleum and Total."

It is disturbing to see the focus of your article, as well as that of the Peace and Justice office of the Episcopal Church, single out Shell and none of the others listed in the resolution.

H.R. Hutchins
Houston, Tex.

(Information in the Shell boycott story came from a resource packet distributed by the Peace and Justice office of the Episcopal Church and also from data supplied by the Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility. H.R. Hutchins is correct in one instance — the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church was mistakenly included as a boycott supporter. It was one of the few mainline Protestant denominations that did not do so. THE WITNESS, a social advocacy journal, stands by its story supporting the Shell boycott. Those interested in ascertaining how Shell is a friend of unions and a foe of apartheid in South Africa may write H.R. Hutchins, Public Affairs, Shell Oil Co., One Shell Plaza, Houston, TX 77252. — Ed.)

Japan's other minorities

Your article "Confronting racism in Japan" (January) was a delight to read after my return from three years in the Orient. I spent a year in Japan and two in Taiwan and China.

I saw the discrimination against any who were not "pure" Japanese. However, the article left out two other important groups: the *Ainu* and the *Eta*, against whom there is also strong discrimination.

Deam Hunter Ferris
Independence, Mo.

Outsider

The speaker is Asenath, Egyptian wife of Joseph — *Gen. 41:50*

In a land of straight lines,
columns, narrow-windowed stone,
we calculate the hours, and angles
of the sun to every star,
when Sirius will rise, what height
the river floods. All that we need
we make, or move by our machines.

I became wife, to bind to us
the reader of dreams, a foreigner.
While my father taught him signs,
scripts, formulas of politics,
mother and I interpreted
our manners, the weave and weights
of linens. He learned quickly.

Our polish could not straighten
his slant toward an alien god.
When seventy Hebrews brought
their curling dance into my front yard,
translation failed to name away
a force that spiralled in and lodged
like a pellet near my spine.

I have two sons, one stout as stone
one lean and lively like his father.
Between them I walk cautiously.
That curved god tips the pavement,
turns up my nation's seams: Egypt
and empire show the ragged edge
where the threads unravel.

Ellen Roberts Young

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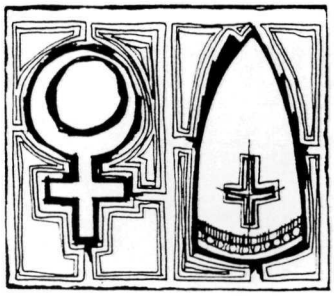

Barbara Harris: Bishop

Order a copy of this historic April issue of THE WITNESS, commemorating the Feb. 11 consecration of the first woman bishop in the Episcopal Church and Anglican Communion:

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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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THE WITNESS

Procreative Freedom

Faye Wattleton

Elizabeth Maxwell

Beverly Wildung Harrison

Kathie Hancock Ragsdale

Pat Wilson-Kastner

Faith Evans

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Letters

Shed tears of joy

I have been enjoying THE WITNESS for several years, ever since an Episcopalian friend first introduced me to it. As a United Church of Christ clergywoman, I have found much within these pages to give me strength.

Today has really brought that home to me. I spent an hour with a woman who is beginning to look for a church home. She has (for several years) been separated from the church to which she had belonged — ever since she decided to become a "whole" person, not satisfied with teachings of inferiority and subordination. The pain of her departure, and the despair with which she has been looking for a church that affirms her entire person, encouraging her to be whatever she can be, were palpable. I recognized and shared her pain, and it stayed with me long after she left.

Then I began reading the April WITNESS — *Barbara Harris: Bishop* — and found myself in tears. From the chronology on page 2 through the ad on the back page for "My Story's On," I shed tears of joy at proof that God will not be denied!

As I face the problems of being a woman in a patriarchal society, working in and through a patriarchal institution that would wish to be otherwise, I shall hold tight to this issue. I think I shall have the picture on page 25 framed, with the words, "Could God die, I would die." For surely the loving God we serve holds the power we need to celebrate such moments of justice. Thanks be to God!

The Rev. Karen L. Clark
Denver, Col.

Get clay feet moving

I'm 51, with a Baptist, and now a Friends, background. When the April issue arrived I made a pot of tea and read nonstop, tears streaming down my face. The problems of patriarchy run deeper than I imagined.

Thanks, Carter Heyward, for reminding us that we *all* have a load to carry. Thanks, Li Tim-Oi, for reminding us that our backs have already been straightened. Thanks, WITNESS, for keeping this in a very human perspective. A sister with clay feet has been called to a higher order. May we look at our clay feet and get them moving.

Beverly England Williams
Mountaintop, Pa.

Has ecumenical appeal

I looked forward to the April WITNESS with all the accounts of Barbara Harris' election and its meaning, not only for the Anglican communion but for the rest of us, as well.

I was not disappointed! It is a wonderful issue, and I've already shared it with many friends. I'd like to send a copy to two of my good friends who are United Methodist (women) bishops, and am enclosing a check for two issues which I will send them with a note.

As a professional ecumenist, I thought Rosemary Ruether's article was prophetic and that Pamela Darling named the issues for all clergywomen, no matter what communion. Keep up the good work. I look forward to every issue.

Jeanne Audrey Powers
New York, N.Y.

Offers two corrections

Thanks for the wonderful coverage of Barbara Harris' consecration, and especially for the photos. I have put the picture of Barbara and Li Tim-Oi at Canterbury Cathedral alongside the color shot of Barbara in those magnificent vestments in a new women-in-ministry "wall of fame" outside my office.

A couple of minor corrections: The very helpful chronology inside the front cover indicates that it was over 20 years between the 1862 ordering of the first deaconess in England and the first one here. But according to Emily Hewitt and Sue Hiatt's chronology in *Women Priests, Yes or No?*, the Bishop of Alabama ordered a deaconess in 1865, and the Bishop of New York did the same in 1867.

General Convention began "studying" deaconesses in 1871, and then defeated a deaconess canon five times before finally approving it in 1889. Deaconess training schools established in New York, San Francisco and Philadelphia in the next triennium provided the first formal theological education for women in the Episcopal Church, who were not admitted to any regular seminary program until the Episcopal Theological Seminary opened the Bachelor of Divinity degree to women in 1958. It was a quarter century from the ordering of the first deaconess until the authorization of deaconesses in this church, and another century until the ordination of a woman to the episcopate. Not exactly precipitous action!

Second, Paul Washington was certainly a key participant in the Philadelphia ordinations — held in his church — but the preacher that day was Dr. Charles V. Willie, then vice-president of the House of Deputies (who resigned in protest after the emergency House of Bishops meeting at O'Hare Airport declared that the Philadelphia ordinations hadn't happened).

Pamela W. Darling
New York, N.Y.

No looking back

Enclosed is a check for $28. Please send one extra issue of the *Barbara Harris: Bishop* special issue and consider the remainder a donation to your work and ministry.

I feel as though we women (and men who support the advance of women) in

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the church have leapt a giant chasm with nothing but even ground ahead — even though there are bound to be rocks to stumble over, pits to fall into and brambles in which we may become entangled. At least the path is well-defined for all of us. No looking back.

May God truly bless the life and ministry of Bishop Harris. Those who will be touched by her pastorate will surely know a new joy and blessing.

Judith Yeakel
Langley, Wash.

Can't stomach magazine

Barbara Harris made waves all right and I am one of the ones who didn't like the wet slap in the face.

You may be proud of her election but I think it was a travesty against all qualified priests in the church.

I am looking forward to the "more inclusive church." I feel sure the Episcopal membership will rise in joy and the increased giving will swell the hearts of all social activists.

Full speed ahead with consecrations of more theologically unqualified activists and damn the consequences.

I can make it without THE WITNESS; I have a weak stomach.

The Rev. Richard G. Anderson
Boise, Idaho

WITNESS at its best

Your issue on Barbara Harris is magnificent: uplifting, comprehensive, thought-provoking — THE WITNESS at its best! Thank you for this gem with its many facets.

Powell Woodward
Cambridge, Mass.

What next?

After I read my *first* issue of THE WITNESS, I realized that I had made a mistake. The only reason I didn't cancel then was out of curiosity as to what you could *possibly* come up with next, and you did.

We're evidently on totally different wave-lengths and marching to different drummers. I seriously doubt your assertions that you all are being guided by the Holy Spirit, and certainly not by the same spirit and truth as I perceive it.

The Rev. Willys E. Neustrom
Salina, Kan.

Mail brought Spring

Spring arrived in Michigan when the mail carrier delivered the refreshing April issue of THE WITNESS. Congratulations to you and your staff for bringing us the best reflections on the significance of Barbara Harris' episcopate.

The Rev. Zal Sherwood
Jackson, Mich.

Not one quotation

Please stop sending your magazine to me — I find it very repulsive.

I did not find one scriptural quotation to support anything you said. Although you spoke of God, you never said which God. And *I Corinthians 8:5-6* tells us to watch out because we have only one God and *Psalms 83:18* tells who He is.

Terry Elms Cockrum
Chloride, Ariz.

Kudos from editor

Your Barbara Harris issue is a thrilling tribute to the first woman bishop in the world, as your *Boston Globe* picture of her is captioned. What a boost for womankind all over the globe, especially Black women, who have been subdued too long.

When *The Churchman's Human Quest* celebrated its 185th anniversary in April at a luncheon in St. Petersburg, I found it a special satisfaction and joy to quote from some of your women writers. Although the Episcopal Church has, at times through the decades, given its women recognition for buttressing the church with their talent, charm and literal support by way of bazaars, canvassing, etc., it has been slow to think in terms of equality.

The founding ecclesiastics of THE WITNESS and *The Churchman* are likely to be most uncomfortable in their crypts to see these Episcopal journals run by women editors. For over 20 years I have grown into the confidence that editing a venerable magazine, begun in 1804 by the grandson of the first Episcopal bishop in the United States, engenders. With Bishop Barbara's pinnacle recognition, those of us women who serve the church, carry our heads a bit higher, knowing we deserve acknowledgement, too. Bishop Barbara's graceful and gracious acceptance of her new role is an inspiration to us all.

It was a special pleasure to quote the Rev. Carter Heyward's comment on church mediation "through the presence of male genitalia" which she termed "kinky theology." Delightful amplification. THE WITNESS is to be congratulated in generating this special issue.

Edna Ruth Johnson, Editor
The Churchman's Human Quest
St. Petersburg, Fla.

Seeks smoking gun

I seem to hear a number of your writers saying that much of the opposition to Bishop Barbara Harris is because of her race. Is there hard evidence on this point? Or are your writers indulging in a mere "conclusory allegation" that anyone in the church who is theologically conservative must also be a racist?

Do you know of any hard evidence that, e.g., several bishops or several standing committees refused to approve

Continued on page 23

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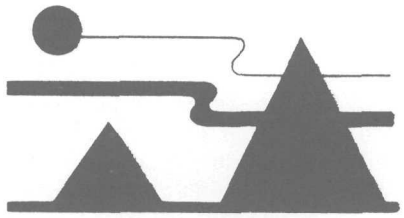
THE WITNESS



This issue would not have been possible without the consultation of Katherine Hancock Ragsdale and Diane Pollard.

Ragsdale, who coordinated the issue with Assistant Editor Sue Pierce, is a pastor at St. Mathews, Jersey City, N.J., and was a lobbyist for abortion rights and other legislative issues at the 1988 Episcopal Church General Convention.

Pollard, a Convention deputy from the Diocese of New York, became pro-choice while a volunteer at New York's Columbia-Presbyterian Hospital in the 1960s, when she saw women abandoned at the hospital's door, injured or dying from botched illegal abortions.

Table of Contents

6 **Planned Parenthood head calls on churches to support choice**
Interview with Faye Wattleton by Elizabeth Maxwell

9 **Women of color address abortion issues**
Sabrae Yulonne Jenkins & Chung C. Seto

11 **Men's privileges vs. women's rights**
Faith Evans

12 **The politics of reproduction**
Interview with Beverly Wildung Harrison by Mary Lou Suhor

17 **The Episcopal Church and abortion**
Katherine Hancock Ragsdale

21 **Whose 'life' counts?**
Patricia Wilson-Kastner

Credits Cover by TSI Visuals; Wattleton photo p. 6, courtesy Planned Parenthood; Jenkins and Seto photos p. 9, courtesy Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights (RCAR); Evans photo p. 11, courtesy United Church of Christ; photo p. 18, Mary Lou Suhor; photo p. 19, courtesy RCAR.

Editorial

Reproductive freedom: a battle we cannot afford to lose

by Katherine Hancock Ragsdale

It feels odd to be working on an abortion issue in 1989. It appeared that this matter had been settled in 1973. We trusted that in the case of *Roe v. Wade* the Supreme Court had once-and-for-all decided what our minds, our hearts, and our souls had long known — that every woman has the right and responsibility to control her own bodily health and reproductive functions. We rejoiced that the Court had virtually guaranteed the right of every woman to a safe and legal abortion. We believed that never again would we attend the funeral of a friend, sister, or daughter who had died as the result of a botched back-alley abortion.

The faith community continued to harbor differences of opinion as to when life begins and when abortion is an appropriate choice. Still, most of our churches and synagogues insisted that abortion was a moral/ethical issue and as such must be decided by conscience, not by legislation. They pointed out that a coerced decision carries no moral weight and so affirmed a woman's right to choose.

The courts also acknowledged that the time life begins is a theological/metaphysical question and abortion a moral/ethical decision. As such, they were not matters for legislation. We offered *Te Deums*. Many skirmishes remained to be fought (against bogus clinics, fundamentalist moralists, and clinic bombers) but the battle was won. We redirected much of our energy to fighting for other social and economic justice issues. We hoped to create a world where abortion was less frequently a woman's only viable alternative.

But today all our hard-won freedom is in jeopardy. As this issue goes to press we await a Supreme Court decision in the case of *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*. The Bush Administration has asked that the Court use this case to overturn *Roe v. Wade* and return to each state the right to decide if, and under what conditions, a woman may choose to terminate her pregnancy.

On April 9, 1989 an estimated 600,000 women and men converged on Washington, D.C. to protest this threat to reproductive freedom. THE WITNESS was one of the many sponsors of this "March for Women's Equality, Women's Lives" organized by the National Organization for Women. The religious community fielded approximately 100,000 of the marchers. They marched for freedom of choice, freedom of conscience — for religious freedom. They knew that this is a battle we cannot afford to loose. The stakes — the integrity of our consciences and the lives of our daughters — are too high.

"In a resounding reversal of a long-standing position, the Episcopal Church has dropped its opposition to legislation restricting abortion in the United States."
NOEL News, 9-10/88.

This statement by the National Organization of Episcopalians for Life (NOEL) evidences the misinterpretation that is possible when our churches sacrifice clarity and integrity in an effort to avoid conflict and appease proponents of irreconcilable positions. (To see what the Church really said, turn to p. 20).

Ambiguous pronouncements by mainline churches have fueled the administrative, legislative, and judicial efforts to restrict women's access to safe, legal abortions. At this crucial time the church needs clear resolutions such as the following, which General Convention failed to adopt:

"Resolved, the House of ____ concurring: That this 69th General Convention of the Episcopal Church express its unequivocal opposition to any legislative, executive, or judicial action on the part of local, state, or national govenments which would abridge the right of a woman to reach an informed decision about the termination of pregnancy and which would limit the access of a woman to safe means of acting on her decision." (submitted by Deputy Diane Pollard, Diocese of New York.)

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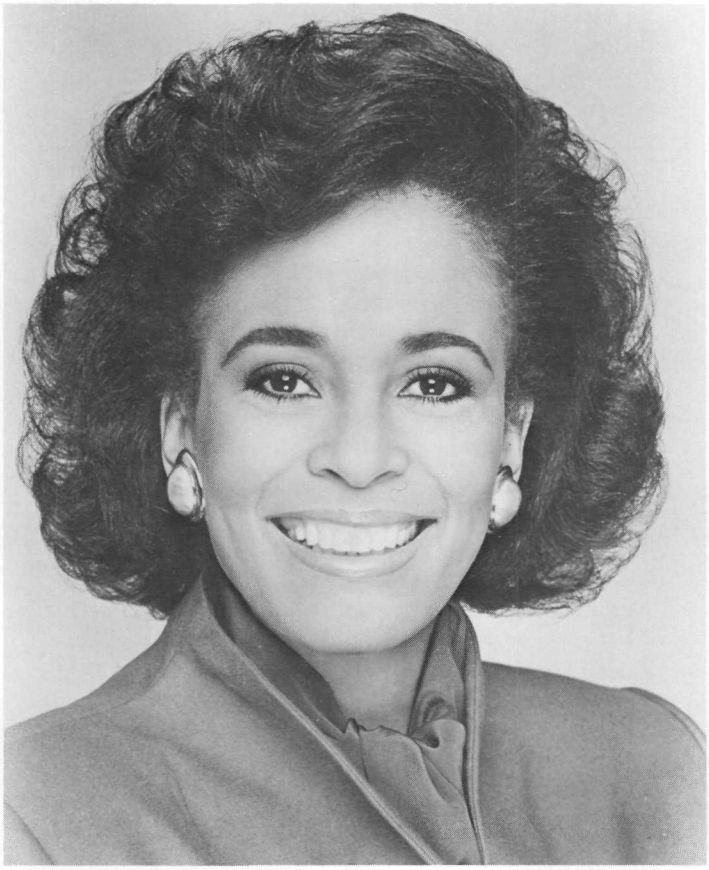
Planned Parenthood head calls on



***Faye Wattleton**, national president of Planned Parenthood, has championed a woman's right to reproductive choice since her days as a young nurse at New York City's Harlem Hospital in the 1960s. Her beliefs were shaped by caring for women who were seriously ill, and sometimes died, from illegal abortions; counseling teenage mothers; and working with abused and abandoned children. She was a public health administrator for the city of Dayton, Ohio, before joining Planned Parenthood as a board member. She was appointed president in 1978, and turned what had been a low-profile service organization into an aggressive advocate of women's reproductive rights.*

For the past 11 years, Wattleton has led Planned Parenthood in battling the anti-family planning policies of the Reagan — and now the Bush — administration, and the hostile tactics of the anti-abortion shock troops of Operation Rescue. Her commitment to the struggle, she said in a recent interview, is founded not only in her nursing experience, but in her upbringing. Her mother, a minister in the Church of God, and her father taught her, she said, "that it was my obligation to help those with less than I had."

Wattleton was recently interviewed by the Rev. Elizabeth Maxwell for THE WITNESS. Maxwell, associate rector of Church of the Holy Apostles in New York City, is an officer of the New Jersey Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights.

These must be difficult times for the pro-choice movement, with abortion rights and family planning rights so much under attack. What sustains you in the work that you do as president of Planned Parenthood?

I don't see the period we're going through now as any different than the period we went through in the past 16 years. The attacks on reproductive rights are not new. It's the accumulation of those attacks, and their ugliness, that have provoked the kind of emotional response that we are witnessing right now among Americans. So I'm not sure that I need to be sustained now any more than I've needed it throughout the many years of my work in this organization.

I believe very deeply in what I work for; I believe that reproductive rights are central to the ability to shape one's own destiny. Many of the problems of our society can be prevented if people have the means and the knowledge to practice family planning effectively, so that their child-bearing decisions do not compromise but rather enhance their lives and their children's lives.

My nursing background has given me a view of the world that is pretty plain and undressed up. You see people at their most vulnerable. That gives you a perception of the challenges and the problems that people confront. So often a crisis among people and their families comes about because of the burdens of too many children too soon, not wanted, not cared for. If we love our children, we want to have them to come into a nurturing environment that welcomes them.

What is the religious right up to, and what is its impact, in these years after Reagan?

They were more visible in the early to mid-'80s than they are now. Their program was never accepted by the majority of the American people. The pinnacle of their impact really occurred with the

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churches to support choice

election of Ronald Reagan in 1980. Were it not for the right wing, including the religious right, it would have been impossible to organize a sufficient base to elect him.

Their influence was always greater than their numbers, but even in that context their influence today is not as great as it was in the early '80s. Certainly they had less impact on subsequent elections.

Why do you think a politician like President Bush goes out of his way to affirm the goals of the anti-choice movement?

I think that Bush, to a lesser degree, it would appear, than Reagan, believes that he has to court the anti-choice constituency. Unfortunately, he doesn't realize that his larger base is among the people who marched in Washington two weeks ago, the broad base of the American people who are generally pretty middle of the road.

I suspect we may see Bush being less aggressive on these issues than was the Reagan administration. Though Bush's behavior the day after his inauguration would not seem to bear me out on that point — he addressed anti-abortion advocates by remote loudspeaker — although he did not meet with them. The day after Reagan was inaugurated, he received a delegation of anti-abortion advocates. If Bush were as rigid as Reagan, he would never have appointed someone like Dr. Louis Sullivan to his cabinet as head of the Department of Health and Human Services.

Going back to the religious right, what about Operation Rescue? Has it continued at the same level since the Democratic Convention last summer, and what has its impact been?

It certainly continues, and has expanded. During the Democratic Convention it was largely confined to Atlanta, where the television cameras were. It has now spread to other cities.

Once again, it's fascinating to me that all of this is being read as something new. There's nothing new about Operation Rescue except the label. We've withstood picketing, harrassment, vandalism, violence ever since this issue started. The media has given it a different flavor, because, now, instead of XYZ bomber blowing up a particular abortion clinic, it's Operation Rescue. I think that's useful, because it captures the attention of the American people, and serves to create a backlash against them. That's one reason we saw so many people marching in the streets on April 9 in Washington D.C. People are appalled by their tactics. We have reached the point of outrage. Americans are saying they're tired of the attacks on women, and they want them stopped.

What do you think will happen with *Webster vs. Reproductive Health Services,* the Supreme Court decision that is expected this summer?

I don't think much is going to happen. I don't believe that *Roe v. Wade* will be reversed. There's no evidence that this court is interested in doing that. There is some reason to believe that they may give states more control over abortions. Of course, any restriction on abortion is very troubling, because it means that the people who do not have the means to negotiate the restrictions will be the ones hurt. But I don't believe (and I know that this is not a point of view that many my colleagues share, and I may be perceived in the next few months as a dinosaur who wasn't tuned into reality) that when the Supreme Court decision comes down, abortions will be illegal in this country again.

One of the things I find disturbing is the use of religious language and symbols to advance an anti-woman point of view. What do you think pro-choice people in the religious community should be doing to counteract this?

I think pro-choice religious folk need to acknowledge and examine the anti-choice elements in their own denominations. Religious denominations need to take strong, clear, unambiguous stands on this issue, because women look to their religious institutions for guidance in making these decisions.

The co-opting of religious language and symbols by anti-abortion activists is not an unusual tactic on their part. They also use themes like racism, or abuse of women. They push the buttons of what are known to be sensitive, personal issues, in which there are areas of disagreement. The clash of religious dogmas, the struggle for religious liberty, and the separation of church and state have all been difficult issues for Americans, especially politicians. Anti-abortion activists know that, and they use it.

They're very quick to appropriate the language of the civil rights movement.

Absolutely. Racial issues are very sensitive in the consciousness of Americans. I go out to give a speech in some small town, and I'm met by picketers saying that abortion is Black genocide. Abortion protesters use that language to trigger the emotions, but what they trigger is resentment. The response is the reverse of what they seek.

There's also the perception that the pro-choice movement is a White women's movement. Your presence as head of Planned Parenthood suggests that that's not entirely true, but why does it seem that women of color are not involved in this issue?

I think that that perception should be seen as the great dichotomy between the haves and the have-nots in this country. Who are middle–class women in this country? They are disproportionately White. Who are poor women? Dispro-

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portionately women of color.

Poor people don't usually go to Washington to march in the streets. Major political movements are usually led and driven by the sentiments of the middle class.

Yet poor women, who are, as you say, disproportionately minority, will be the ones most affected by any erosion of abortion rights.

Absolutely. That's one of the reasons I feel so strongly about the work I do. The people who are hurt the most are Black teenagers who get pregnant. The women who will die first are Black poor women. I won't die if abortion becomes illegal again. I will have the means to get an abortion if I need and want one; my child likewise. But it is my African-American sisters, who are more likely than Whites to be poor, who will suffer.

Those of us who are affluent must step up to the challenge to defend these rights, because we defend them for all. I'm not surprised that Blacks are not more visible in the pro-choice movement. It is more a reflection of the classism in our society than it is any inherent difference in racial views about abortion. It has been well documented that Blacks are as pro-choice as Whites.

The United States' rates of both teen pregnancy and abortion are substantially higher than those in most other developed countries. One reason seems to be that in many countries in Europe, for example, public health policy includes making contraceptive services available in schools and other easily accessible places. My question is about the problems Americans seem to have with making such services more widely available, despite their proven effectiveness in preventing unwanted pregnancy. What do you think causes our resistance?

Well, the resistance is our great phobia about sex and sexuality. We have not overcome that phobia, and that phobia certainly extends to our children, in that we are uncomfortable discussing sexuality and sexual development with them. We are particularly uncomfortable with looking at some of the more difficult sexuality issues: birth control, abortion and homosexuality.

Our attitude about sexuality and our lack of openness about it seems to be rather unique in the developed world. Sex abounds, but we somehow feel that we must restrict our own sexual acceptance as a way of offsetting the profuse and ubiquitous display of sexuality in the commercial marketplace. What that gets us is kids who are not educated. Because we engage in a great conspiracy of silence, kids take chances with their sexuality and very often end up pregnant or with sexually transmitted diseases, and with lives that are severely damaged.

Unlike the European countries that you've described, we haven't learned that you cannot stamp out sexual development and sexual response. What we've seen in those countries is a greater emphasis on preventing the negative outcomes of sexual associations, rather than trying to focus on preventing the sexual association. They have had a heck of a lot more success than we have in reducing the tremendous social costs that come about because of our more restricted and, indeed, repressive attitude about sexuality.

How much do you think our religious history and climate have to do with that?

I think that the Calvinist values regarding sexual issues are still very strong in our society. Churches have been reluctant to step up to the needs of the community with respect to sexualilty. Established religions' ambivalence about dealing openly and honestly with sexual development, sexual intimacy and the response to our sexual needs is a great deficiency in our society. I think that our religious institutions can play a major role in shaping the moral values of responsibililty for ourselves and those we care for. We learn those values out of the framework of our home and our religious beliefs. If our churches don't broach the subject of sexuality in that context, a whole aspect of our lives just goes wanting.

It's bizarre. Religious institutions can be a very important force in calling for a different environment for our children to grow up in with respect to their sexual development. However, for the most part, they have not assumed that role.

As we finish, is there anything else that readers of THE WITNESS should know about Planned Parenthood's current work or position?

To summarize, we see the current struggle as one more battle along the way. After *Webster*, we will have to continue to work for more sex education, better contraception, and better access to services for all, especially for low–income people. These rights have been under attack from the day Margaret Sanger, who started the birth control movement, set out to make sure that children were born wanted and loved. They'll still be with us after the Supreme Court decision. The challenge is for Americans to see that their concern about women's rights should not stop with the Supreme Court.

If women are truly to have the right to shape their destiny, it can only come through education, and the availability of the technology to carry out their decisions.

Speaking of technology, do you think that RU 486 — the "abortion pill" currently available in France — will be marketed in this country any time soon?

I'm optimistic that eventually it will be developed and marketed, although it may take a while. At that point, the decision to have an abortion will truly be a private and personal one for a woman. No one else will be able to dictate her actions. TW

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Women of color address abortion

by Sabrae Yulonne Jenkins and Chung C. Seto

This country's "founding fathers" utilized sexism and racism to affirm the notion that the rights of women and Blacks, in particular, were not important enough to be included in the Constitution. These two groups, along with Hispanics, Native Americans and Asians, have had to fight against numerous oppressive attitudes and devices. As with most issues, people of color — forced to contend with discrimination — have had to organize separately from our White counterparts.

The unwillingness to recognize that all God's people are created equal and that tremendous value exists in the cultural diversity of all races continues to divide us on numerous social concerns. In matters of reproduction, some religious groups have attempted to coerce the personal freedom of our citizens through the power of public policy and thus have attempted to dictate one religious perspective. This constitutes a serious threat to the basic principles upon which our country was founded as well as a threat to the Constitution's First Amendment, which guarantees freedom of religion.

Sabrae Yulonne Jenkins is the Director of the Women of Color Partnership Program of the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights (RCAR).

In 1983 the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights (RCAR) sponsored a meeting of women of color in Washington, D.C. to discuss reproductive health care issues. We found that women of color view abortion as one aspect of a full range of comprehensive reproductive health services. Yet the fact remains that public policies on issues of health, particularly reproductive health, affect women of color disproportionately. A general lack of sensitivity and consideration for the specific needs of women of color has helped to reinforce our omission from the pro-choice ranks.

National pro-choice organizations have not been willing to incorporate the full spectrum of reproductive health care issues into their agendas. For instance, issues such as infant mortality, sterilization abuse, and Caesarean section abuse have severely affected women of color but have not been addressed by national groups. Likewise, women of color interested in working on this issue have felt the sting of racism and have experienced an unwillingness to work on an equal basis.

The Women of Color Partnership Program was established by the board members of RCAR as a special project in direct response to these realizations. We envision our work to include the building of partnership networks between all women of color around a comprehensive range of reproductive health care issues by incorporating our individual faith perspectives and social organizations.

Although the general health of women of color is substantially worse than that of White women, the following reproductive health statistics are even more startling:

- The infant mortality rate is 18.3% among Blacks compared to 9.3% among Whites.
- 35% of Puerto Rican women have been sterilized — the highest rate in the world.
- 80% of the women who are forced to have Caesarean sections are women of color.
- An estimated 30 to 42% of Native

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American women of childbearing age have been sterilized.

For Asian/Pacific, Black, Latina and Native American women, the lack of access to adequate reproductive health care can literally become a matter of life and death. Before abortion was legalized in 1973 by the landmark Supreme Court decision on *Roe v. Wade*, 49% of the pregnancy-related deaths in New York were due to illegal abortions. Of these deaths, 50% were Black women, and 44% were Puerto Rican. Prior to legalization, 93% of therapeutic abortions in private hospitals were performed on White women.

The economics of this country dictate that the "haves" may choose to purchase whatever health services they may need or want, whether legal or illegal. The "have-nots" are offered very few choices in their lives and in many instances must rely on the federal government, which has slashed funding for family planning and public health.

An excellent example of government control of women's right to choose is the Hyde Amendment. It restricts the use of Medicaid funds for abortion services and has a direct impact on the lives of 22 million impoverished Americans, 5 out of 10 of whom are women of color. Many of the women affected by this restriction are also those most susceptible to the health risks, nutritional deficiencies and limited access to health care that contribute to the incidence of unintended or problem pregnancies. All Native Americans, Peace Corps volunteers, military personnel, prison inmates, and federal employees are directly affected by the Hyde Amendment. Interestingly enough, the federal government does pay for sterilization.

On Jan. 9, 1989, the United States Supreme Court announced that it will hear and decide *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*, a case of critical importance to women of color throughout this country. In this case, the state of Missouri is asking the Court to rule in favor of a state's power to ban abortions. The Attorney General of the Reagan Administration submitted a brief to the Supreme Court urging it to use *Webster* to overturn *Roe v. Wade*, which upholds a woman's right to choose safe and legal abortion.

If the Supreme Court uses this case to overturn *Roe v. Wade* and returns the power to declare abortion illegal to the individual states, countless low-income women may be forced to carry unwanted pregnancies to term, even if that pregnancy is the result of rape or incest. As the majority of women seeking services from public hospitals are women of color, a decision in favor of the Missouri law would severely limit their access not only to abortion services, but also information, counseling and funding for all related reproductive health care problems. The consequences for women of color would be serious. They often cannot afford private medical care and suffer disproportionately from a variety of serious health conditions which may be exacerbated by pregnancy, such as:

- Hypertension, which is 82% higher among women of color than White women — more than one in four Blacks suffer or will suffer from it. Chronic hypertension is associated with up to 30% of maternal deaths and up to 22% of perinatal deaths, and has been linked to strokes during pregnancy.
- Diabetes — the annual mortality rate is 31 per 100,000 among Puerto Rican women compared to 14.5 among White women.
- Sickle cell anemia — 1 in 165 Black people are born with the sickle cell trait. Pregnant women with sickle cell anemia are more prone to miscarriages, aggravated circulatory problems and depression.
- AIDS — 75% of all female AIDS cases are women of color and 80% of their children are affected.

Under severe restrictions such as the Missouri law, a pregnant patient who tests positive for the AIDS virus, for example, may not be counselled about the life-threatening risks of deciding to continue her pregnancy. Nor could pregnant women with severe diabetes, hypertension or sickle cell anemia be advised of the risks. Even women experiencing etopic pregnancies — a condition that could result in the death of the mother if an abortion is not performed — cannot be told that there is a serious health risk requiring immediate action.

In response to the health threats to women of color that the *Webster* case presents, RCAR's Women of Color Partnership Program was instrumental in submitting a "Women of Color Amicus Brief" to the Supreme Court. The brief was signed by 116 organizations — the largest number of organizational endorsements of the 31 briefs submitted — and over 258 individuals.

This case is just one of the initiatives that the Women of Color Partnership Program has undertaken to respond to the continued attacks against the reproductive freedom and health of women of color. On a continuing basis, the Program holds regional forums around the country to educate women and move them to effect change in their communities. These forums create an opportunity to discuss cultural similarities and differences and their affect on reproductive health care issues. The Program also publishes a newsletter, *Common Ground-Different Planes,* and Fact Handbooks on health issues for Black and Puerto Rican women. Handbooks are currently being researched for Chicana, Native American and Asian/Pacific women.

Reproductive freedom touches the lives of countless women of color whose views have gone unheard. Therefore, the Women of Color Partnership Program will continue to serve as the foundation of a united, multi-cultural coalition. TW

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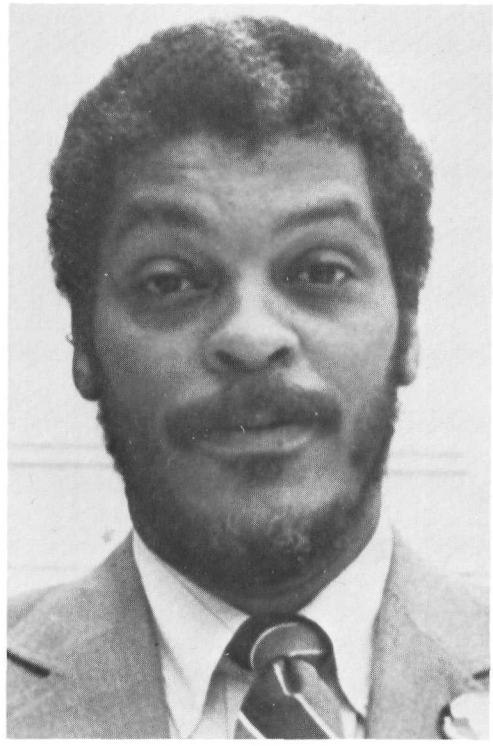
Men's privileges vs. women's rights

by Faith Evans

When I agreed to write this article, I enthusiastically accepted because I actually believed I could write a piece on "men's rights." But in sitting down and trying to put it together, I realized that it isn't a very easy subject to write about. Even though I am a Black man born out of an African culture and living in a racist society dominated by a White male culture, my rights as a man are privileged.

I was born in New York City in 1940 to a mother who, throughout her lifetime, birthed 17 children and was psychologically, physically or economically incapable of caring for any of them. My mother was one of 13 children born to sharecroppers in rural South Carolina. At the ripe old age of 15, my mother was "farmed out" to a 35-year-old stump preacher owning a plot of land and a two-room shack. Being a Black female in the rural South in the 1930s meant that my mother had no rights. All she had was responsibilities, like bearing children, raising them, doing all of the household chores, taking care of the farm animals, raising the food for the table and finding ways to make life bearable for the man of the house, who accepted all this as his right. My mother "escaped" that life by attaching herself to another male and running away to New York City where the male, accepting his right, got her pregnant with her 10th and 11th children — my twin sister and I — and then promptly deserted her. The nine other children were left in South Carolina. My sister and I wound up in a foundling home in New York City a month after we were born. My mother returned to South Carolina where, through a succession of attachments to other males, she eventually had six more children.



My sister was adopted at an early age by a West Indian couple and I, between the ages of one month and nine years, resided in a succession of seven foster homes, each of them more abusive than the last. At the age of nine, having decided I would not be abused again, I stuck a knife into the chest of my foster father and pushed my 300-pound stepmother down a department store escalator, praying to Jesus Christ — I was being raised as a Catholic — she would be dead when she hit the bottom. Neither she nor my foster father died, but I was taken out of foster homes for two years and placed in an institution. When I was 11, I was placed with a relative. Two months after that, I ran away and grew up living in the streets of New York.

Growing up in the streets of Brooklyn, I slept in hallways at night after the bars closed and ran with the gangs, learning first-hand what it meant to be a man. As a man, you had to constantly prove your power with a knife or a fist. Women (girls) were protected by you just like your turf. No one interfered with your right to do anything you wanted with your woman. Getting and keeping control over your woman was what was important, whether one used violence or what passed as a "game" — convincing them of your undying love. The lords of the neighborhood were those who had the greatest number of women looking after them. Sharing your woman with your buddies in the gang showed how really "cool" you were — a man wouldn't let a woman "open his nose," i.e. fall in love.

I could go on and on discussing the lessons on how one became a man in that environment, but I don't find the lessons taught in the supposedly privileged parts of our own society any different. It's been passed down through the ages, whether you are in a shelter or on Park Avenue. The rituals and the result are the same — as a man, you control your turf, and to most men, women are "turf."

I say all of this because I want to make the point that as a 48-year-old Black male, who grew up under not-so-privileged conditions, I am still a product of thousands of years of history that has guaranteed me, even under the worst of

Continued on page 23

Faith Evans, national president of the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights (RCAR), is on the staff of the United Church of Christ Office for Church in Society.

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A conversation with Beverly Harrison:

The politics of reproduction

Dr. Beverly Wildung Harrison is perhaps the most renowned authority on abortion ethics in pro-choice circles. Her books include the landmark ***Our Right to Choose: Toward a New Ethic of Abortion,*** *about which one commentator said, "Even the footnotes were interesting." Harrison, currently Carolyn Williams Baeird Professor of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary, has been on the faculty at Union since the mid-'60s, and is widely in demand as a lecturer. She interrupted a rigorous writing/speaking/teaching schedule to have a conversation with WITNESS editor Mary Lou Suhor. Excerpts follow.*

A Roman Catholic pro-choice event this month bills you as speaking on the topic, "Ethical methodologies and their practical applications." How do you break that down, in lay terms, with respect to the abortion issue?

I speak from the standpoint of a feminist liberation theological ethic. From that methodology, one does not begin abstractly with a discrete deed called "an abortion decision" or a moral dilemma called "abortion." One begins with a concrete analysis of the lives of women and their circumstances within which the question about abortion arises.

Today the dilemma about abortion evolves around a woman's extremely limited ability to determine how her reproductive capacity will be integrated within all the expectations and demands of her life.

If you read the literature in Christian ethics on abortion, it is completely abstracted and treated as an isolated case, as though everyone facing this decision is up against the same wall. Commentaries don't even pause to notice that for the woman, the moral question is, what will I do with my reproductive power within my total life plan and commitment?

Many women choose abortion reluctantly, even in desperation, recognizing that they cannot maintain conditions for their own and a dependent child's survival given the constraints governing their lives. Women bear not only the biological risks but also the cultural, social and economic consequences of pregnancy and childbearing. Few moral philosophers or moral theologians have paid attention to the "politics of reproduction" in human history.

Methodologically, I begin with concrete dilemmas, then look at the moral traditions. The second point of liberation theology is that one does not assume that all inherited theological morality is good. One has to presume it's a mixture of the social control of the powerful and the effort to identify genuine norms and values in the culture and one has to do a critical reading, invoking a "hermeneutics of suspicion."

This is where people like Roman Catholic hierarchy and fundamentalist Christians and even to a large extent, non-fundamentalist Christian males, basically read the Christian tradition as a lofty, monolithic moral concern for innocent human life. And it's not that. It hasn't been that.

I have argued in my book that there are no moral reasons articulated against abortion in early Christian tradition. The Church Fathers assumed that abortion is probably a symptom of adultery. No other reasons are offered until probably the 15th century. Abortion was always condemned when sexual behavior rigidified, especially during the period when clerical celibacy was imposed.

Until the late 19th century, there was no effort to impose a uniform definition of what constitutes an abortion in ecclesiastical teaching. Many applied the term abortion only to termination of prenatal life in more advanced stages of pregnancy. And no Protestant clergy or theologian gave early support for proposed 19th century laws banning abortion in the United States. I have traced the texts that anti-abortion moral theologians use and what they've said about them and most of the time they've just repeated a prohibition, a taboo against abortion without reasoning about it.

You have expressed concern that current developments have "fetalized" the abortion debate. In what way?

What's so astonishing about the present debate is that it is overwhelmingly about the innocent, helpless fetus. And why is the fetus *innocent*? Because it hasn't yet been born of woman, and fallen into sin. So on one side you have all the imagery of the innocent fetus and no consideration or discussion, on the other side, of the impact of this pregancy on the woman's life. The woman is invisible, without standing as a full person, with-

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out moral autonomy. The first principle of biomedical ethics in every other field is, you cannot override the autonomy of the patient in prescribing treatment and care. Yet, appeals women make to their right to bodily self-control and self-direction are treated at best as morally irrelevant or ethically confused, and at worst as selfish, whimsical or positive evidence of the immorality of women who choose to have or to defend legal abortions.

So we end up with a society that sanctions *coercive pregnancy*. If you use that term people look at you like you're mad. But prohibiting abortion or constricting it means that coercive pregnancy is the social policy of the nation. If you got pregnant and didn't want to, that's tough. You have no option. You must now carry this pregnancy to term, whatever the circumstances.

What are some other consequences of fetalizing the issue?

One was the popular visualization of fetal life, as picked up by the media. The so-called pro-lifers pre-empted the high ground here — so-called, because I know no one on the pro-choice side who is not pro-life. With today's technology, the capacity to visualize fetal development is subject to incredible misuse. "The Silent Scream," a film shown by anti-abortionists, is an example. To show a tiny zygote magnified many times under a powerful lens, it would appear to have the morphology of a baby because shape takes place first. But that is very different from claiming that this is a human being, analagous to ourselves, with rights. The question is not when biological life begins, but when does fetal life become a person, a full member of the class of human beings? Anti-abortionists urge us to respect fetal rights from the time of conception or genetic implantation, and tempt us to imagine that personal rights inhere in natural biological processes. But early fetal life lacks even the minimal requirements for participation in the sphere of human rights. In courtrooms there has to be a "stand-in" for the fetus to claim "its" rights. And that person will be the husband, doctor, or lawyer — usually powerful men whose judgment will be honored over the pregnant woman's.

Also, the recent explosion in medical knowledge and medical technology has led doctors to *perceive* fetuses as separate from the mother, even viewing fetuses as patients. Doctors face issues of treatment during pregnancy which ostensibly involve contrary interests between the gestating fetus and the pregnant mother. Take the case of a professional woman, for example who is having her first child in her mid 40s, who is told that because of her age she should spend two days a week hooked up to a fetal monitoring machine for optimal safety. What is her moral obligation? Any woman undergoing high-risk pregnancy will be under incredible restraints to have no other interests in her life except optimal caution in relation to high risk pregnancy.

Politically, don't men take it for granted that they can exercise their own power in society over life and death issues — conduct wars, build nuclear missiles, engage in toxic experiments which endanger fetal life?

Absolutely. While there is no perception of women having any right to make even very concrete decisions about their own lives, men will not even look at the effects, including the social effects of their own disastrous decisions on the process of reproduction and on the well-being of children.

Everything in this argument makes clear there's no capacity to imagine the possibility of women having the power to make decisions as being in any way analogous to the power that men *insist* upon.

How do you see the role of motherhood as related to pro-choice?

A feminist agenda needs to recognize a supreme irony in this society: At the very time the United States is attempting to re-impose compulsory pregnancy as the social policy of the nation, it is at the same time doing things that consistently erode the conditions for the positive choice of motherhood. It is sheer insanity for anyone who has the tiniest imagination about the condition of women's lives. The extent to which motherhood is being assaulted is extremely wicked — a social evil of unspeakable magnitude, as far as I'm concerned.

The role of biological and social motherhood — they are not the same — is undervalued in this country. Motherhood is truly the whipping boy of so much psychological theory. If people have problems they blame it on their mothers — it's a favorite game. No one stops or pauses to look at the tremendous social contempt for pregnancy and childbearing, and yet at the same time we can feel so self-righteous that we're now going to perceive human life as existing from conception onward. But the fact is we can't see the conditions that often dissuade women from choosing childbearing — poverty, isolation, lack of access to social power and lack of social support. So we have a society that profoundly evades the conditions for positive choice. We have cut back funding for prenatal health care; our infant mortality rate is skyrocketing. It was down in the '60s; the war on poverty had a lot

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to do with that. This kind of social turmoil has come up every time there has been any effort or intervention around the issue of positive state support for women, for unborn children, for the conditions of women's health care. It's a social contradiction that screams to be noticed.

Can you give some historical examples?

Every demand women have made over two centuries, from suffrage to full social equality — and remember, the ERA is not yet law — has met with derision. It took a generation-long struggle to make contraception legal and widely accessible. The birth control movement encountered opposition from its inception in the late 19th century, and Margaret Sanger was branded a common criminal.

The Sheppard-Towner Act, a progressive bill that supported maternal and infant health care for nearly a decade, was repealed in the right-wing politics of 1929, which branded it socialized medicine. While Sheppard-Towner was in effect, infant mortality dropped 11%.

What is the undergirding theology of Operation Rescue?

I haven't read a lot of its literature, but I've heard the leader, Randall Terry, speak. That is pure patriarchal fundamentalism, which I believe is a new thing under the sun. Theological conservatism isn't, but this brand of fundamentalism, heretofore apolitical, has been embraced by wealthy, powerful men and the well-financed New Right. This encapsulated do-what-the-Bible-says mentality comes from strident, purportedly straight White male voices telling us we'll go to hell if we don't obey what they say because that's what God thinks and what the Bible teaches. I see it as an actual response to the rising of women. Any biblicism which makes sex roles in their most patriarchal form and the nuclear family an issue of faith is pure ideology aimed at constraining women.

But it doesn't work. The sex scandals of TV evangelists show that their basic attitudes toward women are not all that different from their secular counterparts. And women who buy this line end up divorced, single parents, with babies they can't feed, just like other women.

Is abortion a given for our society for the near future, even if *Roe vs.Wade* is turned around?

Abortion is a social inevitability. If one knows anything about the growing pauperization of women and children, the fact is that increasingly women have to believe that if they get pregnant, there's a strong possibility that they and they alone will raise the child. Nearly half the children in this society are being raised by single parents, and that's rising. In most cases the single parent is the woman, who is the sole provider.

How does sterilization abuse work in this dynamic?

Sterilization abuse and genocide are the other side of the coin in the abortion issue for poor and racially marginalized women. In my studies I found that sterilization abuse, and by this I mean all methods that block the option of reproduction for women — took three forms. The first was the overt use of state power to insist on medical-surgical sterilization for poor women, generally poor Black women and usually through the welfare system. The welfare system, particularly in the Deep South, frequently made sterilization a requirement for continuation of welfare. In at least 17 counties suits were brought to stop the practice. I'm sure, however, if I would call the Black Women's Health Coalition in Atlanta they'd tell me there are still places where it goes on.

Another form of abuse very acute in Hispanic, and particularly Puerto Rican communities was reported by Dr. Helen Rodriquez. She found that over one third of all Puerto Rican women of child bearing age on the Island were sterilized, and it's still the birth control method of choice among many Puerto Rican women. Historically, the Roman Catholic Church prohibited availability of contraceptive devices, and Protestant hospitals offered sterilization as a method of birth control. Puerto Rican women debate deeply about this, because it is seen as genocide by many Puerto Rican men, especially on the liberation front. But it is more complicated, because sterilization didn't require the knowledge or cooperation of their husbands. What some see as genocidal, some Puerto Rican women see as a necessary evil. Without the availability of other contraception, removing the sterilization option pushes the woman back onto the willing collaboration of her sexual partner. That is problematic for some women. So for many, the decision was certainly a force-field choice.

Another thing we found was that many poor women and racial minority women received health care from large urban hospitals. Sometimes tubal ligations and hysterectomies were performed insensitively. And the American Medical Association once conceded that in certain teaching hospitals, large numbers of hysterectomies were recommended only to train young surgeons how to do them.

If *Roe vs. Wade* were overturned, or abortion issues remanded to the states, how would anti-abortion laws be enforced? Wouldn't that take the setting up of a whole new cumbersome apparatus?

If the locus of the political battle shifts to the states, some states will continue to grant abortions. Some 14 or 15 now provide public funding for abortions. In every one of those the battle has been a bloody one. But we'd have to assume that in many states abortion would be effectively outlawed. Provisions such as abortions are OK only if you're raped

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have no meaning to women. What this does is submit a woman who has already been violated to having to prove she didn't "ask for it," that she's not a bad person to want an abortion. Women won't tolerate it.

We'll go back to the illegal abortion industry. It will be very expensive and dangerous in that optimal conditions won't prevail. But there will be less danger now because prior to the '60s the surgical procedure of suction wasn't available. What will happen is abortions will take place later in pregnancies, when social policy should be to encourage early abortions. Now well over 90% are performed during the first trimester of pregnancy, but that won't happen. Also, RU-486 and other such drugs will become available on the black market.

We can be sure that new laws will be partially enforced for a while to placate anti-abortion groups, but basically the state apparatus won't be there, and abortion will be tolerated, like prostitution. Abortion laws will be used coercively, when it suits those in power, and therefore will be another part of the underenforced control apparatus of the state, only to be used against unpopular and marginalized groups. It will do more harm to the effort in society to have respect for law where we need law.

What do you perceive as the practices and policies that ought to characterize a moral society in this discussion?

First, we'd have to move to the point where the well-being of *all* born children in this society was recognized as a genuine theological and moral concern; and concern for and care of children would be a priority. Supportive conditions for women who wished to be mothers, or people who wished to be parents, would have to include policies which respected and honored that.

But neither would society penalize people who opted for other things. The fact is that population growth in the world is severely taxing the capacities of societies. We are not in a historical situation where people have to be urged to bear children.

What people don't see is that since our society offers practically no support to the decision to bear and raise children — that is, since this is not a priority for society itself — the result is that women on the whole make decisions about childbearing in a largely negative environment in which the choice to bear children is practically a heroic decision.

It's either heroic or naive. I worry about the traditional ideology that says women are uniquely fulfilled by childbearing. It creates needs in young women to be mothers without giving them any honest reading about what the conditions for motherhood are in this society.

I believe in the best of all worlds we would have the conditions for greater procreative choice, including safe and reliable means of contraception, which would preclude the necessity for frequent abortions. Men and women would share not only the responsibility for procreative choice, including contraception, but also the overall well-being of children, and there would be no sexual violence or sexual abuse. In such a utopian world, it might make sense to adhere to an ethic which affirmed that abortions should be resorted to only to save a mother's life. In our world, such an ethic is cruelty masked as morality.

In the seminary, what are the chief problems you face in making your students aware of social justice issues around pro-choice concerns?

It is no more acute for us than a few years ago. Perhaps the present generation is more amnesiac than previous generations. But I view that as intentional. Partly it is the way liberal institutions have identified with the powers that be. Readings of U.S. history and political history that are really attentive to the social struggles and the resistance to change in this society, and that view these debates in any serious perspective in terms of political and economic analysis are rare. So critical reading is limited among students, and therefore, their capacity to make connections. You have to do consciousness-raising with middle strata Americans that is not unlike the consciousness-raising that has to be done with the peasants in Brazil. And in some cases at least the peasants in Brazil and racial-ethnic people who are genuinely poor don't have to be told that the system is far from just. But middle strata people have been taught to perceive the pain in their lives as their private problem. You've got to help people to detect that their so-called private pains are in fact public issues.

Many students still operate in the liberal framework that perceives that solutions to problems can be tackled by individuals. That the individual woman, for instance, trying and working harder to be a little better than a man will somehow see the barriers fall. But of course that's not the kind of world we're living in. All patterns of injustice to women are worsening in the world. The progress that can be made through tokenism is quickly coming to an end in our society because the restructuring of capitalism is leading to cutbacks everywhere and experimentation is not continuing.

There is a lot of rhetorical embrace of gender justice expectations within what is implicitly liberal social theory. But we need a feminist analysis that realizes that all oppression is structured. Gender oppression is one of several powerful historical structures and all of these enforce each other.

Resource

For a comprehensive treatment of issues in this article, see *Our Right to Choose: Toward a New Ethic of Abortion,* by Beverly Wildung Harrison. Beacon Press, 1983. $18.95

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Short Takes

Life ends at birth?

Teenage pregnancy isn't a new problem. Though making abortions available to young people has somewhat lowered the birth rate, a great many babies are still being born to teenagers, most of them unmarried girls under the age of 18. The personal and social costs to these new parents are staggering. And we have only begun to feel the cost to society. On economic grounds alone, it is hard to see how we will be able to care for and educate these children in generations to come. Many of the most rabid right-to-lifers don't address this question. They seem to believe life begins at conception and ends at birth. The teen and baby are on their own after the birth.

Rep. Pat Schroeder
in *Champion of the Great American Family* (Random House)

No comment

Had there been in 1921 the overwhelming number of abortions that there were in 1987, he believes he would probably not be here . . .

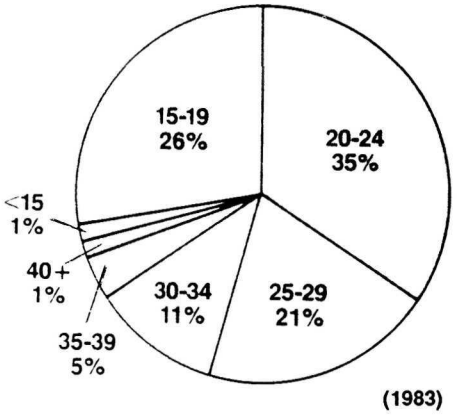
The Rev. William Guthrie, speaking of the Very Rev. David B. Collins
***The NOEL News*, 9-10/88**

Integrity to note 15th year

Integrity, an organization of Gay and Lesbian Episcopalians and Friends, will celebrate its 15th anniversary during its national convention June 30-July 3 at Grace Cathedral, San Francisco, according to Kim Byham, president.

Participants will include the Rt. Rev. John S. Spong, Bishop of Newark, and the Rev. Malcolm Boyd, who will be celebrant and homilist, respectively, for the anniversary Eucharist July 1; and the Rev. Norman Pittenger, noted theologian, banquet speaker. Others on the program include Louie Crew, founder of Integrity, and the Revs. John McNeill, Ellen Barrett, Richard Kerr, Janie Spahr, and Connie Hartquist, many of whom will conduct workshops scheduled for the event.

Percentage of abortions by age



(1983)

- More than 60% of women who have abortions are younger than 25. The highest rates occur among older teenagers and young adults (60 per thousand women ages 18-19; 51 per thousand women ages 20-24).

- Each year in the United States, women end approximately one out of four pregnancies, for a total of nearly 1.6 million abortions (1985). Both the number of abortions and the rate (per thousand women) have remained relatively constant throughout the 1980s.

- The lowest rates occur among women younger than 15 (9 per thousand) and women after their mid-thirties (10 per thousand, ages 35-39; 3 per thousand, ages 40 and older).

- In the United States, nearly 70% of the women who obtain abortions are white. White women tend to use abortion to postpone the beginning of childbearing; nonwhite women tend to use abortion to space their children or to end their childbearing.

- Most women (90%) obtain abortions in the first trimester of pregnancy (12 weeks or less since the last menstrual period). Fewer than 1% of abortions occur after 20 weeks, and almost all of these are at 21-23 weeks.

National Abortion Federation, 2/88

Silencing the oppressor

The client I was protecting seemed to handle the pleas of "pro-lifers" to "save her baby from these murderers" very well — she realized that these people just didn't understand or care about her. But when a white man screamed at her that the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. would "turn over in his grave for what she was doing," and that she was contributing to the genocide of African-Americans, she broke. She stopped, stared in his eyes with tears in hers, and coolly said, "You're a white boy, and you don't give a damn thing about me, who I am or what I do. And you know even less about Martin Luther King or being Black. What you have to say to me means nothin', not a damn thing." He was silenced and she walked on.

Dazon Dixon
***Common Ground-Different Planes*, 12/88**

Alejandrina Torres update

Alejandrina Torres, Puerto Rican activist, is currently serving a prison sentence for allegedly aiding the FALN, the Puerto Rican liberation movement. Her experience in the Lexington Federal Prison High Security Control Unit for political prisoners — which used sensory deprivation, isolation and sexual humiliation to control the inmates — was the focus of a February 1988 WITNESS story. Due to pressure by religious and secular groups, the Unit was closed and Alejandrina was transferred to San Diego Metropolitan Correctional Center.

Her husband, the Rev. Jose Torres, a UCC minister in Chicago, said that though conditions are somewhat improved, Alejandrina is allowed only a half hour of exercise a day, and is not getting decent medical attention for an arm injury caused by a guard's assault in another prison, and a serious bladder condition. Interested readers should write to the warden, urging more exercise time and adequate medical care for Alejandrina. The address is: Warden Al Kanahele, MCC, 808 Union St., San Diego, CA 92101.

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Legislative and pastoral implications:

The Episcopal Church and abortion

by Katherine Hancock Ragsdale

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Every three years as General Convention rolls around, the Episcopal Church's position on reproductive freedom goes up for grabs. Detroit's 1988 Convention saw pro-choice activists working to pass a resolution offered by New York deputy Diane Pollard. It strongly and clearly affirmed the church's opposition to any legislation which would restrict a woman's access to abortion services and to the information she needs to make an informed and responsible choice.

Anti-choice activists lobbied for resolutions which declared all abortion a tragedy. These resolutions encouraged women to consult their pastors before electing an abortion, to consider all other options, and to avail themselves of the rites of reconciliation of a penitent if they did choose an abortion. These resolutions gave only glancing acknowledgement to women's legal right to abortion — never did they clearly support that right.

Compromise legislation which included watered-down versions of both anti- and pro-choice resolutions finally passed. They probably left no one happy. Happy or not, those with a commitment on either side of this issue are thus left to deal with both legislative and pastoral implications of General Convention's actions.

Some who agree that abortion is a moral/ethical decision on which people of good faith disagree and, as such, is an issue to be decided within individual conscience and/or communities of faith rather than by legislation, have argued that the church need not and should not concern itself with the legislative implications of its position on abortion. They contend that the church's job is only to speak pastorally and ethically. Such a position reveals both a misunderstanding about the theory of our democratic system and a naivete about the reality of legislative process.

Democratic theory calls us to add our voices to the public debate on this issue, as does hard political reality. Women's right to safe and legal abortions is in jeopardy. It is under attack in the legislatures, in the courts, and in the executive branches of our state and federal governments. These attacks are fueled not only by the vitriol of the religious right and the Roman Catholic hierarchies, but also by the perception that the liberal and mainstream churches are backing away from their historic insistence that abortion is a moral/ethical decision not to be coerced by restrictive legislation.

In politics, as in much of life, perception becomes reality. Therefore, it would be irresponsible not to note what is happening legislatively as well as pastorally, and to determine if our actions and pronouncements serve to promote justice or oppression.

By the time this issue goes to press the U.S. Supreme Court will have heard oral testimony in the case of *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*, more commonly known as *Webster*. The case involves a Missouri statute which declares that life begins at conception, restricts access to abortion in public health facilities, and seeks to prohibit the use of public funds for abortion counselling.

Webster seemed at first to be just one more attempt by a state to limit the constitutional rights guaranteed in *Roe v. Wade* (the 1973 Supreme Court decision which effectively legalized abortion). However, as the case went to the Supreme Court, President George Bush and Attorney General Richard Thornburgh used this opportunity to speak out against *Roe v. Wade*.

Prior to hearing the oral arguments in the *Webster* case, the Supreme Court received 31 amicus briefs signed by more than 300 organizations arguing that the court should uphold the lower court decisions, rule the statute unconstitutional, and leave *Roe v. Wade* intact. Signers include 896 law professors (15% of all U.S. law professors), 57 bioethicists from 20 states, 167 distinguished scientists and physicians including 11 Nobel Laureates and five National Medal of Science recipients, 77 women's organizations, members of Congress, Nurses' Associations, State Attorneys General, the American Psychological Association, 22 international women's health and population organizations, and 2887 women who have had abortions.

One brief prepared specifically for the religious community was signed by The Episcopal Women's Caucus, the Episcopal Diocese of New York, the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts—Women in Crisis Committee, the Women in Mission and Ministry unit of the Episcopal Church USA, and eight Episcopal bish-

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ops. The bishops' statement of interest reads as follows:

As bishops of the Episcopal Church we have several concerns about the Missouri statute. We know that scientists, ethicists, theologians, and other faithful persons differ about the time life begins, and we worry when states attempt to answer existential questions by statute. Similarly, we recognize that the decision to have or not to have an abortion is a profound and personal decision to be made by the moral agent involved (that is to say, by the pregnant woman). We must object to any statute which would deny an individual the information necessary to make an informed decision about her reproductive health or the ability to act upon that decision.

Others signing this brief include the American Friends Service Committee, several offices of the United Church of Christ, The General Board of Church and Society of the United Methodist Church, several Jewish organizations, the Presbyterian Church (USA), the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, and many more.

It is clear that if the Supreme Court upholds the Missouri statute, pro-choice activists will have their hands full with state-to-state battles to insure women the right to reproductive choice and safe, legal abortions. What might not be so evident is that the *Webster* case, and the Bush Administration's interest in it, is not a new thing but is merely the next logical step in an erosion of women's right to choose. That erosion has been in progress for several years. A look at the losses of 1988 alone should provide ample evidence of the crisis at hand.

Efforts to restore Medicaid funding for abortions in the cases of rape and incest were unsuccessful in 1988. Opposition from within the House of Representatives and the White House contributed to that failure. Choice advocates hope to raise the issue again in 1989.

At the April 9 march in Washington, D.C., Hispanic women proclaim, "Our bodies, our rights."

Also, Congress passed an anti-abortion rider in 1988 which bans the use of locally raised tax revenues for abortion services in the District of Columbia. Similarly, other funding bans were used to restrict access to abortion. One such ban bars abortions for federal prisoners. Another prohibits U.S. military personnel stationed overseas from using U.S. facilities (base hospitals, clinics, and doctors) or transportation (military transport back to the United States for access to safe non-government hospitals and doctors) for abortion services, even if they wish to pay for them themselves.

Restricting a woman's right to an abortion or to information about abortions does not even depend on a majority vote in each house of Congress. Significant restrictions can (and do) occur within the regulatory process (a function of the executive branch).

One regulation, ruled unconstitutional by a federal judge but still in effect pending the outcome of the Administration's appeal, is known as the "Mexico City" population policy. This international family planning policy bars U.S. funding to non-governmental population agencies which use *non-U.S. funds* for abortion services *in countries where abortion is legal.*

One of the most heinous of the Administation's regulatory attacks on reproductive freedom involves Title X. Enacted by Congress in 1970, Title X provides federal funds for programs that offer comprehensive reproductive health care, which includes physical exams, birth control counselling, pregnancy testing, screening and treatment for sexually transmitted diseases and minor gynecological problems, and other types of counselling and referral. Congress intended Title X programs to give priority to low-income women, who most often have no access to health care services or to information about where to obtain reproductive health care. Since its enactment, Title X has improved the health care of millions of low-income women.

Title X provides that none of the funds appropriated for its programs shall be used "where abortion is a method of family planning." Since its enactment, agencies have interpreted this to mean that Title X funds cannot be used to provide abortions but that counselling and referral for all available reproductive op-

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tions (including abortion) may be provided. Indeed, medical ethics and legal malpractice standards regulating health care providers *require* that such comprehensive information be provided.

When a woman decided that an abortion was the most appropriate choice for her the Title X funded agency either referred her elsewhere to obtain abortion services or, in some cases, performed the abortion within the agency but using non-Title X funds.

Reagan Administration regulations would reverse this 17-year-old interpretation of Title X. If implemented, these regulations would require the complete physical and financial separation of federally-funded family planning activities from any abortion-related activities. Thus clinics, family planning centers, health services centers, etc., which receive Title X funding for any of their programs cannot provide any abortion-related services or counselling even if they do so within other non-federally funded aspects of their program.

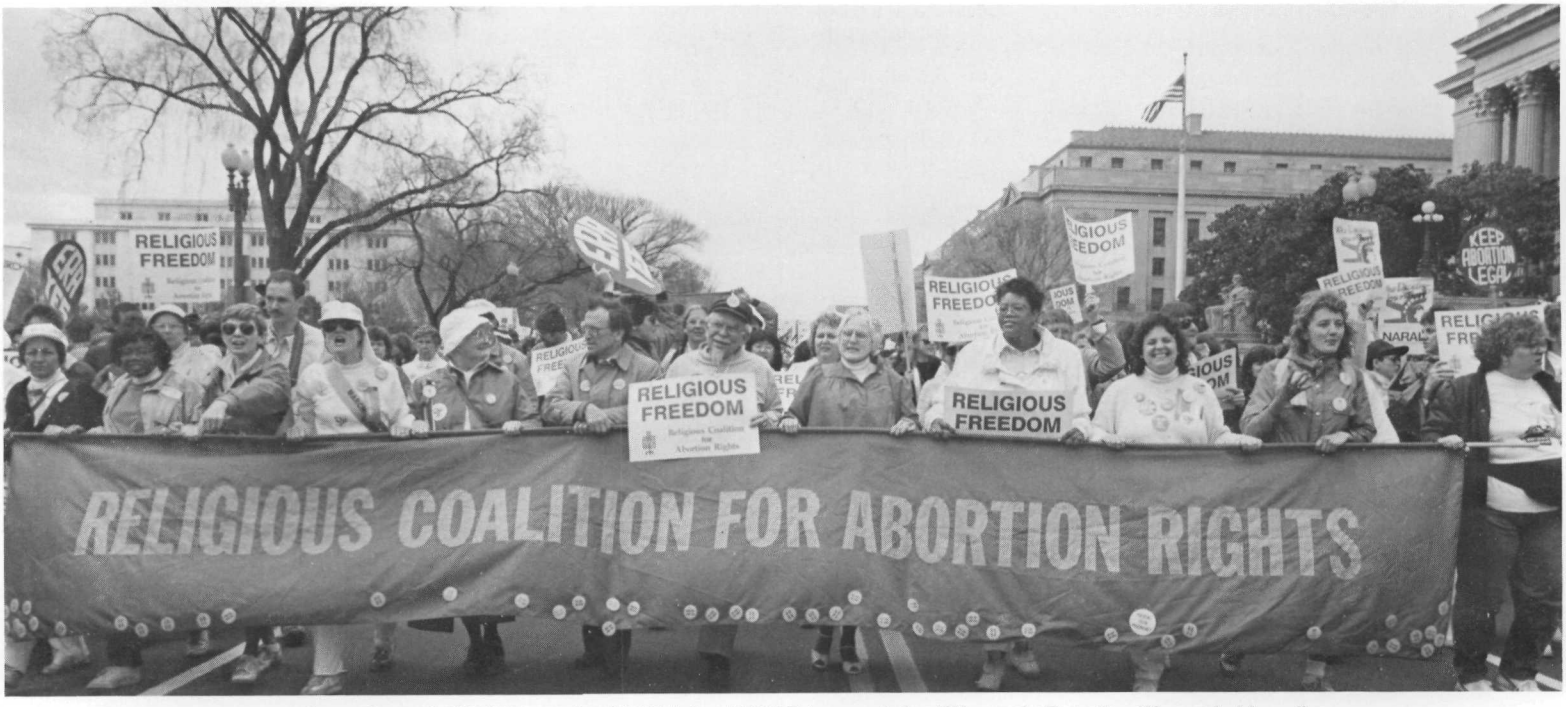
Under other regulations, federal funds would not be available to any family planning program which *even mentions* that abortion is legal. They would prohibit all non-perjorative speech about abortion by Title X grantees, even when the doctor has determined that a woman's life is threatened by continuation of the pregnancy. Furthermore, personnel of federally funded programs may not even refer such a woman to a non-federally funded agency where she could receive complete information about her options and her own medical needs.

Clearly, the church has a stake in these legislative and regulatory limitations of choice as a justice issue. While the Supreme Court ruling upholding women's right to choose still stands, this right is being systematically denied to poor women.

The one clear message in the midst of all this is that people of good faith are not in agreement on the abortion issue, and there is no moral consensus that abortion is wrong. Thus we must be sure that when our voice as a church surfaces in the public debate we are clear in our opposition to legislative coercion in the arena of moral decision.

The 1988 General Convention Resolution concerning abortion dealt most extensively with what were termed the "pastoral dimensions" of the issue. Priests reported being approached for counselling by women who had elected to have abortions and now, years later, were regretting those decisions. Citing a need for the church to state clearly its moral opposition to abortion in principle, many of the more moderate voices in the debate agreed to support language which stated that while abortion may sometimes be necessary it is always a tragedy; and which encouraged women to consider all other options, to consult with their pastors before choosing to abort, and to seek the sacrament of reconciliation when an abortion did take place.

Even if one were willing to concede



An estimated 100,000 people of faith joined RCAR to march for "Women's Equality, Women's Lives."

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that abortion is always an unfortunate necessity at best, the language of the 1988 resolution is counterproductive.

An October, 1987 study conducted in a Southern state on behalf of the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights questioned church-going women about their beliefs concerning abortion. Most of these women indicated that if they were faced with deciding whether or not to abort they would not go to their pastor for counsel. They said that they would read their Bible and they would pray for guidance — but they would not talk to their pastor.

If, indeed, we want women to make moral choices which they don't later come to regret, and if we believe that the church is equipped to help people make responsible moral choices, then it is incumbent upon us to put aside our judgmental rhetoric. The call of the church is not to make people's moral decisions for them or to provide a formula into which they plug their data to get the "right" answer. The call of the church is to create a context within which circumstances, options, and competing values may be weighed and the responsible moral agent involved can decide what course of action is most in keeping with God's love and God's call to work co-creatively in this world.

Those whose goal is to reduce the overall number of abortions would better serve their cause by working to create a world where abortion is less often the best of the available alternatives. Instead of denying women the right to choose they might support adequate sex education within our schools, enhance the availablity of contraception, and educate themselves and others to recognize and intervene in situations of domestic abuse and incest.

They might also invest some of their considerable political energy in curbing the routine devaluation of and violence against women which so easily escalates to rape (instead of arguing as one federal legislator did — with a straight face — that it is almost impossible for a woman to become pregnant as a result of rape because her fear causes her body to produce some chemical which destroys the sperm!).

Perhaps those who wish there were fewer abortions might work for social policy which better protects the careers of parents who take maternity leave; which allows for more flexibility in work schedules of parents; which provides safe, adequate, subsidized day care to all citizens; which provides adequate public assistance to support the children of women who can't find adequate employment. When these changes take place we will, perhaps see fewer abortions in this country. Until then the question answered by restrictive legislation is not how many abortions will there be but how many women will live through them, and, of those that do, how many will be debilitated by guilt. TW

Statement on Childbirth and Abortion of the 69th General Convention of the Episcopal Church, July 1988

All human life is sacred. Hence, it is sacred from inception until death. The Church takes seriously its obligation to help form the conscience of its members concerning this sacredness. Human life, therefore, should be initiated only advisedly and in full accord with this understanding of the power to conceive and give birth which is bestowed by God.

It is the responsibility of our congregations to assist their members in becoming informed concerning the spiritual, physiological and psychological aspects of sex and sexuality.

The Book of Common Prayer affirms that "the birth of a child is a joyous and solemn occasion in the life of a family. It is also an occasion for rejoicing in the Christian community" (p. 440). As Christians we also affirm responsible family planning.

We regard all abortion as having a tragic dimension, calling for the concern and compassion of all the Christian community.

While we acknowledge that in this country it is the legal right of every woman to have a medically safe abortion, as Christians we believe strongly that if this right is exercised, it should be used only in extreme situations. We emphatically oppose abortion as a means of birth control, family planning, sex selection or any reason of mere convenience.

In those cases where an abortion is being considered, members of this Church are urged to seek the dictates of their conscience in prayer, to seek the advice and counsel of members of the Christian community, and, where appropriate, the sacramental life of this Church.

Whenever members of this Church are consulted with regard to a problem pregnancy, they are to explore, with grave seriousness, with the person or persons seeking advice and counsel, as alternatives to abortion, other positive courses of action, including, but not limited to, the following possibilities: the parents raising the child; another family member raising the child; making the child available for adoption.

It is the responsibility of members of this Church, especially the clergy, to become aware of local agencies and resources which will assist those faced with problem pregnancies.

We believe that legislation concerning abortions will not address the root of the problem. We therefore express our deep conviction that any proposed legislation on the part of national or state governments regarding abortions must take special care to see that individual conscience is respected and that the responsibility of individuals to reach informed decisions in this matter is acknowledged and honored.

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Woman vs. womb:

Whose 'life' counts?

by Patricia Wilson-Kastner

In the current debate around the legality and morality of abortion, the self-designated "pro-life" proponents would like us to believe that choosing to reject abortion and preserve fetal life is a clear, obvious and simple decision to all except the morally callous or the severely misled. These anti-abortion forces include Roman Catholics loyal to papal teachings about sexual morality and various Protestant fundamentalists who fear the demise of the nuclear family if women are allowed any freedom of choice about reproduction.

The fundamentalist argument is fervent, but often couched in rhetoric about "traditional" family life, and it is easy to show its historical and biblical flaws. A more rigorous intellectual and theological substance for debate is rooted in the Roman Catholic community, with its long tradition of natural law theology.

It is important to appreciate some of the fundamental dangers of natural law theology, which in disguised ways appears in much popular argument about abortion and choice. The particular piece of this theology I think we need to clearly dissent with is its very notion of life — by this I mean more than just the question of when life begins. The way opponents of choice use the term "life" is, at best, inadequate for honest and constructive moral discussion and decision-making.

At first, the term "pro-life" sounds appealingly simple: After conception, always give the benefit of doubt to the new life and let it develop, if physically possible, into a new human. Theologically the assumption is that all life is sacred, to be protected to the best of our abilities. This sounds uncomplicated, honest and direct. It isn't.

This type of thinking uses the word "life" as though it always meant the same thing. But the meaning cannot be so neatly isolated. To use the term "life" to designate the biological existence of a fertilized human ovum is not the same as describing the active life of a three-year-old pouring cat food into the fish tank, or searching for the vital signs of a severely injured victim of an auto accident. We use the word "life" as an abstraction from many particulars, with related but different meanings. The religious opponents of abortion have substantially confused the question by assuming that life is always the same reality with identical moral significance.

But life is not just a biological quality of certain matter; all life exists in a human context of relationships. The biological definition, as used by natural law theorists, ignores the human context of life and isolates it into a simple quality of matter. In that case, a just-fertilized egg, a 10-year-old girl, and an 80-year-old man are all "alive," and that becomes the essential element for ethical decision-making.

Under this assumption, some very odd and unexamined priorities are set up. Women are defined solely as bearers of new life without any concern for their lives. In effect, the fetus is more valued than the woman, because all aspects of her reality — other than the functioning of her womb — are eliminated from the decision-making process. Frequently, as those arguing against choice perceive themselves as defending millions of helpless fetuses, the level of rhetoric rises and the tone of the debate becomes hostile towards women, but remains approving and protective towards the womb and fetus.

One of the most important contributions pro-choice advocates can make is to remind people that the relationship of the woman to the fetus in her body, and to the people and circumstances around her, are all part of life, and need to be taken into account when deciding about pregnancy. A woman may bear a fetus in her womb, but she is not *a womb*.

We are not accustomed to thinking about complex biological, social, emotional and moral interrelationships. We find it easier to reduce the argument to abstract categories — a woman's rights, baby-killers, the absolute right to life. However, the messy reality of human life call us back into a world in which a woman's life includes pregnancy, family life, health, economic stability, emotional maturity, support of others, faith, and a host of other factors. These are only some of the elements which shape whatever life the fetus might have, and are mediated through the mother.

In considering the life of the fetus, scientific evidence has shown that up until the 24th to 26th week of pregnancy, the fetus is totally dependent on the mother for survival. Its life, even in the limited biological sense, is not life in the same sense the mother's is. Fetal and maternal life are interdependent, but certainly not identical, nor can decisions about them be made using identical, simple, abstract rules. Abortion concerns human beings, not abstractions.

The Rev. Patricia Wilson-Kastner, Ph.D., is rector of the Church of the Resurrection, Norwich, Conn. Her 1984 WITNESS article on abortion, co-authored with the Rev. Beatrice Blair, has been widely reprinted.

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Sometimes, because of the pain and complications of human life, abortion may be a tragic but morally necessary decision. Sometimes limited resources make it appear wise to choose things such as the mother's physical health, or family stability, over the potential life of the fetus. These decisions are always complicated, and all of us need to remember and respect this complexity. The choice is never so simple as "woman vs. womb."

Much of the vicious and destructive fighting in the conflict over legal abortion could be ameliorated, if not eliminated, if all sides were able to acknowledge the complexity of human existence. Abortion and reproduction fit as but two elements among many in a diverse, interconnected reality. If pro- and anti-choice supporters could admit that inevitably each of us will make different judgements about this intricate web of life, we might begin to talk with each other honestly, humbly, and empathetically about the moral dimensions of reproductive choice. TW

'I'd make the same decision again'

"I'm afraid I'm going to die."

She appeared one day on the doorstep of the suburban church where I serve as rector. A high school senior and a Roman Catholic, she told me, "I came here because I saw a woman's name on the sign outside." The story tumbled out as we went into my office. She had had an abortion six and a half months before, and as what would have been the due date of the pregnancy approached, she was haunted by nightmares, guilt, and the fantasy that she would be destroyed by a vengeful, punitive God, "because it was alive, and I killed it."

She told me about the circumstances surrounding her pregnancy. She was an excellent student, planning for college and a career. She had had sex with her boyfriend several times; they cared for each other but, she said, were far too young to marry. Although fully aware of the physiology of reproduction, they had never used birth control. "I didn't think this could happen to me," she said. Her parents? "They're very strict. I could never tell them; my father would kill me." She had arranged for the abortion herself, gone to the clinic with her boyfriend, had the procedure done, and returned home. She hadn't told anyone, until now.

Did she really believe in an ogre God? I asked. We talked about the process by which she had made her decision, about the options she had considered and rejected. I suggested that biological life may differ from personhood. "Sometimes we grieve for our lost possibilities," I said, "even if we have made the right decision."

She told me about the values — and the fears too — that had guided her choice. "And you know," she said, "I'd do it again. I'd make the same decision. I know I couldn't give a baby up for adoption, and I know I couldn't raise it myself. Do you think I'm wrong to be so selfish?"

"I think we have not just a right, but a responsibility to care for ourselves, as well as others," I said. "I think you're a courageous young woman, and I think you made a good decision."

We talked awhile longer, about a loving God who gives the awesome power and responsibility of choice, about the murkiness of decision-making, about grief, regret and loss, about future choices to be made in regard to sexuality, about her plans and hopes and dreams. I thanked her for trusting me with her story, and invited her to come back again if she wanted to talk more. I did not know her last name or how to reach her, so any future contact would be up to her.

"I think I'll be all right," she said.

As frequently happens in pastoral ministry, there are things I wish were different in this story. The young man and woman were foolish not to use contraception; they might have been wiser not to have had intercourse at all. My heart aches for this teenager, bearing the decision, the abortion, and the resulting feelings alone. I wish she had had a supportive, loving family, or had been able to perceive their love. Most of all, I wish her early religious training had been different; I wish she had learned care and respect for herself, her sexuality and her powers of choice, rather than guilt and fear of a God who seemed to lack compassion for human circumstances. One thing I am glad about, though, is that the choice was hers to make, that safe and legal abortion was an option.

In my opinion, the task of the church in such situations is not to make moral pronouncements, but to support human beings who must make deeply personal choices in a world full of ambiguities. We must affirm that women are responsible for the shaping of their own lives, including child-bearing. In the long term, we need Christian education that forms people who can trust their own ability to make difficult decisions, before God, caring both for themselves and others.

— The Rev. Elizabeth Maxwell

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Evans . . . *Continued from page 11*

societal conditions, a privileged male role. That privilege assures me, even in 1989, the right to dominate and control the lives of women through the institutions of my world, be it the church, the gang that hangs on my corner, the family head, or the relationship I choose to be in. Every institution in our society is influenced by this ethos.

At some point in my life, and it's hard to pinpoint exactly when, realizing how terrible that situation was, I decided that I would spend the remaining years of my life siding with women, victims of that inbred privilege.

Throughout the civil rights movement of the late '50s and early '60s I spent most of my time working with women's groups, challenging the question of men's rights in both the Black and the White communities. I left the Catholic church in the 1960s because I concluded it used religion to acculturate both males and females to the dominant rights of males in society.

The struggle today around women having control of their ability to reproduce is, I am convinced, key to breaking this concept of male privilege. It is a fight that cannot be lost by women. Two-thirds of the world's female population is controlled as a result of this male right. (When I use the term "male right," I mean an assumed privilege that is established under religious or secular law.) As more women begin to decide for themselves when they will or will not get pregnant, will have or not have a child, this issue of men's rights will get very, very confusing.

For us men who have concluded that women's reproductive freedom is the most crucial of issues to work on, I hope we all understand that once this issue is resolved, the real work will begin to dismantle some of those rights we automatically claim as men the day we are born. What's coming down the line ain't easy, but it's very possible that sharing some of those rights society gives us could make a difference in the struggle to win equal rights for all people. I think the results of my 22 years in this struggle have taught me that I really would rather have a world where I can choose what I want to be, than to be burdened with what the world wants me to be. TW

Letters . . . *continued from page 3*

Barbara Harris for consecration *because she is Black*? Would they have refused to approve a Black male under the same circumstances? Let's see the "smoking gun" — or let's see no more insinuations of overt racism in the matter.

The Rev. Lowell J. Satre, Jr.
St. Paul, Minn.

Sharing feelings

I've been thinking and thinking how I might try to express to all of you how very moved I was and am with your recent WITNESS honoring Barbara Harris as a newly elected bishop. The tone of all the plaudits seems to come from people who strive to work with and honor one who has been and continues to be among us as a champion of human rights, responsibilities and the never-ending quest to hold us to a love of God infinite.

Without your nurturing ways my life would be so diminished. Thank you again for being and giving meaning to my life.

Sara L. Morrison
Washington, Iowa

Christians, get real

Thanks to THE WITNESS for the issue on Barbara Harris. She's radical-liberal; a civil and human rights activist. I've always considered Jesus to be rad-lib; certainly He bucked the establishment and if we believe The Book He was an activist for human rights.

When one prowls through the catacombs outside Rome, as I have done more than once, one is not reminded of or impressed with the splendor of Canterbury, Constantinople, or Rome. The pervasive thought is of the early fugitives who gathered in those damp, dark caves to break bread, declare their faith and lend support to each other in the all-too-frequent prospect of murder by the government.

I think the people who turned thumbs down on Harris (and that includes this diocese) are hypocritical. What ever happened to Jesus? It seems the institutional church lost Him somewhere along the way. To those people who opposed the election of the first woman bishop I would say, get real, grow up, try being Christian instead of ecclesiastical businessmen.

Boston has done itself and us proud in calling Bishop Harris. But then, Boston also gave us a Tea Party; maybe we shouldn't be surprised.

Cal South
San Diego, Cal.

Barbara Harris: Bishop

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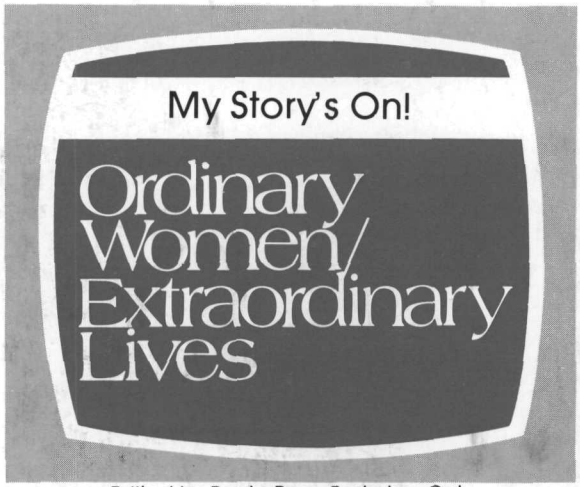

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THE WITNESS

- Mary Lee Simpson
- Jim Lewis
- Frank Eichenlaub

WAR IN THE COAL FIELDS

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Letters

Challwood slighted

When the requisite consents had been received, the then bishop-elect Barbara C. Harris called to say "get out the needles!" We were overjoyed by her good news and her selection of Challwood Studio to design and make her consecration vestments.

When our April WITNESS arrived, we were flattered to see elements of our design on the cover and the contents page, to read references to them in several articles, and our own description, originally sent to Bishop Harris, under the splendid color photograph. But in 28 pages, not a single credit.

In an age of mass–produced, overpriced, and vulgar or boringly tasteful catalog ornaments produced by exploited foreign and/or immigrant labor, and nearly overwhelming visual illiteracy among clergy and laity, the struggle of liturgical artists such as our Challwood Studio, black/white design team to provide the church with quality, in-spirited appointments is difficult enough without being ignored by even those who claim the greatest sensitivity to marginalized persons and yet-to-be-won causes. Please, gentle friends, a little credit where credit is due.

Victor Challenor
Paul Woodrum
Challwood Studio
New York, N.Y.

Let record show

The April, '89 issue of THE WITNESS was a gift to the church to treasure, faithfully recording the historic, inspiring and spirit-filled celebration when Barbara Harris became a bishop! The "Chronology of events concerning women in holy orders" is invaluable in understanding the magnitude of the struggle of women to serve the Lord according to their call. There are, however, several additions to be made to this chronology for it to be complete, and they deal with the importance of the seating of women in the House of Deputies.

David E. Sumner wrote in the November, '83 WITNESS: "It is difficult to believe that the first women deputies were seated at the 1970 General Convention, only six years before the approval of women's ordination . . . Without the efforts made during that 20-year period the doors for ordination never would have opened."

Therefore let the record be amended to include:

1946: Mrs. Randolph H. Dyer elected deputy from the Diocese of Missouri; seated but challenged.

1949: Four women elected deputies: Ruth Jenkins, Olympia; Elizabeth Pittman, Nebraska; E. Cowdry, Missouri; and D. Villafane, Puerto Rico. Convention voted *laymen* did not mean *laypersons*. Women not seated.

1969: More than 20 women were present, with the Diocese of Los Angeles leading an effort to seat their woman deputy. Challenge failed. Mary Eunice Oliver became the last woman not to be seated.

1970: Forty-three women deputies seated in House of Deputies on opening day.

Full participation ahead! Alleluia!

Mary Eunice Oliver
San Diego, Cal.

Peace brigades ready

Katerina Whitley's article, "Women of the intifada" (May WITNESS) illustrates that the 16-month-old intifada has placed the Israeli-Palestinian conflict back on the world's agenda. The primarily nonviolent revolt launched by the Palestinians has reawakened hope of a just solution to the conflict.

In response to this evolving situation, Peace Brigades International (PBI) began a new project in Israeli-Occupied Territories in late 1988. PBI volunteers from different parts of the world will come to the region to provide international support for nonviolent social justice struggles by both Palestinians and Israelis. The current stage of the project involves building relationships with key organizations and individuals. As the volunteers gain a greater understanding of the situation, more specific, long term projects will be undertaken.

Peace Brigades International was founded in 1981 by veteran social change activists. It seeks to establish international and nonpartisan approaches to peacemaking and to the support of basic human rights. Drawing upon the nonviolent Gandhian, Quaker and Civil Rights movements, it challenges the belief that violent institutions and warfare must inevitably dominate human affairs.

The initiative for the Israel/Palestine project began with an invitation from Mubarak Awad of the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence in early 1988. A Canadian volunteer has been laying the groundwork for the project over the past several months. She has been working with Palestinian groups such as the Nonviolence Center and the Palestinian Human Rights Campaign, as well as with Israeli groups such as 21st Year Against the Occupation and Oz V'Shalom.

Volunteers with experience, and a commitment to nonviolence are needed to serve as workers in Israel/Occupied Territories. WITNESS readers wishing further information should contact PBI, 4722 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143 (215) 724-1464. Shalom/Salaam.

Andy Mager
Truxton, N.Y.

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Other questions raised

The title on Rosemary and Herman Ruether's article in the May WITNESS, "Can Israel save its 'soul'?" suggests other pertinent and timely subjects someone might want to pursue, like: "Can America save its soul?" "Can the American churches save their souls?" More importantly, "Can the Episcopal Church save its soul?" with George Bush being the "First Layman" role-model for four years at least.

Another thing I've been wondering about is the "practice what you preach" injunction so often pushed at clergy and laity alike. I wonder if it isn't about time someone suggested that clergy and laity "preach what you practice." Maybe we Americans should get our own houses in order before we start preaching at other-nations about their shortcomings.

Abbie Jane Wells
Juneau, Alaska

Why church silence?

I haven't heard any official voice of our church speaking up at this time of Latin America crisis.

I would like to hear: "We approve of President Bush sending 2,000 combat troops into Panama on one condition: that he would accept Panama sending its combat troops into the United States for similar reasons."

You say, "But we don't have incidents of fraud and violence in our country?"

Do the names Selma, Japanese-American camps, Watergate suggest anything?

The Rev. Eldred Johnston
Columbus, Ohio

Cancel the sub

Please discontinue our subscription. More and more, I am in great disagreement with the apparent underlying philosophical positions of THE WITNESS. I find the tone hateful towards most Christians who do not share your particular biases.

May I suggest that you cover a much broader range of activity and positions than are represented in your journal? It would be refreshing to have articles on Charles Colson and Prison Fellowship, for instance, and on marvelous witnesses like Mother Teresa.

Is it possible to be a Christian and follow Jesus and not be committed to the positions of Matthew Fox, for example? It would not seem so, if I understand the tenor of THE WITNESS of late.

Kenneth E. Robinson
Cheshire, Conn.

Helped pass the GOEs

I want to thank you for the wonderful graduation gift of a year's subscription to THE WITNESS. I have loved your magazine and read it all through seminary. I'm sure it even helped me pass my General Ordination Exams (GOEs). That you would give me the gift of a subscription is really a gift — as THE WITNESS has been to me all along.

Gale Morris
Morgan Hill, Cal.

(THE WITNESS congratulates all Episcopal seminary graduates each year by offering them a year's free subscription. If you are a grad and have not responded to this offer yet, we would be delighted to hear from you. — Ed.)

Death 'under the oven'

Thank you for forwarding THE WITNESS to me. I left Nashville shortly before Thanksgiving, got stranded in San Bernardino and wound up in Provo, Utah to stay with an old friend and minister from Nashville. Jobs are scarce here, but at least the cost of living is lower than Nashville.

Incidentally, the woman about whom I wrote (fictitiously) in "The Bed Under the Oven" (WITNESS 1987) died from lung failure recently in Nashville and was buried by the Episcopal Church there. Her name was Carol Kesler.

El Gilbert
Provo, Utah

CPF trustees respond

Your editorial, "Shell shock and other 815 surprises," asks a question of the Church Pension Fund, attributes to a publication of the fund a quotation that we cannot identify and makes several allegations that deserve reply.

First, you asked (quite properly, we believe) why the Fund did not discover until March that its investment managers had purchased shares in Royal Dutch Petroleum, which company was ineligible for investment because of its sales to the Government of South Africa. A member of the Fund's staff wrote to the investment managers last summer to inform them that 66 companies were to be *added* to a list of companies previously identified as ineligible for investment under guidelines established by the Fund. The letter was misunderstood; the managers assumed that the 66 companies were a replacement for the previous list and not an addition to it. No copies of that letter were sent to other officers of the Fund. The staff member who wrote it resigned Aug. 10. Officers of the Fund saw the letter for the first time in March.

It may be important to note that Royal Dutch Petroleum is not an American company, nor are its shares known by the name, "Shell". Royal Dutch does not appear, therefore, on lists of "American companies doing business in South Africa" and may not be readily identified as the parent company of Shell Oil.

The mistaken purchase would have

Continued on page 27

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THE WITNESS

WAR IN THE COAL FIELDS

Table of Contents

6 **Miners gain ecumenical support**
Mary Lee Simpson

6 **War in the coal fields**
Jim Lewis

12 **From Bible study to civil disobedience**
Frank Eichenlaub

14 **ESA says weed 'em and reap**
Jan Nunley

17 **'Victory is ours!' — Desmond Tutu**
Susan E. Pierce

20 **Worship resources from South Africa**
Anne Hope (from *Torch in the Night*)

24 **The Philadelphia 11: Still prophets without honor**
Julie A. Wortman

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Editorial

Class warfare in the coal strike

While George Bush was congratulating thousands of Chinese students for using non-violent civil disobedience to attain their goals recently, more than 2,000 miners from Virginia's coal fields were being imprisoned in this country for the same act. The news from China bumped the stories about the striking miners from the front pages, and in most part, from TV. The miners have been out since April 5; they walked when Pittston, Virginia's largest coal company, would not agree to a pension and benefit package for disabled miners, widows, and retirees.

Churches in the area have been trying to educate the public to the suffering and vulnerability of the people involved. Ecumenical support for the miners has come from most denominations in the region. The Commission on Religion in Appalachia (CORA), comprised of 17 national denominations in the 13-state area, called on the governors of those states to bring an end to the strike, one of the largest in Appalachia's history, and issued a strong statement supporting the miners. As THE WITNESS went to press, wildcat strikes were underway nationally against Pittston, and Canadians have threatened to go on strike as well.

Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning of the Episcopal Church, as well as Bishops A. Heath Light of Southwestern Virginia and Arthur Walmsley of Connecticut recently visited the area; Browning and Heath issued a joint statement afterwards.

The Catholic Committee on Appalachia also passed a resolution supporting the Pittston miners. CCA Director Maura Ubinger said, "We have always believed in standing with the people against outside powers that attempt to control their lives."

Mounting evidence would indicate that Pittston is out to break the union and the company is getting major assistance in its effort from the courts.

- U.S. District Judge Glen Williams has jailed Marty Hudson, the United Mine Workers strike organizer, for an unlimited period for contempt of court. Hudson, a miner who comes from a mining family, has been mostly instrumental to this point in keeping the strike in a non-violent mode. He has been on a hunger strike in prison since June 7.
- Two other labor leaders, Jackie Stump, Virginia's UMW president, and Cecil Phillips, a strike coordinator, were also jailed for blocking entrances to the company's mines and preparation plants.
- The strike is costing the taxpayers $1 million a month for the 200 state troopers on special duty and the court apparatus that has built up around the strike.
- The union was fined $3 million in June for violating a court order by Russell County Circuit Judge Donald McGlothlin to limit the number of pickets in front of the mines. Jim Sessions, executive coordinator of CORA, called this "an appalling amount," since Pittston Coal "was fined only $47,000 in 1983 when it was judged to be negligent in the death of seven miners after an explosion in the mines."

According to Andrew (Uncas) McThenia, chancellor of the Diocese of Southwestern Virginia, "these actions illustrate that the power structure is engaged in class warfare in Virginia, more interested in 'order' than in invoking the law justly."

Taken together, the state apparatus of the courts and police, plus big business, have proved formidable in suppressing the miners in this explosive situation. It appears that these three powerful forces are inflicting institutional violence on the miners and exhausting their access to peaceful protest — in other words, inciting to riot.

THE WITNESS is proud to stand with the miners and with the clergy, religious and laity who have been arrested along with them in their ongoing struggle — in this current chapter of labor's untold story.

How you can help

CORA's recent newsletter notes that the mine workers are asking supporters to send letters to congressional representatives in Virginia and West Virginia, as well as Connecticut, corporate headquarters of the Pittston Company.

The union has also set up a "Justice for Pittston Miners" fund. Contributions can be sent in care of Marty Hudson's headquarters, UMWA District 28, P. O. Box 28, Castlewood, VA 24224.

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Miners and supporters demonstrate at Pittston shareholders meeting in Greenwich, Conn., members of St. Mark's Bible study group, St. Paul, Va., among them.

Miners gain

An old Ugandan story says that when elephants fight it is the grass that suffers.

While the mighty mammals of the Pittston Coal Company and the United Mine Workers of America wage a war of words, strategies and legal maneuvers in a three-month old strike in the coal mines of southwest Virginia, God's people in Appalachia are being trampled. Families have been fractured. Children are anxious. Retired miners have lost full medical benefits, and so have disabled miners, who suffer from black lung and bad backs and the daily perils that go hand-in-hand with their trade.

Mary Lee Simpson is the editor of the *Southwestern Episcopalian*, the newspaper of the Diocese of Southwest Virginia, and was recently elected national President of the Episcopal Communicators.

War in the coal fields

by Jim Lewis

There is a war going on just a few miles north of my state border. It is the battle taking place in Wise County, Virginia between coal miners and their families and the Pittston Coal Company.

This is an ancient struggle with deep roots in U.S. history. Traditionally, however, the coal wars between Kentucky, West Virginia and Virginia miners against the profit-oriented coal operators has not been recorded in school textbooks and curriculum. Labor history isn't automatically available — it has been neglected by elite educators, writers and media folk.

Since the strike began, some 40 women have occupied company offices. Over 2000 miners and their families have been arrested for non-violent demonstrations directed against Pittston for their efforts to break the union, cut benefits and lay off workers.

In Richmond there have been demonstrations at a Crestar Bank shareholders meeting. Crestar has loaned Pittston $100 million to survive the strikes. This same bank "redlines," a practice which excludes poor and minorities from loans.

About 150 students at Clintwood High left school in protest of the coal company action.

Recently 12,000 supporters of the strike massed at the local fairgrounds to hear Jesse Jackson. Richard Trumka, president of the United Mine Workers also spoke. He told the crowd, "Handguns, billy clubs, state police cruisers and helicopters are powerless in the face of a community unified in nonviolent protest. It is our generation's responsibility to fight for the rights our ancestors won for us. We will not go back!"

For the past weeks, I have been in touch with the situation there through Andrew (Uncas) McThenia, a law professor at Washington and Lee who has been living and working on behalf of miners and their families at St. Paul, Va.

Originally he went there to look at black lung issues. Since the miner's strike, he's been up to his ears in this rapidly developing struggle with the Pittston Coal Company.

Uncas called me one night at 11 p.m. to come join him, as a friend and Christian, in civil disobedience against Pittston's attempt to bust the union.

The Rev. James Lewis, a Contributing Editor to THE WITNESS, is Director of Social Ministries for the Diocese of North Carolina.

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ecumenical support

by Mary Lee Simpson

People in Appalachia live continuously with uncertainty, worrying how long the struggle must continue and what happens when it's complete. They live in desperation, watching as the company's men and non-union workers replace them in jobs they need for survival. They live with the tension of practicing patience in a situation that is explosive. They live with the fear of overt violence and death due to the strike.

It's a living hell, and exactly where the church should be, said Episcopal Bishop A. Heath Light of the Diocese of Southwest Virginia, for hell is a place of alienation, separation, brokenness and hurting.

Through the leadership of Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning, who visited the striking miners, the national Episcopal Church has reached out. Preaching at St. Mark's Church in St. Paul, Va. in the heart of coal country, Browning told parish members and striking coal miners that the role of the church is to challenge that which makes life difficult and divided, to challenge those areas that hinder the fullness of life.

Before Browning left the coal fields on his way to South Africa, he told the miners he would try to have a conversation with Paul Douglas, Pittston's top executive.

Roman Catholic Bishop Walter Sullivan of the Diocese of Richmond has expressed his support. "To stand with the workers is not to stand against other persons; it is to stand for justice," he said, and called upon labor and management to reach beyond adverse relationships toward a productive partnership.

Calling the strike a justice issue, the Virginia Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America has voted support for the coal miners. The group sent a letter to Pittston CEO Douglas and to UMW's Richard Trumka saying that a just settlement will enable healing and reconciliation.

Eighty-six ministers in Pittston's hometown in Greenwich, Conn., signed a full-page newspaper advertisement supporting the mine workers' bargaining attempts. "You are our neighbor. But in a world such as our tradition envisions, so are the miners of Appalachia," they wrote. "In a time of growing desperation in the lives of these children of God, we call upon you to act justly."

The clergy, representing various faiths and denominations asked that Pittston and the United Mine Workers create a

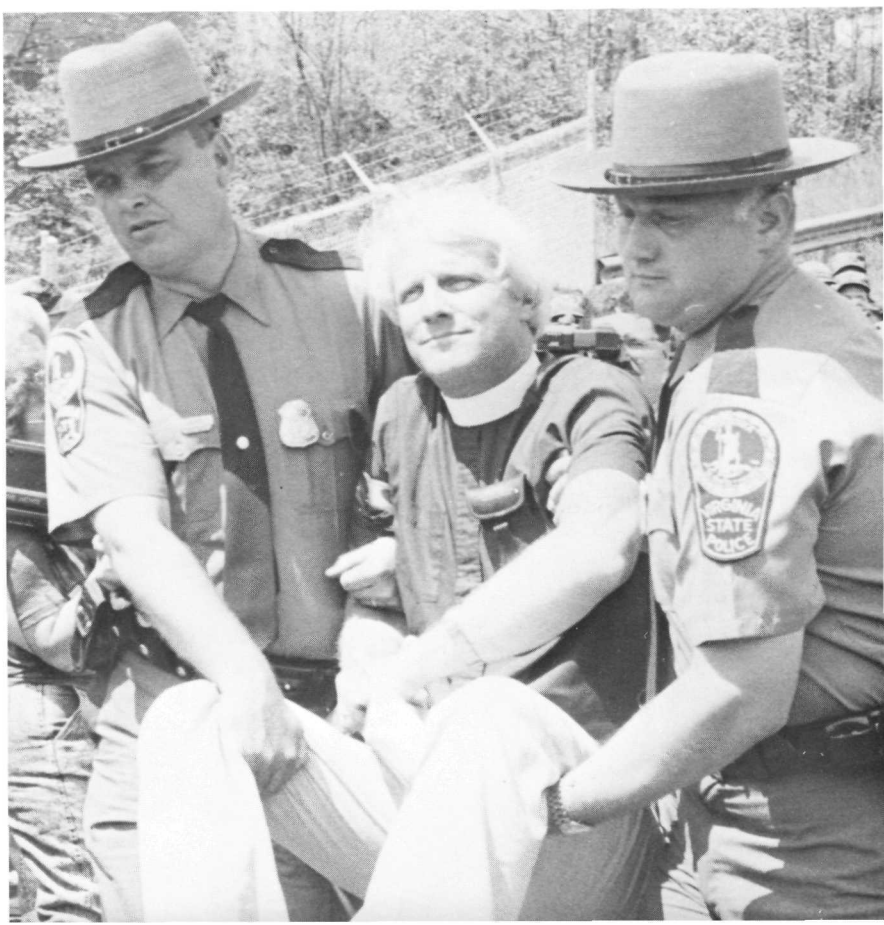
At 11:15 I said good-night to my wife Judy, and drove to Durham to pick up the Rev. Denise Giardina, who also wants to take part in the protest

It's about a five hour drive. We leave Durham with a clear sky full of stars. Outside of St. Paul, the mountains puff smoke. Fog engulfs us. The streets of St. Paul are deserted. All the homes are dark.

We've taken turns driving. I've slept a couple of hours. Neither of us want to wake Uncas with a phone call. In our search for a church pew to sleep in, we discover all the Episcopal Church doors are locked. Trying to be ecumenical we find the nearby Catholic Church. It's locked as well.

Parked on the street, we doze a few hours in the car.

Now, it's close to seven o'clock and one restaurant is open. The woman behind the counter in Hazel's Restaurant is smoking a cigarette.



The author is hauled off for practicing civil disobedience.

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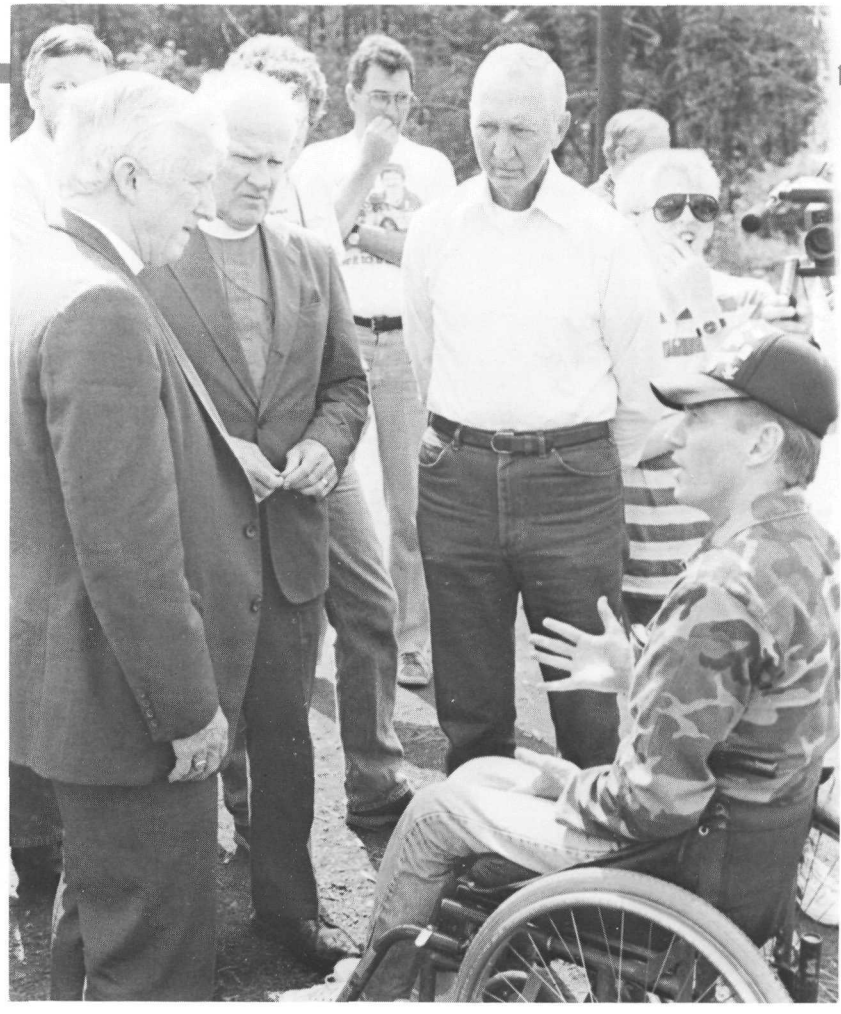
pension and benefit package that will allow protection for miners' health and safety, voluntary overtime and observance of the Sabbath.

With the support of churchpeople, 24 striking miners and retirees visited Pittston's home office in the hope of telling their stories — stories that don't show up on balance sheets or selected financial data of the corporation's annual report — to the May shareholders meeting. The miners were accompanied by members of the Bible study group from St. Mark's Episcopal Church in St. Paul, Va., two attorneys, a college professor, parish priests, a college chaplain, a lab technician, a group of homemakers, and several churchworkers.

Miner Harry Whitaker was able to tell his story to Pittston officials. He said he has to sleep sitting up because otherwise his body, ravaged by black lung, can't get enough oxygen. He can't go bass fishing in the shoals of the Clinch River anymore because he can never get enough breath. He worries about his helplessness and tells his wife maybe he's better off dead.



From left: Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning and Bishop A. Heath Light of Southwestern Virginia listen to Pittston employes John Mullins and Gail Gentry tell their stories. Gentry, paralyzed after a rock fall, became the 2,000th miner arrested in peaceful demonstrations recently.

When she finds out why we're in town, she smiles and talks more freely.

Her "old man" left the house at 2 a.m. to head up to the mine where the miners are keeping their vigil. The pickets will shout at the "scabs," who have been enticed to work in place of the union miners, as they drive the huge coal trucks across the picket line. Later in the morning, we'll do civil disobedience on the road those trucks travel.

We meet Uncas and people from the Episcopal center in the area, Grace House. Uncas has his best suit on and a necktie to match. He jokes about it being his wedding suit.

We drive up to the Moss Three Preparation Plant. It's here the coal is carted to be loaded into huge trucks.

A couple hundred miners are dressed in camouflage suits. Mixed in with them are dozens of miners wives, daughters and children. We are greeted warmly as we pass by on our way to the main road on which the coal trucks pass.

After we've blocked the entrance, the Virginia State Police advise us to leave. When we refuse, they pick each one of us up and carry us to the bus that will cart us off to the county prison.

Twenty-seven of us are plucked from the muddy road while those on the sidelines cheer.

Between the arrest site and the prison we sing and people all along the route wave and cheer.

There are as many women on the bus as men. My belief is that they help contribute to the nonviolence of this strike.

A young woman sits in front of me. She's about 27. Her husband supports her action. Her father doesn't want her to get arrested. She's taken time from her job to do this action. She's frightened but she's obviously pleased about having done the right thing.

Behind me is a woman who left her husband at home. He's a miner who got caught in a conveyor belt. It tore his whole side up — his arm and leg, and even his face. He's unable to work. She's getting arrested to save his medical benefits.

Songs and stories on the bus.

The fight for women's rights with workers must unite
Like Mother Jones, move those bones to the front of every fight
O you can't scare me,
I'm sticking to the union.

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Whitaker is among the estimated 1,500 pensioners, widows and disabled miners who have had no heath care benefits since Jan. 31, 1988, when the contract between Pittston and the UMW expired.

John Mullins, an 11-year Pittston employe, couldn't tell his story to the executives and shareholders because he was at the mine workers' rally outside. The Free-Will Baptist preacher couldn't tell them what it's like to lose 10 friends in mine accidents. Or how the company's demand at the negotiation table for flexible shifts would play havoc with his ministry to the 43 members of Yates Chapel Church on Canyon Ridge in Dickenson County where he serves as pastor.

Mullins worries about his community maintaining love and forgiveness throughout the strike when emotions are running so high. Despite the unity and prayers of the people, he sees a spiritual decline. "At a time when we should get more dependent on the Lord, we get more dependent on ourselves," he says.

Mullins' faith and prayer moved him to set up a prayer tent, where strikers could go "to turn away from the crowd and talk to the Lord." After three days it was destroyed, as were the signs nearby quoting such Bible verses as "the heart of kings is in the hands of the Lord," and "the nation that forgets God shall not prosper." Mullins replaced the tent so now it's closer to the picket lines where miners can gather, pray, talk or read.

Despite the uncertainties and tensions, Mullins remains hopeful that the Lord will intervene. "The Lord can move hearts and change hearts in ways we can't imagine," he says.

Life has been difficult these days for Gail Gentry, 41, who mined coal for the Pittston Company until he was paralyzed from the waist down after a mine rock fall 11 years ago.

Picketing in his wheelchair on a muggy Sunday afternoon, Gentry told Presiding Bishop Browning that since Pittston cut off his medical benefits 18 months ago, his wife has been working two part-time jobs to support themselves and their three children.

Life has also been difficult for Pat Keith, single parent of a teenager and devoted daughter to her 65-year-old father, disabled with black lung, who has lost his medical benefits. She told her story to Browning in her father's Dank, Va., home, reciting a litany of sorrow. Her dad was carried out of the mines in 1962 because he couldn't breathe. Medication for black lung caused the cataracts on his eyes; ensuing laser surgery was ineffective and now he's going blind.

Others' relatives and friends have lost benefits: an uncle disabled by a bad heart and black lung; another uncle disabled by a bad back; a neighbor who's a 70-year-old widow; a widow friend with an 11-year-old daughter; a 70-year-old disabled miner whose wife died of cancer and who now faces huge medical bills.

A mother worries about her 12-year-old son. "With all the troopers here and the reaction to them, he's getting bad impressions of the system . . . I'm afraid if we stay here he'll get frustrated and go into the mines," she says.

Through the witness of some

I'm sticking to the union
till the day I die. (Union Maid)

A funny story, full of determination, passes my way:

A week or so before this arrest, a bus load of strikers was carried off. The local jails refused to accept them. They were driven all over the nearby counties but no luck. The jails were in solidarity on this one. Then officials couldn't get the bus refueled. State troopers were called to bring gas. The bus drove on for over five hours. The miners were not allowed out, not even to relieve themselves. So . . . to the back of the bus they all moved and on signal, while the bus was headed downhill, they emptied their bladders. The driver up front was unable to escape the deluge.

Like the prophet Amos said, "Let justice flow down like water and integrity like an unfailing stream."

Later we're fingerprinted, photographed and brought, one by one before the magistrate. I am first in line. The magistrate is puzzled by my collar and troubled by my being from out of state.

"Will you promise me that you won't do this again?"

I tell him that I can't make such a promise. By being a Christian I have to follow the tradition set forth in the Acts of the Apostles.

Finally, he decides to let me out on a bond posted by the UMW.

Denise and I say our good-byes to these brothers and sisters. We tell them we'll be back for our court date.

An added footnote. In Williamsburg, at the reception the night before Frank Vest's installation, I corner Presiding Bishop Ed Browning to talk about his trip to St. Paul. He'll go to be with the miners right after the service. He's eager to meet Uncas who has touched his heart with a letter inviting him to visit.

Uncas calls me early in Raleigh on Monday to say that Browning's visit was wonderful. He visited the strikers at the Moss Three Preparation Plant, talked with miners in their homes, and made a statement. He's approving of the civil disobedience and the miner's cause.

Uncas wants Denise and me to come on Tuesday night so that we can be arrested again on Wednesday.

Once again I pick up Denise. We're beginning to know the road by heart. Over 85 to Winston-Salem, up 52 and 77 to Wytheville and then west to Abingdon

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Roanoke-area rectors and their parishioners, the church is reaching out. Priests and laypersons in the Episcopal Diocese of Southwestern Virginia have joined the company of more than 2,000 coal miners arrested for civil disobedience.

"The striking miners aren't asking us to take sides. They're asking for our love and support," says Pansie Murray, secretary to two diocesan bishops before her retirement two years ago. She decided to be arrested after mingling with the people and hearing their stories and watching her fellow Episcopalians. "I knew I couldn't stand by with dignity wrapped around my shoulders," she said.

Her rector, the Rev. Robert Thacker, decided to be arrested following much reflection, prayer and discussions with his fellow clergy. "The miners really are the underdogs, and it was important for me to stand with them," he said. "My arrest provided in a small way a witness for non-violence and it was a way to move other people who know me to become better informed."

Thacker was one of several arrested at the mine workers' main picket line at the gate of the Pittston Company's Moss 3 coal preparation plant near Carbo.

The event was an extraordinary liturgy. While waiting for a signal for arrests, the men, women and children sang, clapped, clogged, laughed and mingled with one another, listening to the miners' stories of their lives. Under the direction of state troopers, coal trucks rumbled in and out of the preparation plant. Like a chalice at a Eucharist, people passed from hand-to-hand paper cups of ice-cold water in order to soothe throats made dry by the procession.

"Love must suffer and yet it redeems," the Rev. Robert Goldsmith, rector of St. Mark's, Fincastle and father of two preschool girls, told the crowd shortly before his arrest.

When it became the Episcopalians' turn to be arrested, Goldsmith joined the others in front of an incoming truck laden with coal ready to be cleaned. State troopers encircled the protesters and told them of their violation: obstruction of free passage, a misdemeanor. With bared and bowed heads, the congregation, including miners, supporters and Virginia state troopers, prayed for peace and justice.

Amidst shouts of "alleluia" and "amen" and to the strains of "Amazing Grace," the witnesses walked to the bus awaiting to take them to a nearby state prison for processing.

In a parade of state patrol cars, led by a vehicle with a huge magnet to scoop up jackrocks (two long nails welded together like a jack to puncture tires), the bus drove to the Appalachian Correction Unit in nearby Blackford where the protestors spent nearly seven hours being processed.

According to Thacker, the celebration continued on the bus. Food emerged. Like the bread at a Eucharist, the passengers passed a sandwich around, each person taking a bite or two. Then came the celery and carrots and tootsie rolls. "It was a real sharing," said Thacker.

Following their release from prison, a free-will Baptist Church bus returned the Episcopalians to their cars.

And so the liturgy continues varying with the people and locations.

While the elephants continue to trample the grass, the church continues its efforts to stop the fighting and bring peace to Virginia's fields of coal. TW

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and north into St. Paul.

We pull into Grace House Tuesday night about six. Episcopalians are driving in from across the diocese to have supper and spend the night. On Wednesday we'll participate in a demonstration at the Moss Three Preparation Plant.

By the time supper is finished, there are about 20 Episcopalians gathered. We leave the table and climb the stairs to the meeting hall. A Bible study is planned which will involve members of St. Mark's Church and a film crew from CBS in New York.

The CBS show, 48 Hours, is in town filming the two days' activity.

Uncas has asked me to co-lead the Bible study with Sandra Boggs, a woman I had met the week before. She

The Rev. Robert Goldsmith, rector of St. Mark's, Fincastle, addresses miners before his arrest.

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has miner family members and friends and was arrested with me on my first visit. We stayed close together the first time around as they processed us.

Sandra drives a school bus and describes herself as a born-again-Christian.

What happens is amazing.

The personal sharing of experience and faith is deeply moving. The people in the circle are Pentecostals, Episcopalians, born-again-Christians, Presbyterians, Baptists and members of independent Bible churches. It is a real Pentecost experience. We speak out of different histories and cultures and traditions and yet we are able to hear one another.

In the morning we gather at St. Mark's Church and drive on up to Moss Three.

Hundreds of miners and family members have gathered along the road at the pressure point, the entrance to the plant where non-union drivers are crossing the picket line with their huge coal trucks. As we walk to that entrance, strikers and supporters clap and cheer our arrival. We are lifted up on a flatbed truck from which a few of us will speak.

The 2000th person will be arrested just before it's our turn. He's Gail Gentry and this is his first arrest. He's in a wheelchair because he had been crushed in a mine collapse a few years ago. The company has taken his medical benefits away from him.

These miners are striking over the fact that they can't get a contract out of Pittston. Pittston Coal Company wants to break the union. Since the old contract ran out at the end of January, Pittston has cut off the health insurance benefits of its 1500 retired and disabled miners and widows. They've also stopped pension fund contributions for its 1700 working union members, affecting more than 25,000 people in mining communities in three states.

The disabled miner is carried off to prison after prayers are said and his wife kisses him. It's our turn now.

The Rev. Rob Goldsmith from Fincastle, just outside Roanoke, tells the crowd that the Presiding Bishop and Bishop Light from the Diocese of Southwestern Virginia support the strikers. A nun from the area reads a supportive statement from Bishop Walter Sullivan, the Catholic bishop in Richmond.

Denise reads her beautiful statement. She's grown up in the coal fields of West Virginia and written about the struggle in her book, *Storming Heaven*. I add a few words and then it's time to enjoy a bit of mountain music and conversation.

There will be over 125 arrests today. After we've prayed in the road and been carried to the bus to be taken to the prison, I am glad that I didn't promise the magistrate last week that I wouldn't do this again.

On the bus, we find out who we are. Mixed in with miners, family members and coal mine activists, there are seven Episcopal priests and about a dozen Episcopal lay people. Included in that number is Uncas, the diocesan chancellor, along with Pansie Murray, a retired secretary to two bishops.

Back in North Carolina, someone asks me the inevitable question: Why are you going over there into Virginia to get involved in this strike?

My answer is simple.

What difference does a state boundary make? God didn't draw a line between Virginia and West Virginia and North Carolina.

What happens in those areas in terms of the economy effects us all. Particularly us in North Carolina. If people are put out of work in Virginia, North Carolina will be the place to which jobless Appalachian people flock. It's already happening.

The fact that a union-busting effort is taking place north of us concerns us directly as we are a non-union state profiting by the forced migration of people searching for a job at any price.

Already our diocese is putting together a project which will involve one of our deacons in this migration. The Rev. Patricia Shoemaker, and a number of people from our diocese and the Diocese of West Virginia, will meet in Princeton, West Va. later this month to talk about trying to track this migration so that the church can address public policy questions around jobs and the economy.

I go to Virginia, also, because my neighbors are there and they are asking for our support. The Christian Gospel calls us to come together with our neighbors across any and all lines drawn by human beings.

Since returning home, I've been in touch with our brothers and sisters in Virginia:

Roanoake area clergy, Rob Goldsmith and Bob Thacker have been under fire from their vestries and some churchmembers. Special meetings have resulted in visitations from bishops. Both of these clergy and their families are taking the heat in stride.

Roanoke clergy have united in support of one another. St. John's, the big downtown church, will host Pittston Company officials and United Mine Workers people for an airing of the issue.

The Richmond *Times Dispatch* continues to write reactionary editorials — the latest being an attack on the protesting Episcopal clergy. It also singles out Uncas McThenia for special judgment.

Uncas is being threatened by some lawyers with disbarment, and there have been suggestions that he be relieved of his job as chancellor.

As far as I'm concerned, I've never been prouder of the Episcopal Church.

As for the miners and their families and friends, their spirit can best be summed up in the loud cheer and raised thumb they gave when strike leader Marty Hundson put this question to them.

"There's no turning back now! Who wants to be the 3000th person to go to jail?" TW

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From Bible study to civil disobedience

by Frank Eichenlaub

It was a scene reminiscent of a DeMille Bible epic: In a wood-paneled upper room, a group of committed Christians from St. Mark's Episcopal Church, St. Paul, Va., struggled to find meaning in a troubled world. The members of the church Bible study group sat in chairs circling a round wooden table that overlooked the Appalachian mountains of Southwestern Virginia.

"It was really stimulating," said Ernie Ramsey, a paralegal who had spent 16 years as a coal miner. "A member would present his or her views on a passage and other members in the group would challenge the person to define and support that view."

The members of the group discussed how the passage under study related to the congregation and the world around them, and what the scripture meant when it was written and in their daily life.

Daily life in St. Paul, because of its location, is centered around coal. And because Pittston Coal is the largest employer in the county, daily life is centered around Pittston. And because there was not much good news coming out of the contract renewal talks between Pittston and the United Mine Workers, the talks tended to be a hot topic of daily life.

In mid-January, certain events moved the group out of the league of your ordinary garden variety Bible study group. The scheduled meetings came to an end. But the group was so excited about their study they decided to go on. Then Andrew (Uncas) McThenia arrived on the scene.

McThenia, 53, a Jubilee intern, lawyer, chancellor of the Diocese of Southwestern Virginia, and professor at Washington and Lee University, had spent much of the past 11 years reading and reflecting on the integration of his faith into his work life, and had spent time living with the Washington, D.C.-based *Sojourners* community.

While McThenia was joining the study group, the situation at the coal talks grew worse. On Easter Sunday a small group of Bible study members met to discuss the talks and how the church might relate to them. (St. Mark's owns a little over 200 shares of Pittston stock.)

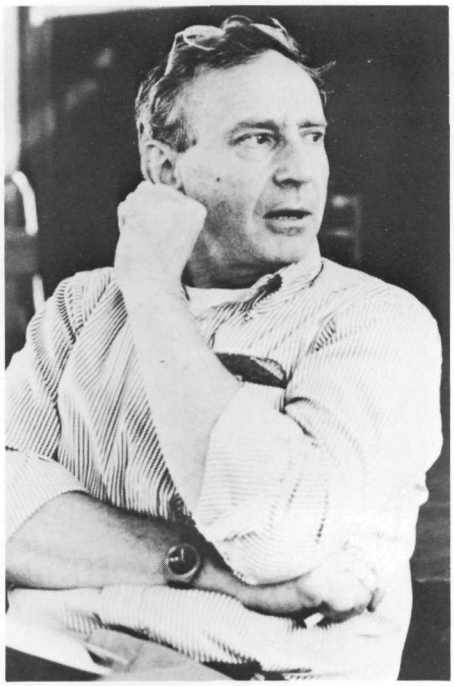
The group studied the first two chapters of Exodus, and found examples of non-violent civil resistance to authority. Mindful of the violence the coal company created from afar and the violence of the UMW in past strikes, the members decided they would work to make the Episcopal Church a vehicle for non-violent protest if a strike was called.

In early April the miners, who had worked without a contract for more than a year, walked out of the mines and onto the picket lines. Some members of the study group accompanied a group of miners to Greenwich, Conn. on a 16 hour pilgrimage to tell Pittston officials about the suffering of people in the area. On May 12, having discussed his action with the Bible study group and using the two midwives from Exodus as a model, McThenia was arrested for blocking the road to a coal processing plant.

The next Sunday seven members of the Bible study group met at Grace House. The meeting was emotional. Some members wept. They were upset over McThenia's talk of being arrested again.

Then Linda Johnson, program director at Grace House, issued a challenge — stop the ego massage and get the church involved — and according to Ramsey, "What followed was like God was sitting there with us. It was awesome." They

Frank Eichenlaub of Redford, Mich., is a freelance writer who has won Associated Church Press recognition for his reporting in *The Record*,, publication of the Diocese of Michigan.



Andrew (Uncas) McThenia

knew what they had to do.

Over the next four days the group drafted and faxed a letter to Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning and the Bishop of Southwest Virginia, A. Heath Light. They asked the bishops to use their influence to get Pittston and the Union talking and invited Browning and Light to come to St. Mark's to listen to the stories of the people affected by the dispute.

Browning and Light arrived in St. Paul May 20, and spent the weekend listening and preaching. They stirred the pot up, because a number of Episcopalians felt the church should not be involved in a labor-management issue.

Some members of All Saints, Norton, a parish that identified with management, talked of picketing the bishops while they were at St. Mark's.

Jackson White, a member of St. Thomas, Abingdon, and a lawyer who has done work for both Pittston and the union, told both bishops that the church should not be involved in the fight.

White felt the strike was not an issue like the Civil Rights movement of the '60s but was a turf fight between a big company and a big union, and not something that had a moral right or wrong. White called for the resignation of McThenia from his position as chancellor to the bishop, citing a conflict of interest. And he suggested that both bishops were misguided in their concern. The real victims of the strike were the people — truckers and small mine operators — that were being hurt by the strike.

As for the Bible study group, "I hate to use the word radical," said White, who is known around the diocese of Southwestern Virginia as a liberal Democrat, "but . . . "

The Monday after the bishops left, telephone calls went out to Episcopalians around the diocese. Early on, these people said they could be counted on to help when needed.

Tuesday night another Bible study group took place at Grace House. The purpose was to invite those present to the picket lines on Wednesday.

On Wednesday a dozen priests, nuns and religious activists were arrested at three Pittston Coal Group processing plants for blocking coal trucks from delivering their loads. At least 10 were Episcopalians.

The Bible group had done what they set out to do. The church had made its peaceful presence felt.

"Both actions, the bishops' visit and the civil disobedience, would not have been possible without the stage being set by the Bible study group," said Johnson.

What's next?

"We plan to re-focus on the Book of Acts," said Ramsey with a grin on his face. "We'll see where that takes us." TW

Conscientious Objection

the frog appeals
the lizard does not
mail says "meat is murder"
I think not
but do not like
the system.

something quickens.

the bird appeals
the bat does not
the conscience is
selective and fickle —
the butterfly
but not the fly.

in the jungle
the womanlion kills
the womanox to eat
and zebra goes down.

in the country
the human woman
eats the cow
and the quail
coo to her and
run for their lives.

I want, Oh, I want
to nurture my friends
and share our communion

but to *eat* my friends
and *be* their communion —
God, I object

to Your patterns
in our ways.

Alla Renee Bozarth

Next issue: September

In a move made some years ago to cut budget costs, the Episcopal Church Publishing Company decided to combine July and August issues of THE WITNESS. See you in the fall!

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ESA says weed 'em and reap

by Jan Nunley

Jan Nunley is a reporter who covered the Evangelical and Catholic Mission synod in June for KERA-FM, a National Public Radio affiliate in the Dallas/Fort Worth area. "There are certain things you can't say even on public radio," she told THE WITNESS, "and sometimes you have to tell somebody what you really saw for the sake of your soul." A former Southern Baptist, she was confirmed an Episcopalian in 1986 at the church of St. Thomas the Apostle in Dallas. Currently a resident of Fort Worth, she hopes to pursue a Master of Divinity degree at the Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass., in the Fall.

In the tourist brochures, they call Fort Worth "The Way You Want Texas to Be." You know — cowboys, rodeo, longhorn steers, longneck beers — tradition.

So when the self-styled "traditionalists" of the Episcopal Church were casting about for a place to hold a synod in protest of what one of their number refers to as the "hijacking" of the church, Fort Worth was a natural. Not that there weren't other reasons for choosing Cowtown. Out of 98 dioceses in the United States, the relatively young Diocese of Fort Worth is one of only six that still refuses to ordain women. Its first bishop, A. Donald Davies, came out of retirement to serve as executive director of the Evangelical and Catholic Mission (ECM), one of several "traditionalist" groups opposed to the ordination of women, gays and lesbians, and what they perceive as leftward leanings in the Episcopal Church (ECUSA). Fort Worth's current bishop, Clarence Pope, is president of ECM. Pope also helped with the Episcopal Visitors resolution approved at the last General Convention, which allowed congregations objecting to female bishops to call male bishops to perform pastoral duties instead.

And it was Pope whose name led the list of seven bishops convoking the synod last November with the words, "The final crisis of the Episcopal Church is now upon us." The "final crisis," of course, was the election and later consecration of Barbara Harris as Suffragan Bishop in the Diocese of Massachusetts.

Along with the issuance of the pastoral letter came another document: a Declaration of Common Faith and Purpose, which parishioners in some Fort Worth churches took to calling the "ECM loyalty oath." Signers promised to resist changes in the "Historic Episcopate . . . without regard to the temporal consequences that may be inflicted by the Episcopal Church." That gave a number of priests and laity pause about signing; somehow the Faith Once Delivered to the Saints paled momentarily in comparison to the Pensions and Property once Deeded to the Saints.

Still, ECM claimed to have thousands of signers from across the country by the time June 1 rolled around; so many that they had to move the synod sessions from the downtown Worthington Hotel to Travis Avenue Baptist Church, a Southern Baptist megachurch.

White collars and black shirts, with the occasional splash of episcopal purple, filled the lobby of the Worthington Hotel at registration time. Beside me, a woman in a hat noticed my microphone and asked where I was from; when I told her, she said, "Well, I'm from Boston." I smiled, and then she finished, ". . . where we have that *horrible* Barbara Harris!" ("Barbara-bashing," directly in the parking lot and halls and by inference from the podium, seemed to be the synodical pastime.)

At the Baptist church, the parking lot filled quickly for the opening Eucharist. Inside, on the main floor, was the whitest audience you'd ever hope to see: out of a reported 2,000 participants, my eye detected less than a half-dozen people of color among the delegates and observers, two among the attending bishops, and one in the choir. The service was straight out of the 1928 prayer book, and the sermon, by the Rev. Andrew Mead of Boston's Church of the Advent, was just what the congregation wanted to hear.

"I learned not too terribly long ago that I am one of those orthodox that is called a 'brain-dead Anglo-Catholic' by some of those people in the church who obviously should not be called liberals," he opined. Having quoted the Presiding Bishop's statement that "there are no outcasts in the Episcopal Church," Mead thundered, "No outcasts! Not even biblical Christians, and traditional Catholics! Now what about that, my fellow outcasts?"

The synod officially opened its first session by creating the "Anglican Synod of America," chaired by Pope. Speeches from Pope, Bishop Edward MacBurney of Quincy, and Bishop John-David Schofield of San Joaquin followed. Judg-

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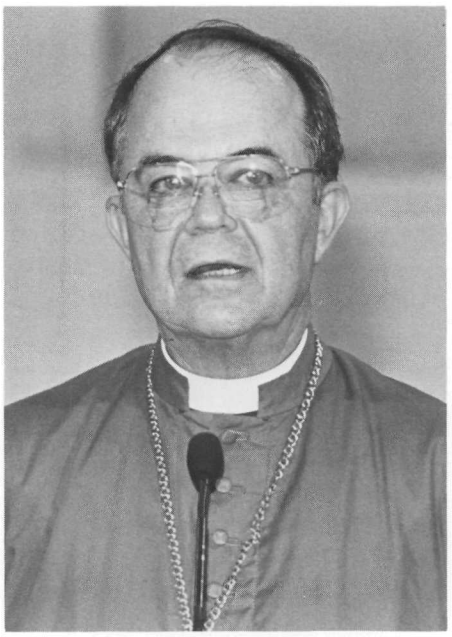
ing from the picture they painted of the state of the church, I'd be inclined to refer to them as the *Hysteric* Episcopate. According to their scenario, the Episcopal church has lost a million members in the past two decades, and since that roughly coincides with the admission of women to ordained priesthood, bingo! The women in clerical collars must be causing the faithful to flee in droves. Feminists and progressives are selling their traditional birthright for a mess of sociological pottage, say the Trads, who feel they alone stand with the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church.

Despite the fact that the Eames Commission report took most of the wind out of ECM's sails by declaring the "parallel jurisdiction" idea to be schismatic, the bishops puffed as best they could. Over and over again they told the crowd that the Eames report declares the ordination of women "provisional" and therefore subject to reversal. Schofield called to mind the period of English history when Cromwell's expulsion of bishops forced Anglican priests to ordain each other, and theorized that as the presbyterially ordained priests had been allowed to "die out" after the Restoration, so the Grim Reaper might be employed to purge the clergy's ranks of women after the Restoration of the Historic Episcopate. "Not unlike our forefathers, we could look back on this period as the 'anomaly,'" Schofield said hopefully, quoting the Eames report.

At the news conference following the first session I pressed Pope on whether the formation of the Episcopal Synod of America (ESA) as an official body was step towards possible schism. "We have said that if our mission is so thwarted that we cannot maintain this, other options would have to be considered," Pope answered. And what do you consider "thwarted," bishop? "That's too theoretical and hypothetical," he replied.

Friday morning, following a 1979 Rite I morning prayer service, the synod heard from "the wider communion." An ECM group in Philadelphia had fronted some $12,000 to pay for the travel and expenses of nine Anglican bishops who came to the synod. The star of the show was London's Bishop Graham Leonard, who assured the gathering that he would "be in communion with them no matter what happens." Australian Bishop John Hazelwood dismissed feminist theological scholarship as "overzealous adolescents playing in the kitchen," creating a



The Rt. Rev. Clarence Pope
. . . taking his last name too literally?

mess that the orthodox were duty-bound to mop up. And Scottish Bishop F.C. Darwent got laughs by describing America's first Episcopal bishop, Samuel Seabury, as "Spinning Sam," turning in his grave at the ordination of women. The bishops by now had caught on that snickering references to women and exaggerated emphasis on the maleness of priesthood were crowd-pleasers.

In the afternoon, an address on "Anglican Holiness" continued the Episcopal Church-trashing that was as popular as "dishing the bishop" (Harris). "The very last quality anyone would ascribe to the Episcopal Church is 'the beauty of holiness,'" sniffed Dr. William Ralston of the Prayer Book Society, looking wistfully back at a time when the English Church was the *stupor mundi*, the "wonder of the world." (The "stupor," apparently, is ever with us: in the parking lot outside, a young woman was placing copies of a Lyndon LaRouche publication, "Is Satan in Your Schoolyard?" on the windshields. It contained an interview with retired South Carolina Bishop FitzSimons Allison, who was prodded by the LaRouche reporter into damning retired New York Bishop Paul Moore for allegedly promoting witchcraft.)

At the evening news conference, the questions were more pointed than the night before. Would the bishops really cross diocesan lines without permission to minister to a traditionalist parish, as they stated in Resolution 1? "In extremis," was Pope's answer. If you support the use of the 1928 prayer book, what will you do about Albany Bishop David Ball's ban on its use, despite his traditionalist stance? "You'll have to ask Bishop Ball." But of course, Ball wasn't there. What would you do with Barbara Harris and women priests? "Time takes care of all anomalies," said Pope.

The next morning the debate on resolutions produced some surprises. Franciscan Bishop John Charles of New York, in full religious habit, startled the dais by challenging the stand of the resolution with regard to homosexual unions. Charles told the bishops that if they weren't ready to apply the Bible's most rigid standards to heterosexual marriage and divorce, they'd best be careful about condemning the blessing of homosexual unions. The comment was entered into the record quickly and a vote was taken on the existing resolution. The delegates agreed readily to send letters of greeting to Pope John Paul II and Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie — but someone had to remind them to send a greeting to their own Presiding Bishop Ed-

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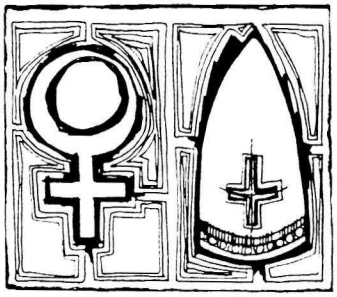

Barbara Harris: Bishop

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mond Browning. (I was reminded of the reception for the National Executive Council which met in Fort Worth in February. There, members of the Fort Worth Diocese were seen to ignore the Presiding Bishop while coming up to kiss Pope's ring. I couldn't help but wonder if someone wasn't taking the Bishop's surname entirely too literally.)

As the session closed, Bishop William Wantland of Eau Claire admonished the synod to resist the temptation to return the "slanders" directed against them by "liberals" as they returned to their home parishes. And Pope told the synod that "Ours is not a vocation to smugness and insularity," but to "consideration" for those who "do not share our beliefs about Faith and Order."

Downstairs at the closing news conference, there were fireworks. A reporter who'd done some digging asked Pope if he'd really meant what he said about showing courtesy to the opposition when, among other things, priests had been pressured out of Fort Worth for failure to sign the "loyalty oath." Pope said he didn't understand the question. Wantland flared at the implication that such policies might become *de rigueur* for ECM dioceses. The bishops were asked if the organization of the synod into a House of Deputies and a House of Bishops, identical to that of ECUSA, indicates that their ideological bags were already packed to leave. The bishops again denied any intention of precipitating a showdown with Presiding Bishop Browning, saying they would only cross diocesan lines to minister in cases where parishes were denied all other recourse.

But after the official questions were over, Synod Executive Office Bishop Donald Davies seemed to think otherwise. "I'm gonna be sort of a dispatcher," for ESA bishops to parishes in "hostile territory," said Davies, contradicting earlier statements that the Episcopal Visitors clause would only be triggered in extreme cases. "But wouldn't that play fast and loose with polity?" I asked. "Well, it's an anomaly," replied the bishop.

And so it was. TW

Godspeed Ann Hunter, hello Lynne Hoekman

Ann Hunter, who served as WITNESS promotion manager for 11 years, has retired from the staff to pursue a less rigorous schedule of gardening, raising bees and other long postponed avocations.

As promotion director, Hunter managed THE WITNESS booth at three General Conventions — New Orleans, Anaheim and Detroit — and was known to thousands of convention-goers for her efficiency in fulfilling requests and ready smile. She also handled reservations for the Episcopal Church Publishing Company Awards Dinner during past conventions. Under her management, along with the nurturing of Promotion Consultant Samuel H. Day, Jr., THE WITNESS doubled its number of paid subscribers.

She will be replaced as promotion manager by Lynne Hoekman, who comes to THE WITNESS with a background in subscription fulfillment and computer technology.

Since her arrival, THE WITNESS has purchased new electronic equipment which will enable the Ambler, Pa., office to service its subscriber and gift donor and fundraising programs in-house.

Formerly of South Dakota, Hoekman is mother of two children and currently makes her home in Ambler with her husband, George Partelow.

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Short Takes

Descartes before dehorse

Recently, Rene Descartes was spied at a Unitarian Universalist cocktail party:

The hostess, seeing Descartes, walked over to him. (You will recall that Descartes' famous motto was "I think, therefore I am." Proof of his very existence was beyond doubt for Descartes because he knew that he thought.)

The hostess noticed that Descartes' cocktail glass was empty. "Would you like another drink?" she asked. "I think not," he said. And with those words, he disappeared.

(Thandeka, assistant professor of philosophy at San Francisco State, told the above story in *The World,* Jan./Feb. '89 to introduce a question about racial inclusivity: Do we believe that simply to think about an issue is the same as to live in a way which exemplifies our concern for the issue?)

> The foolish and the dead never change their opinions.
>
> **James Russell Lowell**

17 Bhopals in U.S.

Over the past 25 years, 17 potentially catastrophic industrial accidents in the United States released deadly chemicals in volumes and levels of toxicity exceeding those that killed 3,000 people in Bhopal, India in 1984, according to a draft report for the Environmental Protection Agency.

But because of good management practices or in some cases sheer good luck, only five people were killed in those accidents, all but two of which occurred in the 1980s, the researchers reported. The deaths all came in a single accident involving a leak of vinyl chloride from a plant in Maine in 1964.

Philip Shabecoff
***The New York Times* 4/30/89**

Quote of note

Everyone has talent. What is rare is the courage to follow the talent to the dark place where it leads.

Erica Jong

Mother Jones to the miners

From the brakeman and conductor of the train I picked up the story of the strike. It had started on the other side of the Kanawha hills in Cabin Creek. Here the miners had been peons for years, kept in slavery by the guns of the coal company, and by the system of paying in scrip so that a miner never had any money should he wish to leave the district. He was cheated of his wages when his coal was weighed, cheated in the company store, charged an exorbitant rent for his kennel in which he lived and bred, docked for school tax and burial tax and physician and for "protection," which meant the gunmen who shot him back into the mines if he rebelled or so much as murmured against his outrageous exploitation. No one was allowed in the Cabin Creek district without explaining the reason for being there to the gunmen who patrolled the roads. The miners finally struck — it was a strike of desperation.

The train stopped at Paint Creek Junction and I got off. There were a lot of gunmen, armed to the teeth, lolling about. Everything was still and nobody would know of the bloody war that was raging in those silent hills, except for the sight of those guns and the strange, terrified look on everyone's face.

A little boy suddenly ran screaming up to me. "Mother Jones, O Mother Jones. Did you come to stay with us?" He was crying and rubbing his eyes with his dirty little fist.

"Yes, my lad, I've come to stay."

A guard was listening. "You have?" says he.

"I have!" says I.

The Autobiography of Mother Jones
by Mary Field Parton
quoted in ***Which Side Are We On?***
(See back cover)

Plant closing toll: 10 million jobs

Government figures show that between 1983 and 1988, nearly 10 million Americans lost their jobs due to plant closings and layoffs. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, nearly 4.7 million of the 9.7 million people laid off during this five-year period were workers who had held their jobs for three years or more. Seven out of 10 such longtime workers have found new jobs: of those re-employed fulltime, 44% reported making less money, with 30% reporting an income of at least 20% less than their old jobs. (*N.Y. Times* 12/13/88)

Quoted in CORAspondent
Spring 1989

First lady of news conferences

None of Eleanor Roosevelt's successors as first lady came close to her record of news conferences — about 350 held over a period of 12 years, open to women only, writes Maurine Beasley in the January-February issue of *Washington Journalism Review.*

Nancy Reagan held one in eight years; Pat Nixon, six; Lady Bird Johnson, about 30.

For Eleanor Roosevelt, "The ban on men was to ensure that women reporters would have access to news that men could not get," Beasley writes. The strategy worked. News organizations were forced to hire women to cover the newsmaking first lady.

Quoted in *Media Report to Women*
March/April 1989

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'Victory is ours!'

— Archbishop Desmond Tutu

Ever wonder why you don't see anything about South Africa on the news anymore? For more than three years, since the South African government imposed a State of Emergency, press restrictions forbid the media from reporting fully, if at all, on banned organizations, the army, police and many other areas. The anti-apartheid movement in South Africa has been effectively cut off from mainstream news outlets.

But there are voices that consistently pierce the wall of silence that separates South Africa from the world. They come from the churches, which, after the apartheid government effectively outlawed any political opposition groups, have become the lifeline of the anti-apartheid movement.

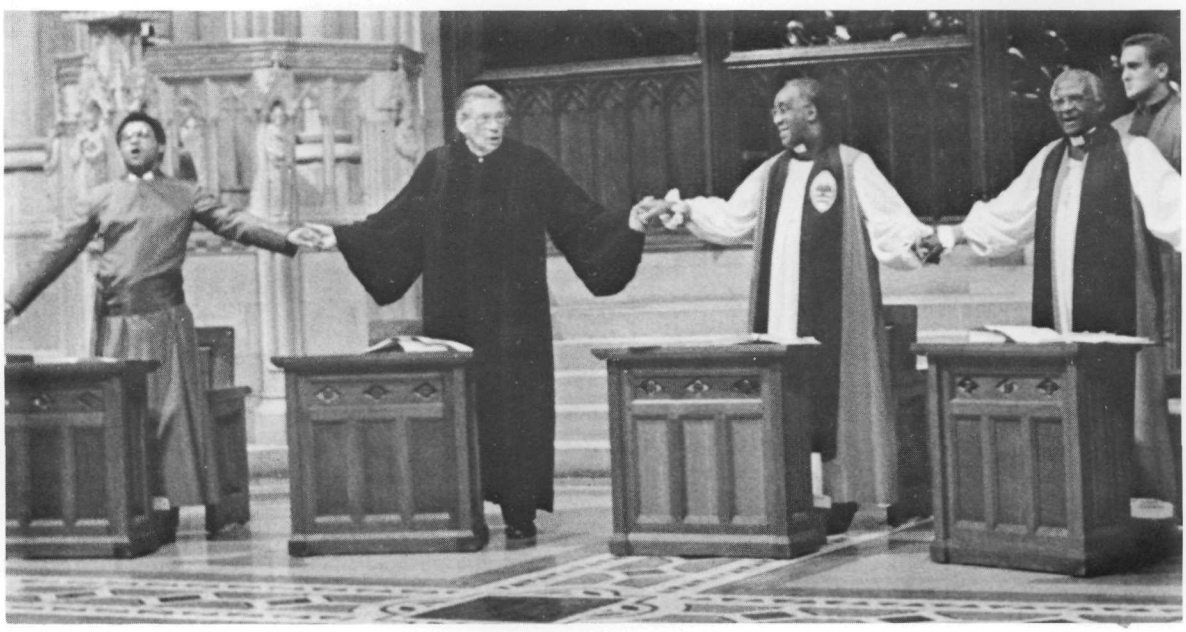
Three South African church leaders, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Rev. Dr. Allan Boesak, president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and the Rev. Beyers Naude, former head of the South African Council of Churches, once again made the trek to Washington this past May, to let the world know what is going on in their country and to plead for stronger U.S. economic sanctions against South Africa. Missing was the Rev. Frank Chikane, current head of the South African Council of Churches, who was hospitalized at the time.

They talked with members of congress, university and foundation presidents, business leaders and union officials at the American Forum on South Africa, sponsored by TransAfrica. They also participated in an evening worship service at the National Cathedral, hosted by the Episcopal Diocese of Washington's Committee on Southern Africa.

Tutu, Naude and Boesak warned those attending a post-forum press conference that because of press censorship, the outside world has no real idea how desperate the situation in South Africa has become. Naude said, "The protest movement in South Africa has been seriously affected by the State of Emergency. Some 32 to 35,000 people have been detained over the past two years. The tension under the surface is very deep and serious. The South African government can only blame itself — we have warned them the situation would explode."

Due to the deteriorating political situation, and escalating violence and repression on the part of the South African government, those opposed to apartheid have repeatedly called on the United States and other countries to impose stiff economic sanctions on South Africa. But while many churches and justice groups supported sanctions, the U.S. government was markedly reluctant to do so. In absence of any hard news depicting government brutality in South Africa, the anti-sanctions movement has been growing increasingly vocal.

Tutu said that the Reagan Administration's policy of "constructive engagement" — which apparently consisted of business as usual with South Africa while scolding the government every now and then — was an "unmiti-



From left: The Revs. Allan Boesak and Beyers Naude join hands with Bishop John T. Walker and Archbishop Desmond Tutu to sing "We Shall Overcome!" at the National Cathedral.

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gated disaster." In response to a question about his statements during a recent trip to Panama condemning sanctions imposed against that country, Tutu replied, "In South Africa, sanctions are the last non-violent route." Tutu expressed frustration with the U.S. government's schizophrenic attitude towards liberation movements. "The contras and UNITA (the Angolan anti-government movement) are 'freedom fighters', but people in South Africa who have tried for over 50 years to use non-violent means become 'terrorists'."

Tutu hoped the Bush Administration would be more open to sanctions, saying "It ought to become as impossible for a U.S. administration to collaborate with South Africa as it would be to collaborate with the Nazis."

Boesak joined the others in underscoring the urgency of the situation, asking that politicians and private citizens support sanctions legislation, such as H.R. 21, introduced by Rep. Ron Dellums of California and S. 507, introduced by Sen. Paul Simon. These bills would prohibit U.S. citizens and companies from owning investments in or exporting goods to South Africa. Multinational oil companies doing business in South Africa would be prohibited from bidding on U.S. coal, gas and oil leases. The bills would ban loans and extensions of credit, and all imports from South Africa — except strategic materials — would be prohibited.

"The timetable is short," Boesak said. "Everything must happen as soon as possible. If the 1985 sanctions measures had been put into place, so much suffering could have been avoided, the whole situation could have been changed. We are already racing against the clock."

But as grim as the political situation is in South Africa, these leaders felt that the anti-apartheid movement was spiritually and morally victorious. Their message to those who attended the worship service at National Cathedral was, "We have already won."

"So as I look over you tonight," said Boesak, "I don't want to see depressed faces; don't forget how to smile." Each of the three preached a homily after a welcome by John T. Walker, Bishop of Washington.

"We are not saying to White people, 'give us our freedom,'" said Tutu. "We are saying, 'Hey, we are being nice to you — join the winning side!'"

Naude, an Afrikaner who rejected his upbringing and at much personal cost joined the anti-apartheid movement, said in his homily, "In the deepest sense, the real conflict is not racial, not a political struggle: it is the testing of the integrity of the church and Christian people to understand the will of God, a test of faith with millions suffering injustice."

Naude went on to warn the South African government that "yours is a morally illegitimate rule, violating the deepest truth of the Gospel. In the long run you are creating a situation impossible for yourself. Eventually you will suffer more."

"Apartheid is a cancer," said Naude. "It destroys and corrodes everything."

"How can we have hope for those who detain children, when we have a minster of law and order who says, 'We have these children in detention because they are naughty but no one will testify in court against them'?" asked Tutu.

"Black Reformed churches are called to perform witness for the white Reformed churches, to say to them, 'You are betraying what Jesus Christ is expecting of us. The integrity of the Gospel is the liberation of millions. If you are not willing to bow in obedience before the word of Christ, the moment will come when outwardly you will be the church, but your inner life will be lost,'" said Naude.

"Will we ever see the end?" said Boesak. "We have been fighting for so long, we sometimes feel that there is no tomorrow."

"We will tell the people who like to play God in our lives, 'Those who are with us are more than those who are against us.' I will sleep well tonight. Those who can't sleep must read their Bible," said Boesak.

"Thank you for your part in our struggle," said Tutu. "It's a somber situation. But even the State of Emergency is a sign of hope — it says that the government can't control South Africa without draconian powers."

Boesak, Tutu and Naude all related stories that began, "When I was at a funeral . . ." Finally Tutu said apologetically, "Sorry about all these funerals."

But Tutu was even able to draw something positive from the images of violent death and loss. He talked about the funeral of David Webster, a white South African anti-aparthied activist killed by unknown gunmen. Tutu noted that 90% of the people at the funeral were black, and said, "That's the kind of South Africa we're struggling for — black and white together."

In his closing remarks, Tutu turned to Naude and said, "Beyers, you are our greatest sign of hope. With your pedigree, and with what God has done with you, how can we give up on anybody?"

And as Tutu finished, he leaned forward in the pulpit and cried, "Victory is ours!"

In the African tradition, music echoed and shaped the emotions of the service. Preceding Tutu's homily, the congregation stood and sang "We Shall Overcome." As they sang, one by one congregation members took their neighbor's hand and moved in unison to the music.

Before the closing hymn, a group of young expatriate South Africans quietly gathered in the front of the cathedral. They stood, fists thrust upward in the salute of the African National Congress and sang the national anthem of Black South Africa, "Nkosi Sikeleli Afrika" — God Bless Africa.

Susan E. Pierce

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Worship resources from South Africa

Torch in the Night

The accompanying excerpts are from *Torch in the Night: Worship Resources from South Africa*, by Anne Hope, ($5.95) copyright 1988 by Friendship Press.

This collection of poems, stories and illustrations by South African writers and artists is organized around a series of themes, and is intended for use by groups. As Hope says in the introduction, "If we believe that God is revealed not only in the written Scriptures but also in the experience of the human heart and in the history of the human race, the stories, poems, dramas and works of art of such a moment can be sources of inspiration for us." Suggestions for rituals and readings from scripture are also woven throughout.

Hope herself was born in South Africa and worked with Steve Biko to develop a literacy training program. Deprived of her citizenship by the South African government in 1973, she now works for the Washington, D.C.-based Center for Concern, a team involved in peace and justice issues. Excerpts used by permission of Friendship Press, 475 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y.

Sharp end of the knife

Let's forget for a minute that we are women. Let's say we are the mothers. We are mothers — see what is taking place in this country. A mother will hold the knife on the sharp end. Today we see our people being sent to jail every day — there's detentions, the courts are crowded every day, people in exile, people rotting in jails.

Now we, as mothers, what must we say? We say to you — we are sick and tired of what is happening. We see our children being sent to jail for nothing. We see people being sent to the borders — they are going to kill people. As mothers we endorse what others have been saying. We've got people in exile — we tell the government we want those leaders to come home. We have got people who are rotting in jails — we say we want those people to come home.

— Ma Frances Baard
from *Vukani Makhosikazi*
(Rise up, Women)

The child who was shot dead

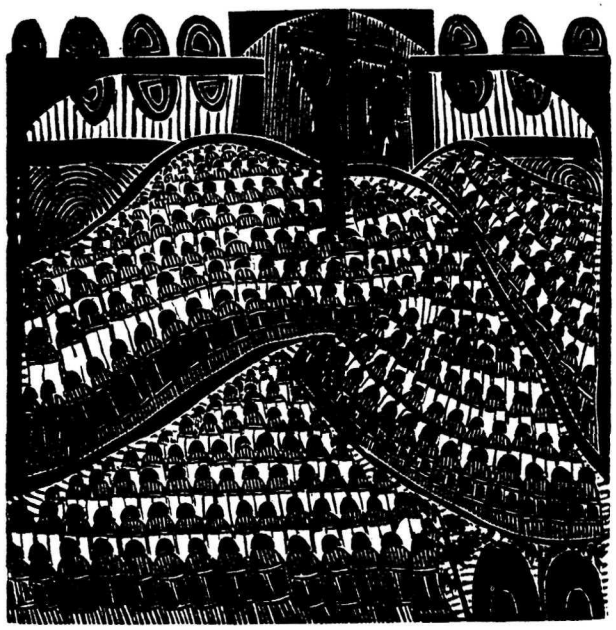
The child is not dead
The child lifts his fist against his mother
who shouts Afrika! shouts the breath
of freedom and the veld
in the locations of the cordoned heart

The child lifts his fist against his father
in the march of the generations
who shout Afrika! shout the breath
of righteousness and blood
in the streets of his embattled pride

The child is not dead
not at Langa nor at Nyanga
not at Orlando nor at Sharpeville
not at the police station at Phillippi
where he lies with a bullet through his brain

The child is the dark shadow of the soldiers
on guard with rifles, saracens and batons
the child is present at all assemblies and law-givings
the child peers through the windows of houses
and into the hearts of mothers
this child who just wanted to play in the sun in Nyanga
is everywhere
the child grown to a man treks through all of Africa
the child grown to a giant journeys through the whole world
Without a pass.

— Ingrid Jonker
from *South Africa, The Cordoned Heart*



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Steve Biko challenges church priorities

The church and its operation in modern-day South Africa has to be looked at in terms of the way it was introduced in this country. Even at this late stage, one notes the appalling irrelevance of the interpretation given to the Scriptures. In a country teeming with injustice and fanatically committed to the practice of oppression, intolerance and blatant cruelty because of racial bigotry; in a country where all black people are made to feel the unwanted stepchildren of a God whose presence they cannot feel; in a country where father and son, mother and daughter alike develop daily into neurotics through sheer inability to relate the present to the future because of a completely engulfing sense of destitution, the church further adds to their insecurity by its inward-directed definition of the concept of sin and its encouragement of the *mea culpa* attitude

Stern-faced ministers stand on pulpits every Sunday to heap loads of blame on black people in townships for their thieving, house-breaking, stabbing, murdering, adultery, etc. No one ever attempts to relate all these vices to poverty, unemployment, overcrowding, lack of schooling and migratory labor. No one wants to completely condone abhorrent behavior, but it frequently is necessary for us to analyze situations a little bit deeper than the surface suggests.

Because the white missionary described black people as thieves, lazy, sex-hungry, etc., the churches, through our ministers, see all these vices mentioned above not as manifestations of the cruelty and injustice which we were subjected to by the white man, but as inevitable proof that, after all, the white man was right when he described us as savages. Thus if Christianity in its introduction was corrupted by the inclusion of aspects which made it the ideal religion for the colonization of people, nowadays, in its interpretation, it is the ideal religion for the maintenance of the subjugation of the same people.

— Steve Biko
from *I Write What I Like*

Twenty thousand strong we marched . . .

I shall never forget what I saw on 9 August 1956 — thousands of women standing in silence for 30 minutes, arms raised high in the clenched fist of the [African National] Congress salute.

Twenty thousand women of all races from all parts of South Africa were massed together in the huge stone amphitheater of the Union Buildings in Pretoria, the administrative seat of the government, high on a hill. The brilliant colors of African headscarves, the brightness of Indian saris, and the emerald green of the blouses worn by Congress women merged together in an unstructured design, woven together by the very darkness of those thousands of faces.

Lilian Ngoyi, Rahima Moosa, Sophie Williams and I, Helen Joseph, together with four women from more distant areas, had led the women up to the topmost terrace and into the amphitheater. I turned my head once as we came marching up. I could see nothing but women following us, thousands of women marching, carrying letters of defiant protest against unjust laws, against the hated pass system, against passes for African women.

We represent and we speak on behalf of thousands of women who could not be with us. But all over this country at this moment women are watching and thinking of us. Their hearts are with us.

We are women from every part of South Africa. We are women of every race; we come from the cities and towns, from the reserves and the villages. We come as women united in our purpose to save the African women from the degradation of carrying passes.

Raids, arrests, loss of pay, long hours at the pass office, weeks in the cells awaiting trial, forced farm labor — this is what the pass laws have brought to African men . . . punishment and misery, not for a crime, but for the absence of a pass. We African women know

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too well the effect of this law on our homes, upon our children. We who are not African women know how our sisters suffer . . .

We shall not rest until all pass laws and all forms of permits restricting our freedom have been abolished.

We shall not rest until we have won for our children their fundamental rights to freedom, justice and security.

We took these letters of protest into the Union Buildings, to the offices of the prime minister, Johannes Stijdom. He was not there. We flooded his office with them and returned to the thousands of women waiting for us, packed so tightly together, overflowing the amphitheater. We stood on the little stone rostrum, looking down on the women again, and Lilian called on them to stand in silent protest for 30 minutes. As she raised her right arm in the Congress salute, 20,000 arms went up and stayed up for those endless minutes.

We knew that all over South Africa in other cities and towns women were gathered in protest. We were not just 20,000 women; we were many thousands more.

The clock struck three, then a quarter past; it was the only sound. I looked at those many faces until they became only one face, the face of the suffering black people of South Africa. I know that there were tears in my eyes and I think that there were many who wept with me. At the end of that half hour Lilian began to sing, softly at first, "Nkosi Sikilele Afrika" (Lord, give strength to Africa). For blacks it has become the national anthem, and the voices rose, joining Lilian, ever louder and stronger. Then I heard the new song, composed especially for the protest. "You have struck a rock; you have tampered with the women; you shall be destroyed." It was meant for the prime minister, the grim-faced apostle of apartheid and white domination, implacable enemy of the struggle of the black people for freedom and justice.

The protest over, the women went away, down the terrace steps, with the same dignity and discipline with which they had come but now singing. The lovely gardens stood empty again. Yet not really empty for I think the indomitable spirit remained. Perhaps it is still there, unseen, unheard, unfelt, for the women that day had made the Union Buildings their own.

— Helen Joseph
from *Side by Side*

Silent racism and the KKK

by Scott Arnold

I don't know what possessed me to read the advertisement for the Trinity Conference in New York City because I can't usually attend. But I became intrigued at the slate of speakers scheduled for the recent three-day event. It was the appearance of South Africa's Archbishop Desmond Tutu which prompted me to attend. I have been most impressed with Tutu's faithful and daring stand against his country's racist government. The fortitude he has demonstrated over the years while fighting against apartheid has been particularly impressive to me as a Christian working in the South.

While packing for the trip, I wondered if I would have an opportunity to talk to this man who had the anger of the prophet Amos and the compassion of Jeremiah. What would I say to him? How could I, a middle-class, Tennessee WASP dare address a Nobel Peace Prize recipient? How could I speak to this victim of white oppression and prophet of God?

As it happened, I did have a brief encounter with him. It came in the form of a simple request. "Your Grace," I said, "I am from a small town in the South. It is the birthplace of a racist group known as the Klu Klux Klan. Would you mind my having a photo taken with you for our local press? I think it would be a wonderful symbol."

That was all I needed to say. Tutu smiled and simply said, "I think so too." I took the photo home for the local newspaper and had a copy made for myself. It hangs in my tiny church office in Pulaski, Tenn., as a reminder to all who enter that racism is not tolerated here. Sadly, the office sometimes seems to be a tiny island in a sea of anti-black sentiment. Outside, racism is not just tolerated, it is celebrated. Less than two blocks away from the church stands another building. On its walls are inscribed the words:

"Klu Klux Klan"
Organized in this the Law Office
of Judge Thomas M. Jones
December 24, 1865

Each year hundreds of Klan members, skinheads, and neo-Nazis march around the town square in protest on Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday, bowing in reverence before the brick and stone walls behind which the founders of the KKK first formulated their plans. All that remains of the original tenants is a stone

The Rev. Scott A. Arnold is rector of Church of the Messiah, Pulaski, Tenn.

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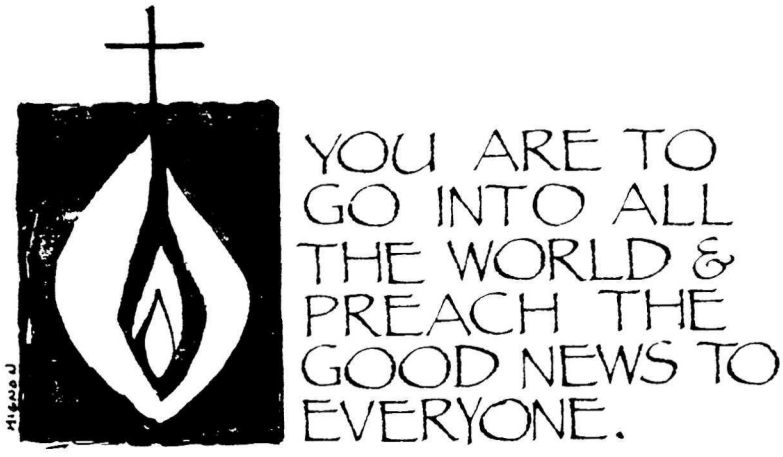

engraved with the names of the Klan's founders. But the legacy of prejudice lives on powerfully here, as it continues to do throughout my native South, tainting souls and even piercing the walls of the church.

An aerial view of Pulaski would show five churches, representing five Protestant denominations surrounding what residents simply call "the Klan Building." One could draw an imaginary wheel around the Klan Building with spokes passing through each of the five churches, including my own. The Klan Building is the hub of the imaginary wheel. The influence of the Klan's racial hatred and white supremacy seems to infect the very marrow of our faith here in the South.

Segregated churches are not the norm in Pulaski; they are the rule, as is the case throughout much of the South. Black Church and White Church are two different entities which seldom, if ever, come together. The county's Ministerial Association, of which I am a member, has yet to see one black congregation represented. Black and white Christians seldom worship together. Even our so-called "Community Services," which make a less than impressive attempt towards ecumenism, rarely include any black believers. The absence of the black community is a practice in keeping with the overwhelming majority of business and social functions here. And yet several of our elected officials maintain that Pulaski is not a racist town.

It is true that the racism of the lynch mobs of just a few years ago has all but disappeared, but the silent racism which has replaced it is just as murderous to the spirit. One of my fellow pastors from another denomination recently gave a scathing sermon condemning racial prejudice and white oppression. People did not get up and walk out of the service as they might have 20 years ago. Bombs were not placed in his car. His family was not beaten. Instead, a few church members stood outside and reassured others that, "It is not his fault. That's just what they are teaching these days in the liberal seminaries." The congregation passed the sermon off as a result of the pastor's ignorance and naivete.

The Southern White Church, which claims to respond to the needs of its neighbors, has apparently not learned who its neighbors are. Southern neighborhoods, businesses and churches continue to remain largely segregated and provide a safe haven where whites can honestly claim to be unaware of the needs of their black neighbors. Discrimination, though mostly hidden now, continues as before. Blacks still have to work twice as hard to get half of what is lavished on whites — especially in terms of respect and recognition. It has been my experience that white Christians manage largely to avoid their black brothers and sisters, and thus fail to see the dilemma which Southern blacks face every day. Clearly the church in the South needs to build strong, highly visible bridges between blacks and whites.

The quiet racism which permeates our Southern existence must not be left unchallenged. Black and white Christians must refuse to accept racism, public or private. Bold, challenging statements must be preached from our pulpits. Clergy and laity need to respond faithfully to Christ's call to exercise our ministry among the marginalized and oppressed of society. We must once and for all realize the priority of the needs of all of our neighbors over our own needs.

The Southern White Church needs to come to the understanding that the neighbor, as Latin American liberation theologian Gustavo Gutierrez has said, "is not he (sic) whom I find in my path, but rather he in whose path I place myself, he whom I approach and actively seek." In order to do this, the White Church should confess not only its sinful support of white supremacy from ages past, but also its refusal to stand up in the face of today's quiet yet powerful racial prejudice.

The church leaders of today's South need to join together, as a few did during the early Civil Rights marches, and denounce the works of the demonic in our midst. "We Shall Overcome" needs once again to ring throughout the South. Public indifference is not a viable substitute for changed hearts. The chains of racial oppression are still as strong as ever. They have perhaps been polished and decorated, but they still hold all of us — both black and white — in bondage. The challenge to the church today is the same as it was 20 years ago — to break those chains and to cast away forever those forces of evil which work to separate us one from another. TW

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The 15th anniversary of the Philadelphia 11:

Still prophets without honor

by Julie A. Wortman

When the 15th anniversary of her ordination to the priesthood rolls around this year, Alison Cheek will be in Australia supporting the women's ordination movement there. Why? "Because my ordination is a sign of hope for these women," she says. Ironically, most Episcopal women in this country would be hard pressed to tell you why that might be true.

Cheek's ordination to the priesthood signals hope to Anglicans in Australia who favor women's ordination because Alison was ordained a priest in the Episcopal Church when that institution was still denying priesthood to women here. For Alison and the 10 other women ordained with her at the Church of the Advocate in Philadelphia on July 29, 1974 — Carter Heyward, Suzanne Hiatt, Emily Hewitt, Merrill Bittner, Alla Bozarth-Campbell, Katrina Swanson, Betty Bone Schiess, Marie Moorefield, Nancy Wittig, and the late Jeannette Piccard — pursuing ordination was both an act of defiance and an act of faith. They challenged the church to make "the priesthood of all believers" a concrete reality. No longer simply asking that the canons be changed, in holding these services they were changing the church.

Being one of the "first" women ordained priest in this country, Nancy Wittig reflects, was like "touching the Ark and then seeing if you can survive." Those who risked it in Philadelphia seem marked by it still. It involved stepping out of their lives and, as Wittig puts it, "being prophet."

Searching for the reason she agreed to participate in the service that day 15 years ago, Wittig says today, "The church *had* to change. It had proclaimed the Gospel to me, and I had been transformed by that. But I knew the church could not continue to proclaim the Gospel and put down half the human race."

At the time, proponents of women's ordination contended that there was nothing in the canons prohibiting women from becoming priests. Cheek remembers that several lawyers supported their argument — the late Bill Stringfellow prominently among them. "The canons said any 'person' who meets the other requirements for ordination can be ordained — the 'he' language didn't need to be construed to mean men."

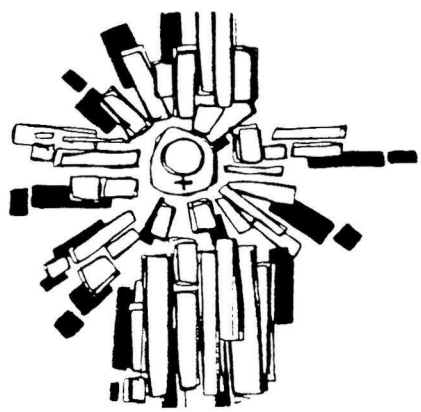
Katrina Swanson was one of the Philadelphia 11 who had wanted to persuade the church to secure women's access to the priesthood without breaking any of the rules. "When the Episcopal Women's Caucus was founded in 1971, I argued in favor of going after approval of women's ordination by working within the system. But the divided vote (at the 1973 General Convention) in Louisville radicalized me."

Feeling they no longer had any choice, the women went ahead with ordination despite institutional resistance. Barbara Harris — at that time a business executive and congregation member at the Advocate — carried the cross that led them into the church. Retired Bishops Edward Welles and Daniel Corrigan, and resigned Bishop Robert DeWitt laid hands on them. (Bishop Antonio Ramos, the only active bishop at the time, was present but did not ordain.) Supporters wished them well. When they emerged from the church afterwards, the Episcopal Church had entered a new era.

At a special meeting held soon after the Philadelphia service, the House of Bishops passed a resolution saying that "the necessary conditions for valid ordination to the priesthood in the Episcopal Church were not fulfilled on the occasion in question." The bishops then set about inventing ways to repair the disgrace — they couldn't deny that a baby had been born, but they resisted the idea that it had been conceived by the Holy Spirit.

In September, 1975, four more women — Eleanor McGee, Alison Palmer, Diane Tickell, and Betty Rosenberg — were ordained priests in Washington, D.C., by resigned Bishop of Rochester George Barrett. Those favoring women's ordination became more, not less, convinced that God was acting in the church to change it. The resolution approving women's ordination to the priesthood and the episcopate was finally passed by the 1976 General Convention — it would be canonically legal to begin ordaining women as priests in 1977.

The future status of the first 15 women priests was then questioned. Now that we know that the Episcopal Church in-



Julie Wortman is on the staff of the Communications Office at the Episcopal Church Center in New York.

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tends to allow women to be priests and bishops, the bishops said after the historic vote, "a completion of the ritual acts performed in Philadelphia/Washington becomes possible." "Completing" the pre–1977 ordinations, they decided, should involve a public event or a service of "conditional ordination" that would somehow publically unite the Philadelphia/Washington groups with General Convention's decision to approve women's ordination to the presbyterate.

But no one was re-ordained, and no additional laying on of hands occurred. The objective, according to the bishops, was reconciliation. Some called it a way to "regularize the women."

Bozarth and Piccard submitted themselves to "regularization" for the sake of their supporters. For Bozarth it was "a personal humiliation." Bishop Philip McNairy asked them to repeat their oath of conformity. "That was the third time I had been asked to take that oath," she recalled, "so I crossed my fingers — only bishops are asked to take the oath three times!"

Church publications and statements still play down the pre-1977 ordinations, suggesting that these women cannot really be counted as the first to be ordained priests in this part of the Anglican Communion, despite the fact that none of the women in question was re-ordained, or thinks of herself as an "ordained-again" priest.

To a large extent the church's attittude has effectively rendered the Philadelphia and Washington ordinands invisible. When asked when women first began to be ordained priests in the Episcopal Church, most Episcopalians tend to respond with a puzzled look, and then with a tentative guess — 1976? 1977? As for the larger Anglican Communion, Betty Bone Schiess, one of the Philadelphia ordinands who was at Lambeth last summer, reported to Swanson that none of the discussions about women's ordination that took place there included mention of the 1974 or 1975 services in this country.

It is difficult not to become bitter when the system refuses to change, Wittig and some of the others have acknowledged. They point especially to the women today who resist what it means to be in the church and be a woman. According to Wittig, "as a woman you are both a symbol of what is whole and of what is broken — you can't avoid being an outward and visible symbol of what is put down in the world, and you can't avoid the call to model a healthier way of ministry."

Bozarth agrees, saying that although the aftermath of Philadelphia was devastating, "it made me more honest with myself about who I am. And I was forced to recognize that my ministry includes myself — includes caring for myself as a child of God. Male priests tend not to be good at acknowledging that."

What concerns Swanson is that the church is increasingly stressing a single, unified identity — at the expense of concern for individuals. "One thing I learned to appreciate in those early years following Philadelphia," she says, "was the wonderful support and affirmation there can be in consciously being aware of my sisterhood with all women. We might not agree with what we each think or say, but there is room for that kind of diversity in the church."

Perhaps Barbara Harris' recent consecration as Suffragan Bishop of Massachusetts was the only truly appropriate service of completion for those first 15 women. "Barbara Harris' election was *miraculous"* says Bozarth with enthusiasm. "That event has come closer than anything else to recognizing the significance of the Philadelphia ordinations--in some way it brings us back to the heart of the church."

But even though Harris' election and consecration occurred within the framework of the canons, the church's ambivalence towards ordained women continues to flourish. There is ample evidence of this in the debates at General Convention over the Episcopal Visitors resolution last July, the women's presence at Lambeth in August, the controversy surrounding Harris' qualifications during the ratification process which followed her election, and the tensions surrounding the recent conservative synod in Fort Worth. Celebrating the 15th anniversary of the Philadelphia ordinations helps us remember that changing the church requires courage and risk. Our faith now, as it was then, is that if the change we work for is of God, we can touch the Ark and survive. TW

Fundraising appeal short of goal

Our once-a-year fundraising appeal is creeping towards its goal, but we have only heard from some 250 donors as of this writing. Perhaps our letter was tossed along with the junk mail. We hope not, but if that was the case — HELP!

If you're headed for vacation (or have just returned) and were intending to contribute to keep THE WITNESS presses rolling next year, we need to hear from you.

It may interest our readers to know that the Reagan years have taken a toll on family budgets so that at our last testing, some 13% of our subscribers have renewed by checking the $8 limited income box rather than pay the regular $20 subscription. We want to continue servicing those subscribers, but we must make up the difference in our own budget through fundraising, and we face rising costs of publishing as well.

We only make this appeal once a year (no penalties, however, for those who want to contribute twice!) So if you still have that return envelope floating around, do speed it off to us. If it got tossed, feel free to enclosed a gift with your next renewal notice, or other correspondence coming our way.

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WITNESS takes seven awards

THE WITNESS magazine scored five first places and two honorable mentions this year in two prestigious press competitions — the Episcopal Communicators' Polly Bond awards and the Associated Church Press (ACP) competition. Winners were announced recently at the annual conventions of each group, in Williamsburg and Toronto, respectively.

In Polly Bond competition, THE WITNESS took a first in the coveted *General Excellence* category. Judges said: "This is an excellent publication. The writing is insightful and interesting and does justice to the fine selection of editorial content. The clean, simple lines of layout draw the reader into the story but never compete for the reader's attention. THE WITNESS is deserving of an Award of Excellence." Three other firsts were awarded as follows: For Assistant Editor Susan Pierce's *series of articles* covering the Executive Council in Central America, in the April and May 1988 issues; for Victor Aleman's *series of photos* in "UFW fights harvest of poison" in the July-August issue; and for Gordon Dalbey's *humor* in "A problem of inclusive language" in July-August.

The Communicators also presented honorable mentions to Barbara C. Harris, now Suffragan Bishop of Massachusetts, for her *column*, A Luta Continua, and to Sister Helen David for her *graphic*, "South African crucifixion," in the May issue.

The ACP awarded a first place for *best feature* to a publication with circulation less than 10,000 to Editor Mary Lou Suhor's "Star Spangled Suffering," which ran in April 1988. Judges said: "The author weaves her feature article like a short story, keeping the reader full of suspense as her attempt at skydiving ends with a broken back. But, like any good writer, she refuses to let the reader dwell on pity. Instead, she focuses her story not on herself but on her ill roommate. Humor mixes with suspense, and the reader feels the satisfaction of having been drawn into a well-written story."

This year's awards bring the total of firsts captured by THE WITNESS over the past five years to 19 — 10 from the Associated Church Press and nine from Episcopal Communicators, plus 12 honorable mentions — 4 from the former and 8 from the latter.

The Episcopal Communicators list 141 members and Polly Bond competition is now in its 10th 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. Another "first" at the Communicators conference this year was the presentation of the Janette S. Pierce Memorial Award to Salome Breck, for outstanding performance in the field of journalism. The award is named after the former managing editor of *The Episcopalian,* beloved of and highly regarded by her peers, who died in January 1988.

The Associated Church Press, an ecumenical entity, numbers 173 publications reporting a combined circulation of 11 million.

New subscribers wishing to order back copies of the award-winning entries in the April, May and July-August issues can enclose $3 to WITNESS Awards, P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002.

Letters . . . *Continued from page 3*

been discovered earlier, we believe, were it not for a series of events: First, the President, Robert Robinson, was somewhat incapacitated for seven weeks due to back surgery. Second, the Executive Vice President, the Rev. Craig W. Casey, who monitored investments on behalf of the Social and Fidiciary Responsibility Committee, became terminally ill and died. Third, an assistant to Father Casey resigned shortly after his death. It was a difficult time of transition.

Your editorial alleges that the Pension Fund's publication, *Perspective*, of April 28, 1986, contained the following statement: "Not even for the worthiest of causes can we be diverted from our fiduciary responsibility."

Instead we found in the issue mentioned:

> "The Trustees have voted and confirm the policy of not investing pension funds for any purposes, no matter how worthy, that might reasonably be expected to reduce present or future pension for the clergy and their families."

The Editorial stated that "social activists" feared that there would be a return to "the time when the CPF operated under the principle that fiduciary responsibility overrode social responsibility in investing." At the risk of awakening that fear, however, we wish to make it clear that the Trustees have not abdicated their basic legal and moral responsibilities to present and future beneficiaries of the Fund. If we had, we might be writing this letter from jail.

Perhaps the unwanted acquisition of Royal Dutch/Shell provides an illustration of the ambiguities involved in exercising our trusteeship. When officers of the Fund learned of our ownership of Royal Dutch, Bishop Stewart spoke with Timothy H. Smith, Executive Director of the Interfaith Center of Corporate Responsibility. Smith, who attends most of the meetings of our Committee, suggested that the Fund might wish to retain the shares instead of selling them immediately. A coalition of shareholders in Royal Dutch was being assembled under the leadership of the Comptroller of the City of New York and the Ministers and Missionaries Benefit Board of the American Baptist Churches. The coalition was seeking shareholders to support its call for a special meeting at which the company's continuing sales to South Africa could be confronted and put to a vote.

As members of the Committee on Social and Fiduciary Responsibility, we were polled by telephone and voted to support the proposal to retain ownership of Royal Dutch until it could be determined whether the goal could be achieved but not longer than 60 days in any case. We learned a few days ago that the coalition had failed to achieve its objective, and we recommended, therefore, the shares should be sold.

The Rev. Canon Yung Hsuan Chou
The Rev. Donald E. Bitsberger
Trustees, Church Pension Fund

(Response to paragraph 2: Just as we surmised—"the dog ate the homework." Paragraph 3: Investment managers not knowing that Royal Dutch was Shell's parent company? Ya gotta be kidding, CPF. Paragraph 5: If summary of quotation was paraphrased, it sounds the same, substantively, to us. Paragraph 6: Should CPF trustees ever go to jail for social responsibility in investing we will be the first to visit them. Finally, we rejoice with the trustees that the issue is resolved. — Ed.)

Watching war on TV

I saw the story, the streaked
pain of Leningrad
beautiful city, reduced
to blocks of horror
horror endless
horror that met the sky
I saw the story not on one
of those ice-covered streets
next to a man in frozen boots
with shell-shocked hands
I watched it on TV
in my own living room
with a drink on the table
it's the way to watch war.

Lucy Scheid Germany

Savings & Loan scam

The cost of the Savings & Loan bailout is now estimated at $126.2 billion and still climbing. Greed, corruption and mismanagement are blamed for 70 to 80% of the failures, but under the Reagan-Bush administration, the Justice Department delayed the investigation of white collar crimes until the FBI now has a backlog of over 3,000 bank fraud cases. Most are years old and will never come to court.

Even when a conviction is obtained, the penalties are absurdly light: one New York banker, convicted of embezzling $6 million, was sentenced to 42 months probation and fined $100,000. That looks to me like a profit of $5.9 million.

Why not finance the bailout by recovering the stolen S&L assets? We confiscate the property of drug dealers – cars, houses, boats, jewelry, cash, etc. To allow stolen wealth to remain in the hands of white collar crooks while the taxpayer makes up the losses is the same as agreeing to a massive redistribution of wealth into the hands of the rich. The S&L bailout is the biggest heist in history.

Kathlyn McCluskey
St. Simons Island, Ga.

(THE WITNESS is preparing a major article on the Savings and Loan bailout, to appear in the Fall. — Ed.)

Feeling groovy

THE WITNESS should feel complimented. Our two sons (over 40) read and comment on their copies of THE WITNESS. They are not very churchy.

Louis Livingston
Portland, Ore.

Unitarian Fan

I am a member of a Unitarian Universalist Fellowship but I am very much in accord with the causes you advance in THE WITNESS. Even though I do not believe in the kind of religion you do, I particularly admire your efforts on behalf of women in your church. I believe the world will be a better place when women become equal partners in it.

Irving Traugot
White Plains, N.Y.

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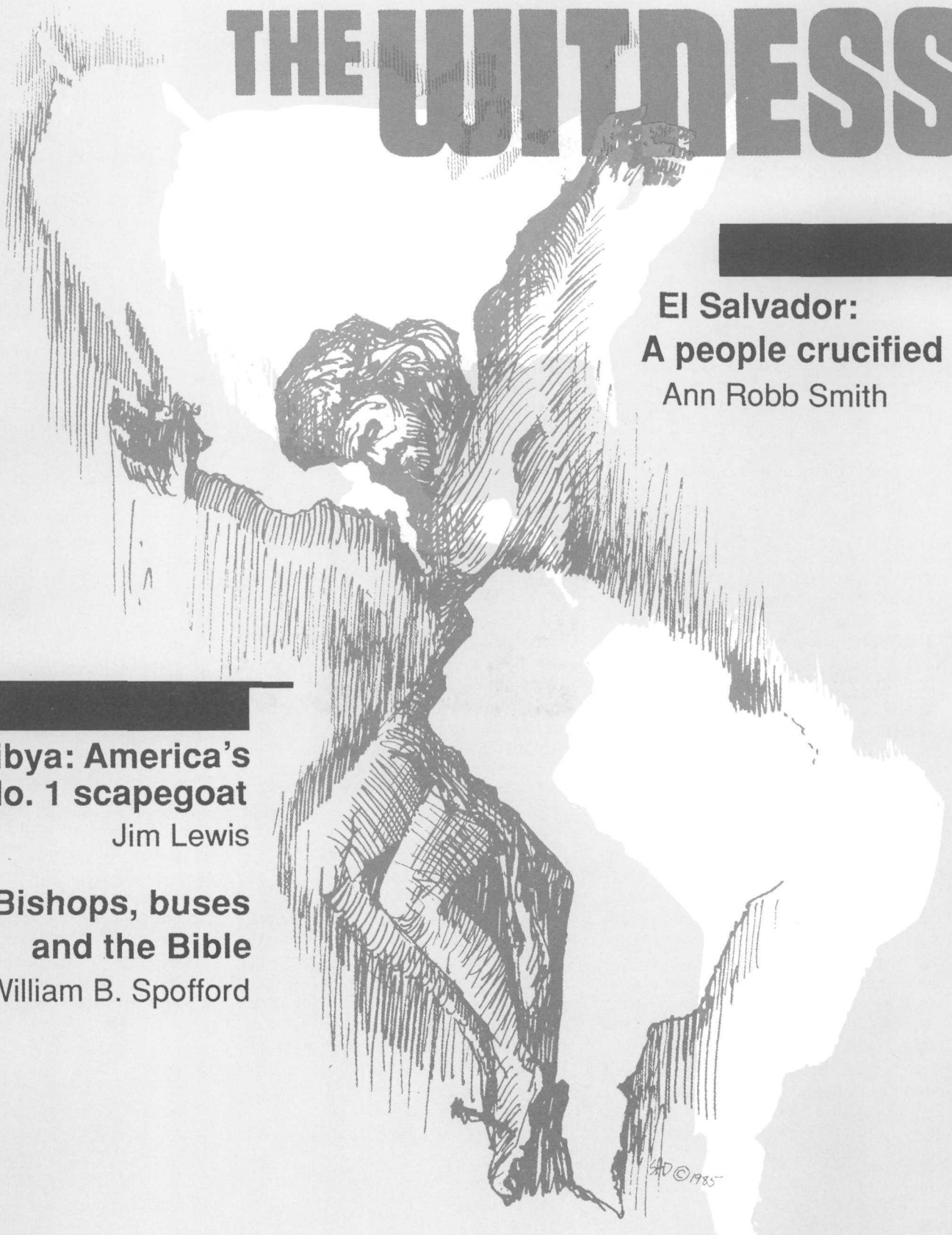
THE WITNESS



El Salvador: A people crucified

Ann Robb Smith

Libya: America's No. 1 scapegoat

Jim Lewis

Bishops, buses and the Bible

William B. Spofford

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Letters

In 'Catch 22' position

The Beverly Harrison interview in the June issue is the most sensible I have read thus far in addressing the issues of ethical responsibility, reproductive choice and abortion. Abortion is not, has never been an isolated, single issue.

So often when I have exposed myself as pro-choice I have been labeled anti-life/pro-abortion. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Pro-choice goes so much further than the abortion issue, as Harrison has pointed out. The right to choose also includes the right to choose *not* to have an abortion. It includes the right to choose *not* to be sexually active — for both men and women. It includes the right to choose not to have children at all.

The female in our culture is in a "Catch 22" position from birth. Even as a small child she is encouraged by our culture to be cute, coy, flirtatious and seductive toward males. When this gets her into a compromising position with a man later in life she is the one who is expected to put a halt to possible sexual activity. Then she may be called every manner of obscene name for being "fickle." Sometimes this ends in rape or at the very least unwanted sexual activity. She is taught to defer to the male so when she does not, she feels, or is made to feel, guilty, which can lead to sexual activity which she does not want or feels is inappropriate.

It is time that we teach our male children (and adults) that they have just as much responsibility for avoiding sexual activity which may result in pregnancy as do females. No woman (with one possible exception) ever got pregnant without the presence of male sperm, but the woman is usually the one who takes the abuse, and if abortion is not the choice she makes, she is the one whose life will most probably be affected negatively.

Judith P. Yeakel
Langley, Wash.

Educate the middle

I would like to say that your June issue was excellent, balanced and sound, dealing with abortion from a number of important perspectives. Also there was an awareness of the complexity of the issue.

So many of the people on both sides are talking past each other. We can't reach the fanatical Right-to-Lifers, but can, I think, convince many perplexed people in the middle — particularly liberal Roman Catholics — who have positive attitudes about sexuality and contraception but are troubled by questions of when a human person actually appears in the reproductive process. Is passage through the birth canal that point or does it occur before — or even after in the case of some gravely deformed infants doomed to half lives of dehumanized existence.

The only fresh comment I have heard recently was made by a biologist who said that had those in his profession done an adequate educational job in recent years, few people would confuse an early fetus with a human person.

Now sadly, we must devote time, money and energy to the cause — resources one wishes could be put to other purposes and needs. With every good wish and gratitude for your good work.

The Rt. Rev. George W. Barrett
Santa Barbara, Cal.

Uniformly excellent

I found your issue on reproductive freedom uniformly excellent. I write about Elizabeth Maxwell's short piece in particular. Although describing one young woman's decision, she at the same time makes one of the most powerful arguments for ordaining women. I seldom see this mentioned, yet it is irrefutable. The high school senior came to see Maxwell because "I saw a woman's name on the sign outside."

This is not an isolated experience. We women priests hear it often. Some people will only seek the pastoral care they need from a woman, just as some will seek it only from a man. Would those who oppose ordaining women deny this care to those seeking guidance and spiritual advice and comfort?

How ironic that this example of a uniquely women's ministry should appear in an issue containing letters attacking the elevation of Barbara Harris to the episcopate.

The Rev. Bea Blair
New York, N.Y.

RCAR address sought

Thank you for the excellent issue on abortion. Many of your authors were from the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights (RCAR). I could find no address for this group. Could you please print it?

Leonora Holder
Long Beach, Cal.

(RCAR, composed of 30 national Protestant, Jewish and other faith groups which have joined together to preserve the legal option of abortion, can be reached at 100 Maryland Ave. NE, Suite 307, Washington, D.C. 20002. Tel. 202-543-7032 — Ed.)

Abortion capital crime

There are so many statements in the June issue that I don't agree with that it's hard to know where to begin. I expect many of the people who support abortion are against capital punishment, which seems highly ironic. Capital punishment is a good phrase for what happens to the hapless person in fetal form who makes the mistake of being unwanted. How in heaven's name people who profess to love God and be followers of Jesus can support this form of capital punishment is incomprehensible. Our God is a God of mercy. Where is the mercy in the June WITNESS?

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It isn't an either/or question — either a miserable mother or the death of a child yet to be born. There are many other possibilities. For the love of our Savior, think!

Virginia M. Jones, MSSW
Oak Ridge, Tenn.

Cancel sub

The June WITNESS nauseates and scandalizes my religious sensitivities. I could hardly believe that the Episcopal Church would be for abortion — murder of a living "fetus" — under the guise of "procreative freedom." Please remove my name from your subscription list immediately. May God forgive all of you.

Margaret R. Fox
Washington, D.C.

Female PB next?

Your issue on procreative freedom took a sensitive issue and handled it well. Bravo!

As a feminist male, I am overjoyed at the gains made by women so far and I hope to see even more. How about a female Presiding Bishop someday?

Keep up your co-creative work with God. Remember that those chastised in God's name will be comforted by our loving Creator.

Patrick Schwing
Cincinnati, Ohio

Male bashing offensive

I take offense at the male-bashing that I sometimes find in THE WITNESS, especially since I generally share your progressive editorial views. Let the following words, from the editor herself, suffice. In the interview with Beverly Harrison, the following question is asked: "Politically, don't men take it for granted that they can exercise their own power in society over life and death issues — conduct wars, build nuclear missiles, engage in toxic experiments which endanger fetal life?"

This observation is not limited to "men." Margaret Thatcher led the British to war with Argentina and opposed the recent, more progressive movement in NATO for disarmament led by Helmut Kohl. Also, all men do not fit this bill. I have a hard time seeing how this statement about "men" fits someone like Gandhi or Martin Luther King, Jr., and for that matter, myself.

If you expect individuals to be conscious of the use of inclusive language, as you should, should you not guard against such sexist stereotypes as implied in this question?

The Rev. Raymond F. Person, Jr.
Durham, N.C.

(Perhaps it would have been more objective to phrase the question, "Politically, don't men generally . . . " But the point is that women are still second class citizens — ruled by or locked into patriarchal power structures and institutions — the world over. Until this system of doing things changes, oppression and injustice will continue.—Ed.)

Lauds summer issues

The June issue on procreative freedom is superb. I cannot praise you too much. It's gorgeous and is bound to make an imprint on the church. I wish you all success with it. Hurrah!

And the July-August issue also moved me. The Pittston strike reenacts everything we went through back in the early twenties! Old Bill Spofford would cry with joy to read this issue. Thanks to all who took part in it.

Joseph Fletcher
Charlottesville, Va.

(More letters, pro and con, on our issue about War in the Coal Fields in October; plus an update on the strike. — Ed.)

Not without honor

In looking over the July/August issue I was struck that the WITNESS cover from the 1984 special issue commemorating women's ordination was repeated in Julie Wortman's article and it has a new meaning for me: I found that the symbol for woman at the center reminded me of Barbara Harris as the bishops laid hands on her in Boston, and the rest of the design represented the bishops. Its black-and-whiteness also reminded me of the way in which our differences of color can be united and interwoven in spiritually moving and momentous events such as that consecration.

But I must take exception to the title, "Still prophets without honor." The spirit of the Philadelphia Eleven is often found in groups where women are continuing the struggle. Their ordination may not be put forward in political arenas, but perhaps that is to be expected. In matters of strength and spirit, however, I believe that each of them is honored and not forgotten.

Beatrice Pasternak
St. Louis, Mo.

Dog ate letter, too?

Did the dog eat our letter, too? You wondered "if the dog ate the homework" in your editorial, "Shell shock and other 815 surprises." Then in your comments about our letter responding to that editorial in the July/August issue you enjoyed the correctness of your conjecture. Did the dog eat the following sentences from our last paragraph?

> We sought to use the power of our ownership responsibly; we did so in concert/conjunction with other churches and other pension funds both within and without this country. Perhaps you will enjoy as we did the irony that among the members of the coalition (who owned shares of Royal Dutch) listed by the ICCR was the Diocesan Investment Trust of Newark.

Having held before us in your editorial

Continued on page 20

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THE WITNESS

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Table of Contents

6 **El Salvador: A people crucified**
Ann Robb Smith

10 **Libya: America's No. 1 scapegoat**
Jim Lewis

12 **Reflections from a prisoner's journal**
Sam Day

15 **Bishops, buses and the Bible**
William B. Spofford

18 **An interview with Sarah Weddington**
Jan Nunley

22 **Integrity dialogue hopes thwarted**
Louie Crew

Credits Cover graphic by Sr. Helen David, design by TSI Visuals; graphic p. 7, Sr. Helen David; graphics p. 9, 15, Lee Miller; graphics p. 10, 11, IFOR's *Reconciliation International;* graphic p. 17, Len Munnick, WCC's *Forum.*

Editorial

The making of a stacked Supreme Court

Our guest editorial this month is by Martin Schram, syndicated columnist with United Features. ©1989 United Features Syndicate, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

Sorry to say, the Supreme Court's whittling of abortion rights is the ultimate pro-choice decision.

Pro-choice — as in our choice. We made our choice in 1980, again in 1984, and for good measure we reaffirmed it in 1988. We made it even though we knew we would someday regret it.

We made our choice when we elected and reelected Ronald Reagan, despite his repeated warnings to us that he intended to pack the Supreme Court (in fact, all our courts) with judges who would abort the precedent-setting decisions that affirmed a woman's right to have a safe abortion.

It's perverse but true: We pick our presidents these days even though we may disagree with them on fundamental issues. We chose Reagan, for example, even though we disagreed with him on most issues — the deficit, defense spending, the environment and especially, abortion.

Polls show that we have for years believed women have both the right to have an abortion and the right to make for themselves this very personal decision that affects their bodies. A recent Gallup Poll showed that 58% of Americans did not want the court to roll back its 1973 Roe v. Wade decision, which (as the pollster phrased it for those interviewed) "ruled that states cannot place restrictions on a woman's right to an abortion during the first three months of pregnancy." Just 37% wanted the ruling overturned and 5% were undecided.

Also, in another Gallup survey last October, a whopping 66% of us opposed the Reagan Administration's decision to withhold government funds from clinics providing abortion counseling. Only 26% of us backed the Reagan decision.

Yet, here we are, stuck with a carefully stacked court that has given us just what we don't want. The Rehnquist court has dropped on us a neutron bomb ruling: It left standing the shell of Roe v. Wade but wiped out the vitals that were inside.

Abortions are not illegal — yet. But by upholding a Missouri law that bars public employees and public funds from being used in abortions unless the life of the mother is endangered, and by inviting each state to set its own laws, the Supreme Court has struck hardest at those who can least afford it.

This will be the result: America will become a land of safe abortions for the well-to-do. Poor women will be left to their own devices — and those of quacks. Safe abortions will still be available for women who can afford to pay private physicians and hospitals, or who can afford to shop from state to state until they find one that will permit a safe, publicly assisted abortion.

As our TV weathermen say, there is no relief in sight; in fact, it just figures to get worse. Three of the four dissenting justices in the latest abortion decision are the court's only octogenarians. Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., an Eisenhower appointee who turned out to be a court moderate, is 83; Justice Thurgood Marshall, a Johnson appointee who is the court's only liberal vote, is 81; Justice Harry A. Blackmun, a Nixon appointee who proved to be a court moderate and the author of the original Roe vs. Wade ruling, is 80.

Actuarial tables tell us it's possible President Bush could wind up naming replacements for all three. Also Justice Byron R. White, a Kennedy appointee who has turned out to be one of the court's most conservative justices, is 72 and has talked of retirement. If Bush winds up picking successors to Marshall and White, we will have a Supreme Court comprised of justices chosen entirely by Republican presidents.

The true legacy of the Reagan years is that he bequeathed to us a Supreme Court that will rule our lives and those of our children and grandchildren in ways that are not to our liking. For this, we have only ourselves to blame — that is ourselves and Walter Mondale and Michael Dukakis, who never could focus public perceptions on the danger we faced from an all-conservative court.

Just this past week, the news reminded us of all there was to know about the Reagan presidency and why we wound up with government policies we opposed. There was the sentencing of Ollie North and the scandals of HUD — reminders of all our president never cared to know. There was the Supreme Court's abortion ruling — a reminder of all we never cared to know about what his decisions could to do us.

But then there was that news report about Reagan himself — a reminder of why he'd captured our spirit and our votes in the first place. Ever-heroic, he was riding the range at age 78 when the horse bucked and landed him first on the ground and briefly in a hospital. "My own private rodeo," Reagan reportedly quipped.

What a guy. That's what we like in our presidents.

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El Salvador: A people crucified

by Ann Robb Smith

Her name is Carmen. Her face, framed by waves of black hair, is infinitely sad. She is Rachel, weeping for her children. She is Mary, keeping vigil at the death of her son. She is one of the Comadres of El Salvador — a mother of the disappeared...

We had come to El Salvador to learn and to see for ourselves what was happening there. We were participants in a travel seminar, sponsored by the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Philadelphia in conjunction with the Center for Global Education at Augsburg College, Minneapolis. Our assorted group included seminarians, several pastors, a theology professor, a seminary dean, a community organizer, a church worker and a child psychiatrist. We were a long way from home.

The Comadres came together as an organization at the suggestion of Roman Catholic Archbishop Oscar Romero, who was murdered by death squads, as a way of redeeming their suffering and the loss of their loved ones. Their office was in a little house on a side street in San Salvador, lined with pink and cream stucco row houses. The street looked quiet in the morning sunshine, but there were sandbags around the doorway to the Comadres' house and we were urged to go in quickly. The house had been dynamited two years ago. Recently there have been renewed threats.

We met with Carmen and two other women in the small front room. They "saluted us for our humanity" in coming to visit them.

One of the women said, "For nine years we have suffered — disappearances, jailings, assassination. Seventy thousand civilians have died. Thousands have been assassinated by the death squads. Between 1980 and 1983 sometimes we would see 25 to 30 bodies along a roadside. The Comadres search for the disappeared. Many have never been found. Our struggle is to find out what happened to them and to get them back alive. There are secret jails and they might be hidden there."

"Who is arrested? What have they done?" we asked.

"Union members, human rights workers, church people and priests are threatened and arrested. CRIPDES (the Christian Committee for Displaced Persons) was attacked. They accused us of being guerrillas because we organize to stop oppression. One of our leaders was arrested just a few days ago. We are protesting. One of our members has been captured four times, tortured and accused of being a guerrilla. We expect the situation to get worse because the leaders of the new government are also the leaders of the death squads. We ask you to be alert. We expect more captures," she said.

"Why are you here? Why do you stay?" we asked.

When the woman named Carmen answered we heard in her voice the age-old mourning of a mother for her child.

"I have been here since my son was assassinated in July 1979. We found him five days after he disappeared. He was missing his tongue and his eyes. One of his legs had been cut off. We found him with two of his friends. They were wrapped in sacks. His name was Emmanuel."

She spoke his name clearly and slowly. It was important to speak his name. It was his memorial.

"What did he do?" we asked.

"He was a carpenter."

"What can we do?"

"Ask the United States to stop military aid to El Salvador," Carmen said. "The aid does not help us. It just makes the bombardments possible and pays the death squads. Take our message to the women in the United States. Tell them not to allow their sons to come to El Salvador."

The U.S. sends $1.5 million per day into El Salvador, making that tiny country — the size of Massachusetts — one of the top five world-wide recipients of Washington's generosity. As a result, the Salvadoran army grew in the last decade from a force of 10,000 to 56,000 troops. In spite of this massive aid, 70% of the population remain under or unemployed and the per capita income has dropped.

"Where do the dollars go?" we asked a U.S. embassy official. He replied that, in addition to the military, humanitarian and economic aid, we also give cash for the balance of payments owed to the United States.

"In other words," we said, "the cash given by the U.S. government to El Salvador goes back into U.S. banks."

"That's right," he answered.

It was tense the entire time we were in El Salvador. We had been warned that we might have difficulty entering the country. However we were admitted without incident and breathed a sigh of relief when we passed through immigration. Our relief was short-lived.

Ann Robb Smith is in her final year at the Lutheran Seminary in Philadelphia and is a candidate for holy orders in the Diocese of Pennsylvania. She traveled in El Salvador and Nicaragua in May and June of this year.

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Our travel seminar guides from the Center for Global Education gave us strict instructions. No photographs of soldiers or military installations. No photographs of any of the people we interviewed unless specific permission was given. We were to keep our voices low. We were told not to say dangerous words like Cuba, Nicaragua, Marxism, guerrilla, Lutheran Church or FMLN (the guerrilla front). We were warned we would be under surveillance, that all long-distance calls were monitored, and we were to mention no names over the telephone. We were told to keep any posters or pamphlets that we might receive out of sight, and our Bibles too. Church people who work with the poor are suspected of being sympathetic to the guerrilla movement so Bibles could be considered subversive. We were told not to go out at night because it was not safe.

The night we arrived in El Salvador, a group of urban guerrillas attacked the barracks of the First Army Brigade as well as three other targets in the city. Reports varied as to whether three or eight guerrillas had been killed. The army claimed they had received no casualties. We heard gunfire almost every night.

We spotted the first man watching us at breakfast the first morning we were in El Salvador. He stood on a street corner across from the hotel, clearly visible through the open window. Our group of 16 people was watched by two men. They were not very subtle in their surveillance. It was quite obvious to all of us. They also searched the suitcases in our hotel rooms.

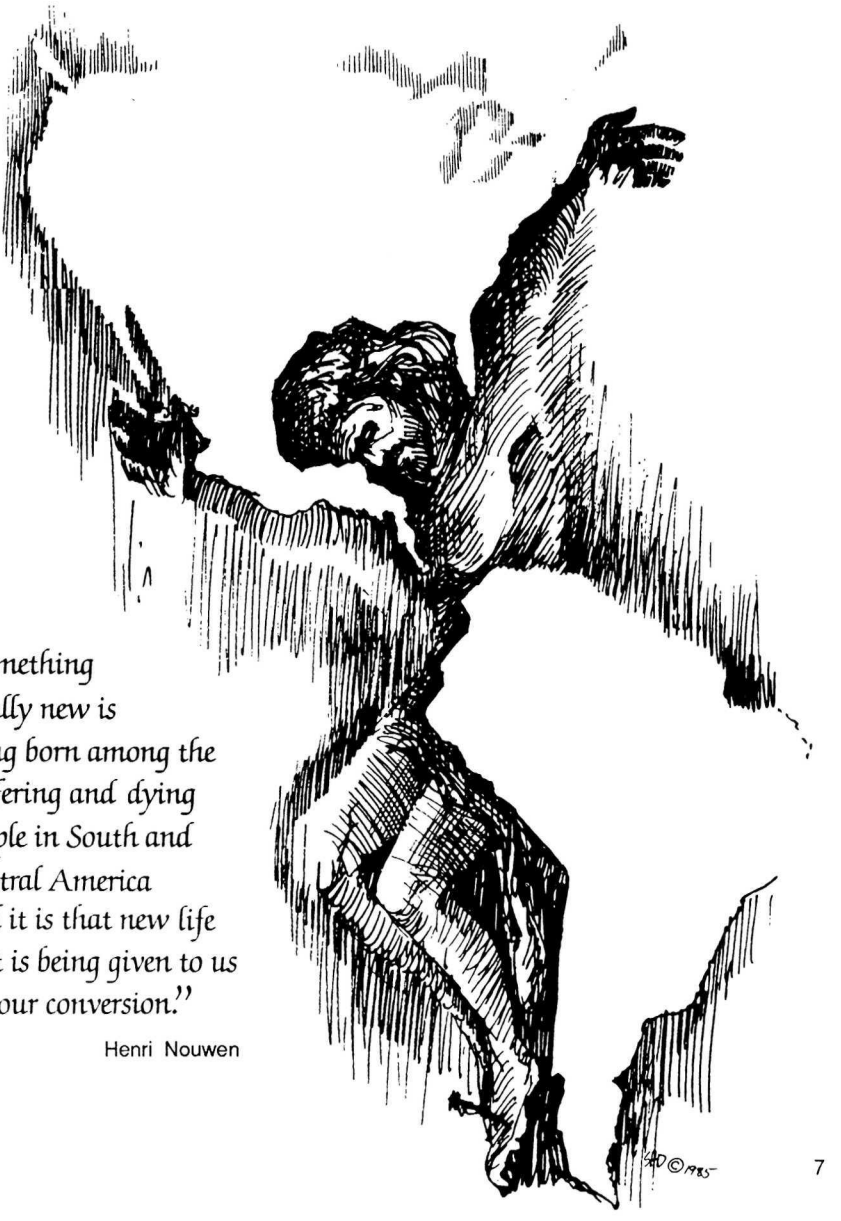
We left the city to visit a little village established for war refugees by the Lutheran Church in El Salvador. It was located on the site of a former coffee plantation and a few of the original buildings still stood.

It was an hour's ride across a lake in the early morning mist to the village. The two small boats that brought us, had a playful, holiday look to them with their striped awnings of pink and blue. The lake was wide and beautiful, rimmed with the high peaks of volcanos. There were women bathing and washing clothes on the beach when we landed and children splashing in the water. It was an idyllic, pastoral scene — belying the horror that had brought these people here. For they were victims of the war that has ravaged El Salvador. Their former villages have been destroyed. Many of their husbands, sons and fathers have been killed.

We did not see young men in the village, only older men and little boys. A woman and two elderly men greeted us. They had been chosen by their community to be their leaders.

"We understand that you are coming here to find out about our reality," they said to us. "We are glad that you are here. Because that is how other countries will know. The government speaks of democracy but actually there are captures and assassinations each day. Day by day people are taken from their homes. Later they are found dead."

They showed us the village. There were neat, new houses, built of corrugated metal roofs and walls of black



"Something totally new is being born among the suffering and dying people in South and Central America and it is that new life that is being given to us for our conversion."

Henri Nouwen

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plastic over wooden frames. Children were everywhere. They told us there were 35 families in the community, 150 adults and 300 children. Many of the children were war orphans, adopted by village families.

The woman's name was Angela. The lines by her eyes and mouth were as fragile looking as a spider web, but her back was straight. She sat and talked with us on the long, low porch of an adobe building overlooking the lake. It was hot and dusty on the porch. Chickens scratched in the dirt nearby and pigs rooted in the brush.

We asked Angela, "Is it unusual to have a woman as a community leader?"

"Before, many times, women were afraid to speak in front of men," she told us. "But through our suffering we have learned our rights. In most communities there are many widows. Therefore they become leaders."

Angela is one of the widows. She told us that the army came to her community in 1979. The men had not run away to hide because they had done nothing wrong and had no reason to be afraid. Angela told us that the soldiers took the men and killed them near their homes.

"This happened to many of us," she said. "Our husbands didn't run away and so they got killed."

Angela told us about the massive recruitment of young men into the army.

"They take away our sons, who are the only source of money for their mothers," she said. "They take them away to defend the country, they say. But we know it isn't true. They only defend what belongs to the big millionaires. The army is the sons of poor mothers. We raise them on a fistful of beans and salt to become canon fodder. No one knows what happens to them."

But in the face of tragedies like Angela's, the people still find the strength to endure. The church, in the broadest sense of that term, including both Catholic and Protestant churches, has played an active role in empowering the poor with a sense of their own self-worth as children of God and their right to a better life. In the Base Christian Communities, attitudes have changed from a passive acceptance of the hardships of life as "God's will" to an active demand for justice.

Archbishop Romero was a martyr in this movement for justice and is now regarded as a saint by the people. His tomb in the Metropolitan Cathedral has become a shrine, covered with messages, testimonials, flowers and surrounded by candles. A steady stream of people come to kneel and pray.

Lutheran Bishop Medardo Gomez carries on the Gospel imperative "to preach good news to the poor and to set at liberty those who are oppressed." We were invited to have lunch with him.

The bishop's home is located near the First Army barracks so we had to pass through an army roadblock before we could go on to his house. We were required to get out of our van while the soldiers searched through our pocketbooks and briefcases.

Bishop Gomez greeted us warmly. "We need your visit most in terms of solidarity," he told us. "It is very important because the government does not like the presence of many foreigners here. It bothers them and they wish you would not come. In spite of all the talk of democracy, we got a letter from the military telling us to discourage visits from foreigners." The bishop smiled. "So we thank you. Return and send others to visit. Your presence signifies life. Solidarity is not just a theory, but is very practical. You who come will feel affection for the Salvadorans. Affection is born here. Then, return home to generate more solidarity."

Gomez's life has been threatened and

El Salvador Statistics

Population: 5.5 million.
1 million refugees, most in the United States.
600,000 displaced within El Salvador.
70,000 civilians killed and 7,000 disappeared since 1979.

Labor force: 2.2 million.
1.4 million working Salvadorans earn minimum wage or below.
Unemployment: 32.5% .
Underemployment 44%.

Income
Annual per capita income: $700.
Minimum daily wage: $3.60 for urban workers, $2 for rural workers.
66% of the population cannot meet basic needs.

Economy
Gross National Product: $4 billion.
Inflation is 25%, up from 16% in 1979.
Exports fell from $1,132 million in 1979 to $580 million in 1987.
Imports rose from $955 million in 1979 to $985 million in 1987.
Foreign debt grew from $939 million in 1979 to $2.3 billion in 1987.
Defense spending as part of the national budget rose from 14% in 1980 to 28% in 1988.

Housing
63% of the population lives in below standard housing.
Housing deficit estimate: 700,000 units.

Social
650,000 school-age children do not attend school.
One out of four children is malnourished.
25% of children die before five years.
Infant mortality is 71 per 1,000.
2.9 physicians per 10,000 people.
Average life span of industrial workers and peasants is 40 years.

U.S. aid
$3.3 billion since 1980.
El Salvador is the fifth largest recipient of U.S. aid in the world, and first in Central America.
FY1990 request: $97.6 million in military aid; $108.4 million in economic aid; and $180 million in economic support funds.

— Margarita S. Studemeister
Washington Center
for Central American Studies

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he is accompanied now by a "bodyguard," a young U.S. citizen named Alice. Alice is one of a corps of internationals living with Salvadorans who are under death threats. They believe that the presence of foreign observers will inhibit the death squads from carrying out their threats.

For a man under the threat of death, Gomez seemed remarkably calm. He is a handsome man with a serene expression and a face unlined by worry. He gave us a simple lunch of fried chicken and potato salad.

Gomez told us that the poor of El Salvador die from hunger and the lack of basic necessities. They live in sub-human conditions, "worse than animals in the homes of rich people," he said.

"We decided to work with those most in need," Gomez explained. "This is to respond to our reality. We can't ignore the suffering of our people, so we go with them and we receive more from them than we can give. The church is strengthened — not in numbers, but in faith. By being with the people we understand what incarnation is. God became human to understand human beings and to serve them better. The church has to do this — incarnate itself within reality, by telling the story of the people. This gives life to the congregation."

"Is this liberation theology?" we asked.

"I don't like the term liberation theology because our enemies have given it a political connotation," Gomez replied. "We call it a Theology of Life because it is the faith of the people. It explains the presence of God every moment. It is the testimony of those who suffer. So we don't use the term, 'option for the poor,' but rather, 'attention to the most needy.' God attends most especially to the poor because they are the most needy. Just as in the parable of the Prodigal Son, the parent loves all the children equally, but attends most specially to the most needy one. This is how we see God working among our people."

"What are you accused of?" we asked.

"Of being a communist, a guerrilla sympathizer. Do you remember when the Pharisees accused Jesus of being possessed by the devil, Beelzebub? In modern form, it is said you are a communist. Jesus was bothered by the accusation against him. He said that blasphemy is the only sin that cannot be forgiven. This is solace for us."

Gomez smiled. "When I am accused of being a communist, then I know it is the spirit of God working in me."

Because of the turmoil in the country, we had to cut short our visit to El Salvador by one day. The FMLN called for a general transportation strike to protest the June 1 inauguration of President-elect Alfredo Christiani, a member of the right-wing ARENA party. ARENA was originally established as an anti-communist paramilitary organization and has been linked to some of the country's most brutal human rights abuses, including the murder of Archbishop Romero in 1981. We learned later that the strike had lasted two days and had been 95% effective in halting all traffic. We would not have been able to leave our hotel.

But in spite of the tension, in spite of the intimidating presence of the military throughout the city and the threat of capture and torture, the people are filled with a courage and a strength that is founded upon their faith in a righteous and loving God who is on the side of the poor. Theirs is a spirit reminiscence of the earliest Christians who faced persecution and martyrdom with grace and courage and unshakeable faith.

Carmen, Emmanuel, Angela, Alice, Medardo. Only Medardo Gomez is a real name. He is already a marked man in El Salvador. The others may not yet be marked — therefore their names have been changed in order to protect them from threat, capture or assassination.

(Next month Part II: How Low Intensity Warfare strategy affects Nicaragua.)

Barbara Harris: Bishop

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Libya: America's No. 1 scapegoat

by Jim Lewis

Arabic script centering on the Name of God and God's titles of Giver of all Gifts and Most Compassionate One.

The big jet was hardly off the ground when a stewardess walked down the aisle handing coupons to the passengers.

Each blue card had six boxes to scratch. Taking a quarter from my pocket I scratched mine to see if I was a winner. The prizes consisted of such things as a free drink, a free movie headset, and a first-class round trip ticket. As I uncovered the squares on my card, the man me behind said to his companion, "With my luck, I'll probably win a trip to Libya."

She laughed and so did I. This flight I had boarded from Kennedy in New York to Rome was, in fact, only a connecting flight. In Rome, I, along with nine other Americans, would take a plane bound for Libya where we would live for six days, guests of the Libyan government.

The trip, sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), a peace and justice organization with a long track record in civil rights and peacemaking, had a much harder time getting off the ground than our three-hour-delayed flight.

Back in January, in the twilight hours of the Reagan administration, a nasty exchange took place between U.S. and Libyan fighter planes in the Gulf of Sidra, an inlet off the Mediterranean Sea, on the northern coast of Libya. Libyan planes were shot down in the exchange of fire.

The Rev. Jim Lewis is Director of Social Ministries for the Diocese of North Carolina and a

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This action by our government sparked discussion on the part of the FOR Middle East Task Force, on which I serve. After an hour and a half conference call, FOR leadership decided to pursue contacts at the Libyan Mission to the United Nations in the hope that a U.S. delegation could counter what looked like an explosive last hurrah by our trigger-happy President.

After two postponements, our delegation gathered in New York prior to departure for Tripoli, to be briefed by Dr. Ali Treiki, Libya's delegate to the United Nations. The FOR team consisted of peace activists from Virginia, California, New York, Washington, Missouri and North Carolina. We were accompanied by Dartmouth College professor Dirk Vandewaale, an expert on Libya.

Our task was simply stated. We were going to make contact with Libyans so that we could show our concern by listening carefully to their concerns about U.S.-Libyan relations. Beneath it all was the intent, on the part of grass-root peace activists, to reduce the tensions between our countries by putting a human face on the enemy.

Boarding the plane in Rome, I met a Libyan woman, dressed in traditional garb, on her way home from Italy. I discovered that she has a brother in Charlotte, who does construction work there. She was as excited as I about this connection. She'd like to visit him someday. I told her I hoped that day would come soon. She was the first of many Libyans I would meet who have connections in the United States.

When we arrived in Benghazi, we were warmly received by Libyan officials from the Peace and Solidarity Committee. Television and press people recorded our arrival.

One of the men in the Libyan entourage wanted to talk with me about the Klan. He had attended the University of Oklahoma and was interested in racial conflict in the United States. He had fond memories of our country despite the hostility he felt as a non-white person.

Later in Tripoli, I met people with relatives in Atlanta and Detroit — many had graduated from major U.S. universities. One woman had a daughter studying at Berkeley.

One man told me he had difficulty explaining the United States to his son. He said when President Reagan authorized the bombing of Libya on April 15, 1986, killing as many as 100 civilians and wounding hundreds, the child was panic-stricken. He cried for his uncle, living in the United States, because he was sure that he would be killed since the Americans must hate Libyans.

Every Libyan I met was eager to renew a relationship with the United States, a relationship which, they said, deteriorated during the Reagan years. They hoped that President Bush would restore contact and end their isolation.

السلام

As-Salam: The Peace — one of the 99 Arabic names for God

There is still shock and anger at the 1986 bombings. The Libyan-Arab Committee for Solidarity and Peace, in charge of our trip, scheduled us to see one of the targets of that bombing — the home of Muammar Qadhafi, Libya's leader. The attack caused Qadhafi's family to flee and resulted in the death of his 16-month-old adopted daughter, Hanna.

President Reagan justified the air raid by linking Libya to an April 5 bombing of the La Bella discotheque in West Germany. The explosion killed one American soldier and injured 60 others. Later it was shown that Libya had no connection with the explosion. Most experts now agree that Syria was the headquarters for the bombers.

Qadhafi's yard was full of pieces of exploded U.S. bombs and a plane that was shot down. Shattered glass was strewn about among the flowers in a small garden. Some pictures still hung on the wall. Qadhafi's bed, his child's bed, remained in place.

Later we spoke with people in the neighborhood who lost friends and children in the bombing raid. One man in our delegation apologized for what the United States had done.

I recalled the Bible story from Luke. The disciples, James and John were angry at the hostility shown them by a Samaritan as they questioned Jesus, "Do you want us to call down fire from heaven to burn them up?" Jesus rebuked them, repudiating revenge for all time.

Most Libyans I spoke with were convinced that U.S. military might was directed against Libya because it is a small country that has said "no" to the United States.

Libya has said "no" to our military presence there by kicking out our bases. They have said "no" as well to our manipulation of the oil production to U.S. advantage. Libya, in actuality, is an easy scapegoat for American frustration and hostility. It is slightly larger than Alaska with a population of only about four million people. Roughly 90% of that population live on the Mediterranean coast. Such a concentration leaves this country a sitting duck for any serious military operation. "Why, you'd never strike Syria like you do Libya," said one woman. "They're much more dangerous but not so easy. So you pick on us."

In the 16th chapter of Leviticus, an outline is provided for the ritual slaying of sacrificial animals. One of the animals sacrificed was the goat, the scapegoat, killed in the name of Azazel.

When Jesus was brought before the high priest, Caiaphas, he became the

Continued on page 21

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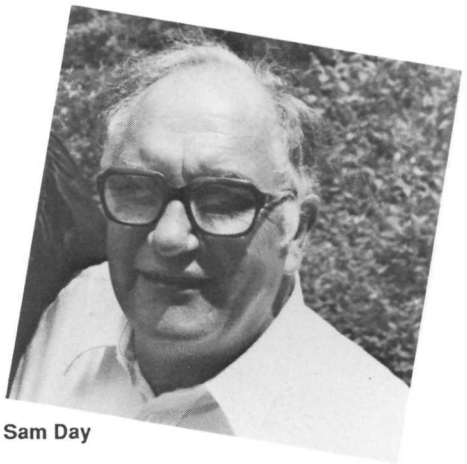
What's a nice guy like Sam Day

Suppose you are a respectable, 62-year-old middle class citizen who disagrees with U.S. nuclear policy — particularly with the fact that the government has strewn missile silos all over your beloved Midwest. Suppose, further, you decide to do something about it. You edit a book called ***Nuclear Heartland,*** *exposing the location of the secretly placed silos so people will realize they are in their backyards. And you participate in a "peace planting" (non-violent civil disobedience) with a group of other anti-nuclear activists, scattering seeds inside a Missouri missile silo in a symbolic act of reclaiming the land. Now the government is very unhappy, and sentences you to six months in prison.*

That's what happened to Sam Day, promotion consultant of THE WITNESS and co-director of Nukewatch, who has been behind bars since late March. What is life in jail like for Day? Who are his cellmates? Here are excerpts from Day's journal detailing his experiences with the U.S. criminal justice system.



Sam Day

Life in the Lafayette County Jail in Lexington, Mo. has been quite an experience. When I arrived, I was taken aback by the noise, the smells, the dirt and the squalor. A guard gave me a torn mattress and a filthy blanket, ushered me into a cellblock, and told me to find a bunk. In the dim light, everything looked full to me. But I found an upper bunk piled high with magazines.

I had a cold when I arrived here, so the first few days were difficult because of the tobacco smoke and the fumes from the open toilet just a few feet from my nose. I was appalled by the close quarters; seven of us in a metal cage about 10 by 20 feet.

A boom box two cells away blared reggae all day long competing with the noise from the TV set in the "bullpen," where we take our meals. Through the evening and into the pre-dawn hours, bouncing against the inner walls of this metal drum in which we live, came the voices of other exuberant young prisoners, some still in their teens — arguing, cussing, sometimes just shouting for the hell of it.

It also bothered me that I was isolated from friends and loved ones. Only one 40 minute visit is permitted each week, and it has to be conducted by telephone through a window. To make matters worse, our one telephone to the outside world is controlled by a small faction of prisoners who pass it from hand to hand during the occasional times we have access to it.

Despite the unpleasantness of these conditions — or perhaps because of it — I have found this place to be not only endurable but enjoyable at times. The key to my successful adjustment has been my fellow prisoners and my outside supporters.

At first the other prisoners didn't know what to make of me. At 62, I am at least one or two generations older than everyone else. "Hi, Gramps," said one as I groped my way into the cell, where I was also only one of two whites. And, unsurprisingly, I was the only "political" prisoner. The others had never encountered any one screwy enough to let the cops come and get him at the scene of the crime.

"Couldn't your lawyer get you no bond, buddy," one of my cellmates asked in bewilderment.

My short time here has bonded me to men who belie the stereotype of the jail inmate. Eddie, from an upper-class family in Nigeria, is here because of a fraudulent credit card scheme he and his friends concocted after graduating from the University of Missouri and failing to find work in their field. Two other Nigerians share the cell with us.

Sam, who stole from the post office to satisfy his cocaine addiction, is a gentle soul whom I have watched read the same letter from his wife night after night, his eyes brimming.

Tony, from the Kansas City ghetto, beats me regularly at chess and has the mind of a genius. He is also a career criminal. "Man, I just *love* money," he explains.

Without letters from friends and loved ones I would succumb to the loneliness and boredom that nibble away at the morale of every prisoner. They nourish and sustain the emotional attachments that are lacking here. And the letters remind me of the good I am doing simply by being here. The value lies in serving as an example to others and demonstrating that jail, with all its loneliness and hardships, can nevertheless be an endurable experience offering a political activist the time and opportunity to enhance and strengthen his or her work.

On the morning of May 3, the cellblock gate clanged open and the voice of Paula, our friendly jail matron, cut through the TV din: "Mr. Day, get all

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doing in prisons like these?

your things together, you're goin' *all* the way."

Three hours after leaving Lexington in the company of two Federal marshals, I found myself in handcuffs and leg chains, climbing the long flight of marble steps leading to the front door of the U.S. Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas. The scene was straight out of Hollywood: a domed, colonnaded building looming behind a high fence topped with razor wire rolled in menacing coils. I rubbed my eyes in disbelief. Could this be me, a mere nuclear protestor, walking into the maw of the biggest of the big joints?

My stay at Leavenworth lasted only a week. I was a "holdover," a prisoner in transit, locked into a dormitory that also serves as the "hole" for the nearby Leavenworth prison camp.

Compared with the bedlam of the Lafayette County Jail, the Leavenworth hole was a piece of heaven. I had a real mattress to sleep on, a good light to read by, fresh air to breathe. I could look out the window and see the sky. The food, brought to us by orderlies and eaten on our cots, was plentiful and tasty. I felt like a bird in a gilded cage.

Security was tight. Whenever I left the hole, which was seldom, I had to back up to the door and put my arms through a slot so a guard could apply handcuffs. We went everywhere — to the TV room, to sick call, to the exercise yard — with our hands locked behind our backs. On two occasions, I was taken with other prisoners to a small courtyard for an hour's exercise. And there, once again, I was in Hollywood — pacing to and fro under the watchful eyes of guards in towers atop the high stone walls, nodding to the other convicts, listening to the pigeons and swallows which freely come and go at Leavenworth.

On the afternoon of May 10, I was taken from the hole, led down into the bowels of the prison, stripped, searched, reclothed, handcuffed and chained, then herded into a pen with about 20 others from all parts of the penitentiary. Accompanied by guards equipped with radios on their belts, we filed through the vast main lobby and down the marble stairs. As I stepped blinking into the bright sunlight, careful not to trip over the chains that bound my ankles, I beheld an amazing sight: Fanning out from the prison bus were half a dozen U.S. marshals at parade rest with shotguns on their hips, pointed skyward. Did they think one of us would hobble off and disappear too quickly to be tackled by a burly guard?

"The value of being here lies in serving as an example to others and demonstrating that jail, with all its loneliness and hardships, can nevertheless be an endurable experience offering a political activist the time and opportunity to enhance and strengthen his or her work."

I was soon to learn the shotgun deployment is as inherent to prisoner transportation as handcuffs, ankle and waist chains, and strip-searching. A shotgun posse awaited us when we drove into a remote corner of the Kansas City Airport to board the prison plane, and when we alighted later at Oklahoma City.

The prison plane flew in from the east and disgorged a load that included two dozen young soldiers handcuffed forlornly in their dress uniforms. We filed into the plane through the tail ramp. Our cabin attendants were marshals outfitted in blue jump suits. While we waited for the plane to take off, I noticed that no one was wearing seat belts. I pointed this out to a marshal and remarked, half-jokingly, that failing to fasten seat belts is a violation of FAA regulations.

The marshal reddened and replied, "There's the strap. You can put it on yourself if you want." His tone implied that seat belts were a frill for the faint-hearted. When I pointed helplessly to my handcuffs, he leaned over curtly and snapped the seat belt for me.

My travels on the prison airlift resumed the next morning after an overnight stay at the Federal penitentiary in El Reno, Okla. which serves as the hub of the Federal air prison transportation system. For the next seven hours the plane flew 2,000 miles back and forth across the Midwest, picking us up and dropping us off like so many mail sacks. While marshals patrolled the aisles, we shifted uncomfortably in our seats, trying to ease the pressure of the cuffs on our sweating wrists and ankles. Accomplishing bodily toilet functions in these restraints was a task I found impossible, so I took no liquids on the long flight. Our plane flew first to Springfield, Mo.; then to Terre Haute, Detroit and Chicago. Finally I was dropped off at Rochester, Minn.

It wasn't until the marshals sorted us out on the Rochester airstrip and herded me into a van that I learned my new prison home was to be Yankton, S. D. Yankton Federal Prison Camp is one of the newest institutions in a penal system that is expanding at the rate of 800 inmates a month and expected to double in population in the next few years. It opened last summer on the former campus of Yankton College, and the Federal government, as the new owner, sent a small cadre to begin converting the college into a prison camp. By the time I

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arrived, the population had risen to about 200. Our job was to help prepare the way for another 300.

We slept four to a room in a nicely appointed, unlocked dormitory. We ate on tablecloths in a dining hall that served meals as varied and as tasty as I have enjoyed in my home town. The camp had a library, tennis courts, gym, pool tables, TV and laundry rooms. Except for occasional head counts, our time was our own from midafternoon until after midnight. I soon had to begin reminding myself I was a prisoner. It felt more like being at Phillips Exeter Academy, the prep school where I spent four years as a boy.

Inmates at Yankton are so well treated and so highly motivated that some volunteered for extra work on weekends. I was assigned by chance to one of the choicest jobs — healthy, non-taxing work with the landscape crew. But by that time I had made up my mind to cease cooperating with the institution.

Even before my conviction for violating laws sanctioning nuclear annihilation, I had mused about noncooperation in prison, a concept that flows logically from noncooperation with nuclear policy. My thoughts on this had begun to crystallize in Lafayette County Jail, but before thought could lead to action I was diverted by another matter.

A day after arriving at Leavenworth, I had awakened to discover I could no longer see out of my right eye. The eye needed medical attention, but because I was in transit I was unable to get it looked at until a few days after my arrival in Yankton. The physician's assistants at the prison camp were most helpful. They arranged for me to be examined by two ophthalmologists, who ordered a CAT-scan because they were concerned about the possibility of a tumor causing pressure on the optic nerve.

Facing the possibility of immediate transfer, I deferred further thought of noncooperation. My indecision was resolved by the welcome news that there was no tumor. The blindness had been caused by a vascular occlusion, which damaged the optic nerve. The medical people gave me a clean bill of health.

With that I drafted a letter to the superintendent declaring my noncooperation and my intention to leave the prison camp the next day. I had in mind a prison version of symbolically "crossing the line." I had the good sense to show the draft to inmate friends who pointed out that such an act could precipitate a charge of attempted escape, which could lengthen my prison sentence. They urged me to stick to the idea of refusal to work. So I wrote a second draft.

The decency of the Yankton staff made this a difficult decision. It would have been easy for me to fade into the woodwork and do my time without trouble. But in the end I succumbed to the urge to confront the dishonesty of a prison masquerading as a prep school. As I pointed out in my letter to the superintendent, I can't cooperate with the system that imprisons me for refusing to cooperate with the larger system of nuclear annihilation.

Yankton Federal Prison Camp lost no time expelling me. Within two hours I was on my way to Yankton City Jail, where I found myself in the more comfortable setting of iron bars, an iron bunk and the ever-murmuring TV. It's a prison that looks, sounds and acts like a prison — the proper place for an anti-nuclear activist to be.

I spent 16 days in Yankton City Jail until my transfer to the Minnehaha County Jail, which, in addition to being the largest in South Dakota, also serves as a way station for Federal prisoners like me.

In the place I take my meals, the massive profiles of the Presidents, chiseled from the granite bulk of Mt. Rushmore, look down on me from a mural that dominates the room. On the left, George Washington. On the right, Abraham Lincoln. Next to him, a square-set jaw and bristling mustache identify Teddy Roosevelt.

But it's the fourth figure that holds my attention each time I shuffle with my fellow prisoners, plastic cup and spoon in hand, into the mess hall. The high cheek bones, flaring nostrils and jutting lips on the face where Thomas Jefferson's ought to be suggest a Lakota warrior.

Approximately a quarter of the inmates here are Native Americans, who constitute the largest ethnic minority in South Dakota. At meal time they cluster at a table near the painting. Most have stayed here many times.

One them is Yellow Earring, a young man whom I have come to know because I share a cell block with him and five others. Joining his group for lunch one day, I asked him how many of his 28 years he had spent in captivity.

Yellow Earring made a quick mental calculation, adding up the years of reform school, jail and prison. "Eleven," he said.

A friend from across the table volunteered that his total came to seven. But he explained, as if in mitigation, that he was only 21.

This South Dakota bastille is clean, spacious and modern. Through the bars of my cell window I can see cars and people coming and going, the neon lights of a Chinese restaurant, the approach and retreat of majestic summer thunder clouds. The daily connectedness with the outside world makes this a livable place.

My connectedness is also reinforced daily with the arrival of cards and letters from friends and loved ones, and from all over the country and the world. A jail clerk has meticulously removed the postage stamp and flap from each letter as a precaution in case the sticky stuff contains LSD.

Letters come almost daily from my at-

Continued on page 16

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Bishops, buses and the Bible

by William B. Spofford

Recently, I received an invitation to a conference on evangelism. The brochure noted that the gathering would be at a fine and historic conference center in the lovely North Carolina hills. The leadership seemed promising and there appeared to be enough workshops to get persons mixed and sharing. Besides, there was a good deal on air fares.

Right after I received the invite, I had to travel from Salem, Ore. to Boise, Idaho and I went by bus. The bus ride got me to thinking about how the church today practices evangelism.

Most of my two decades in the episcopacy have been spent in the vast geographic regions of the Pacific northwest. And, since retirement, I have also served in the Dioceses of Nevada and Alaska, where communities tend to be small, ethnic and separated by miles of desert or frozen tundra.

These are the areas where, in the past, bishops of note helped to give form to the current church. There was Frederick Wister Morris, Bishop of all Oregon. There was Daniel Sylvester Tuttle, who prior to moving into the Presiding Bishop role, covered much of the old Northwest Territory; and Peter Trimble Rowe who, as first bishop of Alaska, canoed, dog-sledded and hiked over mountain passes to establish the church in that land of great wildness and beauty. And the first Bishop of Eastern Oregon, Robert Paddock, went into isolated communities of the High Desert and, by gathering folks in community halls, local bars and a borrowed church building or two, seemed to get things rolling.

These men used shanks-mare, horses, "tin lizzies" and, when attending national church events, the railroads. The aim, then as now, surely was to win the souls of humanity to the Way and Witness and Kingdom of Jesus Christ.

But, often, in our fly-over era, when church leaders bump around the planet as members of innumerable frequent flyer programs, it does appear that all of us talk to each other rather than to those persons, whom, presumably, we are reaching out to in the name of the Lord.

Now, I assure you I have been as guilty as the next person. But then I had to ride the Salem to Boise night bus — decidedly a local — as it wandered into each highway and byway of my old jurisdiction. The trip went up the lovely Columbia River Gorge, glistening in the light of the full moon; through the irrigated wheat and row-crop areas of Morrow County; past the Umatilla Indian Reservation and into the Blue Mountains; down into the Grande Ronde and Baker valleys and over into the Snake River Breaks at Farewell Bend, which countless trappers and migrants from St. Joe, Mo., made famous; and on into Boise, along a developing 40 mile strip-city.

Thinking of the invitation to the evangelism conference, I got to reflecting about those who were riding with me. There was a very weary great grandmother who had suffered an over-extended wedding and reception. We shared a seat and she was delighted to be going back to her one-bedroom flat in a rural town. She was not a great conversationalist nor could she sleep. At one point, I remarked on the full moon and she said "We're both too old for that!" At about 2 a.m. she offered me a potato chip from a most most crackly package. When she got off at 4 a.m., she said it had been a pleasant trip, which come to think of it, it had been.

There was a Native American who was going to a summer job with the U.S. Forest Service in Wallowa County; at least, he hoped there was a job. He was met by a young guy in a Forest Service uniform in LaGrande.

I enjoyed listening to the four pickers who, after shopping in Portland, got off at Hood River to see if they could work the apple crop there, even though the industry was down because of the pesticide scare. A lithe wind-surfer also got off and, after collecting three boards out of the storage bay, dis-

The Rt. Rev. William B. Spofford, Jr., retired Bishop of Eastern Oregon and retired Assistant Bishop of Washington, lives in Salem, Ore.

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appeared into the night. Hood River is the nation's wind-surfing capital.

There were three young mothers, one with a three-week old infant, who were on their way to visit home or grandparents in Birmingham or Mobile, which seemed a long, long way from rural Oregon.

There were two young fathers, each with two kids, who seemed to be managing all right and were obviously single parents. And there was a goodly coterie of us senior citizens, some of whom had been on the bus trip for a week or two . . . tough oldsters, those.

Throughout the night, the bus driver was grumpy but efficient. He would wake us up at every stop and tell us the amount of time we had. The younger passengers went to buy fast-food; the oldsters lined up at the inadequate lavatories. And, like lemmings, the minority of smokers dashed off to get their fix, snuffing out their cigs just as they got back to the bus door.

The trip took 15 hours, overall. As we crossed the Snake River where Idaho breaks off from Oregon, it was Sunday morning. The bedraggled man in the seat opposite opened his Living Bible and worked away at Ephesians. Any other divine references I heard were of a profane variety coming from some cowboys who had closed a bar in Pendleton until the bus arrived and were going over to Vale to see about getting work out in the Owyhee and Jordan Valley areas.

In Boise, after picking up my backpack, I walked up to the Cathedral, where 20 years ago I had been the dean, for a celebration of Holy Communion. There were friends there, of course, but they seemed to have very little relationship to the community of bus riders.

The point is, I guess, that we ought to, on occasion, ride the bus. Nobody on the bus seemed at all concerned that a number of Episcopalians were meeting in Fort Worth, Tex. because they were concerned about the gender of ordinands. One rider mentioned Texas in light of the savings and loan scandal. That was one of the times of creative swearing, I recall, having to do with why those shysters should live off the backs of guys like him! But church stuff . . . no, I didn't hear much.

No one seemed interested in much more than getting to where they were going, whether they had enough cash to manage it, and, in some cases, whether there would be jobs available for them when they arrived. Those are not, I am sure, issues which give us much space for evangelistic lingo. But they were the concerns of these "targets" of evangelism. And, friends, at 3 a.m. at a bus stop, much of the ecclesiastical news we absorb and the mail we get seem as strange and foreign as trying to make sense out of events in Iran or Beijing. Bus riders seem preoccupied with their aching feet and backs, their burdensome kids, and where the jobs are, if any.

Because of calendar restraints, I will probably fly to the next three services of episcopal ordination I attend. But I might lay episcopal hands on a little better if, instead of arriving in a crowded, gleaming airport, I got off at the bus terminal, usually located in the middle of, or near to, the local Skid Row. I have yet to find any Episcopal Church within comfortable walking distance of those depots. However, I usually find the Salvation Army office and the mission of a group of non-orthodox believers.

May the conference on evangelism be all that you — and God — want it to be, friends. I won't be using your kind offer of contracting a trip with the official airline. If I come at all, it will be by bus. TW

Day . . . *Continued from page 14*

torney, marked "Special Mail: Attorney/ Client privilege. Open only in presence of inmate." These mailings are special indeed. The affidavits they contain are chapters for a peacemakers' guide to jails and prisons being written by friends and colleagues incarcerated as I am for breaking laws sanctioning nuclear annihilation.

From the Federal women's prison at Alderson, W.V., Bonnie Urfer sends pen-and-ink sketches to illustrate her own and other stories about penal life.

From his skyscraper cell at the Metropolitan Correctional Center in downtown Chicago, Duane Beane writes about the despair and bitterness of prisoners by the hundreds stacked like cordwood in an airless glass and concrete tower designed to hold half as many.

From the hole at the Federal prison camp in Oxford, Wisc., to which he was consigned for refusing to submit to the indignity of daily strip-searching, Jerry Zawada, a Franciscan priest, tells how two burly guards grabbed him and pulled his shorts down.

These and other stories will be published in a Nukewatch book, "Prisoners on Purpose," a work entirely written, illustrated, and edited from prisons and jails. Its purpose is to demystify incarceration by "telling it like it is" in the Federal prison system.

As editor of the project, I have utilized my banishment from work camp as an opportunity for work of my own. Instead of a broom I push a stubby lead pencil. I watch the clock not in longing that time might pass more quickly, but in panic over the swift approach of each new deadline. Rather than ruing the boredom, isolation and spartan sterility of a county lock-up way out in the middle of nowhere, I am thankful for chance to do my thing in peace and quiet.

(At press time Day was being transferred to the Federal prison in Sandstone, Minn. "Another night, another jail," he wrote. — Ed.)

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Short Takes

U.S. Role in El Salvador

Salvadoran military sources estimate that for each U.S. military adviser there is at least one other U.S. adviser working in intelligence or security, often with ties to the CIA, the Defense Intelligence Agencia (DIA) or the National Security Council. One such source estimated the current number of military advisers at 300 which would bring the total U.S. in-country personnel directly involved to 600.

Among that number one can no longer include former U.S. defense and army attache George Maynes, who recently retired from the U.S. Army to work as a private, full-time consultant to the DNI, the shadowy National Directorate of Intelligence at the nerve center of the "special operations" war in El Salvador. Special operations is the catchall phrase for unconventional narrowly targeted actions ranging from disappearing key activists of the urban popular movement to long range patrols in FMLN zones of control.

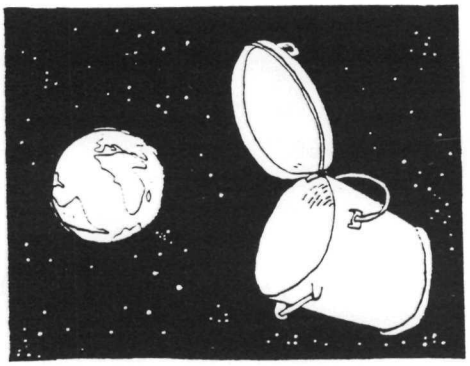
According to Salvadoran Col. Juan Orlando Zepeda, DNI receives most of its aid from the CIA.

Sara Miles and Bob Ostertag
NACLA *Report on the Americas*
July 1989

Jesus was political threat

The hunger of human becoming is never satisfied by receiving. Nor does one come to human maturity and fulfillment by some sort of insulated inner event, serenely detached from the social, historical, painful and conflictual demands of the total human situation. Had Jesus himself been able to maintain such serene detachment and uninvolvement in the social and political and conflictual dimension of human tragedy, he would surely not have been crucified as a political threat.

Monica K. Helwig
Eucharist and the Hunger of theWorld
Quoted in St. Clement's *Circle*, NYC



The fire next time?

The Galileo shuttle is scheduled to carry 50 pounds of plutonium.

The House Subcommittee on Energy, Conservation and Power conducted investigations under Edward Markey of Massachusetts, on the risks of plutonium carrying shuttles after the Challenger accident. But Markey was replaced as chair by Philip Sharp of Indiana, and there has not been a continuation of this inquiry.

Yet despite the Challenger disaster, NASA plans to launch shuttles in 1989 and 1990 that will carry enough radioactive plutonium to kill every person on earth. The plutonium is not required for propulsion, but will be used to supply onboard electric power for instrumentation, as well as heat for the instruments on the Jupiter probe.

Many scientists who are experts in the field of radioactivity are apprehensive. They see three possible disaster scenarios. The first, a launch pad explosion in which the shuttle's liquid fuel would ignite, with plutonium released, to contaminate Cape Canaveral and environs. Second, a Challenger-like explosion in the upper atmosphere would disperse the poisonous plutonium over a broader area. Third, any serious space mishap within the Earth's 22,000 mile gravitational pull could spread the uranium derivative even more widely over the earth.

Prof. Karl Grossman
Quoted by Women's International Coalition to stop Radioactive Waste

Izzy's legacy

I really owe my success to being a pariah. It is so good not to be invited to respectable dinner parties. People used to say to me, "Izzy, why don't you go down and see the Secretary of State and put him straight." Well, you know, you're not supposed to see the Secretary of State. He won't pay any attention to you anyway. He'll hold your hand, he'll commit you morally for listening.

To be a pariah is to be left alone to see things your own way, as truthfully as you can. Not because you're brighter than anybody else is — or your own truth is so valuable. But because, like a painter or a writer or an artist, all you have to contribute is the purification of your own vision, and add that to the sum total of other visions. To be regarded as nonrespectable, to be a pariah, to be an outsider, this is really the way to do it. To sit in your tub and not want anything. As soon as you want something, they've got you!

I. F. Stone 1907-1989
***The Nation* 7/10/89**

> Success is simply a matter of luck.
> Ask any failure. — Earl Wilson

Rich get richer

Average change, since 1977, in the annual federal taxes paid by the richest 1% of American families: minus $44,000; average change, since 1977, in the annual federal taxes paid by the remaining 99%, plus $212.

***Harper's* database**
of fascinating facts

Future tense

At a June conclave in Ohio, it was reported by the Corps of Resigned Priests United for Service (CORPUS) to the 250 married Roman Catholic priests gathered that 18,000 priests have resigned and married in the United States, 100,000 worldwide. And 10% of America's 20,000 parishes lack a resident priest, 43% worldwide.

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An interview with Sarah Weddington:

Supreme Court abortion decision

Before the Supreme Court issued its opinion in Webster v. Reproductive Health Services *July 3, Sarah Weddington says she spent 10 mornings in a row "dressing up" in anticipation of a ruling. Weddington is the Austin, Tex. attorney who argued* Roe v. Wade *before the Court almost 17 years ago. She's had a distinguished career as a Texas legislator and aide to President Jimmy Carter. With the* Webster *decision, she fears the privacy rights she fought for in* Roe *could be even further eroded by the Reagan-era Court. Jan Nunley, a National Public Radio reporter, interviewed Weddington for THE WITNESS after* Webster *was handed down.*

Now that you've had a chance to look at the *Webster* decision, what conclusions have you drawn about it?

I think that the *Webster* decision creates many questions that we frankly just don't know the answer to. It's a confusing opinion to an attorney who is trying to predict what the future is, because it gives no guidance whatsoever in terms of the outside limits of what a state could do to interfere with a woman's right to make her own decisions — her right to privacy — and still be within the Constitution.

On the one hand the majority says, "We trust that the legislatures will not resort to the archaic laws we used to have," and yet now in the state of Louisiana there is a move to simply reinstate the law that was in effect before 1973. Would the Court consider that archaic? Would it prevent the implementation of such a law? The difficulty is that the Court does not give us any way to predict where the appropriate guidelines or boundaries of legislation would be. And so I think what you'll see is all kinds of legislation introduced that would interfere in a most basic way with a woman's right of privacy, and only through a lot of very expensive and time-consuming litigation will we find out what the Supreme Court's more definitive view really is. In the meantime, what it means is a tremendous effort in the political realm, involving a lot of money, time and energy, which, frankly, I wish we could be spending on some of the other social problems of today.

Are you discouraged to think that the question is being thrown back to legislatures which seem to be largely anti-choice, regardless of the prevailing opinion of their constituents?

It's hard to know where the legislatures are in the various states. For the last 16 years, the people who've been most organized and effective in pressuring legislators have been those opposed to abortion for any reason. What remains to be seen is how we are able to mobilize the great majority of citizens who do believe that it ought to be a woman's choice. If we can do that effectively, I think we can offset some of the fear legislators are feeling about how people may vote against them if they believe in a woman's right to choice. We've got to convince them that the consequences of voting against that right of choice are much more severe than voting against the "right-to-life" movement.

What role do churches and synagogues and religious institutions in general have on both sides of this issue?

I think there are a number of appropriate roles. Certainly those persons who are religious have a right to state their public opinion and try to persuade others. But those who oppose abortion tend to cloak themselves in religiosity and suggest they have the only answer and anyone who disagrees is not following the will of God. I think it's very important in this debate that we hear from a variety of voices.

This is a matter of great diversity in Jewish, Protestant and Catholic faiths, and there is no one agreed upon answer among people who are "religious." I think for too long we have left it to those who feel that there's only one way to interpret the Bible, only one way to love the Lord, and only one way to feel about abortion.

The pro-choice religious groups don't seem to be as vocal as the other side.

It's clear that the official Catholic Church — certainly not all Catholics — and some of the fundamental Protestant

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'confusing' says *Roe v. Wade* attorney

groups have made abortion their primary focus and do have an organizational advantage. When you can reach people every Sunday or during prayer meetings during the week and tell them who they're supposed to call and what they're to do and hand out literature, that is a tremendous advantage. It's a much harder organizational task to reach the majority, who are going about their grocery shopping and jobs and raising their families, with the message that abortion should be an individual decision and that one person's religious faith should not be forced upon everyone else.

How did your upbringing as the daughter of a Methodist minister influence the formation of your conscience on the issue of abortion?

My father preached what I would call a doctrine of Christian social concern, which said we should be concerned about what's happening to people around us. I think it's hypocritical to say every woman should carry every child to term, and then to turn our backs on those children already here who are without adequate housing and clothing and so on. So my upbringing made me much more aware of the difficulties and injustices.

It is also necessary to look at what abortion laws were doing in terms of their impact — not only the fact that abortion was the number one cause of injury and death to women at one point in our nation's history, but also that the whole concept of dignity is one that is based on a loving God who made us with consciences and the ability to make decisions on our own. Women should be allowed to make those decisions. Often it will be in consultation with a moral advisor or with significant family members, but it should not be the government's decision.

Sarah Weddington

I do think that Americans United for Separation of Church and State, who filed a brief with the Supreme Court, were trying to look at this issue and find where the religious principles were. What they said is the whole concept of "when does life begin" is a concept that various religions treat differently, and that to impose a view that all life begins at conception is to impose one religious view on everyone else. There is no agreement within the religious community, or within law, or medicine, or science or any of the other fields. The Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights and several other groups, are trying to focus on how individual people can have the freedom to state their own views while observing the distinction between government and religious belief.

What did the Court mean when, in *Webster*, it refused to rule on the preamble to the Missouri law which states that life begins at conception?

I don't think the Court itself knows. The majority opinion says that it may mean that the state only meant that to apply to tort and property laws. They were really reaching over backwards to adopt a possible interpretation that would not interfere with *Roe v. Wade* or the cases that followed it. I feel convinced that the state meant it to set a basis for trying to argue in the future that all human rights apply at conception. The consequences of that are so far-reaching, they're hard to imagine at this point.

Are we talking about a revamping of our whole legal code?

We are, and it's totally opposed to the entire tradition of our legal history. We have never treated a fetus as being a person, and I think to do so now would have untold complications.

What alternatives are available to women in case *Roe v. Wade* is overturned or gutted?

I think all of us would prefer to see the law remain what it is, with abortions safe and legal. There's really a four-pronged approach. The first is to prevent the legislatures from passing bills that would change the law. The second is trying to look at how to present more effective arguments. Somehow we're just not getting across that this is really about who gets to make the final deci-

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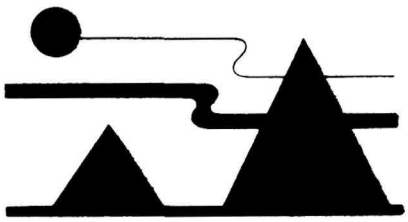
sion — the government or the individual. A third effort would be trying to look at alternatives, but my own focus would be on the legal, which is the fourth. There are three abortion cases the Court has already accepted for the fall.

What are your plans?

My role will be as a back-up, doing legal education. Most people hear a two-sentence statement from one side or another, because that's what TV gives us. What I want to do is explain to people the issue of privacy and some of the legal considerations involved.



Pro-choice issue available

■ **Procreative freedom -- the June issue of THE WITNESS, gives a comprehensive theological and social analysis of reproductive freedom. Features penetrating interviews with Faye Wattleton, president of Planned Parenthood, and Beverly Wildung Harrison, feminist theologian. Also, an African-American male viewpoint by Faith Evans, president of the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, and articles addressing pastoral and legislative implications.**

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That's a right that's really been under attack by this Court, with the 1986 *Hardwick v. Bowers* decision on sodomy laws, and now *Webster*. How far do you think they intend to go?

I don't think anybody can really say. When Robert Bork was suggested for a seat on the Court, he said that there was no right of privacy; it's not in the Constitution and it just doesn't exist. On the other hand, in the *Webster* argument the Solicitor General on behalf of the United States government argued there was a right of privacy, but it applied only to the field of contraceptives. You may remember Connecticut at one point made the use of contraceptives, even for married couples, a criminal offense, and the Court overturned that in *Griswold v. Connecticut*. In *Roe*, they said that right of privacy also applies to abortion, and the Court at least at this point is saying the *Roe* still exists.

One of the questions (Justice) O'Connor asked at the hearing on the *Webster* case was that if there is no right of privacy, what would keep a state with an overpopulation problem from requiring women to have abortions? The Solicitor General said, well, you couldn't do that because that would involve force. But I think his answer is incorrect.

What would happen if there was a law that said if you already have one or two children and have another child, you would then be guilty of a criminal offense — in other words, forcing women to have abortions by making the pregnancy illegal? I think there are a lot of ramifications. If we had a situation where we needed more children — as one Presidential candidate suggested, to help pay off the national debt and support an aging population — what would happen if a state tried to require women of childbearing age and ability to have more children? Right now none of that could happen because of the right of privacy. But without it, I think it raises questions. TW

Letters . . . *Continued from page 3*

the model of the Diocese of Newark for responsibility in investments, were you reluctant to name them among the other owners of Royal Dutch/Shell? Or did the editorial principles which permitted the use of quotation marks for a statement alleged to have been made in a publication of the CPF but not found there extend to the omission of our words without indicating that any deletion of abbreviation had taken place?

Yung Hsuan Chou
Donald E. Bitsberger
Church Pension Fund

(The original CPF letter ran two and one half pages of single spaced type, far too long for our pages. Every publication reserves the right to edit letters to fit available space. Ellipses are not indicated simply because they would take up more space. Letters to the Editor of THE WITNESS stand a better chance of being printed in full if they are not more than four or five single-spaced typewritten paragraphs. — Ed.)

Study guides to prison

I am director and professor of a graduate degree program offered by New York Theological Seminary at SingSing Correctional Facility. I want to use your study-action guides *Must We Choose Sides* and *Which Side Are We On* with our Long Term Prison class. Can we have 15 of each, hopefully, as a gift? The students pay no tuition and cost NYTS nearly $60,000 a year.

George W. Webber
New York, N.Y.

(We are delighted to furnish these Study Guides [see back cover] to the seminary for its prison program, and count on the kindness of friends and strangers to help us fulfill such requests, through our annual fundraising appeal. — Ed.)

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Libya . . . *Continued from page 11*
sacrificial offering. He was seen as a subversive threat to the entire sacrificial system surrounding the Roman empire and Jewish religion. Thus Caiaphas remarked, "This man must die for the good of the nation." Jesus became Azazel, the scapegoat.

When George Shultz, Reagan's Secretary of State, said, "We have to put Qadhafi in his box and close the lid," he became Caiaphas, the high priest of political assassination. And Qadhafi, the man from the desert, became Azazel, the scapegoat, who must die for the good of the United States — Rome reincarnated.

Qadhafi and the Libyan people have become, in every sense of the word, the great American scapegoat over the past eight years. What made that possible?

The answer to that riddle lies in the fact that Libya is a Bedouin country and Qadhafi is Bedouin to the bone. Americans need to study the man in order to understand the people.

Qadhafi grew up in a desert tent, listening to radio broadcasts out of Egypt. His hero was Egypt's Gamal Abdul Nasser, who called for a united Arab world to counter Zionist forces and a Western imperialism which threatened Arab integrity. He longed for the day when he could lead Libya into independence from outside colonial forces.

Qadhafi embodies a Bedouin spirit. Fiercely independent, reclusive and stubborn, frugal in his lifestyle, restless and, therefore, impulsive, he is a child of the desert. He sees life mystically, in simple idealistic terms. His view is not always practical, but it is certainly creative. His fits of anger and his moments of charm come directly out of the desert.

Libyans are relentlessly fighting the indignities and humiliations of Western colonial rule. Americans are called to remember a few basic facts about Libyan history.

Libya was not even a country until 1951 when three provinces were unified under King Idriss.

Before that time, the Bedouin tribes that inhabited the region had been occupied and suppressed by the Roman empire, the Ottoman Empire, and most recently the Italians, from 1911 through World War II.

Under Italian rule, half the population of Libya was either killed or forced out of the area.

Following W.W. II, the area was so poor that the leading export was scrap metal from wartime bombing. It was only in 1958, with the discovery of valuable low sulfur oil, that the Libyan economy turned around.

Today whole segments of the land are corodoned off because there are estimated to be hundreds of thousands of active W.W. II land mines. Dozens of people are killed each year from mines.

In September of 1969, Qadhafi led a military coup which abolished King Idriss' monarchy, beholden to U.S. interests. U.S. military bases were forced to leave. Libyan oil was nationalized as Qadhafi sought to claim Libya for Libyans.

The Qadhafi revolution has been remarkable in many ways. Health care quality is high and free. Women, still constrained in domestic roles, are assuming a larger role in professional life and governmental decision-making. A new commission is beginning to address human rights abuses. The educational system provides free education for all citizens. Libya is no longer a poor country.

But all is not well. Sub-Saharan blacks migrated north into Libya to do the work Libyans now refuse to do, like road building and the multitude of service work necessary in a modern society. Ironically, it was the sub-Saharans who were planting gardens and preparing Tripoli for the 20th anniversary of the revolution in September.

Eastern Europeans were easy to spot. They came in large numbers to do the middle level service, managerial and technocratic jobs. A visit to a modern hospital rehabilitation center revealed a majority of the staff from Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Despite Qadhafi's efforts, Libyans are still struggling to move from Bedouin tribal existence into a modern socialist state.

Students and faculty I spoke with at Al-Fateh University in Tripoli wanted exchange and dialogue with Americans. Government officials were hopeful for a softening of U.S. attitudes, a chance to come out from the "terrorist nation" tag hung on them during the Reagan years. Islamic leaders expressed a desire for mutual conversations with Jews and Christians in search of common unity.

Before he died, Albert Camus wrote, "Over the expanse of five continents throughout the coming years an endless struggle is going to be pursued between violence and friendly persuasion . . . Henceforth the only honorable course will be to stake everything on a formidable gamble; that words are more powerful that munitions."

The longer I work at a world peace effort, whether it be in Central America, Israel and the Occupied Territories, or Libya, the more I realize that human contact and conversation between people at odds with one another are crucial.

Years ago, as a U.S. Marine, I sang "From the halls of Montezuma to the shores of Tripoli, we will fight our country's battles on the land and on the sea." In those days I carried a pistol. Just recently I went to Libya disarmed and disposed to meet the "enemy," in search of a spirit which has the power to dispel doubt and restore faith. Faith in the power of love which, Jesus promises us, can bring down the walls separating one human being or one nation from another.

Given the new overtures for peace in Central America and the Middle East, one can only hope that Libya will be included in discussions around the table and not bombed under it. TW

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Integrity dialogue hopes thwarted

by Louie Crew

My educators taught me that *integrity* equates with honesty and establishes "a good reputation." Used car salesmen boast huge quantities of it. Even bishops like others to ascribe integrity to them, as if integrity is respectability's Gold Card.

"How absurdly they name themselves!" our critics sometimes mumble about Integrity, the group founded for and by lesbian and gay Episcopalians. "What homosexuals have integrity? We despise them. How could we respect them?"

The Episcopal Church desperately needs to restore its own integrity. Gay and lesbian experience reveals many ways the church violates its wholeness.

Why do church commissions discuss us, yet exclude us as members? When I asked the Presiding Bishop, who has proclaimed "There will be no outcasts in the church," he explained to me, gently, that he lacks the authority to appoint lay people and clergy to the commissions.

Every year each diocese in our church convenes and has at least one guest speaker. In the 15 years Integrity has been in existence, our 120 dioceses have invited approximately 1800 guests to speak at diocesan banquets, but not one has featured a lesbian or gay male Christian speaking to our issues. Few hear *about* us; almost no one hears *from* us.

Yet the church has proclaimed an interest in dialogue on the issue of homosexuality. At the 1988 meeting in Detroit, General Convention passed Resolution D-120, which stated:

Resolved that this 69th Convention, responsive to the call of the Standing Commission on Health and Human Affairs "to find a non-judgmental occasion to listen and talk" . . . strongly urges each diocese and congregation to provide opportunities for open dialogue on the subject of human sexuality, in which members of this church, both heterosexual and homosexual, may study, pray, listen to and share their convictions and concerns, their search for stable, loving and committed relationships, and their journey toward wholeness and holiness . . .

To test this resolution, I wrote the following letter to every parish in both dioceses of South Carolina — South Carolina and Upper South Carolina — where I lived this past year:

General Convention has asked all congregations to listen to lesbians and gays tell our stories. Please suggest some dates which would be agreeable for you to receive us.

We can accommodate a variety of formats. Please advise us about what best engages your people. General Convention Resolution 120 stressed that you should provide non-judgmental space. Do not be put off if that is impossible for some of your people . . .

Results: not one invited us. Most did not answer their mail.

Five or six priests in each of the two dioceses wrote to admire my courage. Two said that they hoped they might even have their congregations ready for dialogue within a couple of years. One even bragged that as chaplain he had already arranged such dialogue, but he would not even chat with me when I called for a follow-up, perhaps because in the same post with his letter came a copy of a warning from his bishop, the Rt. Rev. William Beckham of Upper South Carolina:

I have learned over this past weekend that you have received a letter from Dr. Louie Crew of Orangeburg on the content of General Convention Resolution 120. Some of you have called the Diocesan Office somewhat dismayed by the letter, its expectations and even its tone.

Please know that, while we certainly urge study and discussion on a Christian response to the whole subject of human sexuality, we are not sponsoring Integrity nor even requesting that you invite gays and lesbians to come in and make a presentation. In fact, we don't think that the resolution calls for this. Failure to invite "special guests" does not do violence to inclusiveness.

Rather what is called for is open and honest dialogue within the Christian community in a manner which enables us to share concerns and hear those of others.

Note also that Resolution 120 affirms the biblical and traditional teachings on chastity and fidelity.

Admittedly, this is an explosive issue which can do much to divide us.

For that, and for many other reasons, do what you think best and in such a manner that does not alienate parishioner from parishioner nor any from you.

Human sexuality is certainly important but it is not the primary issue of the church nor does Resolution 120 intend it to be.

Those who want to discredit you will

Dr. Louie Crew is the founder of Integrity and was recently appointed Associate Professor of Academic Foundations at Rutgers University.

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often go for your style or tone. Mother always taught me to say "please" and to respect people's right to say "no" or, preferably, "no thank you." I had said, "Please suggest some dates which would be agreeable for you to receive us."

Mother also taught me what men, and she did not use that pronoun generically, mean when they say things like, "For that, and for many other reasons, do what you think best and in a such a manner that does not alienate . . ." Among good ole boys down home in the South, that translates as "Take him out back and beat the bejesus out of him (preferably physically, but spiritually will do) if that pleases you but don't dare get caught or say I told you to."

I sent a copy of my letter and Bishop Beckham's response to all bishops on Integrity's honor roll — those who have said that they cannot abide by the House of Bishop's resolution asking them not to ordain lesbians and gays. One bishop replied, "I really was not surprised to read the contents of Bishop Beckham's letter. I'm afraid that he conveniently missed the point of Resolution 120. You are absolutely correct in your interpretation of it. I hope you favor the Presiding Bishop with copies of the materials you sent me . . ."

The letter penetrated the underwhelming silence of most others. But note what the bishop does not say. He does not say, "I deplore Bishop Beckham's interpretation and have called the Presiding Bishop to say so."

Nor does the bishop write, "Obviously Bishop Beckham has not delivered the House's promises." Instead he says, "I was really not surprised."

Did any other bishop think that the church would heed Resolution 120? The secular world judges harshly those who knowingly write bad checks. Another friend, a gay bishop, replied: "The bishop's response to your letter . . . is, I expect, representative of all too many Episcopalians. And, God bless you for continually creating the clearing which makes it possible to see the nature of the soil in which we hope to plant a fresh crop of life. I am increasingly aware of the work that is before us if gay men and lesbian women are to have the possibility of growing to fullness as God has created us. What I experience is more like being under a heavy blanket of wet leaves and having to push through — maybe I'll make it and maybe I won't and in any case I'm twisted, stunted and discolored and lacking typical blooms . . ."

She that has ears to hear, let her hear what the Spirit says to the churches: Twist and stunt resemble disintegrate, not integrate. The church, the gay bishop implies, conspires to violate his integrity.

The Diocese of Upper South Carolina has sponsored several forums on AIDS, yet made no effort to inform Integrity/ South Carolina of them. Such policies seem to say, "We want a reputation for compassion. Why don't you decently go on and get AIDS? Then we will show you how properly we can love you."

I raised this point at a conference at Trinity Cathedral in Columbia. Many in the audience gasped audibly, but at the Eucharist, Methodist Bishop Melvin Wheatly, much more experienced in such matters, nodded to me directly saying, "He's right. Before we can talk about healing, we all have some guilt work to do here, in facing our sin of homophobia, our sin of exclusion." Two of the canons of the Cathedral would not even speak to me.

This past spring, I sent the following message by EPINET, the electronic mail service of the Episcopal Church, to the Rev. Wayne Schwab, Director of the Office of Evangelism Ministry at the Episcopal Church Center:

Can you give me a statement regarding your office's work to evangelize among lesbians and gays?

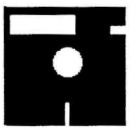
I am preparing my address for the Integrity convention this July, at Grace Cathedral in San Francisco. I will note Integrity's own mission to over 20,000 persons during our first 15 years. Am I correct that this makes us the largest new ministry within the Episcopal Church during that period?

I want to applaud others in our church who have evangelized among lesbians and gays. Please help me document that work, especially efforts by your own office.

I have a hunch that "The Episcopal Church welcomes everyone" has been one of our church's strongest appeals, even where we should emend the claim to " — well, almost everyone." I take great pride that the church most identified with the powerful actually tries, at least in some places, to embrace the lowly, that in our church sometimes the last are first and the first last.

I would appreciate your reflections in these regards.

I did receive a letter in return from Schwab, but sadly it detailed no concrete efforts by this church to spread the Good News to the lesbian and gay community.



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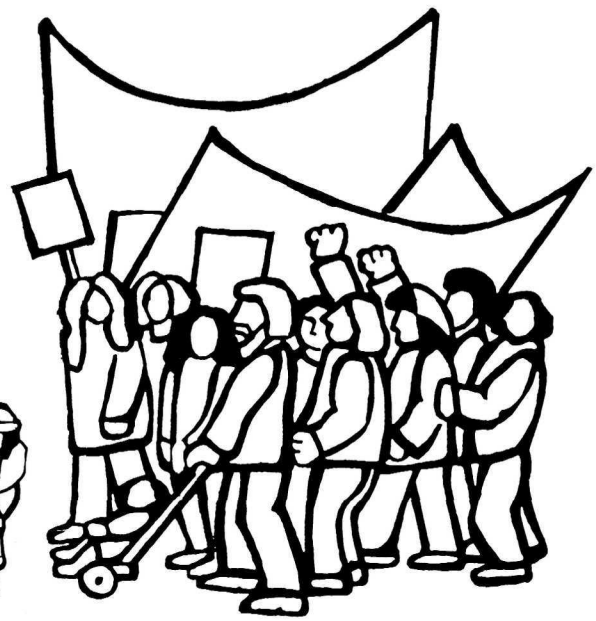

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VOLUME • 72 NUMBER • 10 OCTOBER 1989

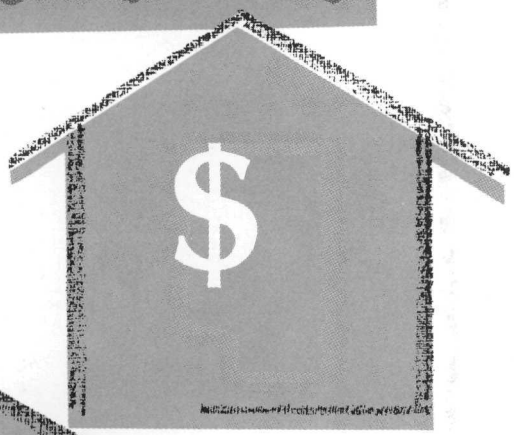
THE WITNESS

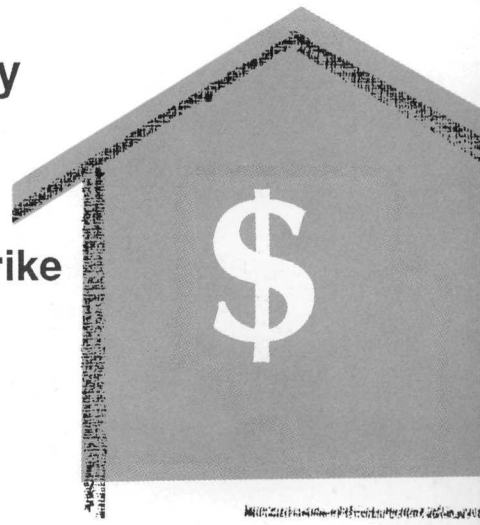
Savings & Loan fiasco: Picking up the pieces
John H. Burt

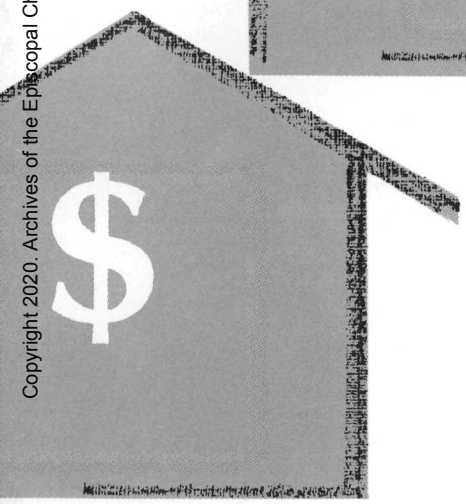
Two faces of U.S. cities
John V. Moeser

Sci-fi and theology
Parker Rossman

and . . .
update on UMW strike







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Letters

Unsung hero in coal war

In your excellent coverage of the coal miners' strike against Pittston, one significant name was omitted — that of the Rev. R. Baldwin Lloyd (called "B" by everyone who knows him), Executive Director of the Appalachian Peoples' Service Organization (APSO).

B was arrested on May 24, at the same time that Bob Thacker, Rob Goldsmith and I were. However, B and the Rev. Richard Hayes of Buchanan were arrested at the Lambert Fork Mine in Dickenson County. There were no newspaper people present; most of the media attention has been focused on Moss No. 3 in Russell County where the three of us were arrested.

B chose to remain in jail overnight, joining miners who were protesting on behalf of Dickenson County school teachers and bus drivers who had been told they would lose their jobs because of loss of revenue due to the coal strike. (The County Board of Supervisors got the message and found the funds from other sources.)

Since that time B has represented APSO and the 15 dioceses that make up the APSO coalition as a member of the ecumenical committee meeting to formulate ways for the church to be present with and show support for the miners. He has offered pastoral support to the clergy of the dioceses whose congregations have been unhappy with their involvement in the strike; has visited with miners and their families in Solidarity City (the tent city set up to house visiting miners), and raised funds through APSO for the Binns-Counts Community Center in its efforts to feed up to 1,000 visiting miners and their families each day.

In addition, B and members of the APSO staff stayed with the Daughters of Mother Jones as they kept vigil for the three jailed union strike leaders; B was one of a limited number of persons allowed to see the three in their cells.

B also helped raise funds for the bus trip to Pittston headquarters in Greenwich, Conn. B suggested to Bishop Heath Light of Southwestern Virginia that he and Bishop Art Walmsley might lead a delegation from the Diocesan Clergy and Spouses Conference to the coalfields. Both bishops agreed and were accompanied by 20 or so clergy and their spouses to participate in the Bible study at St. Mark's and to visit with miners on the picket lines.

B appeared in the Dickenson County Court June 27. The judge continued his case until Dec. 19, saying if there were no further charges against him, he'd drop the case.

Pansie L. Murray
Roanoke, Va.

Reporting excellent

Thank you for the excellent and disturbing reporting on the "War in the coal fields." Blessings.

Verna J. Dozier
Washington, D.C.

Coverage disappointing

I am from Wise County, Va., so I eagerly grabbed THE WITNESS issue on war in the coal fields. Michigan papers have not given much about what is going on with the UMW strike. What a disappointment. Neither did you. Eichenlaub's article gave some sense of what is happening, but the other two articles were more personal reactions than substantial information. Simpson's degenerated into the purple prose that has labeled liberals as "bleeding hearts."

You need to preface the three articles with information about the issues. Only one sentence hinted at the problem: "These miners are striking over the fact that they can't get a contract out of Pittston." Perhaps there is more to it than that. Perhaps the UMW cannot get a satisfactory contract. I doubt if Pittston has refused to offer any contract at all. Also, your writers seem indignant that pay and health benefits cease when a union goes on strike. That is a fairly common occurrence in strikes. Why should it be different in this situation? You need to state your position on the issues more clearly.

Nancy Hummel
Dearborn, Mich.

(We tried to set forth the issues and our position on them in the July-August Editorial page, which prefaced the articles. If doubt remains, we are carrying an update on the strike and re-confirming our support for the striking miners in this issue. See page 5. — Ed.)

No caped crusader

Thank you for the July/August WITNESS, and for being there for the folks in southwest Virginia. If justice is to be done it will be because mainstream America can understand what this struggle is about and know that this is a movement with origins in the working class of the Appalachian region. We who are solidly entrenched in middle-class America need to know that we are not the authors of this story nor are we the leading actors. We are called to be servants and not get in the way of one of the most powerful political statements to come out of that region in nearly a quarter of a century.

I think that in many ways your issue was right on in getting that message across.

However, I am distressed and embarrassed by the piece entitled "From Bible study to civil disobedience." I am portrayed as the caped crusader wheeling in by batmobile and saving all those poor helpless folks in southwest Virginia. Such a portrayal discounts the stories of folks who live in the coal fields. The community of St. Mark's and the Bible study group from that parish were there before I came and will be there long af-

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ter this sojourner has gone home.

All too often, the mainstream church has assumed that there is a need to be missionaries to the oppressed, whether in Appalachia or some other Third World area. The story on the Bible study group perpetuates that pernicious mythology about the Appalachian region. It is also factually inaccurate, but the most distressing thing about the story is that it gives the false impression that somehow only people from outside the region can make a difference. That is unfortunate because it puts an inaccurate spin on an otherwise very informative issue of THE WITNESS.

The real story of St. Mark's Bible study group is that it has empowered all of us to be a community, nourishing each other and lifting one another up. It was for me a place where my sisters and brothers took seriously *Matt. 25*: "I was a stranger and you welcomed me" and by that act made me a stranger no more.

Uncas McThenia
Lexington, Va.

Eichenlaub responds

My story, "From Bible study to civil disobedience," as edited for space restrictions may appear to support McThenia's contentions.

What I discovered on my trip to southwestern Virginia and wrote about reflected the fact that all of the events reported on came out of the group workings of the St. Mark's Bible study group.

McThenia's name is prominent only because he had the time and it was his job as a Jubilee intern to serve the Episcopal community of St. Mark's and Southwestern Virginia.

Frank Eichenlaub
Redford, Mich.

Octogenarian writes

I cribbed from your July-August WITNESS some statistics to write a letter to the editor of the *Anchorage Daily News* about the Pittston Coal strike. What a good magazine. I've ordered a subscription for a friend. I'm glad I found you.

I am 80 years old, a member of the State Commission on Aging. I'm the granddaughter of a lady who, with her husband and nine girls and two boys homesteaded in Kansas and believed in women ministers. She and her husband were hot against slavery and Grandpa fought in the Civil War. The slaves got to vote, but Grandma and her nine daughters could not.

Mellie Terwilliger
Tok, Alaska

First and last

This is the first, and doubtless the last letter I will write to THE WITNESS. I only want to correct a mis-statement by Jan Nunley in the July/August WITNESS. First, I am not "of the Prayer Book Society," and not even of the Evangelical Catholic Mission. I was at the Synod solely on my own, as a "fellow-traveller," a term you will comprehend. And second, I don't recall "sniffing" — but if I did, they were residual tears about the same things you consider your greatest triumph.

The Rev. William H. Ralston, Jr.
Savannah, Ga.

Direct quote

I would like to correct the version of my remarks at the Fort Worth Synod which appeared in your July/August issue ("ESA says 'weed 'em and reap'").

I said: "If we are not willing to admit that [in the matter of remarriage of divorced persons with a previous partner living] we have changed a dominical injunction — and that is what we have done, even if for good reasons — then we ought not to tell our Lord what we think he ought to have said about all the other sexual issues which he never addressed." I read this from a note which I still possess.

Incidentally, my name in religion is John-Charles, all one, as the hyphen suggests. 'Charles' is not my surname.

John-Charles, S.S.F., Bishop
St. Elizabeth's Friary
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Nunley responds

William H. Ralston, Jr. was listed as a representative of the Prayer Book Society in press materials provided by William Murchison, press director for the Synod and ECM. Perhaps the right hand knoweth not what the other right hand doeth.

While I paraphrased Bishop John-Charles, I am hardpressed to understand what interpretation other than that of homosexual unions could be understood from his particular phrasing. If there is another, perhaps he would clarify this for all the church.

Jan Nunley
Episcopal Divinity School
Cambridge, Mass.

More fun now?

I'm enclosing another donation for your yearly fundraising effort because you say that it is running low this year. I can remember the time a number of years ago when I felt THE WITNESS was too tame and when I didn't contribute. Either I'm mellowing or you folk are becoming more fun.

John Kavanaugh
Detroit, Mich.

Belles lettres

In the last few months, you seem to have developed a regular feature out of Letters to the Editor about why people cancel their subscriptions to THE WITNESS. This feature is becoming one of the most enjoyable in the magazine.

One letter in the July/August issue was a classic. You were told you should run

Continued on page 23

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THE WITNESS

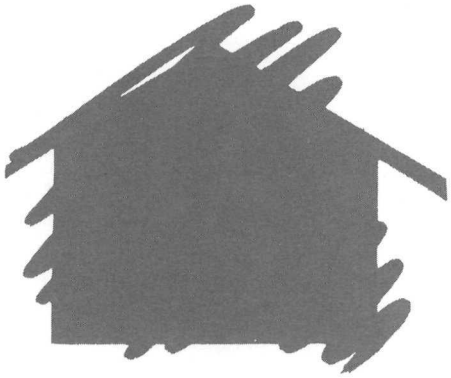

Table of Contents

6 **Activists salvage S&L 'bailout'**
John H. Burt

10 **The two faces of U.S. cities**
John V. Moeser

12 **The theology of imagination**
Parker Rossman

16 **Nicaragua: A people longing for peace**
Ann Robb Smith

20 **Goal of 22-year-old treaty is 'no nukes'**
Gregory Bergman

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Editorial

A stand for justice in the coal fields

THE WITNESS is proud to stand with more than 240 religious leaders who signed an ecumenical statement supporting the United Mine Workers in their strike against the Pittston Company. The declaration, which was endorsed by eight national heads of religious denominations and 54 bishops, was made public at a march and rally in Abingdon, Va. Sept. 9. Fifteen Episcopal bishops were among the signers. The Commission on Religion on Appalachia and its Episcopal member group, Appalachian Peoples' Service Organization (APSO) have been active in gathering signatures.

The rally was another sign of growing support in church communities for the suffering of miners and their families in the months-long strike which has brought visits to the coal fields from Jesse Jackson and Cesar Chavez, among others. THE WITNESS devoted its July/August issue to stories about the coal strike.

Unions across the country have also sent delegations to Appalachia. Most recently 700 United Auto Workers from Detroit organized a car caravan to Southwest Virginia and presented a check for $100,000 to show solidarity.

Key issues center on health benefits and pensions for retirees, and job security. Pittston has been accused of union busting in its attempt to sub-contract with non-union personnel, posing a "do or die" situation for the UMW. Many believe that the PATCO traffic controllers' experience, the Eastern strike, and the current conflict are examples of an intentional effort to disorganize organized labor, portending a modern-day class warfare of a magnitude similar to the Civil Rights struggle of the '60s.

The recent ecumenical statement sums up the present UMW situation:

As leaders of diverse religious traditions from the Appalachian region and the wider national community, we have watched with great concern the strike of the United Mine Workers against the Pittston Company.

In the early weeks of the strike, many religious leaders pledged their support to the UMW in its nonviolent struggle to secure a just settlement with the Pittston Company. Now the strike is more than four months old. Lost wages, lost health care benefits and community divisions increase the toll of human suffering with each passing week. Among many in the coalfields, this continued suffering has led to deep frustration and despair, increasing the potential for violence. Yet in spite of this frustration the miners, their families and neighbors have remained steadfast in their struggle.

It is at this critical juncture that we recommit ourselves to the miners and their legitimate representative, the UMW. We strongly affirm their demonstrated commitment to nonviolence. We call upon all people of faith to support and nurture that commitment.

Our spiritual traditions recognize the rights of workers and impel us to support the vulnerable. The churches support of workers' rights does not automatically translate into support of a particular union in a specific dispute. In this strike, however, the actions of all involved have made it clear to us that the miners represent the vulnerable party not only in the relationship with Pittston, but in relation to the courts and the power of the State as well.

Among the relevant considerations:

- The union has led the struggle to raise living standards, improve mine safety, and secure benefits for retirees and widows. The history of the mines prior to unionization was one of frightening injustice.
- The UMW successfully negotiated a contract with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association that provides reduced labor costs in return for job security provisions. After the Pittston Company refused to accept this contract, the UMW worked an unprecedented 14 months without a contract before calling a strike.
- On Feb. 1, 1988, 14 months prior to this strike, the Pittston Company cut off health coverage to retirees, widows and disabled miners even though they had been guaranteed health benefits for life through prior contracts. In early June, the Pittston Company offered renewed health coverage to its retirees; however, the offer substantially reduces benefits while increasing costs for the retirees who are on largely fixed incomes.
- The Pittston Company appears to be attempting to undermine the workers' union by transferring coal reserves to non-union subsidiaries and by demanding the right to subcontract many coal operations to non-union entities.
- Although there have been incidences

Continued on page 23

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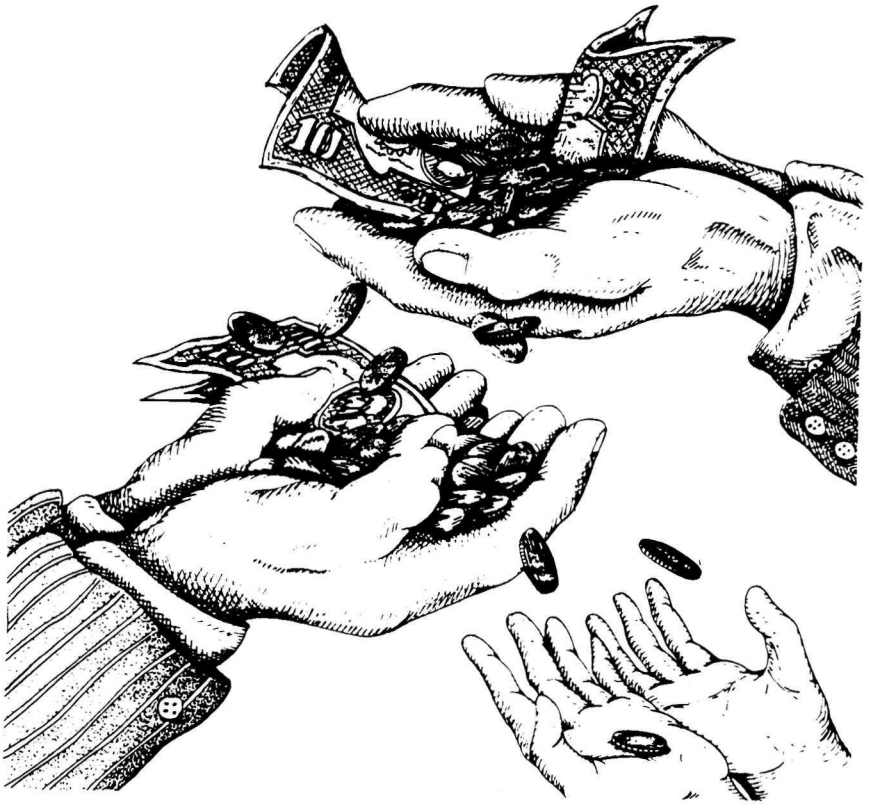
Activists salvage S&L 'bailout'

by John H. Burt



This past summer, the U.S. Congress passed landmark legislation designed to save hundreds of failing banks across the country. By the time President Bush had signed the $166 billion Savings and Loan "bailout" bill into law on August 9, one of the most powerful business lobbies in the nation, the U.S. League of Savings Institutions, had been administered a drubbing at the hands of a coalition of poor people and some liberal religious groups.

The Rt. Rev. John H. Burt, retired Bishop of Ohio, is a member of the Urban Bishops Coalition and serves on the board of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

ACORN (the Associated Community Organizations for Reform Now) was a principal reason for the defeat. This enterprise is presently the largest low income membership organization in the country with a roster of over 75,000 black, white and Latino families in 26 states.

"When we started making our proposals for S&L reform, we felt a lot like David taking on Goliath," recalls Brian Maney, Washington ACORN staff member. To achieve victory, ACORN had organized grass roots people in all parts of the nation. Among other things, ACORN helped create the Financial Democracy Campaign (FDC), a coalition of

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over 200 civic, religious, labor and business organizations (including the Urban Bishops Coalition of the Episcopal Church). ACORN then went on to mobilize District of Columbia-based housing and civil rights organizations as well as the AFL-CIO to give active support to their agenda. Soon organizations such as the NAACP, SCLC and the Urban League came aboard.

The purpose of their combined effort was to insist that the emerging S&L bailout legislation, in addition to protecting depositors, must reflect some serious renewed commitment to affordable home ownership in the United States. ACORN also argued — unsuccessfully — that the government should not soak all taxpayers to pay for the follies of certain irresponsible S&L institutions. ACORN felt the cost of the bailout should be borne chiefly by the people who benefited most from the climate of high interest rates and deregulation which helped cause the crisis in the first place.

Last February when President Bush first issued his plan for S&L reform, he called it "the fairest system that the best minds in this administration can come up with." Yet not one word in his proposal referred to the national housing crisis — the very dilemma that S&Ls were created to solve. ACORN and their FDC partners felt that the original Bush plan ignored most of the basic problems torpedoing the thrift industry. The plan did nothing about the large number of S&Ls hiding their insolvency with bookkeeping tricks, nor did it try to get deposit insurance out of the bailout business and restore it to its original purpose of protecting small investors. And it did not open financial institutions and their regulators to public scrutiny and participation. Indeed, the ACORN-FDC coalition predicted that the result of the Bush plan unamended would likely increase concentration of ownership in the financial service industry, with large institutions swallowing up small-town savings and loans.

ACORN and the FDC did not see all of their proposals accepted in the legislation. Opposition to their reforms was formidable. The attitude of Senator Phil Gramm of Texas was typical of many in Congress who tried to derail what the *New York Times* called "a new populist movement." He denounced supporters of the affordable housing measures as promoters of "cut-rate financing who are out to make the taxpayers pay for a multibillion dollar slush fund for housing subsidies." These self-serving groups, he railed, "will grab the plum properties, leaving the taxpayer with the pits."

> *"The bad news is that the amendment which would have taxed the rich more heavily to pay for the bailout failed . . . The good news is that the bill's affordable housing program now guarantees low and moderate-income consumers a stake in the S&L bailout process."*

Despite such opposition, ACORN and the coalition won three sweet victories which, if honored in practice, should certainly make a difference to millions of low and modest-income Americans. These include:

1. An Affordable Housing/Cash Advance provision which requires that a percentage of the profits of Federal Home Loan District Banks be used for $7 billion worth of loans to developers of low and moderate-income housing and first-time home buyers. This proposal was strongly opposed by the S&L lobby and squeaked by in the House of Representatives with a margin of only two votes. Though opposed by a majority in the Senate, it miraculously survived again in the House/Senate Conference Committee compromise and was in the final bill which the President signed, despite the fact that he was strongly against it and had threatened at one point to veto the entire measure.

2. An Anti-Redlining Amendment that obligates public disclosure of the Community Investment Act ratings of all banks and S&Ls and, in addition, expands the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act to require banks to supply information not only on loans made but also on loan *applications* as well. Information about the race, gender and income level of every applicant is to be made available for public scrutiny.

3. An Asset Disposition provision which gives non-profit housing developers the right of first refusal on residential properties acquired by the government when it takes over insolvent S&Ls, and provides for below-market financing to enable non-profit enterprises (including churches) to purchase these properties.

ACORN's only serious loss during their lobbying effort was a proposed Kennedy-Morrison amendment that would have taxed the rich more heavily to pay for the bailout. That amendment, however, never made it out of the Rules Committee. So the average taxpayer will still have to pick up the tab for a disaster that neither he nor she created.

The good news is that the bill's affordable housing program now guarantees low and moderate-income consumers a stake in the S&L bailout process. As a result, in the coming decade this could mean assistance in financing $2.5 to $5 billion worth of affordable housing each year.

During the next four years, federal home-loan banks across the country will have to set aside $50 million each year for rate-reduction subsidies on mortgages for low and moderate-income housing. From 1995 on, the banks will have to set aside $100 million a year.

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These loans will be available through local S&Ls working with private builders, nonprofit organizations and others who sponsor affordable housing projects. Rather than paying the going rate for mortgage money, qualifying loan applicants will get subsidized mortgages — 6 to 8% for fixed-rate money in a 10% market. Subsidies like this can mean the difference between buying or not buying a house for thousands of financially pressed families.

Under the final language of the bailout bill, priority will now be given to loans for:

— Homeownership for families whose income is 80% or less of the area median income.

— Purchase or rehabilitation of housing owned or held by the U.S. government.

— Purchase or rehabilitation of housing sponsored by nonprofits, state and local governments, local housing authorities and state housing-finance agencies.

Sponsors of affordable rental housing also will be assisted in constructing, rehabilitation or purchasing rental housing, as long as at least 20% of the units are occupied by "very low-income households."

In another key provision, lobbied for hard by ACORN and its allies, affordable-housing advocates got a foot in the door of what the *Washington Post* calls the "S&L bailout bill's treasure trove of real estate," the new Resolution Trust Corporation. The RTC, within hours of the President's signature, began taking over upwards of $100 billion worth of property from insolvent S&Ls. Its task will be to sell these holdings, including everything from Texas condominiums to Florida resorts, at the best price. But for those single family residential properties in the RTC portfolio that are at or below Federal Housing Administration limits on value ($67,500 in many areas, higher in others), the RTC will now have to give local public agencies and non-profit organizations a "first look" before selling to private bidders.

The Savings and Loan financial rescue — the biggest in the nation's history — is expected to cost a minimum of $159 billion over the next 10 years and, including interest, at least $285 billion or more over 30 years, which works out to about $1,000 for every taxpayer. By any measure, this is scandalous.

Responsibility for such a tragic mess must be laid in large measure on Reagan Administration decisions to deregulate the industry. Because of deregulation, S&Ls across the country began flirtations with investments in glitzy developments, in shopping centers that were never built, in junk bonds bought to finance leveraged buyouts, and in lavish salaries for executives. These scandals and other high-flying "miscalculations" all but wrecked public confidence in an industry that was originally formed expressly to provide access to the historic American dream — home ownership.

It will take years to undo all the damage and restore the S&L system to honesty, solvency and public confidence. But the recent lobbying efforts of ACORN and FDC did seize the rare chance this crisis offered to restructure the way high finance does business and restore some much-needed public priorities in the financial industry. It has also helped rebuild some fresh assurance that depositors' savings are protected and that such a calamity as the bailout need not happen again — if, that is, the public takes advantage constantly of the consumer policing provisions that are now part of our banking law. TW

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Short Takes

Power and the future of cities

The future of cities in the industrial belt depends to some degree on our ability to pierce the definitions of the fiscal crises that have paralyzed us, to resist the cuts in our services and facilities and jobs, and to exert the not inconsiderable force of an aroused people. Having recognized the large role that government action has played in determining our fate, the question will be, in whose interests will government act in the future? And that in turn will depend on how forcefully the people of the cities push their interests and demand their due, on the platforms, at the polls, and in the streets.

Frances Fox Piven
THE WITNESS 9/82

After death your hair and fingernails keep growing, but the phone calls taper off. — Johnny Carson

Nurturing hope

We do have hope, and we have to keep nurturing one another's hope, even if we have different strategies. My own belief is that what we do makes a difference although not the kind of difference that we can always see. If it makes no difference whatsover in the things we do in the struggle for justice — no difference in the ultimate movement toward the realm of God — then it is just a game.

Life is a lot like driving a car in the fog. Your headlights only show up the next 10 feet, but that's all you really need to see. If you drive the next 10 feet, then your lights will show up another 10 feet. I'm a real believer in seeing the next step. We don't have to see the whole thing, we'll just stand still. But if we see the next step only, then is it possible to see the next one? We have to believe that in taking this one, the next will open up. Everything depends on our being faithful to the next step, however great or small it may seem to be.

Christian ethicist Margaret Farley
***Trinity News* 1989**

Do not be indifferent to anyone's problems. Make the sufferings and humiliations of all your brothers and sisters your own. Live on a global scale, or better still, take the whole universe.

Dom Helder Camara

NOW march set Nov. 12

THE WITNESS magazine will be among those groups sponsoring NOW's Mobilize for Women's Lives march Nov. 12 in Washington, D.C. from noon until 4:30 p.m. The goal is to let the Supreme Court, President Bush and Congress know that the majority of Americans will not tolerate the dismantling of the *Roe v. Wade* decision, and that abortion must be kept safe, legal, and funded.

Nov. 13 has also been designated National Training/Lobby day in D.C.

While THE WITNESS will not sponsor a delegation as such, readers are asked to march with their local delegations. For further information: NOW Center, 1000 Sixteenth St. NW, Suite 700, Washington, D.C. 20036.

Bush drug program unreal

President Bush's plan (for drug enforcement) pays no attention to the economic and social roots of the drug crisis. Instead, $7 billion earmarked for the "new war," nationally and internationally, is allocated to law enforcement — "more jails, more police, more prosecutors and harsher penalties." The remaining 30%, allocated to prevention, education and treatment, provides so small a part of needed services that drug abuse treatment providers have called the plan laughable . . . The same President who recently vetoed minimim wage increases fails to recognize the connection between drug abuse and the desperation caused by poverty, unemployment and lack of hope.

The Bush plan continues Reagan's fund-slashing by taking money from already crippled social and economic programs to pay for the anti-drug crusade. The plan proposes cuts in juvenile justice programs, public housing, and assistance to immigrants — all programs of particular benefit to people of color and to the poor.

Linda Thurston
AFSC Penitentiary Project

One camel does not make fun of another camel's hump.
— Guinean proverb

U.S. role in drug war

Despite several publicized sting operations, little has been done to confront virtually institutionalized drug money laundering in the United States, which provides a profit haven for drug traffickers. Moreover, 95% of all precursor chemicals used in cocaine production come from U.S. companies. In both cases, appropriate legislation exists, but enforcement remains lax.

Coletta Youngers
***Christian Science Monitor* 9/11/89**

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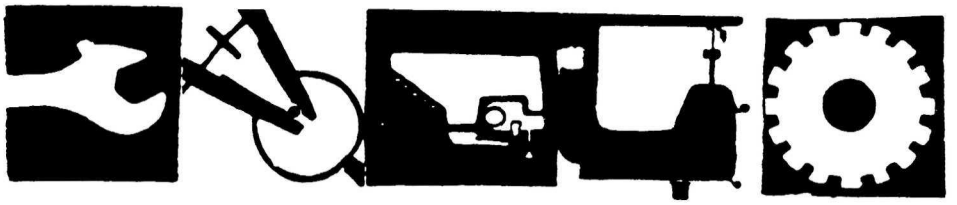

The two faces of U.S. cities

by John V. Moeser

Not long ago, Bill Moyers introduced a series of programs on PBS entitled, "A Walk Across the Twentieth Century." The first program focused on his hometown. It was the title of that program that caught my eye. It was called, "Marshall, Texas; Marshall, Texas." As I watched the program, it became clear why. When Moyers was growing up in this town, he began to discover that two worlds existed side by side — one white and one black; one much more affluent than the other. To illustrate the deep separation between these two worlds, he noted that growing up in that small town at the same time as himself was James Farmer, the founder of CORE. Yet, they did not meet each other until years later, after they left Texas and became involved in national politics.

I am convinced that Moyers could have selected any city in the United States and treated it the same way he did his hometown. Each city wears two faces, one relatively prosperous and upbeat; the other abjectly poor and despairing. A study of my home could easily be called, "Richmond, Virginia; Richmond, Virginia."

What I fear is that instead of a single city emerging with larger proportions of Americans becoming full participants in the urban economy and political system, there are two cities drifting farther and farther apart with the life of one seldom impinging on the other.

I want to take up here some of the historical forces contributing to this bifurcated urban society.

In an effort to encapsulate population change in the United States, I suggest that, insofar as urban growth is concerned, there have been three important trends. The first trend is urbanization. From 1800 to the Second World War, people moved to urban areas in search of jobs. Ironically, initial efforts to industrialize were directed at an agricultural economy. The manufacturing of farm machinery created jobs in cities and threw farm labor out of work as a result of the mechanization of agriculture. The direction of population change was basically from South to North because the northern manufacturing belt captured most of the growth.

The second trend — suburbanization — can be traced from World War II to about the mid-1970s. Population in central cities was declining and suburban growth was exploding. However, the vast majority of suburbanites still worked in the central city, and suburbs were essentially bedroom communities.

Also, during the post-World War II years, metropolitan areas were becoming increasingly segregated along both racial and class lines. Seldom could middle-class black families take advantage of FHA loans for new housing located in white suburban neighborhoods. Most of the public housing was concentrated in the central cities. The phenomena of the two housing programs, therefore, reinforced the racial and class distinctions between city and suburb. More and more, there were two worlds, the booming and affluent suburbs and the declining and poor core city. Generally speaking, the suburbanization trend led to a bifurcated society. Finally, during this second period, the move from the South to the North continued. Black migration out of the South was heavy after World War II.

The third trend is the most recent, first emerging in the mid-1970s. It was during this third period that, momentarily, urbanization came to a halt. The reason was that rural growth began to exceed urban growth. Scores of newspaper and magazine articles focused on the back-to-the-country movement. Small towns began to grow. Professionals living in large cities and suburban areas began to worry over the congestion and the hurry of urban life. In retrospect, this so-called rural renaissance was much ado about nothing, because large chunks of rural America were still faced with population losses. The rural growth areas were located just outside the suburbs surrounding the nation's largest cities. These areas are known as the "exurbs." I call this third trend "exurbanization." Between 1970 and 1980, the fastest growing areas in the United States were the exurbs. Their population expanded 46% in that 10-year period, contrasted with 32% for

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Dr. John V. Moeser is Professor of Urban Studies and Planning at Virginia Commonwealth University. Portions of this article appeared earlier in *Richmond Lifestyle*.

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suburban areas and a 5% decline for central cities

What is contributing to such significant exurban growth is the development of office parks. Attracted to the large tracts of undeveloped land, low taxes, and availability of water and transportation routes, businesses and industries are locating farther and farther away from the city center. Residential development soon follows and the result is that people can live close to work. In the 19th century, cities were compact and people lived within walking distance to everything they needed, which historians refer to as the "walking city." Now what we are beginning to see is the development of a new urban form — the "walking exurb." People still commute to the city for work, but increasingly people are commuting across suburban/exurban lines without ever setting foot into the city. As intersuburban or interexurban commuting becomes more pronounced, the ties connecting the city to the region beyond may begin to dissolve. If this happens, the city is in trouble. Ever since cities began losing population, they began to lose political clout, particularly in state legislatures. Sometimes, however, the city could rely on commuting ties to compensate for lost political power in the state assemblies. But what will happen as fewer and fewer people commute to the city for work?

Interestingly, during this exurbanization phase, another demographic trend took root — gentrification. During the early '70s, younger professional, single people and childless couples began to move to the central city. The downtown corporate economy provided employment opportunities for a highly educated work force which often sought housing in nearby neighborhoods. This movement was reinforced by the 1973-74 oil embargo when rising energy prices caused some Americans to consider the amenities and economies of city living. Quickly, older houses were renovated,

Continued on page 14

The phenomenon of urbanization

During most of our history as a nation, we have experienced urbanization. The first census taken in 1790 indicated that about 5% of the population resided in urban areas, and 95% in non-urban areas. By 1820, the urban proportion had increased slightly to a little over 7%. But between 1820 and 1870, the urbanization rate tripled, so that by 1870, 25% were urbanized. Of course, this was due to the industrial revolution.

By 1920, half of the U.S. population resided in urban areas, and presently, about 75% is urban.

In the Western experience, increases in urbanization have always been associated with industrialization. This is in marked contrast to what is happening in much of the Third World. There, industrialization is lagging behind urbanization. Also, the rate of urbanization in the Third World is not as great as some demographers were predicting only because the rapid increase in urban populations is matched with large increases in rural populations as well. Still, the growth of cities in the developing nations is staggering.

While urban population in the Western world increased 275% in the past 50 years, in the Third World it increased 675%.

In 1920, the Third World's urban population represented 25% of the total urban population in the world; by 1980, about 50% of the world's urban population was concentrated in the developing countries; by 2025 it is projected that 76% will be found in the Third World.

Currently, the three largest cities in the world are not Western cities, but cities located in Asia and Latin America. Tokyo heads the list, with 17 million, followed by Mexico City and Sao Paulo, each with 16 million.

New York has 15 million people. Mexico City is expected to have 37 million people by the year 2025. Only 12 years from now, London, which was the second largest city in the world in 1950, will not even be in the top 25. The largest cities will be located in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. What is most distressing is that the largest urban growth rates are recorded most often in those countries with the lowest levels of economic development. — J.V.M.

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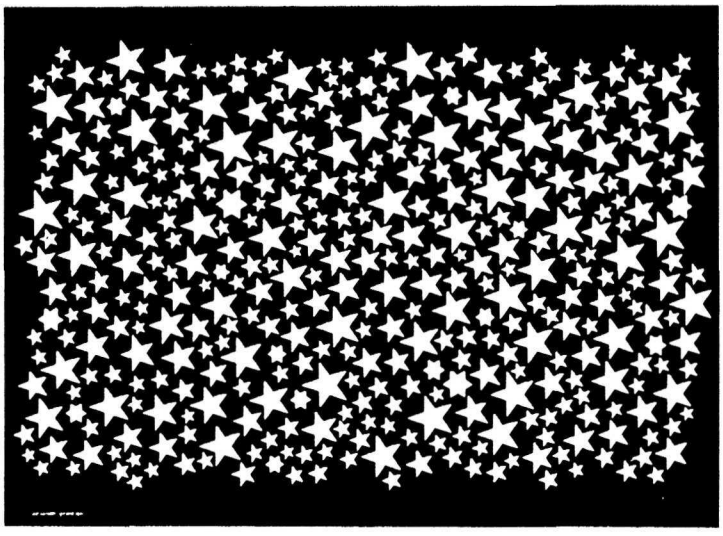
Science, science fiction, and religion:

The theology of imagination

by Parker Rossman



In each generation, theology is influenced by the dominant philosophy of the time. So our minds are likely to be stretched a bit by the provocative opinion of Marvin Minsky. Minsky, a computer genius at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, says that when the intellectual history of the 20th century is written, science fiction writers will be considered our greatest philosophers — instead of the existentialists, linguists, analysts, or other academic types. A recent book review in *The New York Times* discussing the imaginative science fiction of Ursula K. LeGuin makes essentially the same point.

Science fiction seems to be asking the great questions of our time. Because the minds of our academic philosophers in the universities are not soaring to the heights which a space age calls for, says Minsky, they are failing to stimulate our imaginations with immense visions the way science fiction does.

In Garrett Green's charming book, *Imagining God: Theology and the Religious Imagination*, Green sees "faithful imagination" as the point where God communicates with and inspires human beings. Religion, like science, is reshaped from time to time by a new paradigm — for example, shifting from a model of a flat world to a round one. Our "religious vision of 'what the world is like' is embodied in the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments," Green says.

The word *heart* in the Bible — "love God with all your heart" and "blessed are the pure in heart for they shall see God" — should be understood as "imagination," according to Green. It is a creative sort of imagination that can envision a more truly Christian future

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for the world and for each of us. In the Christian drama, Green says, God seeks to capture the imagination of the faithful to inspire us, to set our hearts and minds on fire.

We can stretch our minds a bit more by reading the Russian philosopher Berdayaev, who said: "God did not send Christ to help us to be 'good' in the moral sense, so much as to help us to be more creative." True goodness — as well as justice — requires creative imagination to conceive of and empower a better future.

Scientists and science fiction writers are increasingly asking religious questions. Scientists are admitting that their great discoveries, like religious experiences, came through inspiration, flashes of creative insight, and faithful imagination. The scientist seeks to be faithful to science as the theologian seeks to be faithful to God.

Madeline L'Engle, noted Episcopalian novelist, theologian and science fiction writer, ponders how religion and science view the universe in her book, *A Stone for a Pillow: Journeys with Jacob*. In one of the essays in this collection, she notes that certain concepts of theology seem to parallel those of scientific theory (see box).

The late theologian Richard Niebuhr may well have been right when he said that the next great era in theology would come in dialogue with the sciences. Organizations and institutions like the Center of Theological Inquiry at Princeton have emerged to explore the possibilities of such dialogue. However, there is a great shortage of theologians with an adequate imagination and foundation in science.

It may be easier for scientists to do some theology. Groups like the Order of the Academy of Christ, based in England, seek to recruit young scientists with imagination who will be faithful to both God and the scientific method. Computer specialist Jenny Day is among those in the order seeking to put their imagination to work in a quest for a theology based on a contemporary philosophy of science. She has helped form a Christian education program for children which is rooted in science fiction and wonders if some congregations could become science-fiction exploring communities, or "think-tanks."

Another is Anglican Brother Richard Kirby, an interdisciplinary scholar with a brilliant and fascinating mind and an intense Christian commitment. He puzzles, bewilders and irritates many people because of the way his mind moves quickly from discipline to discipline, idea to idea, dream to dream. He has edited a book entitled *The Significance of Science Fiction* and organized groups and conferences around that theme.

"Scientists and science fiction writers are increasingly asking religious questions. Scientists are admitting that their great discoveries, like religious experiences, came through inspiration, flashes of creative insight, and faithful imagination."

Science fiction, Kirby finds, is "a serious part of human culture, science, intellectual life, philosophy, religion . . ." and is central to the culture of the younger generation. As universal language and myth of the 20th century, science fiction embodies the hopes and fears of youth worldwide.

The Mission to Mysticism, another book of Kirby's, lists what 14 scholars found to be the "spiritual aphorisms" of science fiction:

Science fiction is part of the contemporary search for the human soul . . . it is a vehicle for spiritual development . . . bestows the peak experience of awe and wonder . . . seeks a new reality with a consciousness . . . it is the modern heir of romanticism, poetry, and mysticism . . . it remythologizes the Bible . . . stands at the perimeter of all human knowledge, bringing together science, religion, art, philosophy, and much more . . . stands on the threshold of infinity . . . is the conscience of science, its advance guard . . . is a laboratory of the imagination, of creativity, or problem-solving . . . explores human character and personality in new dimensions.

Kirby points out that science fiction, like all art and literature, can be employed crudely, its genius exploited. What then should be the Christian response and involvement towards the millions of young Christians who read and are influenced, even seduced, by science fiction?

Kirby insists that our response not be negative, because Christians are already present in this world of science fiction as readers, viewers, writers and interpreters.

Ian Gibson, an aspiring young British science fiction writer, said in an interview that he would like to make a Christian witness in the science fiction world. Science fiction, said Gibson, is "able to create more powerful images and therefore can give us a clearer picture of the purpose which God has intended for us. It can also give us a greater understanding of the enormity of God's creation [and] serve the purpose of guiding humankind, by showing the different paths which we can take into the future."

When asked if there was room for Christ in the galactic adulthood of humanity, Gibson replied, "Humankind has already reached out into space and

Continued on page 22

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Cities . . . *Continued from page 11*

particularly those in more historic sections of cities, and, just as quickly, housing values in these neighborhoods began to skyrocket.

As neighborhoods gentrified, longtime residents of these areas, many living on fixed incomes, no longer could afford the rents or property taxes and were forced to leave. Urban analysts at first viewed gentrification as a godsend to cities but soon saw that while gentrification was good for the tax base, it wasn't good for low and moderate income populations living in those neighborhoods. Moreover, the movement into the city of younger professionals was not counterbalancing the movement of middle-class families out of the city. Cities were still caught with a net loss. Gentrification simply slowed the rate of decline.

About the time that gentrification began to set in, cities also began to see attention given to downtown renewal. Interest turned to the excitement of central business districts and city waterfronts and harbors. Festival marketplaces, street fairs, concerts, art and crafts exhibits, ethnic celebrations, and a host of other events, programs, and building projects, including new office buildings, restaurants, and high cost housing units — all of these undertakings have given new life to the city. Perhaps some Americans were beginning to realize what Europeans have known for centuries — that cities were the heart of civilization; that, as Lewis Mumford once said, "mind takes form in the city."

Yet, in spite of all this attention, our cities remain deeply troubled. The most troubling fact of all is that in the midst of urban renaissance, all the hoopla over downtown rejuvenation and festival marketplaces, there is a growing segment of our city populations which is desperately poor. This is the second face of urban America.

Public choice economists can extol the virtues of the private market and how all of the many governments within a single metropolitan area produce competition and how competition contributes to more efficiency and higher quality services. Doubtless, governments are in competition with each other. But public economists seldom address the immobile Americans, the millions who cannot afford to move, and are trapped in a cycle of poverty and confined to an inner city ghetto. They have no choice but to take whatever is available, even if that is an abandoned house with no plumbing, heat

or electricity. And then there are the mobile — those with no neighborhood at all; who roam the streets in a constant search for warmth and food, in a mobility born out of a struggle to survive.

This notion of cities having two faces is reflected in a recent report of the National Housing Task Force, which was established by Congress to reexamine national housing policy. The 26 members of the Task Force, who were drawn from business, banking, community service organizations, and state/local government, noted that the 1949 Housing Act called for a decent home for every American family. They observed that, not only have we as a nation fallen short of that goal, but we are losing ground. The report points to the growing numbers who are:

> *. . . huddled on grates or wrapped in cardboard boxes — the "homeless." Mothers, fathers and children. . . forced to the streets — the "new homeless." And the families who owe rent they cannot afford and may not be able to pay . . . the "near homeless."*

With shrinking federal assistance over the past 10 years, the loss of political clout in the state legislature, and a shaky tax base, many American cities today are hard pressed to address issues of substandard housing, deteriorating neighborhoods, and a host of other critical concerns. Public/private partnerships have developed out of necessity and while such ventures can be potentially very positive, the primary beneficiaries, it seems, are most often private businesses. The public interest somehow gets lost.

Currently, another major obstacle found in cities is that instead of a sense of overall community, there is a plurality of communities, one for the race, one for the class, one for the elderly, one for the transients, and so on. Also, as urban societies become more complex, urban institutions become more differentiated. Loyalties are directed to particular institutions or groups, seldom to the larger community. Often these sub-loyalties are shaped by economic necessity or by prejudice and discrimination. Exclusion rather than inclusion is the norm. Less by choice than by lack of choice, large groups of people may live in the middle of the city, but not participate in the mainstream of life.

The ethical response to our problems today involves merging the goals of self-fulfillment with public consciousness. Nothing less than a fundamental alteration of attitudes is required, but such a

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change is difficult, given the rampant materialism of our time, which evaluates personal worth in terms of buying power, which measures personal fulfillment in terms of economic gain, which diverts attention from human suffering to self-sufficiency, and which sustains the sub-loyalties in a city to the benefit of the rich and the detriment of the poor.

I do not believe that people acquire a new perspective or develop vision by willing it so. Vision requires a change of personal values which, in turn, are reflected in a re-thinking and re-shaping of social structures and institutions. The church has much to say about personal and social change. The Gospel is all about such change. The life of Jesus is a powerful testimony of God's love for the individual and the community. Had Bill Moyers developed a program called, "A Walk Across the First Century," I suspect the first installment could well have been entitled, "Jerusalem, Jerusalem." It was the city of Passover and palm leaves, but also the city of suffering and crucifixion. We hear Jesus' lamentation, "O Jerusalem, how often would I have gathered thy children together," but we also hear God's declaration, cast in the image of a city: "Behold, the dwelling of God is with all humanity and God will dwell with them and they shall be God's people and God shall wipe away every tear from their eyes and death shall be no more." TW

Genocide

The nation which nearly destroyed
the original population of our continent
and imported millions of slaves
to toil without pay or human status
in its fields of cotton and sugar cane,
now unheedingly completes the genocide
of its poor and minority citizens
with the birth of thousands
of drug and alcohol affected babies.

This new generation of Americans
will never be able to dream or to plan
for the future or even for tomorrow,
to complete high school or to earn more
than the sub-marginal minimum wage,
to balance a budget or a checkbook,
to appreciate the beauty of a sunset,
wonder at the stars, or participate
in a mutually caring relationship.

Many of those who survive to adulthood,
lacking the ability to develop a conscience
or to act except on immediate impulse,
to understand the meaning of such concepts
as loving commitment, life and death,
will become tomorrow's abuse victims, suicides,
and criminals against the intrusion of whom
more fortunate citizens will erect chain fences
and install guard dogs.

In my state of Oregon
which is still struggling to recover
from the crippling Federal budget cuts
of Reagan's eighties, it is estimated
that one in every ten children
born last year was affected
by drugs, alcohol, or both;
yet no arrangements exist
for the screening or reporting
of Crack or FAS/E babies,
and almost none for the care
of their addicted expectant mothers.

As the years pass, these children
will require ongoing care
and multiple special services
which already overburdened
agencies and school systems
are totally unprepared to provide.

Meanwhile, Congress continues to appropriate
billions of taxpayers' dollars for Star Wars,
Stealth, and new super secret spy satellites —
but few, if any, for health care,
affordable housing, or treatment programs.

Truly, we are evolving on the fast track
into a two-tier society composed
of the affluent and of an underclass
which will increasingly be unable to meet
those criteria by which human life
has always been defined.

Mary Jane Brewster

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Part II

Nicaragua: A people longing for peace

by Ann Robb Smith

"Bienvenido a la Patria de Sandino" proclaimed the red letter sign that hung across the balcony at the entrance to the airport in Nicaragua.

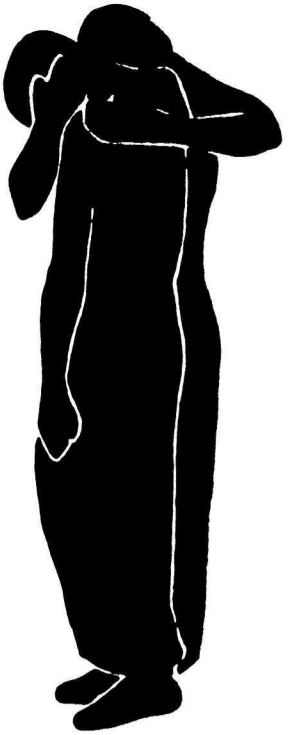
Coming into Nicaragua from El Salvador this summer was like coming into light after darkness, into dawn after a long and scary night. It had been tense in El Salvador — a country struggling under the control of a repressive alliance of the right-wing political party, ARENA, and the military. Heavily armed soldiers were stationed on almost every street corner and convoys of trucks and jeeps went by constantly with sirens screaming. We had been given instructions by our guides from the Center for Global Education not to drink the tap water because it was polluted, not to go out at night and not to mention the names of the people we interviewed for fear of bringing threats, arrests or even possible assassination upon them. We were under constant surveillance; our personal belongings were searched. We heard gunfire almost every night.

In Nicaragua, the atmosphere was completely different. It was open, friendly, relaxed. Few soldiers were around. People spoke freely. We could report their names and take their pictures. The tap water was pure.

The city streets were safe at night. One evening several of us went to Benjamin Linder Park to swing on the swings. Children played on the grass and lovers embraced on park benches. Instead of gunfire, we heard music and people laughing.

We were somewhat apprehensive because as U.S. citizens, we could be perceived as supporting the Contra war and therefore not welcome. But that was not the case. Everywhere we went we were greeted graciously and with kindness and hospitality by friendly people. Why then, has our country waged such unrelenting war against them?

I was surprised to see that Managua was more like a small town than a city. A large part of Managua has not been rebuilt since the devastating 1972 earthquake. Driving in from the airport we passed empty fields overgrown with weeds, where buildings had once stood. Deserted streets led to nowhere. The cathedral stood in ruins, its roof open to the sky, only the massive walls and pillars remaining. The marble altar was covered with rubble.



There were no skyscrapers in Managua. The Intercontinental Hotel, the old National Palace and the building housing the National Assembly and government offices were the only buildings over two stories tall. The factories we passed were ancient-looking and rusted. The streets were wide and motor traffic was light. There seemed to be as many horse-drawn carts and wagons pulled by oxen as there were trucks or cars. There were even fewer motor vehicles in the countryside. The sight of the *campesinos* riding everywhere on their horses made me think I was on the set of an old U.S. cowboy movie. The corrals, the primitive wooden houses and the dirt streets were all reminiscent of the wild west.

What are we so afraid of? I wondered.

The vast majority of U.S. citizens are ignorant of a critical major change in U.S. warfare strategy. Past strategy was based on direct, overt military action to achieve a military victory. The new strategy — called Low-Intensity Warfare (LIW) — is multidimensional. LIW was developed as a result of the U.S. military defeat in Viet Nam. U.S. analysts decided that defeat came about because of widespread popular support for the Viet Cong. Thus, they reasoned, victory depends on winning the hearts and minds of the people rather than on military might.

Ann Robb Smith is in her final year at the Lutheran Seminary in Philadelphia and is a candidate for holy orders in the Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania. She traveled to El Salvador and Nicaragua in May and June of this year.

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The strategic objective of LIW is the political, rather than purely military, defeat of the enemy — victory is won by using all of the weapons of total war, which includes economic, political and psychological, as well as military ones. Because LIW is total warfare, boundaries are blurred and distinctions between civilian and military personnel disappear. As a result, civilian casualties and suffering are greatly intensified. Villages are bombed, roads and fields are mined. LIW strategy includes threats, kidnapings and assassinations of civilian enemy sympathizers.

Tactics aimed at influencing the hearts and minds of the civilian population include manipulation of the media, misinformation campaigns, the funding of opposition parties and candidates, CIA infiltration of labor unions and human rights groups and the instigation of strikes or demonstrations against the enemy government. Other tactics involve economic embargoes, blockages and diplomatic pressures.

Since the days of the Cold War, the United States has seen the world to be a confrontation between two opposing political-social systems — capitalism (or democracy) vs. communism (or totalitarianism). No distinction is made between communism and socialism. All left-leaning systems are considered communist plots to overthrow democracy and, eventually, to topple the United States.

It is imperative that the U.S. public become aware of this new strategy because it raises profound moral and ethical issues. LIW involves the manipulation and deception of the very people — U.S. citizens — in whose name and interest it is being waged. An intensive public relations campaign is underway to convince the American people that the United States is threatened by communist-inspired revolutions throughout the world. The battle for public opinion is crucial to LIW success. Strategists still believe that "protesters" brought about the U.S. defeat in Viet Nam. The aim of the public relations campaign is to shape the world view of U.S. citizens to fit the LIW interpretation of democracy vs. communism and create the belief that the United States must be the defender of democracy throughout the world.

LIW is clearly at work in Central America — especially against Nicaragua. The United States has applied direct military action against Nicaragua, but not with U.S. troops. The U.S. has funded and trained the Contras as a mercenary army.

With national elections some four months away, Nicaragua is trying to combat Low Intensity Warfare waged against it by the United States — a strategy about which most U.S. citizens remain in the dark.

LIW strategy aims to undermine and destroy the economy of the enemy. Ever since the Sandinistas came to power in 1979, they have faced soaring military costs, to the point where over half their budget goes to defense. Subsidizing an army that is not producing goods or crops adds fuel to the inflationary fire.

Due to the war, the U.S. economic embargo and the devastating losses resulting from Hurricane Joan in October 1988, the government has had to cut back drastically on programs for education, housing, employment, health and agricultural development.

It is ironic that the Bush administration would not impose an economic embargo upon China after the Tienanmen Square massacre out of concern for the suffering it would cause the Chinese people. Yet there is no such similar concern for the suffering wrought upon the Nicaraguans. It is also tragic that the United States has not provided one penny of humanitarian aid to help alleviate the hardships caused by Hurricane Joan.

Agrarian reformer Ivan Garcia believes that Nicaragua has the potential to be self-sufficient and provide the nutritional necessities for its population with the development of proper technology, but the cost of the war has delayed this indefinitely. Inflation, meanwhile, in spite of the government's severe austerity measures, has skyrocketed to 20,000%!

As Ivan Garcia said, "The biggest miracle of all is that Nicaragua is still alive."

In Managua, we met with Manolo Cordero, Director of the North American Desk at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Cordero is a thin, dark-haired man with glasses. He speaks impeccable English. He also understands U.S. strategy very well.

"This is an interesting time in Nicaragua," he told us. "A time of transition from war towards a political opening. We hope for the end of war even though the Contras still attack. It is a bumpy road to peace.

"Reagan wanted an ideological cause. Nicaragua was like a bone given to the U.S. right wing. The United States created the Contras and the economic blockade. This has created huge economic problems for us. It has handicapped our social programs."

When asked about the future, Cordero answered, "There are three or four major events which have had an impact. In '87 the strategic and military threat of the Contras came to an end. They have no base among the people. The Iran-Contra scandal weakened Reagan's control. Countries such as Costa Rica and Guatemala see that they can no longer count on the United States to do whatever it wants unilaterally in Central America so they are saying, 'We better look for

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other solutions. The United States can't always do it.' And even though Bush won the election, the Democrats won Congress and Congress has gotten involved in Central America.

"The new openness and the peace initiatives by the Soviets show a breakthrough in East-West relations. It will be difficult for the United States to deal with two concepts of the Soviets. Is it still the old 'evil empire' or is it a country that makes peace treaties?"

Cordero emphasized that it was very important to end the economic embargo: "It is a matter of cost efficiency," he said. "We need spare parts and we can get them cheaper and quicker from the United States than from the Soviets. You are a natural market for us. And Secretary of State Jim Baker puts pressure on the European countries not to deal with us."

We asked him about Nicaragua's national elections in February 1990. "Bush will do everything he can to disrupt the elections," Cordero said. "He will use the opposition, especially the right wing, to discredit us. Nicaragua has an open door policy for observation by the O.A.S. and the U.N. The European Parliament will send observers too. The United States will have a hard time discrediting the elections."

There has been much talk of U.S. observer teams at the elections. Representative Sixto Ulloa of the National Assembly told us that in order for the elections in Nicaragua to be free, the United States has to stop interfering with the election process. Furthermore, Ulloa suggested, since the United States is so deeply involved, it cannot qualify as neutral or disinterested and so should not be permitted to be an official observer.

LIW strategy in the elections seems to be at two levels. On the one hand, the United States is attempting to influence the outcome by supporting and advising the opposition, while on the other hand working to discredit the elections by announcing that they will not be free or fair. This could provide the rationale for continuing the economic embargo and even the restoration of military aid to the Contras.

Vice-president Dan Quayle is an active participant in the LIW strategy to influence U.S. public opinion on the elections. He announced in June, while on his tour of Central America (which did not include Nicaragua), that the Nicaraguan elections "would be a sham."

The church in Nicaragua has become a battleground for the hearts, minds and spirit of the people. The contrast between the Roman Catholic Church's stance in El Salvador and in Nicaragua was stark and striking. In El Salvador, we saw a church that stood firmly with the poor. In Nicaragua, we saw a church divided.

One bright, sunny morning we went to the Catholic Seminary in Managua for an interview with the Rev. Anselmo Salamero. Salamero, a Spaniard, has been rector (president) of the seminary for seven years. Prior to that, he had served in a peasant community in Colombia for seven years. We asked him about the Catholic Church in Nicaragua.

"The church is divided into two parts," he told us. "One is completely identified with the Sandinista government. That is the so-called 'Popular Church.' The other is on the edge. Some of us are more opposed to the government than others. We are tolerant of the Popular priests. Most of the priests who support the government are foreigners."

When asked if the seminary included Liberation Theology in its curriculum, Salamero replied, "Liberation Theology promotes Marxist revolution which is materialistic. Marxism is atheistic. This is fundamental. Liberation Theology that deals with injustice needs to recognize that sin and injustice are always with us and liberation is for everyone — the oppressed and the oppressor. The reign of God is not a liberated country. The reign of God is not obtained in this world."

One of our group asked Salamero, "What do you think of the concept of the 'option for the poor'?"

"It was proclaimed at Nicea that Christ came for all people, rich and poor, excluding no one," he answered. "Rather than make a preferential option for the poor, I personally would make a preferential option for the rich because they can make the changes and modify the structures. In looking for long term solutions, the poor don't count because the decisions are made by those with power and power is in the hands of the rich."

On Sunday evening we went to a celebration of the Eucharist at a Catholic church in Larreynaga. There we witnessed a Popular priest putting power into the hands of his congregation. After saying a few words to set the theme of the homily, he turned the lectern over to the congregation. Several people responded to his invitation and preached the Gospel. A small young girl, hardly able to see over the altar, prepared for the communion. The priest blessed the elements and took a seat to the side, leaving the consecrated bread and wine on the altar. The people then came up and took the body and blood of Christ themselves.

One afternoon we went to visit a sewing collective in Batahola, a public housing community built by the Sandinistas. The houses are made of cinder blocks, each with a small front porch. They looked substantial and clean. The dirt streets were swept and tidy. (All the streets are clean in Nicaragua. Paper, glass, tin — all are scarce and are saved to be used and re-used.) There were children everywhere.

A Catholic priest and sister have built Batahola into a living community organized around a large center which offers sewing, baking, typing, carpentry and music classes. Funds come from the

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church in cooperation with the government, which pays the salary of one staff person. The community center has several buildings with numerous rooms for classes and workshops as well as a large auditorium with a stage.

A sewing class of about 40 women of all ages, from young girls to grandmothers, was in progress. They were measuring and cutting materials at long tables in a big, airy room. The walls throughout the center were gaily decorated with murals of people in native dress, of bright birds and flowers in vivid colors. It was a happy, cheerful place, full of chatter and laughter.

We gathered in an adjoining room to talk with several of the women, asking them, "How do you feel about the Sandinista government?"

One of the women answered. "Our lives have changed. Women are much more valued. We participate more."

Another woman spoke. "We have more freedom now. Before, women had no rights. It is very different with this government."

A young woman said, "Before, we went from neighborhood to neighborhood, looking for a place to rent. Now we have these houses — made for the poorest."

"Our life is more difficult now," another woman said, "But before there was no war or economic blockade."

We wondered how they could survive with such high inflation and prices. Nicaraguans are creative, we were told. They make their own clothes, plant fruit trees, raise chickens, and work two jobs whenever possible to survive.

The women wanted to know why we had come to Nicaragua. They wanted to know what U.S. citizens thought of them.

"Our government says you are communists and that you are under the control of the Soviets," we said.

"No. It isn't so," they told us. "We want to live in peace. Tell the U.S. government to stop helping the Contras. Without the interference of the United States our economy would not be ruined. We want to live in peace so our revolution can go forward."

That is the message from the women of Batahola.

U.S. administration moves to disrupt Nicaraguan elections

The Bush administration and its anti-Sandinista supporters have launched a legislative and public relations offensive to influence Nicaragua's February 1990 elections. The adminstration, members of Congress and U.S. Contra supporters have already condemned Nicaragua's new election reforms.

The administration wants Congress to appropriate $3 million for the federally-financed National Endowment for Democracy to funnel campaign funds to the Nicaraguan opposition.

Plans for the elections, which were called for in the Esquipulas IV treaty signed in February of this year, are going forward despite the U.S. attempts to disrupt them. Campaigns for president, vice-president, the National Assembly and city councils began in August. Sandinista President Daniel Ortega is running for reelection against opposition candidate Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, publisher of the opposition newspaper *La Prensa*, and wife of slain Somoza foe Pedro Joaquin Chamorro.

Chamorro was chosen after much debate. Her candidacy is backed by an alliance of opposition parties — a loose coalition that contains groups from across the political spectrum.

This coalition emerged because reportedly the opposition is so fragmented that no one party has been able to show a large popular backing. And former Contra leaders do not find widespread support.

Ironically, opposition leaders are against U.S. aid. Declared Contra leader Adolpho César, who recently returned to Nicaragua, "The worst thing the U.S. government can do is to try and help in a hidden way. That would be worse than not helping at all."

Successful elections in Nicaragua are important to demonstrate the Sandinista government's commitment to democratic principles and the regional peace process. The elections would also invalidate any legitimacy for U.S. economic sanctions and would be the final nail in the coffin for Contra aid — moves desperately needed to rebuild the Nicaraguan economy devastated by the U.S. embargo, the Contra war, and natural disasters like Hurricane Joan.

To support its effort to carry out a credible electoral process, the Nicaraguan government has invited a large contingent of neutral international observers, among them former President Jimmy Carter. The United Nations observer mission will be headed by former U.S. Attorney General Elliot Richardson.

Nicaraguans fear U.S. covert action against the election. According to *Central America Report*, an unnamed Nicaraguan diplomat called the presence of monitoring teams crucial. He said, "We do not want to find ourselves on election day with only partisan evaluations. We know that the United States will try to achieve by means of the vote that which it could not realize by war-making: the deposing of the Nicaraguan government."

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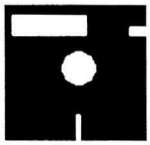

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Barbara Harris: Bishop

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Goal of 22-year-old treaty

In an unheralded summer meeting, but one which should have been celebrated by peace activists the world over, the presidents of Mexico and Venezuela made an accord July 10 to strengthen the Treaty of Tlatelolco. The treaty makes all of Latin America a nuclear weapons-free zone — extending from the Rio Grande to the tip of South America, embracing 23 nations with a population of 400 million. Mexico's Carlos Salinas de Gotari and Venezuela's Carlos Andres Peres also proposed to limit conventional arms in the same territory.

Virtually unknown to the rest of the world, the 22-year-old Tlatelolco Treaty is the only arms agreement recognized by the United States, the Soviet Union, France, China and Britain — the nuclear arsenal states. All have agreed not to introduce nuclear weapons into treaty boundaries, nor to use them against treaty nations.

In Mexico City in 1963, I heard Mexico's President Alfonso Lopez Mateos initially propose this treaty. "No bomba en America Latina," came the president's message on the taxicab radio as I ferried between appointments. The proposal received a go-ahead from the United Nations later that year, and in 1967 a conference in the Mexico City suburb of Tlatelolco created OPANAL (Organization for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America), an agency set up to insure compliance with the treaty obligations.

The treaty expressly prohibits the manufacture, use, testing, acquisition, installation, storage or deployment of nuclear weapons in all the signatory countries. Meeting in 1987 at Montevideo, Uruguay, on the treaty's 20th anniversary, member nations asked: How has the treaty fared? Has it been enforceable? What are its limitations?

Up to now all provisions of the treaty "have been carried out in a normal and correct manner. There has been no problem of enforcement," Francisco Correa of Mexico's Foreign Ministry office told me recently. He noted that some treaties in the past have been ineffective by failing to provide adequate means of enforcement, but "the Tlatelolco Treaty is practical, with clear enforcement provisions."

OPANAL, the treaty's enforcement agency, is composed of a general conference of all member nations, and a council of five members elected by the general conference. All areas of Latin America have representation on the council.

OPANAL is closely tied to the United Nations. The initial proposal for it was first approved by the General Assembly in November, 1963. Reports are regularly sent to the U.N.'s Secretary General and the U.N. must be notified immediately of a violation.

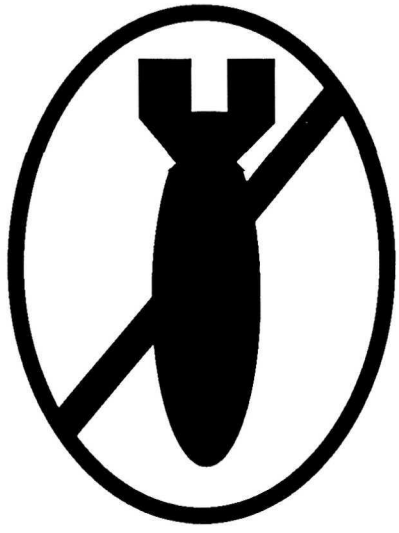
Gregory Bergman, a free-lance writer based in Berkeley, Cal. has published on Mexico and Central America in *The Nation*, *Christian Century*, and *In These Times*.

is 'no nukes' by Gregory Bergman

Treaty members also deal with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) regarding nuclear activities. IAEA safeguards are based on the 1968 Non-Proliferation Treaty on Nuclear Weapons, which has been ratified by 130 nations.

The Treaty of Tlatelolco has some notable weaknesses. While Brazil has signed and ratified it, that country has hedged on full commitment through a provision that the treaty will be in full force only when every Latin American country has ratified it. Argentina has signed but not ratified. Cuba has declared a commitment to military denuclearization, and said it favors the treaty, but will sign only when the United States ceases its unfriendly attitude and military presence at the Guantanamo base in Cuba.

Most nations of Latin America lack the infrastructure to make nuclear weapons. However, the picture may change as several Latin American nations, including Brazil and Argentina, become more knowledgeable and sophisticated. Although, says Mexico's Correa, "No danger appears at present," such weaponry may become a matter of national policy in the future. Brazil and Argentina now possess some of the technical and scientific skills needed to produce nuclear weapons. However, both countries signed a Nuclear Safety Protocol in November, 1985. Additionally, Argentina joined with Mexico, India, Greece, Sweden and Tanzania in October, 1986, at



Ixtapa, Mexico, to form the Six Nations Initiative for Peace and Disarmament.

A 1985 joint report of the U.S. Congressional Committees on Foreign Affairs and on Nuclear Proliferation stated that these nations "appear to lack the political and military incentives to produce nuclear weapons."

Although almost unknown in the United States, the Tlatelolco Treaty has had great international influence. In 1986 the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty came into being, modeled to a great degree on Tlatelolco. It includes Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Papua New Guinea and others.

Other nuclear arms control treaties, international and regional, have evolved over the years. Among them are treaties covering Antarctica, Outer Space, and the International Seabed. And there are more than 4,000 nuclear-free zones, large and small, throughout the world, including the greater part of Canada and Japan.

Some arms control experts see regional treaties more effective against the spread of nuclear weapons than the International Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. The U.N. General Assembly has repeatedly expressed encouragement and support for such regional plans. The Tlatelolco Treaty is one of the first, and best, of those plans.

Mexico's role in initiating the treaty, and the significant part it plays as a member of the Six Nations Initiative for Peace and Disarmament, make Mexico a leader in the international movement to end the arms race.

The new accord Mexico's president signed with Venezuela is "of interest to all humanity in this period of mankind's journey characterized by the end of the cold war," said Mexico City's *El Universal*, in an editorial July 11. Mexico advocates policies expressing economic and geographic interests rather than military and strategic ones, said the editorial, and "Not to take this forward step now would represent a turning back, a submission to a policy of individual national interest." As *El Universal* saw it, Latin American nations must actively follow policies that strengthen international well-being, because it is very much in their interest to do so. TW

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Imagination . . . *Cont. from page 13*

has, quite frankly, made a mess of it. Space is becoming littered with our refuse just as the earth has, and governments are playing their games of espionage and conflict in Earth's orbit. Unless the church gets involved, we may be looking at a bleak future in space . . . Without Christ we will be a group of reckless children without any adult supervision, trampling over and ruining the entire universe."

Kirby and Gibson have worked together on a research project in science fiction history for the Community of St. Polycarp. The community's mission is to "seek a Christian history of science fiction as a chronology of its theological ideas, its portrayal of God," in film, computer software and art as well as short stories, novels and novellas.

No self-respecting intellectual or Christian, says Kirby, can afford to neglect such imaginative interpreters of the human experience as science fiction and fantasy writers Marion Zimmer Bradley, Pamela Sargent, Brian Aldiss or Arthur C. Clarke. For in such writers, adds Kirby, we see "science fiction as the voice of the Higher Self, and it is a disgrace that so many religious and intellectual leaders ignore science fiction and its implications."

Thinking about a theology informed by a philosophy of science or science fiction leads us one more step towards an empowered spiritual imagination. A global "electronic brain" is emerging as all the world's great libraries are placed in computer data bases, and the world's research institutions are connected by computer networks which are the "nerves" of a community of collaborating scholars. Many brains can now be brought together in a "collective intelligence" to do theological work on a scale never before possible.

This new technology is already transforming research on biblical manuscripts in unexpected ways. Canadian theologian David Lochhead is creating exciting new software for theological research. He is also experimenting with a theology book published "on line" — readers can add comments and the book remains living and growing as it is continually updated.

A U.S. national conference on theology in the digital age was held in 1987 at the United Theological Seminary in Dayton to explore the wide range of possibilities for theological research and the life and mission of the church with these new "global-scale" intellectual tools. Science and religion are becoming increasingly interrelated in dialogue, joint research, and perhaps eventually in exploring the spiritual potential of humanity. Scientists may not be ready for this exploration, but the paths are already being blazed in science fiction.

Chronos and *kairos*

The concept of subatomic particles plays havoc with ordinary concepts of time. Michael Chester writes:

> **Actually, one millionth of a second is not so brief on a subatomic time scale. Both the pion with its lifetime of one-hundred millionth of a second and the muon with one millionth of a second are extremely long-lasting. Compare these times with the time that it takes a pion to interact with a nucleon, and they are enormous time spans. Comparing the pion-nucleon interaction to the pion lifetime is like comparing one second to 100 million years. Comparing the pion-nucleon interaction to the muon lifetime is like comparing one second to ten billion years.**

Is that any more formidable to think about than comparing the lifetime of a human being to the lifetime of a sun, or the lifetime of a galaxy?

It makes sense only if we think of it all as part of our rootedness in cosmos, our *enkosmismene*. And it knocks our ordinary concepts of chronological time into a cocked hat. Time, as chronology, makes me dizzy with both lack of meaning and unreachable meaning. We need ordinary, chronological time so that we can, for instance, get to the airport or to the office on time, but here time is only an agreed upon fiction so that we will be enabled to get through the day's work with as little confusion as possible. And even in flying across the continent, our bodies are agonizingly jolted with time change and jet lag, so that we become aware that our bodies do function in ordinary time.

Yet, when I think of the pion and the muon, of the great spiral galaxies, and of our own little lives in terms of *kairos* — of rootedness in cosmos, in God's time itself — it opens vast vistas which can be awesome, even terrifying ("What a dreadful place is this!" Jacob cries), but less terrifying than it is wondrous, because God's time is far more real than ordinary *chronos*, and we are part of both.

During our mortal lives, however, *chronos* is not merely illusion. My body is aging according to human chronology, not nucleon or galactic chronology. My knees creak. My vision is variable. My energy span is shorter than I think it ought to be. There is nothing I can do to stop the passage of this kind of time in which we human beings are set. I can work with it rather than against it, but I cannot stop it. I do not like what it is doing to my body. If I live as long as many of my forbears, these outward diminishments will get worse, not better. But these are the outward signs of chronology, and there is another Madeleine who is untouched by them, the part of me that lives forever in *kairos* and bears God's image.

— Madeleine L'Engle

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Letters . . . *Continued from page 3*

stories on Charles Colson's prison ministry and on Mother Theresa — as though they were in some sense comparable. The question was then raised as to whether one had to subscribe to the beliefs of Matthew Fox in order to be regarded as a committed Christian.

As a devoted reader of THE WITNESS, let me venture one answer to this last question: No. I at least, feel the beliefs of Matthew Fox border on the grotesque, but then I have similar feelings about Charles Colson. However, I submit that what characterizes the community which THE WITNESS serves is our sense of outrage that the views of Matthew Fox have been suppressed, and that he has been forbidden to express them publicly. Within my understanding of the theology of THE WITNESS, it is this sense of outrage that marks the committed Christian.

Frederick W. Keene
San Bernardino, Cal.

Growing pains

I look forward to reading each issue of THE WITNESS. It is the only church publication I spend my money on, although I do subscribe to other periodicals such as *The Nation, In These Times*, and the *Christian Science Monitor*.

I am amused at the negative letters you get, mostly from church people. Most frequently, they criticize THE WITNESS for being "un-Biblical," or not of God. What your detractors fail to understand is that we, both in society and in the church, are going through the growing pains of evolutionary growth from one world view to another. We are leaving what may be called the "patriarchal" era and entering the "feminist" era, with all that implies. It certainly means more than having women ordained to the ministry, although that is a hallmark of it. We must take this step in growth. Without it our planet and our kind will not survive. The nuclear bombs would annihilate us all. It is difficult for many people to leave the old and accustomed, even though it is sick unto death. But is not that what our own "patriarch" Abraham did, whose call begins our Judaeo-Christian Bible story?

As God called him into the future, so God today calls us. Thanks to voices like those in THE WITNESS who announce this good news and help to point the way.

The Rev. Clark Wills
Chicago, Ill.

Energized by issue

As I read the June issue of THE WITNESS on abortion, my mind was illumined, my heart deeply moved, and my will to persevere in the struggle for choice was encouraged. Thanks.

The Rev. George Regas
Pasadena, Cal.

One step at a time

Enclosed please find my renewal for one year. Even though there is a saving for two or more years, I no longer do this because at my age, I may not be around more than one year. And so I live each day (and each year) at a time.

I do want to tell you how much I appreciate THE WITNESS. Each issue is filled with thought provoking, well-written testimonies to some person's "witness" for the teachings of Our Lord. Your magazine is well-named. And I especially like your policy of presenting one important social issue each time, whether it be the death penalty, or the Middle East, or the plight of the coalminers. May God continue to bless you in your work for peace and justice.

Ann P. McElroy
Cupertino, Cal.

Shares same woes

I am a retired United Church of Christ minister. I subscribed by a fluke. But I have enjoyed reading each issue all the way through. I find that you have the same kinds of problems that we do in the UCC.

Stuart W. Olbrich
Mountain Home, Idaho

Editorial . . . *Continued from page 5*

of violence, we've also observed the deep commitment to non-violence which the vast majority of miners and their leaders have maintained.

- The Pittston Company was fined $47,500 for safety violations which led to the deaths of seven miners in McClure in 1983. Comparatively, the UMW has incurred almost $10 million in fines for largely non-violent civil disobedience actions during this strike.
- On July 7, the National Labor Relations Board declared this strike to be an "unfair labor practices" dispute. This declaration by the NLRB comes one year after the UMW initially filed complaints, and has yet to lead to any actions against Pittston. The Pittston Company's complaints, by contrast, prompted State and Federal Court injunctions against the UMW within less than two months. This and other discrepancies prompted the Majority Staff of a Congressional Subcommittee to conclude that the implementation of the law was "imbalanced" in this strike.

We ask all people of faith to pray for a just resolution to this dispute. Our faith teaches us to stand with the workers is not to stand against other persons, but to stand for justice. This justice must permeate our interactions with one another, and be institutionalized in our courts, laws and labor-management relations. A resolution based on this justice will enable healing and reconciliation.

This situation in the coalfields is urgent. We ask all people of good will to stand in solidarity with the miners and to work for justice and reconciliation in their communities. Our support must be both prayerful and visible, in order to help sustain them in their commitment to non-violent resistance.

How you can help

APSO is currently collecting contributions for school clothes for the children of miners, according to the Rev. R. Baldwin "B" Lloyd, director. Readers interested in helping can make checks payable to APSO, Box 1007, Blacksburg, VA 24063.

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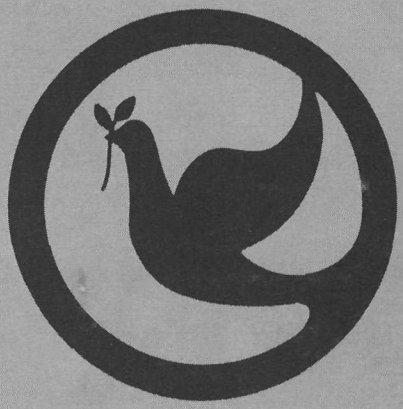

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THE WITNESS

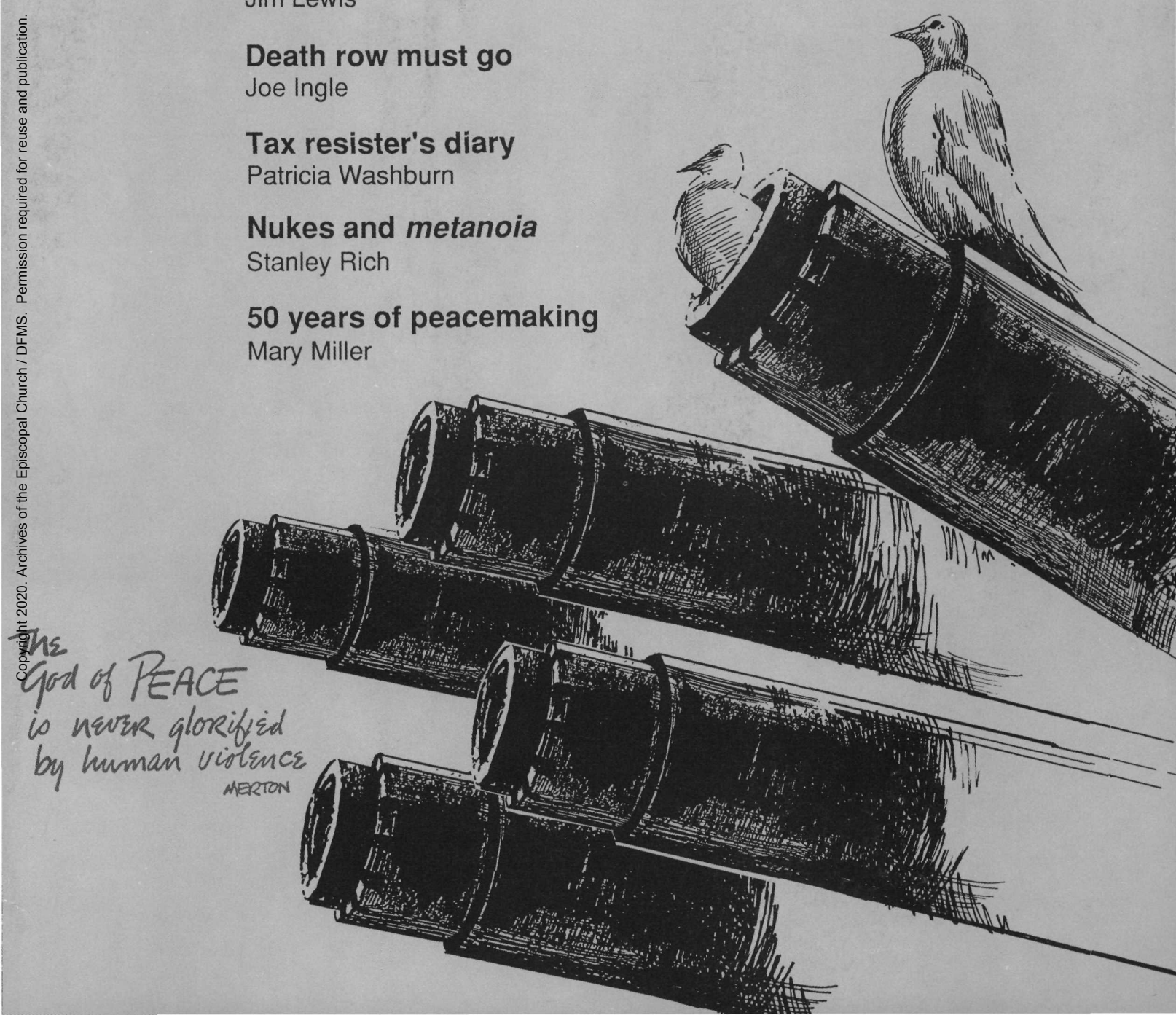
Winning youth from war
Jim Lewis

Death row must go
Joe Ingle

Tax resister's diary
Patricia Washburn

Nukes and *metanoia*
Stanley Rich

50 years of peacemaking
Mary Miller



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Letters

Israel story distorted

In "Can Israel save its 'soul'?" an excerpt from *The Wrath of Jonah* by Rosemary and Herman J. Ruether (May WITNESS), the authors present an exercise in "selective history writing" which seriously distorts the realities in the Middle East today.

Out of these distortions comes their surprising thesis that "it is Israel and the United States who are the primary impediments to . . . negotiation since 1973." In making this judgment, the Ruethers give no acknowledgement that for 40 years the underlying problem throughout the region has been the Arab world's campaign of hate and war against the Jewish state, which continues unabated despite the ambiguous recent concessions by the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The article neglects to give the Jewish state credit for signing, with U.S. encouragement, the Camp David Accords, the only peace treaty ever negotiated between Israel and an Arab power. Nor do the writers note that Egypt was ejected from the Arab League and the President of Egypt assassinated for this courageous step. The Ruethers might have shown Israel's willingness to give up "land for peace" — including ceding to Egypt nearly the whole Sinai with its precious oil fields. Significantly, in that same treaty, the Jewish state committed itself to a future similar pact respecting the West Bank and Gaza whenever the appropriate Arab powers in the region would come to the negotiation table. That offer still stands. Thus far, however, no Arab government has responded with any counter-proposal. Only the PLO has signified a willingness to talk.

In the light of such Arab intransigence, it is strange for the Ruethers to suggest that American imperialism is the villain — aiding and abetting the Israeli ultra-right's desire to retain the Occupied Territories permanently and for ideological reasons. The truth is that only a minority of Israelis seriously want to retain the West Bank permanently. Their reasons have more to do with national security than with dreams of a "Greater Israel."

I am saddened that the authors speak only of the enormous Arab losses with hardly any hint of what Israeli Jews have suffered as a result of four Arab-initiated invasions since the United Nations partition decision in 1946. Nor is there any acknowledgement that terrorist acts launched from Lebanon and Syria, with funding by Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Libya, still continue to plague Israel.

The Ruethers make light of the Israeli contention that as a people they are "embattled by a universal hatred." The authors omit, however, any recognition that 20 centuries of anti-Semitism by Christians and Muslims, culminating in the Holocaust, may still play a role in Jewish uneasiness.

The majority of Jews, both here and in the Middle East, support some form of self-determination by Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. Palestinian leaders in the Territories who dare to advocate direct negotiations with Israel are subject to brutalities and often murder by their fellow countrymen.

It is greatly to be hoped that a continued consideration of the Shamir peace plan will survive both the complicating qualifications imposed on it by the Likuud Party and undermining by hostile Arab states. Americans can help this process not by hurling verbal stones at one side or the other, but by showing both sympathy and understanding for those trapped in age-old enmities who must eventually sit down at the peace negotiating table.

The Rt. Rev. John H. Burt
Marquette, Mich.

Ruethers respond

Bishop Burt says we don't give the Israelis credit for their willingness to negotiate, but his letter is replete with assumptions, unsubtstantiated by evidence, that the Israelis really do want to negotiate. He intimates that the Israelis are somehow more irenic than the Palestinians, that "only a minority of Israelis seriously want to retain the West Bank permanently." How do we establish that? With what proof, what data?

We are also puzzled by the bishop's reference to a "Shamir peace plan." There is no significant public pressure in Israel today for a peace plan. Any real peace effort would provide that the Palestinians through some process, could designate its spokespersons, and Palestinians in the Occupied Territories as well as outside have long overwhelmingly affirmed that the PLO is their legitimate representative. Since last November, the Palestinians and the PLO have made significant concessions in the hope that the United States would urge Israel to negotiate. The Israelis have a major incapacity to look at things anew.

Bishop Burt reflects a certain Western mindset that wants to admit that Israel is totally virtuous and that the Palestinians lack any integrity or even political pragmatism to be able to work out a solution to the present conflict. Christians, in the face of the Holocaust, have been persuaded to justify every action — even the most dastardly acts — of the government of Israel. If we readily admit in this country that police brutality exists in our major cities, why can't we admit that 20 years of Israeli occupation, with no guidelines for the military, can end in excesses?

For 17 years the United Nations has regularly criticized Israel for breaking international law and protocols. It was the Israelis who invaded Lebanon. It was the Israelis who recently kidnaped a sheik, a form of terrorism. Yet history has shown that military commanders need not fear criticism from Israeli courts.

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Clearly, no excerpt can do justice to all the themes and arguments in our book. But we appreciated the space, as well as this section of THE WITNESS which provides the bishop an opportunity to express opinions which are hardly unique to him. And because these issues are so important, it is imperative that all of us concerned with justice and peace have an opportunity to air them.

Herman and Rosemary Ruether
Evanston, Ill.

CPF 'facts' wrong

As both a deputy to the 1988 General Convention from the Diocese of Newark and a member of its Diocesan Investment Trust Board, I was dismayed — and angry — over the misrepresentation of facts concerning this diocese in the letter from two members of the Church Pension Fund printed in the September Letters to the Editor.

Contrary to their statement, the Diocese of Newark owns no shares of Royal Dutch Shell and has not owned any since the summer of 1988. This diocese takes seriously the resolutions passed by the General Convention. The dog did not eat our homework!

Marge Christie
Franklin Lakes, N.J.

Stirring up hornets

There are some hornet nests comfortably tucked away in obscure corners about my porch. As long as I leave them alone, all is well, which reminds me somewhat of the Episcopal Church's D-120 Resolution on Health and Human Affairs. As long as we leave this resolution in the file to gather dust, and no one presses too persistently for its implementation, all is well.

Dr. Louie Crew, the founder of Integrity, tells us in the September WITNESS that he dared poke around a bit to test the sincerity and integrity of this resolution by contacting every parish in the diocese where he lived asking if they would "please" suggest dates, and a format for serious face to face dialogue between gay and non-gay church members. The most positive response to his request was "Give us a couple of years, and perhaps then our congregations will be more amenable."

Scripture has something not too complimentary to say about those who find it easier to procrastinate and shilly-shally around than to make clear-cut decisions and act forthrightly on issues. "I wish that you were either hot or cold, but since you are lukewarm I intend to spit you out of my mouth" *(Rev. 3:15)*.

All that Dr. Crew and his Integrity group are asking for is a fair, open, friendly dialogue. Is this request so horrendous and difficult to honor that the authority of a bishop (William Beckham in this instance) had to be enlisted by those who felt threatened, to allay their own panic, and perhaps intimidate those requesting such a meeting?

Homophobia might loosen some of its hold if we would occasionally remind ourselves that gays and lesbians are already everywhere around us, some declared but most, and justifiably so, not. This is true even of our clergy and the membership of our churches, our neighborhoods, yes, our friends; and these persons for the most part function as responsibly as those around them who just happen to be more consensually favored.

Jesus spoke no words of harsh criticism against outcasts, and he never even mentioned homosexuals. What stern disapproval He did show was reserved for the self-righteous, the proud, the hypocrite, and those who lacked compassion.

What a day of rejoicing it will be, when all Christians place at the center of their hearts and creeds: "By this shall men know that you are my disciples — if you have love, one for another."

The Rev. John Manola
Wilmington, Del.

Opening windows

I feel compelled after reading the September issue of THE WITNESS to say how encouraged I am to discover your focus on people who would not ordinarily be found in the average Episcopal church on a Sunday morning. I refer specifically to the folks on the bus ("Bishops, buses and the Bible" by William B. Spofford); political prisoners ("Reflections from a prisoner's journal" by Sam Day); those involved with abortion issues (Jan Nunley's interview with Sarah Weddington); and homosexual persons ("Integrity dialogue hopes thwarted" by Louie Crew).

There are times when I wonder what I'm doing in this very respectable and no doubt typical Episcopal parish church on a Sunday. Thanks again for opening up windows on what's really going out there among the "unchurched." So my question becomes, What is "church" anyway? And what is my role, if any?

Carolyn W. Reynolds
Santa Rosa, Cal.

Outrageous rag

Please cancel my subscription to your outrageous rag.

Col. Edward L. Bela, Jr.
Vadito, N.M.

A-hem

To my mind, THE WITNESS is the only church magazine worth reading.

The Rev. Robert H. Platman
Syosset, N.Y.

Kudos for September

Thanks for those wonderful articles in September; i.e., Jim Lewis on Libya: America's No. 1 scapegoat; Ann Robb Smith on the crucified people of El Salvador; and the words and experiences of Sam Day in and out of jail — what a courageous man. Some of us had a bit of

Continued on page 11

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THE WITNESS

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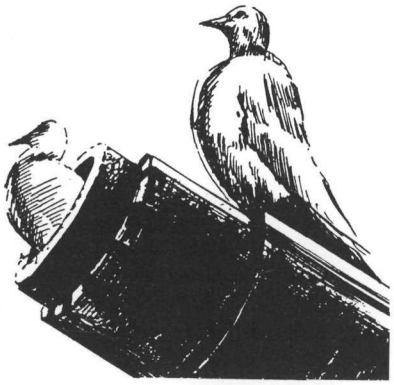

THE WITNESS is grateful to Contributing Editor Jim Lewis for assembling the articles and writers for this issue celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship. Lewis not only quarterbacked the issue but contributed a number of articles himself. He serves on the National Executive Council of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship and is a longtime member. Happy Birthday to Jim and all our EPF colleagues in the struggle for peace and justice.

Table of Contents

6 **Justice, not vengeance: Death row must go**
Joseph B. Ingle

10 **Winning youth away from war**
Jim Lewis

12 **The dark night of tax resistance: Inviting the IRS to dinner**
Patricia Washburn

14 **Episcopal Peace Fellowship: Fifty years of peacemaking**
Mary H. Miller

18 **Transformation of society is goal of activist**
Interview with Anne Rowthorn by Jim Lewis

22 **Nukes and *metanoia* in South Carolina**
Stanley Rich

24 **Anglicans ambivalent about peace**
Nathaniel W. Pierce

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Editorial

Celebrating the peacemakers

Years ago, THE WITNESS used to devote one issue a year to particular concerns of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship (EPF) — a social justice group which this month celebrates its 50th anniversary.

In honor of that event, this issue is dedicated to EPF and to the peacemaking work it continues to do around major issues such as conscientious objection, war tax resistance, nuclear disarmament and peace in Central America.

Articles herein by Mary Miller and Nat Pierce offer historic focus. Other pieces point the way to present-day struggles around peacemaking. Included in this collection: an article by a Nobel Peace Prize nominee challenging the church to work at abolishing capital punishment in the United States; the diary of a tax resister; observations about the increased militarization of our children; an article about the Savannah River nuclear plant, and an interview with a bishop's wife who has done civil disobedience.

Tucked away in the midst of it all is the keynote address given by the late William Stringfellow when he was honored 10 years ago in Denver at the John Nevin Sayre Peace Award dinner. His words are as prophetic today as they were then.

In gathering together this special issue we have been struck by a thread that runs through the entire fabric of these articles.

It is the blood-red thread of scandal.

Anne Rowthorn, arrested at the Electric Boat Shipyard in Connecticut says it's a scandal to build the Trident submarine while there is so much poverty in our midst.

We join her in that cry.

- It's a scandal to pay taxes to subsidize arming the world and financing killing done by repressive governments in places like Central America.
- It's a scandal to teach our children that violence is a way to solve problems. A double scandal that we do not teach them the historic roots of civil disobedience, resistance, and the long history of nonviolence.
- It's a scandal to see our criminal justice system give second-class treatment to the poor on their way to being warehoused in prisons and executed on death rows across the nation.
- It's a scandal, as Bill Stringfellow reminds us, even to have an EPF. Isn't the entire church called by God to be passionate peacemakers?
- It's a scandal the way we have refused to challenge the greed and idolatry inherent in our militarism.

Ironically, the scandal of the world caught up in violence as a way of life can be met and matched by another more powerful scandal — that of Jesus Christ.

The scandal of the world rooted in misguided power and violence and represented by the cross on Golgotha is matched definitively, for all times, by Jesus, who transforms that tree of derision into a powerful symbol of inspiration and love, active nonviolent love.

Those who read this issue carefully will be distraught by the fact that some Episcopal churches have no room in their inns for peacemaking. Tragically they are the rule rather than the exception. These churches have chosen to embrace the scandal of the world rather than that of the cross.

Jesus has a word for such a swap. He said it to Peter, who was the cornerstone yet stumbling block of the church when he tried to keep the Prince of Peace from confronting the idolatry of violent power residing in Jerusalem.

"Out of my sight, Satan! You are a scandal (stumbling block) to me. You think as men think, not as God thinks." (*Matt. 16:23*)

The scandal of the cross is blood-red in the history of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship and of all the individuals who make up the ongoing stream of resisters.

THE WITNESS says *Happy Birthday* to the Episcopal Peace Fellowship and to all peacemakers. Blessed are the peacemakers down through the ages and into today, for you are the children of God. You are heirs of God and co-heirs with Christ. Sharing God's suffering, you also share God's power and glory (*Rom. 8:16-17*). **— J.L.**

(As THE WITNESS was preparing to go to press with this issue, we received word of the tragic loss of the Rt. Rev. John T. Walker, Bishop of Washington — a noted peacemaker in his own right. His funeral took place in Washington Oct. 5. We expanded this issue to celebrate his life. — Ed.)

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Justice, not vengeance: Capital

The Judeo-Christian heritage has been consistent over the centuries in teaching that murder is an immoral act. A consensus has emerged among every major religious body which has a position on the issue that the death penalty contravenes this tradition and should be abandoned. Thus the religious community has coincided with the official position of every Western democracy — except the United States — in moving towards an abolition of the death penalty.

One of the reasons for the Judeo-Christian anti-death penalty tradition has been the realization that each person is a child of God. If each soul is endowed with the image of God, then society would do well to respect such a reality and not destroy it through the process of state-sanctioned killing.

The problem of modern society is that it is now possible to destroy human beings with a rapidity and effectiveness unknown in human history. The discussion becomes one of how to implement the method, and not whether such action should be taken.

The state assumes its morality from being able to accomplish the act. This places the state in the incongruous position of arguing murder is a moral act, so long as it is the state committing the murder and it is done for the good of the people.

It is clear that if any individual endeavored to recreate the state's mechanism for killing, that person would be charged with premeditated and cold-blooded murder. The thought of removing a fellow citizen from the community, confining this person in a closet-sized area for years, informing the individual when and how death will occur, then carrying out the killing, strikes most citizens as an outrageous horror. Yet this is precisely what the state does with the death penalty.

Such an action performed by the state is just as immoral as one taken by a citizen. Sanitizing the process, labeling the killing an execution does little but obscure the reality that murder is being committed.

The death penalty is not an act of restoration. It does not bring back the life of the victim. Rather, it adds one more victim and family to the grieving circle.

There is nothing inherent in the act of murder which demands vengeance by taking the murderer's life. Indeed, the Bible shows us that some of the most favored people of Yahweh were murderers, from David to the apostle Paul. The Bible teaches God has always been able to separate the act from the person. This is clearly shown in the fourth chapter of Genesis, the account of the first murder, when Yahweh punished Cain with exile for the murder of his brother Abel.

When the state's cloak of morality is removed and the politics of the death penalty are revealed, it becomes clear that the only way to avoid catastrophies such as Auschwitz is to prevent the state from taking human life.

Once the state begins to play God and determine who lives and who dies, mass slaughter is lurking around the corner. The state, by its nature, cannot be the arbiter of life and death without wanton abuse and discrimination because of the manner in which it functions.

As someone who has worked with 18 individuals who have been victims of state-sanctioned killing, I have found in the machinery of official killing in this country some God-awful scenes of suffering. One which haunts me to this day was Tim Baldwin's electrocution by the state of Louisiana on Sept. 10, 1984.

Baldwin had been convicted of murdering Mary Sue Peters, an elderly woman who was the godmother of one of his children. Already marked by police in the small town he came from because of his record as a petty criminal, he was accused on the strength of fingerprints found at the victim's home, where he had visited frequently. Unable to afford a good lawyer, his case was stymied by poor legal representation and he ended up on death row.

About 9:15 on the night of his execution, the death squad arrived to barber and diaper him for killing in the electric chair. As we observed the seven men enter the walk and proceed toward the cell, Tim remarked, "They're big enough, ain't they?"

Chuckling at Tim's humor, I noticed each man looked like a retired professional football lineman. The contrast between the men of the death squad and Tim, who was all of 150 pounds and small of stature, was striking.

During the 15-minute head shaving ritual, I was in a large room outside the cellblock. As I paced back and forth, I was approached by a guard.

The man asked, "Will you take a message to Tim for me?" Struck speechless by the request, I nodded.

"Tell him I'm just doing my job. It's nothin' personal."

Joseph B. Ingle is the Director of the Southern Coalition on Jails and Prisons (P.O. Box 120044, Nashville, TN 37212). A long-time advocate for abolition of the death penalty, he recently was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for his work. This article is a portion of a book on the death penalty which will be published in 1990.

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punishment must go

by Joseph B. Ingle

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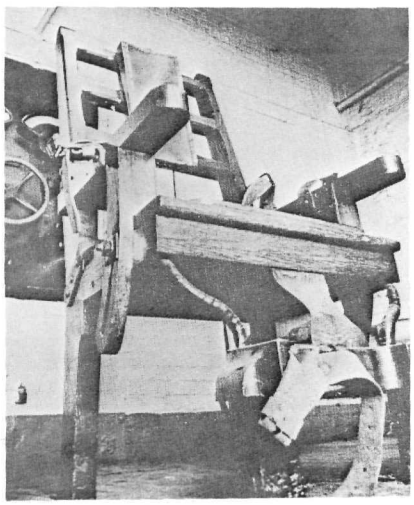
As I gazed into his troubled eyes, I realized how utterly bizarre this entire process was. Here was a guard, one of Tim's keepers and killers, asking me to deliver a message so he could be absolved of his deeds. And the terrifying aspect of the guard's remarks was that they were true! He was just doing his job. He probably liked Tim personally and wanted Tim to know that only because of his job was he in the death house that night. He wanted Tim to understand, and perhaps to forgive him.

Other guards approached me with similar requests, desperately seeking to justify their actions.

As the death squad exited the walk I returned to Tim's cell, bracing myself for his appearance. I found him gazing into the mirror over the toilet, his back turned to me. As I saw the reflection, his vulnerability and helplessness were revealed in a glance. We both felt imminent doom.

Tim turned and came back to sit on the bed. The throwaway diapers peeked above his hips.



"They put two big Huggies on me," he said, forcing a smile at the ludicrous situation. A grown man stripped of his dignity in preparation for his killing. The state was transforming him into an infant, bald and diapered, ready to be disposed of.

We finished going over his final statement. As the reality of his killing neared, his naive belief that the United States criminal justice system would not really kill an innocent man dissolved. Less than three hours from his death, the awareness of it all overcame his faith in our system of justice. Although he maintained a sense of humor to the end, he was a bitter man.

"You know, Joe," he said, "I guess I should count myself lucky. The governor has decided he's against the death penalty, the attorney general is against it, four of the five members of the clemency board are against it. What more could a man ask for?"

Tim had placed his finger on the strange nature of his fate. All those individuals were against the death penalty yet they were going to let an innocent man die. The emotional rollercoaster of the last month, which culminated in Governor Edwin Edwards meeting with Tim in the warden's office and his denial of clemency a week later, had been a numbing experience. The scenario had been too much for any of us to comprehend. We just endured and fought desperately to keep Tim alive. Now we knew the fight was over.

Until 11 p.m., Tim and I talked. He was concerned about his family, friends, and me.

"Joe, you should be home. You can't keep doing this. What does your wife think?"

"Tim, I wouldn't want to be anywhere else right now except with you. God knows I wish we weren't here, but Becca and I both strongly feel I am in the right place. We love you, Tim."

A Catholic priest came in for last rites and Communion. I walked to the far end of the cellblock and talked with the young guard who had been stationed there throughout the evening. Since I knew Tim had no prior relationship to the priest, I hoped he would be brief.

At 11:30 I observed the priest returning his rosary beads to his pocket. I walked up to the cell, standing behind the priest's left shoulder. I saw him smile at Tim and remark, "You know, my son, it won't hurt."

Enraged by the comment, I had to restrain myself from lifting the man up and throwing him against the bars and shouting: "It won't hurt! How can you say that! If it won't hurt, maybe we can have you take Tim's seat in the electric chair!"

Sensing my anger, Tim ministered to me: "Don't worry about it, Joe. He was just trying to say something comforting."

The words brought me up short and I understood. All night long this man before me had been humiliated and demeaned as he was prepared for killing. Yet he not only understood those whose actions were directed against him, he forgave them. In his last half-hour on earth, his concern was for those around him — priest, guard, warden, friend. Although bitter at the state for killing him, an innocent man, he had transcended his feelings in a manner that, while not denying them, did not allow them control over his behavior.

At midnight Warden Blackburn appeared. "It's time, Tim," he said.

Tim stepped through the open cell door, hobbling down the corridor with manacled feet and hands. I followed behind as Tim, accompanied by the death squad, crossed the foyer. He was marched through a large room crowded with people, then proceeded to the death chamber.

The warden positioned a microphone before Tim. Looking out through the glass at the witnesses, Tim remarked: "I was afraid I would be too nervous to say anything. But I do want to say something. I am an innocent man. You are putting an innocent man to death. It takes a special kind of person to live with themselves to do that."

I prayed a prayer of thanksgiving as Tim spoke. He had been so concerned he would be unable to do so, and now he spoke flowingly, eloquently. I watched them escort him to the electric chair. It stood on a raised platform, like a throne, one established for the king of death who welcomes another sacrifice. As he stepped up, I called out, "I love you." I wheeled and left the room with the sound of the generator rising in my ears.

When I think about that September night in 1984, I wonder where was the church? Not only was it absent for the condemned man but also for the guard. The moral message challenging his job of killing people, the comfort for him as he sought to wrestle with his actions, where was it? The sad truth is that the moral challenge of the churches to the death penalty rests in a few written lines of statements opposing the death penalty. I am waiting for Sunday school curricula to focus on the issue, for sermons to be continually preached, for congregation members to raise their voices and stop this ritual slaughter upon which society has embarked.

As of Sept. 1, 1989, there are 2,210 people on death row. Since 1977, 118 have been killed by the state. And the numbers climb — during all of 1988 there were 11 executions. This year, to date, there have already been 14. Our society is doing its best to speed up the killing process through legislation and judicial action. Yet the church remains on the sidelines, occasionally murmuring a pious statement. Isn't it about time we went to the death houses, the legislatures, the public forums and began to witness to the truth of Christian love regarding the death penalty?

No one, not you or me or the most brutal murderer, is beyond the love of God. As the apostle Paul put it so well: "What then shall we say to this? If God is for us, who is against us? . . . Who shall bring any charge against God's elect? It is God who justifies; who is to condemn? It is Christ Jesus who died, yes, who was raised from the dead, who is at the right hand of God, who indeed intercedes for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, 'For Thy sake we are being killed all the day long; we are regarded as sheep to be slaughtered.' No, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him who loved us. For I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor anything else in all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord." TW

The Death Penalty: A human rights issue

- Percentage executed in the U.S. (1976-1988) for crimes against whites: 85
- Percentage executed for crimes against blacks: 11
- Number of black homicide victims in the U.S. vs. white victims: Roughly equal
- U.S. states that have executed more than 10 persons since 1976: Texas (31), Florida (21), Louisiana (18), Georgia (14)
- The two countries cited by Amnesty International as exemplifying racism in the application of the death penalty: South Africa and the United States
- Number of juveniles executed in the U.S. from 1977 to May 1, 1988: 3
- Number of mentally handicapped executed since 1984: at least six
- Number of U.S. states that permit the execution of pregant women: 10
- Number of innocent persons executed since 1900: at least 23
- Countries that have used the death penalty over 50 times from 1985 through mid-1988: Iran 743+; South Africa 537+; China 500+; Nigeria 439+; Somalia 150+; Saudi Arabia 140; Pakistan 115+; U.S.A. 66; U.S.S.R. 63+; Malaysia 52+
- Number of U.S. states that have reinstitued the death penalty since 1976: 36

— Compiled by Steve Rendall, *Extra!*

Sources: Amnesty International, *National Catholic Reporter*

Resources

National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty, 1419 V St. NW, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 797-7090

Legal Defense Fund, 99 Hudson St,, New York, NY 10013, (212) 219-1900

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Short Takes

Peace quiz

In the belief that peace can always use a few more makers, I have been teaching for the past five years courses in the practice, theory and history of nonviolence. The initial moments of the first class are a spot quiz.

Who are the following?

1. Robert E. Lee
2. Jane Addams
3. Ulysses S. Grant
4. A. J. Muste
5. Dwight Eisenhower
6. Adin Ballou
7. George Patton
8. Jeanette Rankin
9. William Tecumseh Sherman
10. Dorothy Day

Most students, whether in high school or college, know the five generals. Who can't identify Lee, Grant, Eisenhower, Patton and Sherman?

The other five are unknowns. Addams, Muste, Ballou, Rankin and Day were advocates of nonviolence who took personal and professional risks because they believed the force of nonviolence is more effective, moral and enduring than the force of violence.

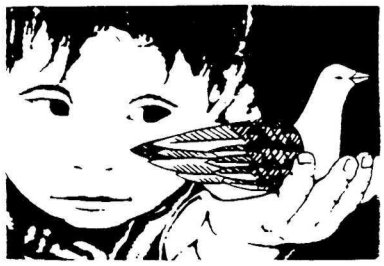
Colman McCarthy
Washington Post

All oppression creates a state of war.
— Simone de Beauvoir

Taking a stand

I believe that only through those who will pay the price of war resistance can the power of Jesus most surely operate tomorrow, if not today. God forbid that any of us should minimize the difficulties, logical and spiritual, in such a conviction. God forbid, too, that there should be any self-righteousness in it, or any shadow of condemnation for Christians who take a different attitude. But there are times when the future must be saved by those who are willing to be a remnant, and by those who take the position which to the majority may seem not only irrational but hateful, because they are constrained to say: "Here I stand. God help me, I can do no other."

Dr. Walter Russell Bowie
From an early EPF pamphlet



Breaking the circle of evil

The pacifist is convinced that when Christ went to the cross, He introduced to the world a new and revolutionary ethic of meeting ill will with good will and so broke the vicious circle of evil, and being in turn answered by more evil, *ad infinitum*.The pacifist believes that love, as Jesus Christ taught and practiced it, is the only power that can overcome the evil of the world, and that Christ's followers must reveal and use this force constantly and with faith.

The Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship exists because certain people — not very many — within the Episcopal Church, who have these common convictions feel the need of the support and comfort and courage that such fellowship provides. It exists to bear witness and testimony to others within and without our church as to what pacifism stands for and is trying to accomplish. It exists because some of us believe that the fact that we cannot reach perfection is hardly a sufficient reason for not striving to move toward it; that we cannot and must not wait for the world to become Christian before we apply and practice Christian ethics.

The Rt. Rev. W. Appleton Lawrence
Founding member of the EPF

The wages of war

The United States may owe Nicaragua billions of dollars due to the Reagan administration's support of the Contras. The International Court of Justice found the United States guilty of financing and supplying Contra forces in violation of our international obligation not to intervene in the affairs of another state.

William G. Stothers
The San Diego Union
6/19/89

Lesson for all

For me, the one abiding memory of Tiananmen Square is of one anonymous young man. Our television screens showed him completely alone, standing, almost dancing, in front of a column of tanks. A mass of military might was unable to pass because of the peaceful stand of one very brave man. It has often been said that those committed to peace should be prepared to make the same personal sacrifice as those who go to war. This was one such man, and he is a lasting example to us all. The chances of this man being Christian are slim, yet surely we can see God at work in a man who shows the world the rightness of love and non-violence. I am reminded of a quotation from Zechariah, "Not by might, not by power, but by my spirit, says the Lord." This a lesson for us all.

Clive Barrett
***Challenge: Newsletter of the Anglican Peace Fellowship* 7-8/89**

Resource-ful items

The 50-year history of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship plus other valuable publications related to conscientious objection are available from the following addresses:

The Episcopal Peace Fellowship, 620 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003, (202) 543-7168. *THE VOICE OF CONSCIENCE: A LOUD AND UNUSUAL NOISE? The Episcopal Peace Fellowship 1939-1989*, is available for $6 a copy; 5 or more, $5.

The Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Ave., New York, NY 10017, (800) 334-7626. Free copies of *Military Service and the Young Episcopalian* are available from The Registrar for C.O.s. The Peace and Justice Office has free copies of *To Make Peace,* reports of the Standing Commissions on Peace; for other resources, contact Public Policy Network.

National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors, 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW #750, Washington, DC 20009 has an information packet for $3.

Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors — Western Region, P. O. Box 42249, San Francisco, CA 94142

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Winning youth away from war

by Jim Lewis

An Army recruiter sits in his office in a West Virginia city, feet up on the desk, and reads a professional journal that's just been delivered by mail.

The publication is the *Recruiter Journal* and the article that gets his attention is titled "These Tough-Nut Recruiters Are Experts at Breaking and Entering."

Inside the story, the local recruiter discovers how to "break and enter" the "closed to Army schools," that resist efforts to recruit their students.

The article gives him tips on how to be persistent and never take "no" from a school principal. New ways to get the recruiter's foot in the door are explored. The story concludes: "These approaches to cracking tough-to-enter high schools are only the beginning."

Many of us don't realize the amount of money and effort that goes into convincing young people that the armed forces is the only option for a graduate to "be all that you can be."

The military spent $1.8 billion in 1986 to recruit American youth. In 1987, the advertising budget alone was $219.2 million. Based on those figures, the military spent an average of $4,000 per recruit. In a poor state like West Virginia that is a striking contrast to the yearly average expense of $2,584 per student for education.

Military recruiters cast their nets wide. This past summer the Boy Scouts of America held their annual Jamboree at A.P. Hill Military Base in Virginia. For a solid week Boy Scouts pitched their tents as guests of the U.S. Army.

While at the Jamboree the young people were engaged in traditional scouting efforts, such as learning about conservation of nature, camping, fishing and participating in merit badge activities. The friendships built and the les-

The Rev. Jim Lewis, guest editor for this issue, is Director of Social Ministries for the Diocese of North Carolina and contributing editor to THE WITNESS.

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sons learned about the links between nature and human beings were outstanding. These interests, at the heart of scouting, have been prime reasons for countless numbers of churches to sponsor scout troops and encourage God and Country programs down through the years.

But something else was offered at A.P. Hill this year. The scouts were surrounded by military hardware. Tanks and planes were there to be crawled over and touched. Recruiters from all branches of service, as well as the military academies, were there in spit-and-polish fashion to offer their wares.

At one point the scouts were treated to a military display of top-gun jets. F-14 Tomcats flew over, Army personnel parachuted into a demonstration area and military bands as well as a fireworks display were on hand to dazzle the scouts.

Church leadership, clergy, parents, directors of Christian education, teachers and students must be awakened to the fact that our children are being fed a militarized message. This is happening in school, on television and in such places as a Boy Scout Jamboree. And the nonviolent alternative is not being made available in school or church.

Last month I spoke with a youth group in Raleigh, N.C. about violence. It was a rare opportunity to teach them about the role of the church in civil disobedience down through the ages and conscientious objector options open to them.

Sadly, I had to inform them that recently the North Carolina General Assembly had passed a law enabling the state to punish anyone failing to register for the draft by denying them a state job and access to state-supported scholarships or loans for post-secondary education.

These students were eager to hear the message that they don't have to take up arms and that the Episcopal Church can assist them in their resistance. They wanted to know more about the history of non-violence and civil disobedience. It is a rich history and needs retelling, especially as the level of violence rises in our nation.

The covenant in the Episcopal service of baptism requires that we "seek and serve Christ in all persons, loving your neighbor as yourself."

Where does it call us to blow our neighbor away with a gun or bomb a country into submission?

A man in a diocesan leadership position recently asked me, "What is this peace work in our diocesan budget?" He had no idea that the Episcopal Church has supported nonviolence through General Convention resolutions, the long-time work of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship, and many individual acts of civil disobedience.

Our children and adults must hear sermons on resistance and non-violence. Church school curriculums must reflect a commitment to peace. The local parish must see itself as the guardian of that tradition and realize that withholding it from parishioners, particularly from youth, will do irreparable damage to them. TW

Letters . . . *Continued from page 3*

experience similar to Sam's in demonstrations at the Nevada nuclear test site. I recall my feeling when I, age 80, was arrested and handcuffed (I was as nervous as a newlywed on the wedding night). Nevertheless, I survived and felt good and stronger in my convictions.

The Rev. V. Louis Livingston
Portland, Ore.

Studying the options

I would like to order a copy of the June WITNESS on Reproductive Freedom. This is an issue I struggle with frequently.

As a family physician, I believe women need to be informed of and counseled regarding all their options, but as a Christian, I feel uneasy about abortion. However, I feel even more uneasy seeing victims of child and domestic abuse and neglect when women carry through with unintended pregnancies. Thus, abortion seems almost like the lesser of two evils. I look forward to hearing your views.

Dorothy Himes
Keams Canyon, Ariz.

Healthy coincidence

I hope that you'll find a program to be enacted here in Oregon reflects a healthy coincidence. Your July/August issue carries the Rev. Scott Arnold's report on the "quiet" racism currently practiced in his town of Pulaski, Tenn. with his comment: "It has been my experience that white Christians manage largely to avoid their black brothers and sisters, and thus fail to see the dilemma which Southern blacks face every day. Clearly, the church in the South needs to build strong, highly visible bridges between blacks and whites."

On the third of that month, this program was suggested for Eugene: "One project that would increase this area's better understanding of multicultural values that could enrich all of us is a program, to begin in the fall, of "choir exchanges," always followed by a coffee hour at the churches, in which the commingling of parishioners with the visiting singers is most important." It should be noted that the groups visiting the so-called white hosts include Hispanics, Orientals, and Native Americans as well as blacks. Choirs from Jewish temples would be welcome guests, too.

James Heermance
Eugene, Ore.

MOVING?

Keep THE WITNESS coming by sending a corrected mailing label from a recent issue to: THE WITNESS, P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Please send it at least six weeks before you move.

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The dark night of tax resistance:

Inviting the IRS to dinner

by Patricia Washburn

Pat Washburn

"I live in a tension between wanting to be faithful to my commitment as a citizen, and wanting to be faithful to God's call in my life. I find that I can no longer in conscience voluntarily pay that portion of my federal tax which goes to support death and destruction . . . For the sake of my four children and my grandchildren, I can no longer participate in this madness which, in the words of Dwight Eisenhower, is "spending the sweat of our laborers, the genius of our scientists and the hopes of our children." ***— Portion of a letter from Patricia Washburn to the Internal Revenue Service, revealing her decision to become a tax resister when filing her 1987 return.***

The following are some "markings," notes made for several days beginning on Sept. 21 of this year. They are my way of sharing the story of my journey through the dark night of resistance, to encourage others to consider sharing the journey.

September 21, Feast of St. Matthew

Today's Gospel is the wonderful story of Matthew's call and of Jesus breaking bread with tax collectors and other "outcasts." As I walked home from 7 a.m. Mass, I mused about Jesus' admonition, "I have not come to call respectable people but outcasts." I wondered what had happened to my own attempt to witness to the powers and principalities in the form of the IRS. Perhaps they had lost me when I left academia here in Denver. I had not heard from them since November 1988 when they had sent a "request for payment" to which I had responded:

I continue to believe that God calls us to seek security in the love of Christ and not in gods of metal. It is a violation of the law of love to build and use weapons of destruction in the name of national security. Our souls are hungering for a Spirit of Love, not of violence and destruction of God's creation . . . Therefore, with all due respect, and in fear and trembling, I return your form without payment. I can do nothing else and remain true to my conscience and my vocation to be a peacemaker.

To be perfectly honest, I hope they don't find me for a while. Polly is in her last year of college and Cory has just begun. I am feeling quite stretched by the move to Denver and the reduction of my salary to half of what it was in academia. But that was a conscious choice, to simplify my lifestyle and thus not be as financially liable to the IRS. Anyway, I wonder what my friendly IRS agent would do if I invited him to dinner in the same spirit with which our Lord sat down with Matthew and his fellow tax collectors.

September 22

This is your final notice. Your full payment of the 1987 federal tax shown below still has not been received. If full payment is not received within 10 days from the date of this notice, additional interest and penalties will be charged. A notice of federal tax lien may be filed, which is a public notice that there is a tax lien against your property. As provided by section 6331 of the Internal Revenue Code your property or rights to property may be seized. This includes salary or wages, bank accounts, real estate and personal property such as automobiles (which) may also be seized and sold to pay your tax.

I had a sinking feeling yesterday when I came home to find the notice of a certified letter in my box. I joked with the man at the post office, saying that I figured only the IRS would want to make sure that I got my mail — he grinned and said, "You've got it!"

And so here it is sitting in front of me, the formal "Notice of Intention to Levy." I remember the panic and fear I felt as I brought the letter home. I took it into my prayer corner and centered a bit, asking God to be with me as I opened it — with penalty and interest I now owe 25% more than I did a year ago. I breathed a small prayer of thanksgiving for the War Tax Resisters' Penalty fund created by the Fellowship of Reconciliation to help those of us who reach this place. But I knew the moment had come to decide how much further I wanted to carry the witness.

I began my morning with prayer, and the lesson was another from Matthew (5:13-16): "You are like salt for all. But if salt loses its saltiness, there is no way to make it salty again . . . your light

Patricia Washburn is Program Associate in Racism and Reconciliation with the American Friends Service Committee in Denver and Consultant for Peace and Justice with the Iliff School of Theology. She is a member of the Episcopal Church's Standing Commission on Peace and the Episcopal Peace Fellowship.

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must shine before people, so that they will see the good things you do and praise God."

I wish I did not have to be so visible sometimes. I resonate with the words of Jim McGinnis in his new book, *Journey to Compassion: A Spirituality for the Long Haul*, in which he reflects on that passage from Matthew:

We are to shine before all, to be placed on a mountain top for all to see. But we are tempted in two quite different ways to deny the reality of who we are. The first is to want to remain hidden, not quite so noticeable in our peacemaking work. I don't want the IRS to come after our family or institute, so I am tempted to compromise my opposition to paying for war. Have you ever found yourself not wanting to jeopardize your reputation, job, and other projects by being too public?

Oh, yes, friend James.

I pick up the phone and call him but he has not yet come into the center which he runs in St. Louis. I know I need help and call my fellow tax-resister Ben Richmond in Indiana. In a recent conversation with Bill Ramsey of the American Friends Service Committee office in St. Louis, he told me the only way he had been able to maintain his witness was with a good support committee. I realize at this moment that mine is scattered around the country. I wish there were people close at hand to hold me and pray with me as I wrestle with my decision.

Ben suggested I contact Peter Goldberger, who has consented to be a legal advisor to us, and who is the author of "Options and Consequences," a section in *The Handbook on Military Taxes and Conscience*, published by the Friends Committee on War Tax Concerns. Peter had met with a group of us in Richmond, Ind. a year before during a consultation of the three peace church traditions, which had inspired me to go forward with my witness. I realized how much I wanted the Episcopal Church to provide the same sort of support I received from my Quaker, Mennonite and Bretheren colleagues. Maybe when this ordeal is over, I will try to organize such a network.

September 23

Time is passing and I must decide whether to pay or continue to resist. I was grateful for the ministry of Leroy Moore of the Boulder Peace Center yesterday who gave me the names of several local resisters to contact for support. He thanked me for my witness which he said was important, and painful. What am I to do? This morning I called my friend in Baltimore who had been a resister years before and she told me a wonderful story of the IRS man coming to visit her mother and asking "Why is a nice Jewish girl like you doing this sort of thing?" When my friend spoke to the agent on the phone, she countered with "What is a nice Jewish man like yourself doing this for?"

There are many stories in the resister community of conversations with IRS folk, some companionable and many hostile. But as yet I have not heard of any dinner parties. I wish I had the name of my agent. All I have received are printed forms, like Publication 586A, Rev. 7/89 — The Collection Process: "This pamphlet explains your rights and duties as a taxpayer owing a bill for taxes. It also explains the legal obligation of the IRS to collect overdue taxes, and how we fulfill this obligation. It is not intended as precise and technical analysis."

So I sit down with the *Handbook on Military Taxes and Conscience* and read Peter Goldberger's section on "What do War Tax Resisters do about forced collection." The lines that jump out at me state, "Individuals employ a wide variety of responses to levy and sale by the IRS. Some find that submitting without resistance to enforced collection does not violate the conscientious scruples that required them to resist voluntary payment. Others believe that collection must be resisted by every available means consistent with principle."

I remember my Baltimore friend saying, in response to my question of whether I had kept faith, that what I had committed myself to was refusing to voluntarily pay the tax — in effect, telling the IRS to come get it. Whether I write the check myself "under protest" or whether they levy my account is my choice. I have been faithful with the process up to this point.

September 24

Today's lessons are about greed, which seems appropriate. Amos asks: "When will the Sabbath end, so that we can start selling again? Then we can overcharge, use false measures, and fix the scales to cheat our customers?" Does this sound like the Pentagon dealing with suppliers? And what of Luke 16:1-13: "The people of the world are much more shrewd in handling their affairs than the people who belong to the light."

The task this morning is to ask which master I am loyal to. "No servant can be servant of two masters . . . You cannot serve both God and money." I am aware that in the most recent surveys of the federal budget, "defense" spending has ranged from over 50 to 61% of the budget. According to the Womens' International League for Peace and Freedom, the U.S. government spends $300 billion a year on atomic, biological/chemical and conventional weapons, and military forces. It spends only $20 billion a year on education. One nuclear test at $12 million could pay 500 teachers' salaries for a year. Another way to shorthand this data is to say that 60¢ of each dollar goes to financing foreign intervention while 2¢ goes toward education, and at a time when the U.S. Department of Education estimates that one-

Continued on page 17

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Fifty years of peacemaking

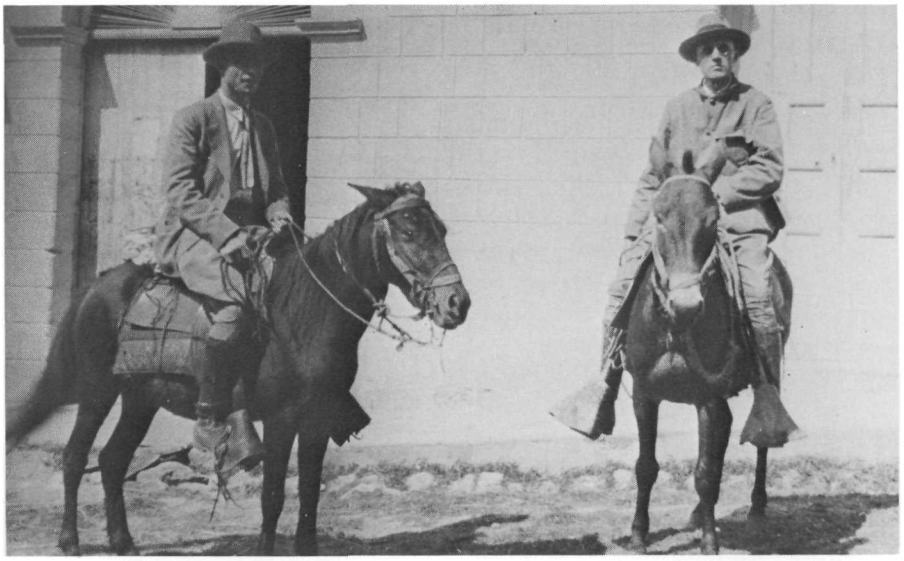
by Mary H. Miller

For the last year, as the Episcopal Peace Fellowship has looked forward to celebrating its 50th birthday, several of us have been sorting papers, memories and connections. Our primary goal is the printing of a small history in celebration of half a century of work and witness. As this is written, the not-quite-so-small-as-we-planned work has gone to the printer and we have a little space to ponder the history, the present, and the future.

The Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship was officially founded on Armistice Day, 1939. The original group included John Nevin Sayre, founding member of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) and brother-in-law of President Woodrow Wilson's daughter; Katherine Pierce, member of the National Council of the Episcopal Church and the first woman elected to a New York City vestry; W. Appleton Lawrence, Bishop of Western Massachusetts; Paul Jones, once Bishop of Utah until he protested the First World War and was forced to resign; other laywomen and men, priests and bishops.

Within a few months the EPF rolls grew. More than a few early members are among us still and we are blessed by their companionship: Dan and Elizabeth Corrigan, Bill Davidson, Reuben Lee, Arpad Fazakas, Winslow and Anna Ames, Corrine Rosebrook, Sam McCain, Florence Lichtenberger, Charles Rehkopf, Margaret Miller, Charles and William Finch, Alice Brooks, Philip Steinmetz, Margaret Sherman.

The immediate work of the Fellowship was to urge the Episcopal Church to activate the register for conscientious objectors which General Convention had authorized in 1934, and to urge Congress to extend the privilege of conscientious objector status to members of non-historic Peace Churches. EPF supported Episcopal COs during World War II financially as well as morally. Thus began what has been the core of EPF's work: support of those who in conscience cannot participate in, or prepare for, war or the use of violence to settle conflict, and to persuade others that such a position is not a daydream but a necessity — and possible.



Robert "Cuba" Jones, left, and John Nevin Sayre leading 1927 Quaker/FOR delegation into Nicaragua for meeting with Sandino re ending U.S. Marine occupation.

When the atomic age arrived, it was natural that EPF would oppose The Bomb. Questions arose: Why was the first bomb called Trinity? How could we celebrate the Feast of the Transfiguration after Hiroshima? Clearly the work was going to be long and hard. The hearts and minds of human beings needed to change, and the pacifists held to their course with an essentially unaltered message. It meant they were a minority within a minority of those urging caution about the new "cold" warfare.

For EPF the years after World War II were ones of concern for the new-born United Nations, pamphlet writing and preaching, works of reconstruction and relief, and searching for ways to influence the church at least toward a "cross before flag" position. In these years, too, THE WITNESS offered its pages for an annual EPF issue, a practice that continued under editor William Spofford until 1965 with only one year excepted. This present issue is a birthday gift with antecedents.

Some of us are members of the so-called "silent generation" that came of age in the 1950s. In the church it was the time of the Seabury Series in Sunday School, the family service, Canterbury Club and peace, as well as Korea, Joe McCarthy, "duck and cover" drills and the first U.S. involvement in Indochina.

Mary Miller is Executive Director of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship.

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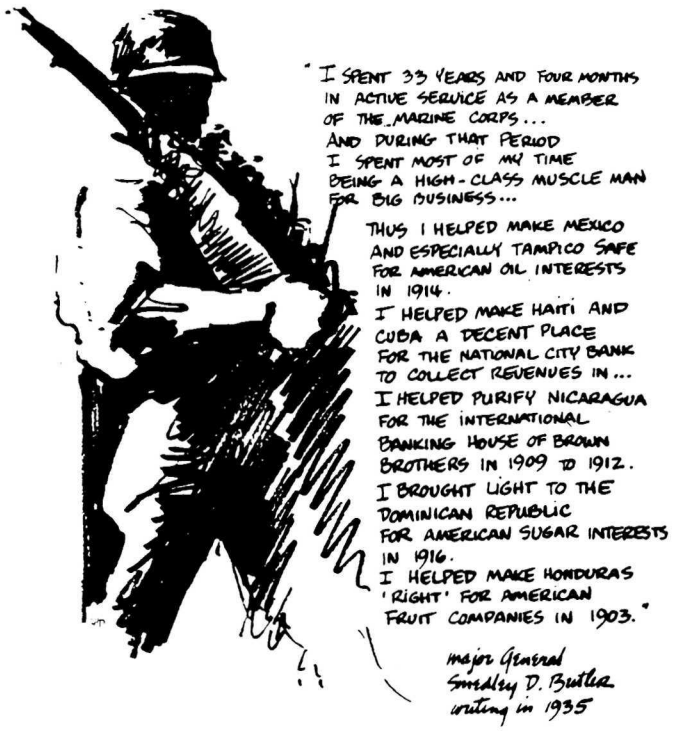
EPF was small, about 800 faithful souls, and it remained so into the 1960s. Its membership was chiefly northeastern. It was a period of inner rather than outer strengthening for what was to come. The cold war ran warm and hot by spells and pacifists were often ostracized for their beliefs. In the later years of the decade there was more secular than religious peace activity, if one may divide the world that way. SANE was born in the anti-nuclear movement of those years, joining pacifist and non-pacifist supporters of a test ban treaty. Today the national SANE/Freeze office is just a block away from EPF's, on the far side of Capitol Hill.

One of EPF's traditions is concentrated activity related to General Convention. It started in 1961 with preparing resolutions on support for conscientious objectors and those facing the draft, and on the Berlin Wall crisis. There was also a request that the House of Bishops speak to the church theologically and practically about the perplexities of international relations, and what an Episcopalian might believe and do in response to the world situation. With the help of national church staff and a representative group of church members, the end result was the 1962 statement of the House of Bishops on War and Peace, which said: "At all levels of its life, the church must charge its people with the insistent duty of working with all their strength for the prevention and elimination of war." The 1964 Triennial Meeting of the Women of the Church endorsed the statement; the General Convention apparently thought it unnecessary to do so. EPF and others took the statement to heart and pursued it over the years until, in 1979, it became a key point of reference for the establishment of a Joint Commission on Justice and Peace. The pages of commended actions shape a remarkable agenda for the 1990s.

EPF works with national and diocesan structures, sometimes in mutual support, sometimes as loyal opposition, sometimes alone, but more frequently in coalition with other progressive membership groups in the church, such as Coalition E and Issues. The representative group which was gathered to formulate the questions — and some "modest answers" — for the bishops in 1961 called itself "The Consultation." Twenty some years later the same name was chosen (without knowledge of its history, so far as this writer knows) by the coalition which was midwifed by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

A number of us made our way to the peace movement through the civil rights movement, helped by prophets Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X who made the necessary connections and named the demons. Those who leaned toward non-violence as a way of life, either by conviction or yearning, listened to King as he spoke against the war in Vietnam and shuddered. Blacks said to whites: "It's your war; you made it, you fix it; we have other business to take care of." It was painful but perhaps necessary, and in the long run many of the ties that bound us together before the split proved strong enough to bring us back together for later work.

In the meantime, EPF had been an eastern establishment sort of group for 25 years. A conscious effort was made to reach out to the West Coast and talk began of funding and finding a full-time staff person. In 1966 Tom Hayes became the first Executive Director, charged with traveling, preaching, establishing cells of EPF around the country. Before he was done, the ministry took him to Sweden to be with American exiles from the Vietnam War. The war was escalating and the response was a growing flood of new members. A decade later, with the war officially "ended," membership declined, and some of us muttered about "summer soldiery." Yet the thing that made growth possible was a not-so-simple change of name. In 1966, by postcard vote of all EPF members, "Pacifist" became "Peace" and the Fellowship was opened for full membership



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to those who could not take the absolutist position. It wasn't the first time the issue had been raised; nor would it be the last. It comes back again and again, challenging us to be clear about what we really believe and how we really live.

Special Conventions, Pentagon Masses, protest demonstrations, rallies in Washington, San Francisco, Chicago and everywhere imaginable, endless rounds of strategy meetings with a growing agenda took their toll. Burn-out was a problem then and we only hope we learned enough to avoid it now. Part of it certainly is learning to curb our compulsive tendency to change the world by our own hand.

The 1960s and early '70s were incredible. We learned to mourn fallen leaders and student friends. We rejoiced in being in the streets together in newfound people-strength, and learned again that we do not live by bread alone, but if you haven't got real bread then the rest is a distant second. Maybe most of all, we learned to mistrust official leadership and have never forgotten that lesson. What it does now mean to have Episcopalians in the White House and the State Department who say there will not be another Vietnam in Latin America, or to hear the old tapes about family, constructive engagement and human rights? Clearly the work of truth-telling in the public arena and the church takes imagination, faithfulness and a whole lot of energy.

If symbolism and persistence count for anything, the article in this issue by Nathaniel Pierce lays out another "the work is not yet done" issue — the matter of the office of Suffragan Bishop for the Armed Forces. Is it a small matter, of concern to only a few? Is the question too subtle to be understood? Are the cross and the flag in contention for our loyalties? Is it a question of the church cleaning up its act, being clear about Who we serve and Whose we are?

And so it goes. In 1927 John Nevin Sayre led a Quaker/FOR delegation to Nicaragua to search for Sandino and work together for an end to the U.S. Marine occupation of that country. The photograph of Nevin on horseback, doing the work of reconciliation to the best of his ability, is as much a symbol as the peace cross of what we are about. Both say "no" to business as usual and death, both say "yes" to justice, peace and life. The 1980s have been almost as confusing as the '60s, though many people believe these years have been quiet, even narcissistic. But they haven't been paying attention. As the 1990s come and the millennium draws near, there is work to be done.

Happy birthday and many happy returns! TW

THE EPF COMMITMENT

EPF membership includes those who, whether or not they consider themselves pacifists, commit themselves to the following statement:

In loyalty to the person, teaching and Lordship of Jesus Christ, my conscience commits me to His way of redemptve love; to pray, study and work for peace, and to renounce, as far as is possible, participation in war, militarism and all other forms of violence.

In fellowship with others of like mind, I will work to discover and practice alternatives to violence in the resolution of conflicts.

As a member of the Holy Catholic Church, I urge the Episcopal Church, in accordance with our baptismal vows, "to renounce the evil powers of this world which corrupt and destroy the creatures of God," and to wage peace across all boundaries, calling upon people everywhere to repent, to forgive, and to love.

EPF Membership Application

Please enroll me (us) in the Episcopal Peace Fellowship. I (we) accept the commitment printed above.

_____ (Home) _____ (Work) _____

Name Telephone

_____

Address - Street, City, State, Zip

_____

Parish Diocese Congressional Representative

I (we) enclose annual membership dues for the year 19___

❑ $20.00 for an individual

❑ $30.00 for a couple

❑ $ 5.00 for those with limited income

❑ In addition to dues, I wish to contribute $_____

❑ In addition to dues, I pledge $_____ for 19_____, of which $_____ is enclosed

❑ Please send me information on the EPF Chapter nearest me.

❑ Please send me information on the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Mail to EPF, 620 G Street SE, Washington, DC 20003. Contributions are tax-deductible.

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IRS . . . *Continued from page 13*
third of American adults are functionally illiterate. No one can serve two masters.

After Mass I share with my friend Sally Brown, a deacon and also a staffer for U.S. Representative Pat Schroeder, that I need prayer support since I must write the IRS today. She agrees and then adds with a smile, "By the way, I'll pay for breakfast next week when we meet."

One more phone call to Mary Miller, EPF's Executive Director. She asks wisely, "Where is the Spirit leading you?" And she also reminds me we all have choices to make. At this point, with penalties and interest, I owe the IRS the equivalent of my daughter's next tuition payment at college. How much is enough?

And so I will contact the IRS. And then I will wait for the next round — non-payment of military taxes for 1988. In all of this I am also heartened by Nat Pierce's words in the Standing Commission on Peace's report to General Convention:

As we struggle to develop the work of peace and justice within the Episcopal Church, I believe that we are in fact dealing with not only the soul of our church, but our souls as well. Progress can only come as inner transformation, nurtured by the Holy Spirit, changes us. For Christ came into the world "to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, and to guide our feet into the way of peace." (Luke 1:79)

Now I am ready to write.

To: Lawrence B. Gibbs, Commissioner of Internal Revenue

Dear Mr. Gibbs;

I would like to invite you to dinner. This is not a glib offer, but it comes after much prayer and listening to the leading of the Holy Spirit. Let me try to explain.

As you will note by the returned form, I am a war tax resister based on my religious conviction that in a nation where we spend 60¢ of every dollar for military intervention and maintenance and only 2¢ per dollar for the education of our children, this is an act of idolatry. We have become captives to gods of metal and have failed to heed the Gospel imperatives of love and peacemaking.

Your notice arrived on Thursday, September 21, which in the Lectionary is the Feast of St. Matthew the tax collector. The Gospel appointed for the day says:

Jesus left that place and as he walked along, he saw a tax collector named Matthew sitting in his office. He said to him, "Follow me." . . . While Jesus was having a meal in Matthew's house many tax collectors and other outcasts came and joined Jesus and his disciples at the table. Some Pharisees saw this and asked his disciples, "Why does your teacher eat with such people?" (Matthew 9:9-13)

If you are familiar with the text, Jesus responds by saying, "It is kindness that I want . . . I have not come to call respectable people, but outcasts." I cannot help but wonder if with all the current adverse publicity about the IRS, whether you sometimes feel like an outcast. I would like to be able to converse with you, while breaking bread, as a way of showing the sort of kindness which the Gospel requires.

After much prayer I have decided to pay the amount owed — *under protest*. I do not do this voluntarily, but am aware in the course of a year the amount owed has increased from $1,301 to $1,723.57. This is over 25% more than I initially withheld. At this point the witness becomes no longer "cost effective." I continue to believe that paying this money is wrong, that it makes me complicit with the powers of violence and darkness. But I am also aware that I choose not to have the IRS levy my employer, or place a lien on my bank account. That seems like a form of violence to those who are not involved in this witness. But I want it clearly understood that the choice to comply with the "Notice of Intention to Levy" is one of resistance, a form of "going limp" in the face of violence. It in its own way is an honorable form of "turning the other cheek," of speaking the truth to power.

Never, in the entire time I have been withholding this money, has anyone deigned to speak with me either in person or on the phone. I have only dealt with a computer. That, in part, is the reason for my invitation. I would like to be in dialogue with you or some designated agent about this witness. We are both children of God, and I do not personally perceive you as my enemy. Shalom!

Patricia Washburn

*(**Epilogue** — As THE WITNESS went to press, Patricia Washburn reported she "never had a response" to her letter. She wants to set up a support network of others interested in war tax resistance. Her address is 2318 Bellaire St., Denver, CO 80207.)*

Resources

Committee on Home Ministries, P.O. Box 347, Newton, KS 67114-0347, publishes *God and Caesar,* newsletter on war tax resistance.

Conscience and Military Tax Campaign, 4534½ University Way NE, Seattle, WA 98105, publishes a journal, *Conscience.*

Friends Committee on War Tax Concerns, P.O. Box 6441, Washington, DC 20009, publishes *The Handbook on Military Taxes and Conscience.*

Institute for Peace and Justice (Jim McGinnis), 4144 Lindell #122, St. Louis, MO 63108.

Peacemakers, P.O. Box 627, Garberville, CA 95440, publishes *Handbook on Non-Payment of War Taxes.*

War Tax Resisters' League, 339 Lafayette St. New York, NY 10012, (212) 228-0450, publishes *War Tax: A Guide to War Tax Resistance.*

War Tax Resisters' Penalty Fund, c/o FOR, N. Manchester, IN 46962

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1213 Race St. Philadelphia, PA 19107, (215) 563-7110.

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Transformation of society

Anne Rowthorn, a lecturer at the Hartford Seminary in Hartford, Conn., has done civil disobedience twice this year. She is the mother of three children and the wife of the Rt. Rev. Jeffery Rowthorn, Suffragan Bishop of Connecticut. On Martin Luther King Day, Jan. 16, she was arrested at the Electric Boat Shipyard in Groton, Conn. On Good Friday she was arrested at the U.S. Submarine Base in Groton along with 16 others, including her son, Perry.

Rowthorn is the author of The Liberation of the Laity, *and in October, Morehouse will publish her new book,* Caring For Creation: Toward An Ethic of Responsibility. *She is one of the founding members of the New Haven Deanery/Berkeley Divinity School Episcopal Peace Fellowship.*

The Rev. Jim Lewis interviewed her recently for THE WITNESS.

Anne Rowthorn

What kind of civil disobedience did you take part in?

I live in eastern Connecticut, what you might call "nuclear Connecticut." No more than 10 miles from my neighborhood is the Electric Boat Shipyard, a subsidiary of General Dynamics Corporation, where Trident submarines are made. The Trident is designated to carry a new class of deadly accurate first strike weapons, 24 D-5 missiles, each of which are capable of carrying up to 12 nuclear warheads. Just one Trident submarine has as much destructive power as 25 World War II submarines.

On Martin Luther King Day, I was a part of an affinity group of Witness for Disarmament members arrested outside the gates of the Electric Boat Shipyard. We gathered to pray for the conversion of that company to a peaceful industry.

Electric Boat Shipyard workers don't see themselves making anything deadly. They don't make missiles or any deadly machines. They make "components."

What was it like to be arrested?

It is a very sobering experience. There were helicopters flying above us, and guard dogs, police and handcuffs. But strangely enough it is not only intimidating but empowering. To do civil disobedience is to put your body on the line. It's no armchair experience of your faith. It's where you actually unite your faith with your actions.

Being arrested, you learn about the power of the state. The challenge is to see the police as human beings. That's important.

How did your family respond to your arrests?

My family and friends have been most supportive. My husband Jeffery has been supportive for years.

I remember back in 1978, on Good Friday, walking out in the middle of the three-hour service. Good Friday is about confronting sin and it just seemed to me that the church service was irrelevant in its avoidance of sin and redemption.

So I went home and Jeffery called me from Yale Divinity, where he was teaching at the time, and he had some of the same feelings. Together we drove to Groton to take part in a demonstration.

Back then Jeffery wasn't an American citizen. He was British and carried a green card. That was risky.

When I did my civil disobedience for the first time back in January I was concerned about what it might mean for him, as suffragan, to have his wife arrested. We talked about it and I decided to issue a statement giving a clear message just what this action was all about.

The children all felt good about what I did. When I was arrested this past Good Friday, our son Perry was arrested with me.

As far as Episcopalians are concerned, they haven't said much to me about it. Episcopalians are a polite lot — you don't have many Episcopalians involved in this sort of action.

Why do Episcopalians have such problems with civil disobedience?

I don't know. I used to get angry because I couldn't get Episcopalians in my deanery involved. I had to let go of that anger and get off their backs. I've learned to work with members of more active churches, a lot of United Church of Christ folks and Roman Catholics.

During the Holy Week walk prior to our arrest at the Naval Base I tried to get Episcopal churches along the way to open for us, particularly for the Maundy Thursday foot washing. The priests and vestries said no. You have to understand, they have parishioners who work for the defense industry. We wound up meeting at our house. It almost seemed like a subversive activity.

I have been invited to speak in Episcopal churches about all kinds of things, but I haven't been invited to speak about

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is goal of peace activist

the arrests. When I go with Jeffery on visitations people are polite and speak to me about my book. Someone did say to me, "Thank you, you do it for all of us." I wanted to tell her, "No, no, you must act on behalf of peace for yourself."

The idea of demonstrating nonviolently, peacefully, is very important to me. Given the opportunity, I talk with people about that, those from Electric Boat, people from the military. It's not always easy. I need some more work on that because I understand that they too are human beings. But they just see things differently than I do.

What motivates you to do civil disobedience?

Look around. We've had eight years of Reagan — he almost destroyed the social infrastructure. It's a scandal we have homelessness in this country. It's a scandal to have so much as a society and yet not be able to feed everyone. Our relationship with the Southern Hemisphere is a scandal. It's a scandal that Connecticut has the highest per capita income in the country and yet we have poverty.

What's at the heart of this? Greed and idolatry. The social consequences are devastating.

We've put so much of our faith and security in weapons. They have become gods of metal. So much of our life is tied up in the war industries, there's no alternative but to act against this kind of idolatry. I just can't sit still.

What influences shaped your life?

I'm really a very ordinary human being and Christian. I've been fortunate to have lived with a good mix of people and to have traveled.

As a young person I lived among the Sioux in South Dakota. I discovered, through them, how much people with very few material possessions have to teach us.

I am particularly grateful to those people who taught me to hear the Gospel in a social way and not just individualistically. I learned to see the need for nations to be healed as well as individuals.

Looking back I see myself acting out of the tradition of civil disobedience participated in by other wives of Episcopal bishops, Mary Peabody and Esther Burgess, when they were arrested for civil rights in Florida years ago. They've given me and other Episcopalians a role model, and I admire their loving and faithful action.

You've been denied access to Episcopal churches on your march, worship is often out of touch with your witness, and Episcopalians are few and far between when it comes to being supportive. Why do you stay in the Episcopal church given that reality?

I know what you're saying. In a way the church has been good to me. I've

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worked in and for it. I've got two close Episcopalian friends who were arrested with me. It doesn't take many to feel support. I continue to think we can make a difference by being hopeful. I draw hope from Archbishop Tutu and our church in South Africa.

The government in South Africa is arresting them for going into the church to plan activities. They are even arrested at funerals. They are in an enviable position. They are like Mark's Jesus, on the fringe, renewing and transforming the social order. I'm proud to be in the same church.

In our church we need to learn to focus away from inner problems in order to focus on the world Jesus came to save. As Christians, we must be involved in the major social issues of our communities.

As long as we are dealing with whether we're allowed to have a woman bishop or a breakaway synod in Texas, we are avoiding the social issues where Christ calls us to do the work of transforming society.

What's next on the agenda for you?

Well, today I'm going to court to support four people arrested on Hiroshima Day. I also intend to work hard on figuring out ways to dialogue with parishioners working at Electric Boat and the U.S. submarine base. Another big concern is getting an economic conversion bill passed in Congress. We must support legislators working on programs which convert military industries into businesses which provided life giving products.

I am in this for the long haul. It has occurred to me that to be faithful to Christ in our age I'll probably have to spend the rest of my life shuffling between the nonviolent vigil or action outside the armaments factory or military base and the courthouse and jail. There is no romance about this. It is personally costly and it is difficult. I am saddened when I think of so many friends who have gotten worn out working on peace and justice issues and have dropped out. Lack of focus, fragmentation, burn-out and becoming strident and shrill are the risks that walk with peacemakers. I've known many whose lives have become the movement, and I know just how easily I too could lose perspective. It's very hard to keep both self and the movement together and at the same time to retain a sense of humor and a joyful spirit.

It is important to remain in touch with the nurturing and renewing power of family and friends and to keep grounded in the spiritual direction afforded by both liturgy and nonviolent civil disobedience (or divine obedience as I like to call it).

I would dearly love to do it all — to be active in the host of other justice causes because I am sensitive to them all. But I am learning to say "no" to many requests so that I can continue to direct my energies to the nuclear issues. We've all got to find our own place in the struggle. I've found mine. TW

Barbara Harris: Bishop

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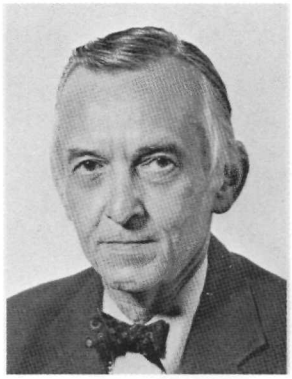
The witness of a remnant

by William Stringfellow

The late noted theologian and attorney William Stringfellow gave the following keynote address at the Episcopal Peace Fellowship's Award Dinner during the 1979 General Convention in Denver. Stringfellow's life was devoted to combatting racism, sexism, and militarism in church and society. He was arrested in 1970 for hiding the fugitive Catholic peace activist Daniel Berrigan in the home he shared with poet Anthony Towne. He died in 1985 after a long and debilitating illness. This address, delivered 10 years ago, shows how little has changed and how sorely his prophetic voice is missed.



William Stringfellow
1928-1985

To me, it seems a fit occasion to consider the remnant status of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship in this church, in this society.

I know that there are some who take pride in being a remnant and I realize there is an easy temptation to romanticize the role, but I would rather that there were no Episcopal Peace Fellowship. It seems essentially incongruous to me that there be a special interest group within the church concerned for peace. I am told this occasion is "sold out," but I still question, "Why isn't everybody here?" Indeed, why isn't everyone so passionate about peace issues that the parameters of that concern coincide with those of the church?

Why isn't there such a coincidence, especially nowadays when:

— the peace movement of the '60s appears to have been vindicated in events?

— the concern about peace extends far beyond the traditional bounds of ideological pacifism?

— the indivisibility of so many issues is self-evident: war and want, arms and ecology, the Pentagon budget and inflation, the threat of nuclear calamity from M-X missiles and Three Mile Island?

When peace is the only alternative to genocide, one might expect in the church — the harbinger of the Kingdom — a manifest unity and unanimity about peace. When the very atmosphere is laden with apocalyptic apprehension, one could expect the General Convention of the Episcopal Church to be preoccupied with peace for this world and be outspoken about it.

Alas, everyone is not here. The General Convention is, on the whole, overwhelmed in pedantry, deliberating lethargy, and the Episcopal Peace Fellowship is weak, poor, powerless, pathetic — a remnant.

I think I know some of the reasons why this is so.

We who are Americans, of the church or otherwise, have been programmed for war and conditioned, for half a century, for living in a society in which the commerce of war and the redundant, indefinite, profligate arms race is the predominant economic and political reality. We do not really know how to live any other way. We cannot imagine earning livelihoods in any other structured society. We suppose the gross overdependence of this economy on the military enterprise to be normative.

So we cling to what is familiar, including the mythology, wrought in the Second World War, of "national security," and we yield, upon that excuse, to a military technology which has achieved the preposterous contradiction of weapons systems so devastating that they cannot be used without self-destruction. And thus we have reached the point, as Vietnam verified, where the immensity of American power has been rendered totally impotent.

I have come to regard the Second World War as the war we lost. I remember those few, including Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence of the old Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship, who forewarned of that outcome. The spirit that was evident in the Second World War was one which claimed that American power and determination could accomplish anything. But that spirit became transliterated in the war and its aftermath to a triumph of indiscriminate technology and the totalitarian ethos which the mindless implementation of technical capability engenders because human discretion is abdicated or otherwise atrophied.

Hiroshima is the grotesque symbol of *how* we lost that war.

Meanwhile, the Episcopal Church has suffered comparable and related change.

This church no longer has leadership: the church has management. Manage-

Continued on page 23

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Nukes and *metanoia* in South Carolina

by Stanley Rich

"But I don't make bombs!" my friend declared emphatically. This statement typifies the clouded moral vision of people who work at the Savannah River Plant (SRP), a nuclear materials processing plant near Aiken, S.C. In the early 1950s, when the Atomic Energy Commission built the vast, sprawling plant to produce nuclear materials for the hydrogen bomb, people in the area had varied responses to the Hydrogen Bomb Plant, as it was then called.

The residents of Ellenton, S.C., a town displaced by the plant, had mixed emotions about abandoning their historic home. In a memorial tribute to old Ellenton, one woman attempted to boost the morale of her neighbors: "Rejoice, friends, rejoice. Your sacrifices have laid the foundation for a mighty protector — the hydrogen bomb. It is being made to defend us — to preserve American ideals, traditions, civilization and the opportunity to be the Christian salvation of the world."

But by the late 1950s, one long-time Aiken resident said, "Though unwanted and resented by most of the natives of the area, it has aided materially in the civic, cultural and religious life of the vicinity. The employees of the Savannah River Plant, as it is now called, are men of learning, men of culture, and men with a deep sense of civic duty. They have joined with the Aikenite of long residence in building up Aiken County."

Stanley Rich is a member of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Pax Christi USA, and is Associate Professor of English at the University of South Carolian at Aiken.

As the years passed and "the bomb plant" added to the economic prosperity of the area, local residents less frequently named the SRP for what it is — a nuclear weapons production facility, its reactors designed to produce plutonium and tritium for nuclear weapons. The old-timers who unequivocally call it "the bomb plant" are now few in number. Many area residents, glad to have a good job in construction at the plant, have no idea of the real nature of the SRP.

Today, the new contractor, Westinghouse, has euphemistically renamed the whole operation the Savannah River Site and call it a "National Environmental Research Park," a label designed to fool gullible people. Jobs there are now described by Westinghouse as "environmentalist" in nature, an intentional public relations strategy and part of the "New Day" motif at the plant. The deception, couched in Orwellian doublespeak, becomes even more insidious.

Psychological denial continues. My friend who asserts he does not make bombs does not want to see his work in moving nuclear materials inside the reactors as an integral part of the long, geographically dispersed process of making bombs. He is concerned, understandably so, about providing income for his family. He does not want to admit the larger moral, planetary issues involved. So in our friendship we often stand at an impasse. And this story is repeated many times in Aiken where friendships and other human relationships are lived out in an arena of dishonesty and silence, where everything may be intimately discussed except that subject.

A related area of denial, difficult to document, occurs in the intimacy of marital relationships. In a typical scenario, the husband works at the SRP and the wife silently questions or opposes the SRP. What quiet tensions must exist in such a relationship? And most private of all is the silent denial of many SRP workers who, because of economic concern for their family's welfare, may never express to anyone questions about the moral nature of their work. One SRP worker recently told a friend that he sleeps better at night since he has been transferred from a reactor operator job to one in environmental cleanup. What does this unexpressed inner anguish do to the spirit? And some who declare themselves to be "anti-nuclear" work at the plant because they say they have no other choice but to accept a good job with the SRP. What divided psyches!

In the fall of 1988, an opinion poll was taken in Aiken to determine community attitudes toward the SRP. The survey results were enlightening: There existed a greater resentment against the SRP than had ever been suspected. The poll results were then purchased by the local newspaper, which is primarily an unpaid public relations arm of the SRP, and the information was subsequently suppressed. Inquiries as to why the information has not been published have been met with stony silence. Thus the denial continues to protect a flourishing local economy.

In December 1988, ABC Evening News sent correspondent Barry Serafin and a television crew to Aiken to inter-

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view me about my publicly expressed moral stance against the SRP. After an extended interview, what actually appeared on national television was a brief clip of an impromptu interview with a local woman who said, "I like the SRP. It means good jobs for Aiken." Here, at the national level, was more denial, by not giving a local dissenting voice access to a larger public.

And now major university campuses in South Carolina have become involved with the SRP. The chief administrators of the University of South Carolina, Clemson University, the Medical University of South Carolina, and South Carolina State College have formed a consortium to work with Westinghouse in scientific research. Faculty and students concerned about the moral and academic compromises inherent in such a union are told that this consortium will benefit the advancement of science, add to the material prosperity of the schools involved, and enhance the national image and prestige of the schools. The result is the suppression of academic freedom and a refusal to deal with the basic issues of nuclear weapons production. All of these goals are being aggressively pursued in a time when the Soviets are making overt gestures towards ending the Cold War.

With such glossing over of the basic truth of the plant's operation, how can people who are eager to have high-paying SRP jobs ever face up to the reality of their work? Is it even possible for them to admit their involvement with the nuclear arms race and with environmental contamination?

And how do local residents who are morally opposed to the SRP live lives of integrity in affluent Aiken's atmosphere of psychological denial? Noted Roman Catholic author and peace activist Joan Chittister, OSB, offers some advice to the community of resistance: "Victor Frankl, the Jewish psychiatrist and survivor of German concentration camps, said that in time of crisis people do one of three things: they deny it . . . they despair . . . or they commit themselves to ask critical questions. Perhaps you and I, being who we are, cannot really do much, but we can at least give the gift of Christian discomfort. By knowing enough to say no, we can make it impossible for anyone to make war easily. And we can give others the knowledge it takes to say no too."

In the late 1980s this "gift of Christian discomfort" is being realized in Aiken in small ways. After more than 30 years of a twin conspiracy of silence and secrecy about the SRP, a few people are raising their voices against the status quo.

A Prayers for Peace group has been meeting weekly for over five years in a public park to pray for a conversion from the nuclear culture that has such a grip on Aiken, and for justice and peace in our world. Composed of about 12 regulars, this little community offers moral and spiritual support to resist the conspiracy of silence and denial and plant seeds of justice and peace in the local community. In small ways this group and allied friends have offered words of challenge and "discomfort" to local residents in hopes of *metanoia* — conversion — occurring in their hearts and minds. When one member wore a "Bread Not Bombs" button to an Episcopal church choir rehearsal, the immediate response form an SRP worker (one of many who dominate the local parish church) was, "Oh no, not one of those!"

The not-altogether placid retort was, "Well, I believe it to be Jesus' way." The result was a standoff for the rest of the evening.

Several members of the Prayers for Peace group have been quietly giving away copies of the Pax Christi USA booklet *Peacemaking: Day by Day*, and slowly a few others are talking about issues of violence and non-violence

More than two dozen people spoke at the Department of Energy's 1988 and 1989 Scoping Hearings, calling for a proper Environmental Impact Statement before restarting currently idle SRP nuclear reactors. Though the local press publicized the views of the few SRP proponents at the hearings, and largely ignored the opposition majority, the public heard that the Aiken area is not unanimous in its views of the SRP. While it was not easy to appear before an often hostile public, the opposition was able to speak directly to the consciences of a national audience.

Bombs, denial and *metanoia*. In the midst of a nuclear arms culture, can there be an inner transformation of mind, heart, values and the will? TW

Remnant . . . *Continued from page 21*

ment, in principle, is indifferent to any issues except that of the survival of the institution *per se*. When institutional management displaces leadership in the church, what emerges is a church without a sense of vocation.

This is a church locked into the society it emulates, with heavy investment — both directly and indirectly, intentionally and ignorantly — in the military commerce of the American economy through guilty relationships with banking, finance and industrial principalities. Moreover, this becomes a church so subsidized by the regime through tax privilege that it is incapacitated to speak critically, much less prophetically, to the regime. That is why I have called upon the American churches to renounce tax exemption, for only upon that condition can the churches be freed to engage, as institutions, in tax resistance.

Meanwhile, the Episcopal Peace Fellowship does have a witness — as a remnant — scattered, meek, powerless, steadfast, foolish in the eyes of the authorities, whether political or military or ecclesiastical.

In the circumstances, brothers and sisters, I bid you to be patient until the coming of the Lord. TW

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Anglicans ambivalent about peace

by Nathaniel W. Pierce

The *Lambeth Daily*, the official publication of the 1988 Lambeth Conference of worldwide Anglican bishops, reported that the arrival of the Anglo-American Peace Pilgrimage at Canterbury Cathedral on the opening day of the conference was greated with cheers, and the pilgrims were "then politely escorted by the efficient verger to the Great Quire for Evensong."

The reality, however, was somewhat different. Even though arrangements had been made with the cathedral staff to coordinate our arrival, we were prevented from entering the cathedral by "the efficient vergers" until just before the Evensong began. Then, since the Great Quire had filled with tourists, we were shunted off to a side chapel where we could not see or be seen. The service of Evensong proceeded; there were no words of welcome, no special prayers for peace. The worship went forward as if nothing had occurred, as if no one special had arrived, as if we were not there at all.

This event pointed to a deeper ambivalence that lies at the heart of the Anglican tradition. Lambeth 1988 had some token words of support for peace, such as: "This conference pays tribute to those who in recent years have kept before the world the growing threat of militarism." But on the critical issue of using violence to achieve social change, the bishops convened for Lambeth seemed to be thoroughly confused. First they said: "This conference understands those who, after exhausting all other ways, choose the way of armed struggle as the only way to justice, whilst drawing attention to the dangers and injustices possible in such action itself."

The IRA in Northern Ireland thanked the Lambeth Conference for its sensitive understanding of their cause. The Church of Ireland bishops were appalled. The *London Times* carried a memorable editorial on the resolution with the title "Insult to Christians." And so, in response, Lambeth passed an emergency resolution which said in part: "In the circumstances of Northern Ireland [this conference] condemns all violence."

But that's the rub, isn't it? One person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter. Were the citizens of Boston, who 200 years ago dumped tea (private property) into Boston Harbor (it has been polluted ever since), terrorists or patriots? It all depends on who is writing the history.

The root problem is the use of violence. Regardless of how noble the cause, the use of violence corrupts the perpetrator and demeans the cause. Meaningful and lasting change can only come about through nonviolence. That is, after all, what the cross is all about, and what Jesus lived and died for. I asked Bishop Tutu last January at a symposium in New York City about Lambeth's legitimization of "good" revolutionary violence — he was one of the primary advocates of this resolution. He responded by reminding me that was a somewhat hypocritical question for a white, American male to ask. I grant his point, but questions remain: Can we as Christians legitimize violence? Where does it stop? Who decides between "good" revolutionary violence and "evil" revolutionary violence? The Anglican Church has depended from its very beginnings on a symbiotic relationship with the state and its armed forces. As the British empire spread, the church followed. Each served the other's purposes. Our church has a long history of blessing violence when carried out by a duly authorized military for purposes the church, in its own limited wisdom, deems to be good.

Who can ever forget the immortal words of the Lord Bishop of London during WW I: "Kill Germans — to kill them, not for the sake of killing, but to save the world, to kill the good as well as the bad, to kill the young men as well as the old, to kill those who have shown kindness to our wounded. . . As I have said a thousand times, I look upon it as war for purity, I look upon everyone who dies in it as a martyr."

But the problem for Anglicans goes even deeper than this vicious need to kill the enemy. Clifford Longley stated this dilemma perceptively in a column in *The London Times*, July 25, 1988:

> *One significantly Anglican blind spot is evident from the current state of the argument at the Lambeth Conference as it enters its second week. There has been a good deal of theology about the ordination of women, and even more about the principles of authority in the Anglican Communion. All aspects of the matter are being examined theologically, it seems, except the notion of the 'national church' and its claim to autonomy. That is taken for*

The Rev. Nathaniel W. Pierce has served as National Chair of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship (1976-1979), as a member of the two Joint Commissions on Peace created by the General Convention of the Episcopal Church (1979-1982 and 1982-1985), and as Chair of the Standing Commission on Peace (1986-88).

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granted. It is fenced off from critical theological examination by the ideology of nationalism. American Anglicans are American first, evidently, and they are not alone in such an attitude. . .

Most provinces follow political boundaries, and the national church is normative in Anglicanism. . . A theological critique of provincial autonomy would start by asking whether and to what extent it serves the purposes of the Gospel, and whether it leads to confusion of national identity with Christian identity, a potentially dangerous ideological corruption of Christian faith.

The independent nation-state may be the dominant political idea of the latter half of the twentieth century, but nationalism does not deserve to be deified. It can in certain circumstances be a source of great evil. It erects barriers between peoples, and generates dangerous feelings of national and racial superiority, which are often unconscious. Autonomous Anglican churches organized on a basis of national identity are bound to be seen as part of all that, helping to strengthen and perpetuate it, condoning and sanctifying it.

Over the course of the last 200 years the Episcopal Church has deified nationalism more than most provinces of the Anglican Communion. For some the Civil War was a crusade to abolish slavery; for the Episcopal Church, it was an opportunity to demonstrate "unfaltering allegiance to the government."

The Rt. Rev. Paul Jones, fourth Missionary Bishop of Utah, was forced to resign by the House of Bishops in 1918 in part because he, as a pacifist, condemned the First World War and our participation in it. A Committee of the House of Bishops summarized the disagreement with Jones this way:

The underlying contention of the Bishop of Utah seems to be that war is unchristian. With this general statement the commission cannot agree, and, specifically, it thinks that the present war with Germany in which our country is involved, being, as it is, for liberty and justice and righteousness and humanity among nations and individuals, is not an unchristian thing.This church in the United States is practically a unit in holding that it is not an unchristian thing. In the face of this unanimity, it is neither right nor wise for a trusted bishop to declare and maintain that it is an unchristian thing. If the compelling force of conscientious conviction requires such utterances, fairness demands that it not be made by a bishop of this church. The making of such an Episcopal proclamation should be preceded by the withdrawal of the maker from his position of Episcopal leadership.

During WW II and Vietnam the Episcopal Church supported those in military service in a variety of ways, not the least of which was through military chaplains. Its pastoral ministry to conscientious objectors in both wars reflected a strong negative prejudice. This unholy combination of nationalism and theology found its fullest expression, however, in the creation of a unique office in the Anglican Communion. In 1946 the General Convention established the office of Suffragan Bishop for the Armed Forces. The position was not filled until 1964, when the Rt. Rev. Arnold Lewis, Bishop of Western Kansas, was translated to this post. During the height of the Vietnam War, Clarence E. Hobgood, then an Air Force Chaplain, was elected by the House of Bishops to this office; he was consecrated in February 1971 at the National Cathedral. He retired in 1977, and Charles L. Burgreen was chosen as his successor. Burgreen retired this year, and the House of Bishops elected Navy chaplain Charles Keyser to the post.

No other province of the Anglican Communion has such a position. The Church of England, for example, assigns this ministry to a Diocesan Suffragan. Further, as designed by General Convention, it is an episcopal ministry that crosses diocesan, and even provincial boundaries. It is a position not unlike what the Fort Worth Synod has requested for Episcopal congregations who wish to have an Episcopal Visitor, although they might call such a person the Suffragan Bishop for the Apostolic Faith.

And then, of course, the election itself was somewhat irregular. Only bishops voted; there was no vote given to lay persons or to clergy. And, in a survey, the military chaplains themselves were clear on the issue of gender: 96% wanted the new bishop to be a male with previous experience in the military. Disciples of Bishop Paul Jones need not apply.

Mind you, the issue is not whether the men and women serving in our Armed Forces need a pastoral and sacramental ministry; they do. Nor should there be any question as to the church's response; we do have an obligation to provide for this ministry, but not at the cost of our own integrity.

The needs of the military chaplains for episcopal oversight can be met without creating a special office of Suffragan Bishop, and the structure of the church might be reorganized so as to reflect a stronger commitment to peaceful reconciliation.

This office of Suffragan Bishop for the Armed Forces is a scandal to the Gospel. It reinforces the deification of nationalism which runs through the heart and soul of Anglicanism, while condoning and sanctifying some of the worst elements of the American psyche. It is not the first time that the way of nonviolent change, which is the way of the cross, has been sold out, nor will it be the last, as the recent Lambeth Conference reminds us. TW

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Requiem for a common man,

Thousands of mourners, including President and Mrs. Bush, Jesse Jackson, dignitaries from Congress, the diplomatic corps and the District of Columbia packed Washington National Cathedral to say goodbye to the Rt. Rev John T. Walker, Bishop of Washington, at a Memorial Service Oct. 5. Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu of Capetown joined Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning and the Rt. Rev. Ronald H. Haines, Pro Tem Bishop of Washington, as concelebrant of the Eucharist.

Walker died Sept. 30 in Georgetown Hospital at the age of 64.

Bishop of Washington since 1976, he was widely known and loved for his leadership in civil rights and community affairs and carved a niche in the church as a pioneer:

- First black student at Virginia Theological Seminary;
- First black rector of St. Mary's Church, Detroit;
- First black master at St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire;
- First black bishop of Washington;
- First black bishop to be nominated for the office of Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church;
- First president of the Interfaith Conference of Metropolitan Washington, whose members include Christians, Jews, and Muslims;
- First chair of the Urban Bishops Coalition, and on and on . . .

Commenting on Walker's role at the cutting edge, the Rev. Dr. Edgar Romig, homilist, pointed out, "Because of his composure, grace, charm and gentleness, perhaps we thought that being such a pioneer was easy. I know it was not. The stress was often enormous."

That stress took its toll as John Walker was confined to Georgetown Hospital in mid-September. He died within two weeks, of cardiac arrest after triple bypass surgery. Present at his bedside were his wife, Maria; and three children, Thomas, Ana Maria and Charles.

When Walker came to Washington in 1966 to work in a program in the city's poorest neighborhoods, there was only one integrated Episcopal Church in the city and few black priests. Today there are a dozen integrated parishes, a score of black priests, one Hispanic priest, and 25 women priests. Walker is credited with making those changes without some of the controversy experienced in other quarters of the church because of his quiet but persuasive style of leadership.

An editorial in the *Washington Post* after his death said:

> *Washington Cathedral is the great symbol of the Episcopal Church's presence here, but the nature of that symbol has changed over the years. There was a time when a bypasser could have been forgiven for thinking that the Cathedral on its hill seemed to look down on the city with the disdain of accustomed wealth and social position. Today it sends a different message, one of concern for the city and an active involvement in its daily life. That change owes much to the remarkable man who was the bishop.*

Dr. Romig pointed out that "John Walker had a universal kind of caring, which led him to a double commitment: the commitment to struggle for the liberation of the poor and the oppressed in our own country, and the commitment to love and serve our brothers and sisters overseas, as he did so faithfully in seminary teaching in Uganda and through a rich ministry in Costa Rica."

Walker also traveled extensively in Africa, and as chair of Africare, a relief organization for self-help development programs, observed firsthand, projects in Zambia and Zimbabwe. Closely identified with Archbishop Tutu in protesting apartheid in South Africa, he participated in demonstrations at the South African Embassy in Washington and was one of the first church leaders arrested there.

The Rt. Rev. John T. Walker

"Our bishop did not sleep very much," Romig observed in his homily.

The funeral service for John Thomas Walker proceeded in memorable fashion, while the Bishop's ashes lay in state in an urn on the High Altar.

But it was on the eve of the funeral, in the modest little church of St. Margaret, that friends from all walks of life gathered in a more informal manner to pray, pour out their grief and tell favorite stories about their bishop. A Eucharist with an interfaith delegation present opened the vigil, with the Rev. Vienna Cobb Anderson, rector, serving as host. She

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an uncommon bishop by Mary Lou Suhor

explained that Maria Walker wanted to have a wake, where people could share stories about her husband, but her living room was too small. St. Margaret's was made available for the event, and tapes were made to present to Mrs. Walker and the children.

The emerging portrait portrayed a prince of the church who never forgot his Barnesville, Ga. roots, where his great-grandfather founded an African Methodist Episcopal church, and who always had time for "ordinary" folks as well as for the powerful in his District of Columbia flock. Following are some testimonies typical of the evening:

John Walker was a pioneer with magnificent grace and strength. My grandmother used to tell me to live in such a way that "when you die you can meet your slave ancestors, look them in the eye and tell them you used your freedom well." John used his freedom well.

— George Haley

I asked him once, how did you know you were called to the priesthood? He told me his mother was going to name him Thomas. But about one minute after he was born his grandmother appeared on the scene. She insisted, "This child has to be named John 'cause he's the apostle Jesus loved the most." That kind of story tends to haunt you, he said. . . Then when we were having lunch at Germaine's, the subject turned to where our minds gravitated most when reading the Bible. He said, "For me, it's the story of the Prodigal Son. Most people miss that the center of the story is the father — the father's pain and hope." He was not only shepherd of the diocese, but shepherding his children through teenage years at the time.

— John Wheeler

I'm a United Methodist musician, and I sometimes worked at St. Mary's. He visited while I was there, and what most struck me were his eyes and sense of humor. He was so relaxed with us, and I felt free to laugh and cut up and act silly — and even to share the nickname we called him — Johnny Walker Black.

— Charlene Cooper

I remember a time when his eyes were not twinkling. I had been gathering facts about the pain and injustices suffered by women in the church, before they were allowed to be ordained. After my report he said, "I have been brought way back to old pain and old hurt. Nothing on your list is not understood by blacks." It was then I truly bonded with him.

— Joan Bowman

When he was my dorm master, I asked him how he himself had juggled his social life and studies at college. He told me it wasn't a problem because he didn't need a lot of sleep. "I could party until midnight, study till 3, and get up at 6. I also had a photographic memory." With typical 14-year-old arrogance, I opened a book at random and said, "I'll give you five minutes to look at this page." He did, and returned it. I began a paragraph — and he finished it.

— Unidentified former student

I used to work in Church House and decided to quit working to stay home and be with the children. I have four of them with me tonight. When I left, Bishop Walker had a long talk with me about my decision and wished me well. He exuded love.

— Mattie Sullivan

He confirmed me, and when I looked at him, his eyes spoke more to me than what he said. When I learned about his death on the news I was at college in Baltimore. I called my mother, who had not heard. Something in me made me come home to be with her and with other people who feel about him like I do.

— Kamillia Smith

I want to thank especially his wife Maria and the children for "loaning" us John Walker. I had wandered from being a "social Episcopalian" into Unitarianism and then back to the Episcopal Church, confessing to him that I still had doubts. He reassured me, "A doubter believes, but simply has some more questions."

— Lee Adams

I am a Quaker, who testified before the Urban Bishops Coalition hearings in Washington, after Bishop Walker asked me to research the problem of hunger in the District. He never forgot a face. Long afterward when he met me on the street, he called me by name. And after the hearings, through the Presiding Bishop's Fund, he enabled us to start a D.C. Hunger Action Coalition. He never forgot anybody, and he never forgot the hunger in Washington, either.

— Pat Kutzner

The Rev. Vienna Anderson ended the memorial service with a story of her own: "When Bishop Walker was in the hospital under visiting restrictions, I went to his room and the nurse asked me, 'Are you family?' He replied before I could, 'Yes, she's family.' The nurse looked at me, (a Caucasian with red hair) and asked, perplexed, 'Are you a nun?' Bishop Walker said, 'No, she's a priest, and *I* ordained her.' 'What do I call you then?' the nurse asked me. 'Vienna is just fine.' The nurse looked at her patient. 'And what do I call you?'

"'John,' he laughed. 'But some call me bishop.'"

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VOLUME • 72 NUMBER • 12 DECEMBER 1989

THE WITNESS

'Our church has AIDS'

Theological reflection
• John Snow

Politics of AIDS
• Barbara C. Harris

Vignettes of PWAs
• Lynne Nelson, R.N.

AIDS & the system
• Floyd Naters-Gamarra

Christmas in the coalfields
• Susan E. Pierce

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Letters

U.S. election scam

Thanks to Ann Robb Smith and THE WITNESS for keeping the injustices in El Salvador and the plight of Nicaragua, facing elections while still subjected to contra attacks, before the public (September and October issues). WITNESS readers should know that until Daniel Ortega suspended the Nicaraguan cease-fire agreement it had been unilaterally upheld by the Sandinistas since July 1, 1988, and had been consistently violated by the contras.

Our Witness for Peace investigators in Nicaragua have documented over 140 contra attacks since the implementation of the cease-fire, a fact which has been ignored by a majority in Congress. Prior to the announced end of the cease-fire, our investigators noted a dramatic increase in contra activity, particularly during the voter registration period. Since the signing of the April 1989 Bipartisan Accord in which the Bush administration and Congress promised that the contras would cease all offensive military actions and human rights abuses, WFP has provided Congress with documentation of 59 separate contra attacks.

Neither does suspension of the cease-fire mean that free and fair elections cannot proceed in Nicaragua, as President Bush has implied. Both the President and many members of Congress were quite willing to praise recent elections in El Salvador though there was no cease-fire in place.

In this regard, we would also call your attention to the current Citizens Campaign for Free and Fair Elections in Nicaragua, an effort to keep the Bush administration and Congress out of Nicaragua's ballot boxes. So far this year, Congress and the White House have agreed to spend $12.5 million in U.S. tax money in an effort to influence these elections. With Nicaragua's estimated voters numbering approximately 1.7 million, the U.S. expenditure equals more than $7 per vote in overt funds alone. In addition, *Newsweek* recently reported that the United States is spending an estimated $5 million in covert "opposition housekeeping costs" (10/9/89).

To buy the same level of influence in the United States, another country would have to spend more than $400 for every U.S. voter. This is vote buying, plain and simple.

Agnes Black
Witness for Peace
Washington, D.C.

(For further information: Citizens Campaign for Free and Fair Elections in Nicaragua, P. O. Box 33273, Washington, D.C. 20003. — Ed.)

Bus story touching

I was deeply impressed by William Spofford's article, "Bishops, buses and the Bible" in the September WITNESS. It brought tears to my eyes because Bishop Spofford is speaking the truth — Christ's words to the church, pointing out to us where the mission of the church is also to be. THE WITNESS surely lives up to its name.

Elizabeth W. Corrigan
Santa Barbara, Cal.

Uppity women & COCU

I write to complement what Rosemary Ruether said in her excellent article, "Uppity women and authentic ecumenism" (April WITNESS). Three points caught my attention. First, Anglicans and Roman Catholics are nowhere near reunion, apart from the ordination of women. Second, authentic ecumenism is only to be found where the authentic Gospel of Christ is lived out. Third, true ecumenists are after much more than organizational merger.

Real ecumenical opportunity is offered to Episcopalians by Churches of Christ Uniting, formerly the Consultation on Church Union (COCU). At the COCU plenary last year, nine Protestant churches, including the Episcopal Church, approved a plan which makes possible greater unity among them, and sent this plan to the official bodies of the churches for consideration and action. The plan is, to my mind, a breakthrough, precisely at the points Ruether emphasized. It does not call for organizational merger; member churches will continue to be the churches they are, but will have much expanded relationships among themselves. This means that on the local and regional levels, Christians in these churches will be stimulated by wider ecumenical contact. The COCU plan is noteworthy both for its clear commitment to mission in the world and for its solid and consistent call to the churches to work actively to fight racism, sexism, handicapism, agism — all the forces in society and in the church which push people to the periphery of life.

The issue for many will be whether the plan, and the liturgies which accompany it, offers Episcopalians assurance that the apostolic succession is a part of the Churches of Christ Uniting. I believe they do and that the plan is a most promising one. If it is widely discussed, I think the church will approve it. If it is not, those whom Ruether calls "patriarchal ecumenists" may carry the day and keep the Episcopal Church out of COCU. An exciting new ecumenical venture will have passed us by. Your readers are exactly the kind of folk who could get a creative discussion of the COCU plan underway in the parishes and dioceses.

Barbara Hall
Alexandria, Va.

Who is to say?

Please cancel my subscription to THE WITNESS. I find it too one-sided and too shrill, certainly not mindful of the many in our church who are sorely hurt

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— whether justifiably or not. Who am I to say? Who are you to say?

The Rev. Donald B. Harris
New York, N.Y.

Glad to meet you

I was born, baptized, confirmed and married in the Episcopal Church. Had I known THE WITNESS and its ilk were around I might still be there. Even at this late date, how happy I am to meet you!

Helen W. Heatherington
Atascadero, Cal.

Clear data balderdash

Louie Crew's article in the September issue protesting that too many in the church are still dodging dialog with gays and lesbians, as recommended by a General Convention resolution, leads me to reflect that the trouble with resolutions calling for dialog is that they stop the talk. If we really want dialog then we must abandon the loaded language employed to bias moral discourse and crowd out our antagonists. Dialog is possible only when participants confer equality of status and good intentions on each other. You can't dialog with someone who begins by declaring you an unfaithful sinner in need of repentance.

We are still hearing the argument that "We don't have clear data on the origins of homosexuality." Neither do we have clear data on the origins of heterosexuality. But we do have some emerging data on the prenatal determination of sexuality in males and females, and this is all part of the wonderful mystery of God's love in creation.

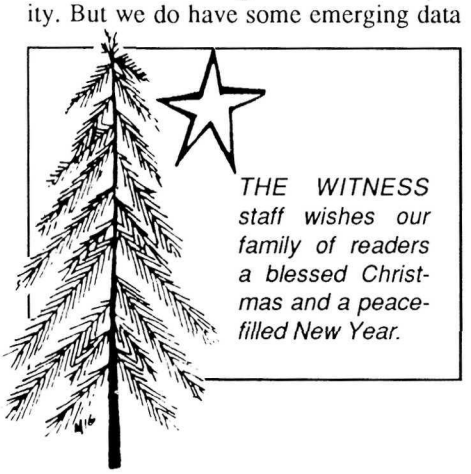
We will never have "unambiguous data," the kind of information which is both clear and complete. This is implicit in the doctrine of creation. The human condition is living in the matrix of ambiguity. Data always beget 10 pieces of new data. Once discovered, truth opens up further mystery. But we cannot put off moral choice for that reason.

We do not know clearly the reason for violence against gays and lesbians. Should we, therefore, withhold condemnation of "gay bashing" and wait to ask citizens to do all they can to stop this violence until we get some kind of clarity? We do not well understand the etiology of AIDS. Should we withhold our care and compassion from persons with AIDS and their families, and close up church and other AIDS ministry centers until we have unambiguous data on the origin and function of the AIDS virus?

Given the mystery of human sexuality, there is enough information to affirm full human rights, dignity, leadership, even liturgical blessing on faithful and loving relationships.

There is enough information out there for the church if it wants to come out of its ecclesiastical closet and go where the Spirit is revealing truth about the mystery of human sexuality. One source is P-FLAG, Parents and Friends of Lesbians and Gays. Another is Integrity. They know that gay people are everywhere. They know that gay people are naturally gay. They know that gay people are part of the family. If the church can open up to the Spirit in this area of life, we will discover a basis for deeper theological and biblical reflection.

John Gessell
School of Theology
University of the South
Sewanee, Tenn.



THE WITNESS staff wishes our family of readers a blessed Christmas and a peace-filled New Year.

300 years late

Subscribe to THE WITNESS? Thanks, but no thanks. Your "loving arguments" for blessing gay relationships are 300 years late! And the Church of England burned countless "faggots" at the stake, starting right off with the orders of your founder, Henry VIII! You will never "atone" for your evil murders, no matter how "loving" you think you are today. Your religion is nonsense and your church, all churches, a foolish relic.

Glen Rice
Davis, Cal.

October issue scores

The October issue of THE WITNESS was unusually good on all counts. I was deeply impressed by Mary Jane Brewster's poem, "Genocide." The executive, legislative and judicial departments of government, whatever their party affiliations, have all been guilty of helping bring about the two-tier society of which she warns us. The present administration seems to be working toward the elimination of the middle class, and without a strong middle class, government "of the people, by the people and for the people" is likely to fall by the wayside. Whether or not it can be revived is questionable. No question, it will not be revived without suffering, perhaps not without martyrdom. That is a tragic fact for a nation that is one of the major great powers.

As to your story on Nicaragua, our record in Nicaragua has been bad under any government, from the time we first became involved there, long before the present government took charge. We have a lot of bad records, but that is one place where we never did anything right. The fact that Nicaragua itself has had a lot of bad governments, from Spain on, does not improve matters.

Pauline Shortridge
Hopwood, Pa.

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THE WITNESS

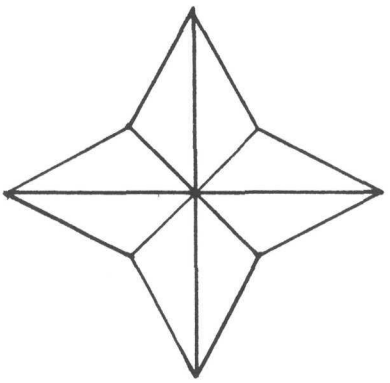

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Table of Contents

6 **AIDS and 'the survival of the fittest'**
John Snow

10 **The politics of AIDS**
Barbara C. Harris

12 **Winter of discontent in the coalfields**
Susan E. Pierce

16 **The face of God: Stories from the front lines**
Lynne R. Nelson

16 **Church must combat stereotypes**
Hobart M. Banks

19 **In ghetto: Double standard prevails**
Floyd Naters-Gamarra

20 **Racism and the viral holocaust**
Elsie Pilgrim

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Editorial

'Our Church Has AIDS'

As the church prepares this month to receive the Word made flesh, John the Baptist calls us to repentance. Most of us would prefer to get on with Christmas — and these days, most of America does, sometimes as early as October. But as John well knew, recognizing the Word made flesh will be impossible without, first, a change of heart.

In our consumer-oriented society, it is almost impossible to celebrate the Feast of Christmas simply and with reverence. A culture defined by the paradigm of competition and survival of the fittest, as John Snow points out in this issue, is a culture which cannot appreciate what happens on the Holy Day of Christmas — the birth of Jesus.

In the present economic climate, with its deadly competition for the Christmas market, the prevailing business obsession is, "If you don't make a killing at Christmas you're dead." Prescinding from the violent message of the market, this Advent we dare to invite our readers to contemplate the new "viral holocaust" — AIDS.

No other fact in our lives today brings us face-to-face with the hard questions of faith so rapidly, or so directly. What *is* our faith in the age of AIDS? To what sort of repentance does AIDS call the church?

America has begun to brace itself for a significant escalation of the AIDS epidemic among African-Americans, Latinos and other so-called "minority" groups. Since the days when AIDS/HIV was known as GRIDS — Gay Related Immune Deficiency Syndrome — the focus has been on the disease's impact on the gay community. Now it is clear that no community is immune. And the uncomfortable evidence is that the particular vulnerability of African-Americans, Latinos, and some other ethnic and racial groups to the AIDS/HIV epidemic is more than a tragic coincidence. The racism which regularly challenges African-American and Latino survival — particularly factors that encourage IV drug use, such as inadequate housing, inferior educational opportunities, and lack of employment — seems also to lie behind the epidemic's spread in these and other ethnic/racial communities.

When the National Episcopal AIDS Coalition (NEAC) first began telling Episcopalians, "Our church has AIDS," one translation was, "Our church has gays," and many found this a disturbing challenge to their polity, theology and faith.

For the church to begin responding effectively to the epidemic in the gay community, it has to begin acknowledging and responding to the heterosexism within it and within society at large. Both formally and informally, the contributions of gay and lesbian Episcopalians have been crucial to whatever progress has been made to date.

Now, as the church faces AIDS/HIV in the African-American and Latino communities, black and Latino Episcopalians are setting the tone and defining the issues involved in the response. The pieces in this issue suggest something of what they are saying. These reflections are personal and theological. They address frankly the special concerns about sexuality that arise among African-Americans and Latinos, and they point to the ambivalence — and racism — which marks the reaction and response of both church and society.

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AIDS and 'the survival of the fittest'

by John Snow

There are times when it is appropriate for voices from within the church to make a radical critique of the status quo and cry out for change. During the 1950s and early '60s when McCarthyism was quite successful in shaping a potentially totalitarian social order, and racial segregation was still deeply established in our institutional life, there was a great need for prophetic proclamation of the Gospel. The conflicts between the Gospel and the use of the media to destroy innocent lives, or the obscenity of legal racial segregation, were obvious. A prophetic voice, not just from the church, but from wherever the spirit moved, was clearly called for by the very nature of Christianity.

The adversary at that moment was the status quo. There was an inclination on the part of society to lock itself into a static Americanism which was white, money-oriented, and centered around the nuclear family as a competitive economic unit.

Yet it should be said that on another level everything was changing. The beltways were making the automobile king, and America took to the road to become the most transient country in the world. Blacks, pushed out of employment by the automation of farming in the south, moved to the city. The white middle class, aided by the free college education of the GI Bill of Rights, burgeoned into a massive, upwardly mobile force of middle management, who, with their wives and often sizeable numbers of kids, moved all over the United States.

One result was the effective disenfranchisement of a large segment of the educated middle class. People who move every couple of years, or even more frequently, do not get involved in local politics. Often they don't even recognize the names on the ballot if they vote.

Consequently, American politics is at the mercy of the Old Timers, those locked into their place of birth by family and a tight political and economic web of acquaintances. At the heart of their concern is simple turf. They want to keep what they have. But they also want a piece of the good life so they will open their turf if the transient can be exploited. This causes turf change — housing developments, malls, crowded public schools, overburdened sewage systems, rising taxes — and it causes great insecurity among the Old Timers. They tend to retreat into a kind of nostalgia, favoring prayer in the public schools, no teaching of evolution, no flag burning, at the same time that they ignore the true causes of their insecurity — the loss of a predictable and stable local economy, the hostility and envy they feel towards the better educated transients, and the restlessness and boredom of their adolescent children who, if they are gifted in anyway, can't wait to leave home.

Through the Eisenhower years provincial conservatism dominated our politics, but growing affluence, the power of television, and the charisma of John Kennedy seemed to have made even the conservatives willing to take a chance in the '60s. We think of the '60s as a time of rapid social change, but we were experiencing more the consequences of great radical changes fully implemented before the '60s revolution began: increased mobility, Keynesian economic policies which generated such stunning national affluence, television and computers with their revolution in communication, and the Pill, putting conception control in the hands of women.

I will not go into the litany of changes that took place in the '60s, but I think it is fair to say that the church, both the Protestant, and after Vatican II, the Roman Catholic, was prophetic. Voices from within the church spoke out loud and clear against racial discrimination, against the war in Vietnam, and for the war on poverty.

The injustices frozen in the status quo of the '50s were pried loose to be dealt with in the '60s, and a prophetic church was part of the liberating process, particularly as it followed the leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr.

King believed that one's adversary should be treated with respect, and that one's adversary, if not threatened by the fear of aggression or death, could be rational, could hear the truth, could change and repent. King's pacifism was not tactical or negotiable. He believed that any social order forced upon people by the fear of death was demonic, as he believed that freedom was first of all, the overcoming of the power of the fear of death. Against the advice of nearly all the Civil Rights leaders, he publicly opposed the war in Vietnam and was dead within a year. For King, as for the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, sin was captivity to Satan who ruled by fear of death. And the salvation brought by Jesus Christ was the felt knowledge that the fear of death has no dominion over

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The Rev. John Snow is professor of pastoral theology at Episcopal Divinity School. He is author of *Mortal Fear: Meditations on AIDS and Death*, and *The Impossible Vocation: Ministry in the Meantime*, both published by Cowley, 1987.

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us, freeing us to love, to do justice, to care for the creation, and above all, perhaps, to identify with the marginal, the abandoned and oppressed and to see them not as a bunch of losers but as the hope of the world.

King, with a Nobel Prize, international fame, an incredibly sophisticated knowledge of the use of power in American politics, was murdered helping to organize the sanitation workers, the garbage collectors, in Memphis.

We can discern in King's ministry the inseparability of the prophetic and the pastoral. He was one of the few people I have ever known who could be intensely aware of the pain of another person when he himself was under great personal stress. Like Jesus on the cross, he could turn to another person on the cross and try to comfort that person. He never fell into the pastoral trap of treating the marginal and the oppressed as less human than himself, as helpless victims for whom consolation and pity were the only response. For King, the pain of marginality and oppression was a kind of captivity from which a person could be freed by a vision of a just world.

The answer to the pain of marginality and oppression was not just pastoral care, but hope. In hope, we can become pastors to each other in our shared pain without losing the vision of God's justice, which makes the future something which beckons to us rather than something which we dread.

James Baldwin also championed hope in this way. Shortly before his death, he was being interviewed in Chicago by a reporter. He was holding forth on American culture in his customary devastating way when the reporter asked, "Seeing things the way you do, Mr. Baldwin, don't you ever get discouraged?"

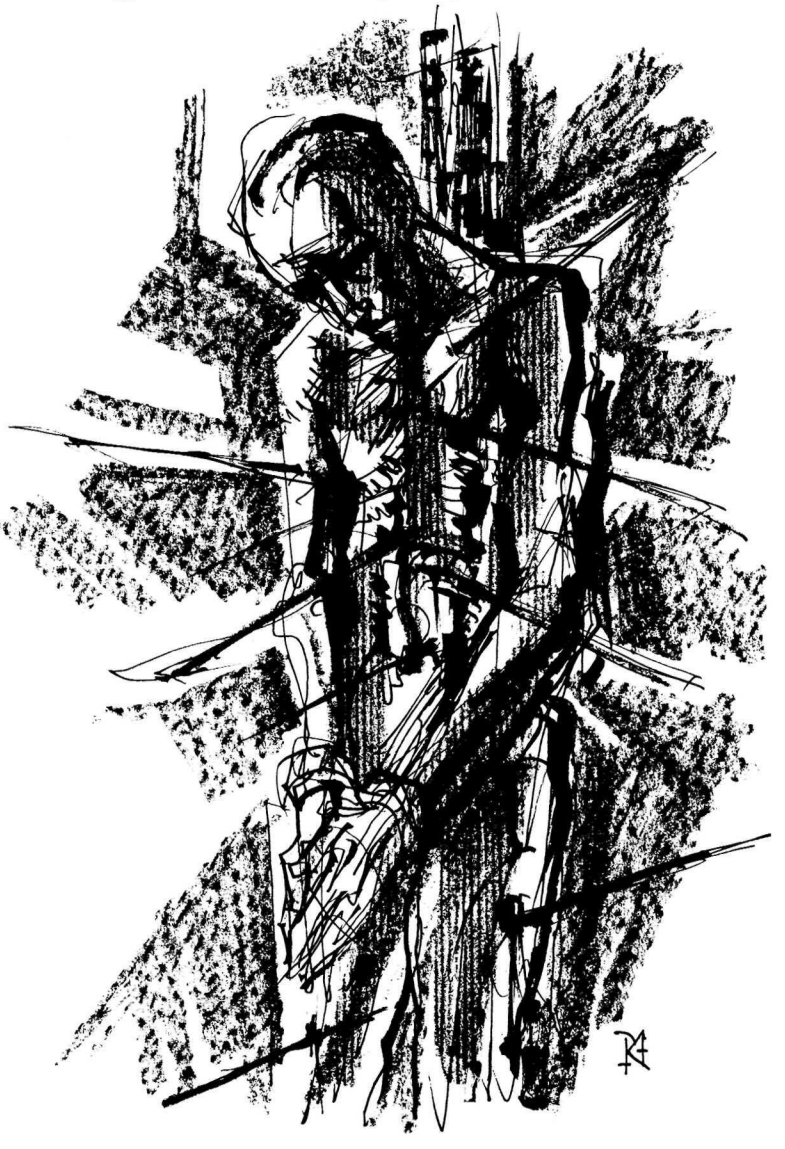
"Yeah," Baldwin answered, "sometimes I get very discouraged. But when I do, I have something I turn to, a secret that I have."

"What's that?" the reporter asked. Baldwin smiled. "The Kingdom. You know, the Holy City, the New Jerusalem. I really do believe in that."

So there was Jimmy Baldwin, black, gay, drinking too much, already with cancer, having lived through the murder of his two friends Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, and fully aware of the current crises in the African-American community, yet indomitable and hopeful to the end in his assurance of the Holy City and the ultimate rule of God's justice.

Then I suppose that there could be no more radical conflict than that between Christianity as it was preached and lived by King and current American ideology. I want to go back now to the development of this ideology as a context for what I shall have to say about the prophetic dimension of the church's mission and AIDS.

Back in the early '50s when America hit the road, a choice was made. At the time, the choice was not apparent, or at least, it was not clear. The college-educated white middle class which was to become the mainstream of our society believed that it was choosing progress towards a good life served by science, technology, the new psychotherapy, medical research, free enterprise, and education. These would free us from sickness, poverty, mental illness, superstition and all the terrible burdens of history which had plagued the human enterprise up to modern times. For those who



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were unable or not yet willing to join the climb upwards, our affluence — through welfare and other benign programs — would help them survive during the transition to utopia.

But there was another choice being made then — the price we would pay for our journey. We were choosing to exchange the security that comes from the generational continuity of property, inheritance, extended family, local agriculture and familiar community, for cash flow. We believed that a trustworthy and growing flow of money buttressed by insurance and pension plans would give us and our families a new independence to shape our own lives and escape from the narrow, rigid confines of the lives of our parents. What happened is best described by the columnist Ellen Goodman, describing the women's liberation movement: "At times it seemed as if we traded boredom for anxiety."

Any minister who had a parish in the suburbs during the late '50s can tell you about the anxiety. The values of your depression childhood — frugality, company loyalty, saving money, delayed gratification — were out. Credit, fat mortgages, financial risk were in.

Indeed, risk was the essence of growth. One chose a lifestyle and pushed one's credit to create the image of that lifestyle. Articles in *Psychology Today* dealt with one's "credit anxiety." Advertising exploited status anxiety to create the most profitable consumer market in history. The newly discovered tranquilizer became, even more than alcohol, the drug of choice, particularly for women. As anxiety moved into depression, TV programming moved from situation comedies to soaps, endless narratives of futility and despair. Market research bore out that depressed people buy a great deal more than anxious ones.

During the '60s, particularly, there was an alternative culture which had both a vision of social justice and a sense of momentum towards that vision which was spirited and hopeful. The church, or an animated, energetic, committed segment of the church, was integral to this alternative culture. And it was this same alternative culture which said *no* to our tragic adventure in Vietnam.

But it was not able to prevent that tragic chapter in our history. The word "tragic" seems to me an understatement. Not much need be said of the price paid by over a million who fought. Their suffering has been continuous and public.

The young men who managed by whatever means to avoid going learned a single-purposed strategy of self-preservation. A high level of anxiety punctuated by moments of raw fear accompanied every moment of their lives as they duelled with their draft boards, conned the government into graduate school deferments, didn't quite finish their doctoral theses, married and had children when they had no desire to marry or have children. All this they did, knowing that those less clever, less affluent, less gifted, less white and entitled, were being sent to Vietnam.

Young women who were their contemporaries had their own ordeal. Quite aside from their own moral objections to the war, they were experiencing the men of their age as self-obsessed, lacking any real sense of hope, unable to commit, full of cynicism and anxiety. It became clear to many young women at that time that it would be wise not to contemplate sharing their lives with men.

Distrust grew during every year of the war. For many of both sexes a world view developed that society was a random, hostile environment where only those who focused on their own survival survived. It is this generation who began to move into power and assert themselves during the Reagan years. They are, of course, no worse or better than any other generation, but they learned some very bad things from the power figures of my generation.

The survival of the fittest.

It's a slogan we hear occasionally today, usually to denigrate situations where too much competition causes chaos. The phrase was coined by the Englishman Herbert Spencer in the 1870s to sum up his elaborate philosophy of Social Darwinism. Social Darwinism applied to human society Darwin's theory of natural selection, claiming that the unregulated competition of human against human would move society toward "the perfect man in the perfect society." There were those genetically and culturally fit to survive and those who were not. By the conscious social, economic and political neglect of the unfit, the fit were free to rule and shape the society of the future, with the most intelligently aggressive always rising to the top. The weak, the sick, the disabled and particularly the poor, were an encumbrance on the progressive elite, and nothing was done to enhance their survival.

It would be impossible to exaggerate the enthusiasm with which Americans embraced this social philosophy. In the South the white leaders used Spencer's Social Darwinism to justify subverting the Reconstruction period into racial segregation. Social Darwinism affected and shaped our immigration policy, our approach to the social sciences, our education, and particularly the laissez faire capitalism of the Carnegies, Vanderbilts and the Rockefellers. The survival of the fittest became the will of God for too many Americans, including American Christians, and worked its way deeply into our institutional structures. Salvation suddenly gave way to survival as the goal of a human life.

Under Roosevelt, Kennedy and other brief episodes of democratic government, our Darwinism has been covered with an overlay of social concern, but the point was largely to keep the poor

Continued on page 22

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Short Takes

Christmas mini-meditation

The Word became flesh and dwelt among us . . . This phrase from John's Gospel totally encompasses Christian theology in eight words. At the risk of watering down John's poetry, it can be said that we believe the Word of God — God's Spirit, God's soul, God's essence, God's power — became, through an actual human birth, flesh and blood. Indeed, these eight easy words add up to one impenetrable mystery.

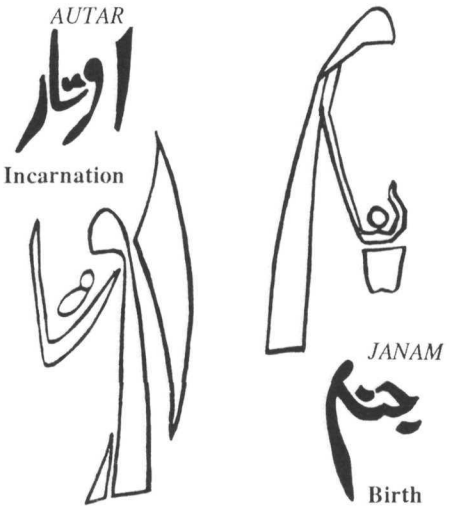
But let's poke around in the mystery, taking two very odd steps. First, imagine the process of word becoming flesh, but in reverse. Flesh becoming word. Second, think not so much about a divine process, but a human one. Compare *your* flesh becoming a word, a symbol, a thought. If you were asked to express your flesh in a word or phrase, what would you say? Some thoughts that go through my head are: complex; neither-this-nor-that-but-some-of-everything; loving but scared; scared-sacred, etc.

Now, express your flesh, your life, in a word or phrase. It ends up a mystery, doesn't it? Our own life, when we try to put it into a word, becomes contradictory, ambiguous, even mysterious. Little wonder we have trouble understanding who Jesus was, and is. Christmas is not a time for understanding a process, it is a time for accepting a mystery; the mystery of our own soul and its deep connection to the mystery of Jesus, son of Mary.

Craig Biddle
***Bread*, Christmas 1988**

Sexuality hearing in Washington

Responding to action taken at the 1988 General Convention of the Episcopal Church, the Commission on Human Affairs will hold the second in a series of Open Hearings on Jan. 6 in Washington, D.C. The hearing is intended to facilitate and encourage the "listening process" in the church for gay and lesbian Episcopalians, and will be held at the Church of the Epiphany, 1317 G Street NW.



Living words

The Rev. Siddique Mark Sunder uses community organizing and artistic talent to break down walls of separation between Christians and Muslims in his native Pakistan.

In a nation of 101 million people that is 97% Muslim and only 2% Christian and 1% Hindu, oppression, Sunder contends, comes from the class system, not from religious differences. The Dominican priest utilizes his artistic talent to build bridges of understanding. Muslims take the commandment against graven images seriously, forbidding even the drawing of pictures; calligraphy — the artful rendering of words or letters, however, is not only acceptable but even encouraged.

Using the national language of Pakistan, Sunder skillfully depicts the lettering of some Urdu words to illustrate their religious meaning, to the delight of Christians and Muslims alike.

Frank Maurovich
Maryknoll Magazine 2/89

Bumper sticker: If you can't trust me with a choice, can you trust me with a child?

Rich avoiding tax

A handful of the wealthiest people in America are still able to avoid paying federal income tax despite repeated congressional efforts to close loopholes.

Of 529,460 couples and individuals who reported total income of more than $200,000 in 1987, 595 paid no tax, the IRS says. Those 595 had income averaging $600,000; two out of every three had capital gains averaging $490,000 apiece. An additional 33,805 over-$200,000 earners paid tax at an effective rate of less than 15%, typically less than a middle-income family would pay. Almost 3,000 paid less than 10%. The IRS has been required since 1978 to estimate the number of high-income people who legally avoid paying any tax.

The rich avoided taxes by reporting big losses on partnership and farm investments; by racking up large capital gains, 60% of which were excluded from taxation; by claiming itemized deductions averaging $262,000, and by using the credit for taxes paid abroad.

Associated Church Press

When cancer was death of choice

In the Middle Ages, controversy surrounded the *ars moriend,* the art of dying literature. It was alleged that dying rightly was a major purpose of Christian faith. Now people prefer not to die at all.

In the Middle Ages, according to historian David Steinmetz, cancer was the death of choice. Cancer, unlike a sword through the skull or a heart attack, gave one time to die well, to get affairs in order, to pay off old debts, to bless the grandchildren.

Now, most of us pray for an instant death so we can die without knowing it. But many will not be able to die that way, so they at least hope for a drugged death in which they won't have to come to terms with its hard, cold facts.

William H. Willimon
***The Christian Century* 9/27/89**

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The politics of AIDS

by Barbara C. Harris

The theme, "Our Church Has AIDS," chosen by the National Episcopal AIDS Coalition for its conference, is well taken. It is true in several respects. Our church has AIDS in the sense that we are actively engaged in significant ministries on several levels.

At the recent House of Bishops meeting in Philadelphia, about 40 of us gathered to discuss informally our personal involvement. I was pleased to learn that we are engaged in many areas — human services, support groups, visits by lay pastors and clergy, lay membership on public and private sector task forces, crisis centers, and financial support and use of diocesan property for hospice care. And this kind of activity is not just taking place in cities like San Francisco, Los Angeles, Washington, and New York but in places such as Rhode Island, Mississippi, western North Carolina, Orlando, Pittsburgh, and parts of Texas. Also, some of the bishops had taken the Presiding Bishop very seriously about being an AIDS buddy — it was very heartening to hear those reports.

Our church also has AIDS in the sense that there are more among us than many care to acknowledge who carry the illness and its traits, or in some way will be affected by this illness. In some places there is not only denial but a conspiracy of silence on the subject. For some, AIDS happens somewhere else, and it happens to other people. Again, at the House of Bishops meeting, the wife of one of our chief pastors and shepherds was overheard to remark that "anyone who gets AIDS deserves it."

In some of our churches people will not even talk about it. On my regular parish visitations I routinely ask the rector or vicar and vestry if they have yet had a case of AIDS in their congregation, and what the response has been. Or if the disease should appear, what response they anticipate. Quite often the answer is, "Yes, one has been diagnosed, but not even the family knows it yet." Or, "If it were to happen it would be called something else." Or sadly, "This congregation couldn't handle it."

Of course, we know there are many reasons for people's reluctance to come to grips with the subject. The fear factor and the stigma attached to the illness are very strong. To some, AIDS is a disease of the lower class. But it is this reluctance and denial that give rise to my concerns in at least three related areas.

For one thing, I am concerned about the politics of AIDS. Interestingly, Ben Strohecker of my diocese reports that at a recent meeting of the Northeast/Midwest Leadership Council, to which he has been appointed, not only was AIDS not mentioned, but he did not hear a word about any health issues. Nor was there time scheduled on the subject.

Similarly, at an international conference on AIDS in Canada in June of this year — attended by some 10,000 people — ethical, social, and economic ramifications of the pandemic were discussed, but political implications were not mentioned. Yet the political fallout from the AIDS phenomenon continues to be very much with us.

As we look at the projections and estimates of the cumulative number of cases

The Rt. Rev. Barbara C. Harris

that result in death, the direct cost of medical care, the staggering numbers and price tag alone are grist for any political mill. The politics of AIDS could further impede crucial medical breakthroughs, including the development of effective therapy and long-range vaccine research.

Under pressure from consumer groups, some of the major pharmaceutical houses — including Bristol Meyer, Squibb and Johnson & Johnson's Ortho Pharmaceutical unit — are giving away experimental drugs that have not yet received final government approval. The give-aways reportedly are tied to a recent government policy to speed new drugs to persons who might die while waiting for the completion of time-consuming tests and bureaucratic paperwork. But there is no mention of speeding up the tests or paperwork, nor any corresponding governmental effort to bring down the high price of AZT, the only approved drug to combat the virus.

The politics of AIDS threatens to create a new national class of lepers. Legal theories are not grounded in good medi-

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The Rt. Rev. Barbara C. Harris, Suffragan Bishop of the Diocese of Massachusetts, is a contributing editor to THE WITNESS. The above is excerpted from her keynote speech at the National Episcopal AIDS Coalition conference in Cincinnati this fall

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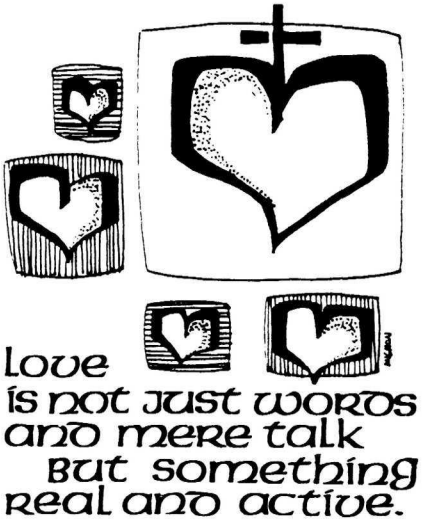
cal data but are based on the hysteria that so often accompanies society's rush to blame one group or another.

Not to be overlooked is the reality of politics on the local level as more and more groups vie for the same diminishing dollars. It thus becomes imperative for us to work ecumenically and across the faith community, and forge linkages with community groups.

Important here also, and my second concern, are two issues involving the legal and civil rights not only of persons with AIDS but those who may be required to undergo tests. The whole question of testing is very sinister indeed. The American Civil Liberties Union long ago expressed apprehension over confidentiality, and how tests results might be used regarding housing, education, and medical and mental health care. Continued talk of mandatory screening raises particular concern among blacks, Latinos, and other minorities who would be most affected and least prepared to fight court battles over breaches of confidentiality. Some of us in the black community have fresh and painful memories of the racism associated with sickle cell anemia screening in the early 1970s. Positive test results, indicating either the disease or the traits, produced violations of confidentiality, socio-economic discrimination, and increased insurance costs.

Persons with AIDS and those suspected of being affected already have faced difficulty getting and keeping coverage for health, disability, and life insurance. Some insurance restrictions violate both the law and industry ethical standards. One company was found to be rejecting all applications from San Francisco. Coverage reportedly has also been denied to men who are not married or whose jobs are stereotypically associated with gay and bisexual men, such as hairdressers. According to the American Council of Life Insurance, whose member underwriters normally bar coverage to individuals with cancer or other serious conditions, "We want to treat AIDS as any other disease," while industry and other regulatory experts maintain that insurance is statistically designed to discriminate. The elderly pay more for life and health insurance, bad drivers pay more for auto insurance, death policies cost more in a high crime areas, and a house on an eroding beach may be uninsurable. For people confronting AIDS, insurance has become critical in assuring their access to health care.

This brings me to a third concern — a new locus of the AIDS epidemic within the teenage population. New data show that the virus is rapidly spreading among the 13 to 19-year-old age bracket through heterosexual intercourse. According to Dr. Gary Stropash, director of adolescent medicine at Rush Presbyterian/St. Luke's Medical Center, the extent of AIDS infection among teenagers is going to be the next crisis. And it is going to be devastating. Conditions are ripe for such rapid transmission among that age group because teenagers have multiple sexual partners and very few use condoms. If you know anything about teenage sexual forays and mores, you know how difficult it is to say the right things in order to get young people to use condoms. You should hear some of the rationalizations.



But what a year ago was largely a theoretical possibility is today a frightening reality. And that reality is compounded when we consider the alarming rate of teen pregnancy. Babies making babies and babies having babies adds up to more babies being born with AIDS: More babies being born with the twice jeopardized condition of drug addiction and AIDS, more abandoned babies, an ever-burgeoning case load, and a physical and financial drain on an already strapped health care system.

Further compounding the situation is the question of how such teenagers are going to qualify for any kind of insurance, to say nothing of the other bleak aspects of their lives.

We can play out this ugly scenario to its totality within the realm of possible conclusions — AIDS-infected teenagers and suspected AIDS-infected teenagers and their offspring being warehoused in some state-run institution as were the mentally ill at the turn of the century. If you don't think that's possible, just let people continue to refuse to believe or admit that our church has AIDS.

Let me cite a danger and a hope, for there is both danger and hope on the horizon. And I cite them because the danger resides in people like us, and the hope resides in people like us.

What is the danger? Three days ago a lead story on page two of my local paper read, "Environment to dominate world issues during the '90s." Meanwhile our church has declared the 1990s the Decade of Evangelism. Tension and energy get focused on ozone depletion, saving the rain forest for oxygen, cleaning the air to avoid catastrophic global warming, keeping streams from spreading toxic pollutants, winning souls for Christ and cloning the church. As important as some of these are, we can easily lose the focus on the plague of AIDS, pandemic

Continued on page 15

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UMWA strikers face Christmas

Winter of discontent in the coalfields

by Susan E. Pierce

The leaves were beginning to bud on the trees on April 5 when 1,900 United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) members went out on strike against the Pittston Coal Group. Last year, Pittston refused to sign the contract between the Bituminous Coal Operator's Association and the union. Working without a contract for 14 months, the miners walked out after Pittston stopped paying into the pension plan and abruptly cut off health benefits to disabled and retired miners and miners' widows. Now, as Christmas approaches in the mountains of southwest Virginia, the leaves are gone from the trees, and the strike continues.

Even before it began, Pittston brought in a private protection force, Vance Security, run by ex-President Gerald Ford's son-in-law. Many Vance employees are trained mercenaries, recruited through *Soldier of Fortune* magazine. They are skilled in techniques of disruption and intimidation, and reportedly try to goad miners into violent confrontations. When the miners went on strike and began doing peaceful civil disobedience, Virgina Govenor Gerald Baliles immediately sent 300 state troopers, accompanied by federal marshals, to escort the coal trucks and keep the mine entrances open. People feel as if they are living in an occupied country under martial law.

The strike has caused great stress, financial difficulty and heartache for the people of the small towns around the mines. Even those not connected with the UMWA or Pittston are affected. But the strike has also called on the physical, emotional and spiritual reserves of the people of the region, who though weary, have created a whole new sense of community and have confronted hardships with creativity, humor and courage.

Visitors find their way to Camp Solidarity, near Hamlin, Va. on the site of a former summer camp owned by UMWA member Jack Bartig. Mountain roads that twist and turn back on themselves lead to the camp. Many of the signs put up by the UMWA to guide visitors have been routinely defaced or torn down, reportedly by employees of Vance Security. And state route signs often have been spray painted, according to one account, by miners to confuse the state police, much as the Polish people tore down road signs to baffle invading Germans during WWII.

The tradition of mountain hospitality prevails at Camp Solidarity, where camouflage-clad miners welcome visitors. The camp is a command center for coordinating the strike. Hard-working UMWA members and supporters have built a bunkhouse, dining hall, kitchen and showers for strikers and visitors, more than 45,000 of whom have come from across the country and abroad to show support.

Camp coordinator John "Buzz" Hicks stressed how important it is for people to see what is really happening in the coalfields, since the mainstream media appears more interested in strikes in the Soviet Union or Poland. Greeting a group of labor organizers and activists from Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania and Washington, D.C., he said, "Eyes and ears don't lie. People would never believe what's happening here could happen in the United States."

The strike has helped the miners forge strong bonds with their brothers and sisters in the labor movement. The visits, said Hicks, "get your union blood boiling." Two women miners from Kentucky, Sarah Lindenburg and Ruth Vondrasek, said they came over to the camp as often as they could, to show support and get support.

Union banners from every part of the country drape the outside walls of the dining hall and the bunkhouse. Inside, the walls are covered with more banners and placards with signatures and messages of solidarity. Prominent among them are those from Eastern Airlines and New York Telephone/NYNEX employees who are also involved in long and difficult strikes.

The strike has created bonds between neighbors who were formerly only nodding acquaintances. Sue Ring, who works in the kitchen, said "When this first started, most of us didn't know each other. Now it's like family."

A core group of women, many on probation for civil disobedience and barred from the picket lines, staff the strike kitchen — stocked with supplies donated by supporters — and have turned out phenomenal numbers of meals. During the Sept. 17 takeover of Pittston's Moss #3 Processing Plant, when 98 miners and the Rev. Jim Sessions, a Methodist clergyman raced past startled guards and peacefully occupied the site for three days, thousands of supporters waited at the plant gates. The strike kitchen fed everyone.

"We cooked for 5,000," said Ring. "Fed them breakfast and turned right

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around and started lunch." The food is so good that one joke going around was that the miners wear camouflage not only as a symbol of solidarity but also in order to hide the weight they've gained.

Marat Moore, a woman miner originally from West Virginia who now works for the UMWA, emphasized that the strike couldn't survive without the women.

Moore recalled that when the contract wasn't renewed last year, women began organizing through the Ladies' Auxiliaries at the various UMWA locals. "Small groups got to know each other and at a certain point we called a district-wide meeting and set up a coordinating network," she said.

Two weeks after the strike began, Moore was one of 40 women who occupied Pittston offices in Lebanon. They staged a sit-in and sang hymns, causing Pittston Group President Mike Odom to complain to the *Washington Post* that he was "a hostage" in his building.

During the planning of the action, Cosby Ann Totten, another miner and activist, suggested they call themselves the Daughters of Mother Jones. "We each took a number," said Moore, "and during the sit-in, when they asked for our names, each would say, 'I'm Daughter of Mother Jones number so-and-so.'"

Moore drew no firm distinction between the Daughters of Mother Jones and the Ladies Auxiliary. "Most of the women are members of both," she said.

Having lived through the unsuccessful two-year UMWA strike against the A.T. Massey Co., Moore felt that the miners and the community were better prepared this time. "Outside forces have run the economy here, but not the spirit."

Family is of great importance in the coalfields. Spouses and children of the miners have been arrested alongside them and borne abuse and harrassment from state police and Vance Security.

At the Binns-Counts Community Center in Nora, named after Cat Counts, Virginia's first woman miner who died in an explosion, the ecumenical Commission on Religion in Appalachia (CORA) has set up a food program for the strikers. During lunch, miners told of their worries about their children.

Beauford Mullins said he confronted a state trooper "not as a striker, but as a concerned parent" when speeding coal trucks threatened the safety of his and other children waiting for the school bus, only to be told there was nothing the trooper could do.

Bob Dickson said he had to walk his children to the bus stop and wait with them because "Vance Security will stop and shake their nightsticks and threaten the kids. They're afraid."

The miners said they try to reassure their children and explain why their parents are constantly hauled off to jail and hounded by state police and Vance. "I just sit and hug them a whole lot," said Mullins. "I told them, 'This is the real world. This is war.' "

The intimidation campaign has infuriated the community. Betty Collius, who daily joins her husband Paris at the picket shack outside the McClure #1 mine, said, "There's women and older people that won't go to town anymore. They're scared of being run off the roads by the coal trucks, or running into Vance Security. "

It is tough living on $200 a week strike pay, Collius said. "You got to do without; so do the young'uns."

Despite the hardships — she and her husband have both been jailed for civil disobedience — "We are not afraid anymore, we are plain mad. We are not backing down one inch," she said.

Another factor that has sustained the community during the strike is a strong religious faith. Pittston deeply insulted the miners, many of whom are Baptist preachers, by demanding compulsory shifts on Sunday. Worship is taken seriously enough that the weekly strike rally was moved from Wednesday to Thursday nights, because Wednesday is the traditional night for prayer meetings and Bible study.

Mainline churches have generally been supportive of the strike. An ecumenical fact-finding team sponsored by CORA released a report in October which said, "There are times when religious bodies, on the basis of their historic commitment to justice for working people, are called to become involved in a conflict. The current strike by UMWA against the Pittston Company appears to be one of those times."

The Episcopal Church, traditionally the church of the elite in the coalfield, has come out in support of the miners. The Appalachian Peoples' Service Organization (APSO), a church-funded agency, has been instrumental in getting more than 30 bishops, including Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning, to sign an ecumenical statement supporting the miners. Episcopal laypeople and clergy have done civil disobedience with the miners.

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Grace House, an Episcopal mission atop a mountain near St. Paul, Va., has been very active in the strike. Linda Johnson and Liz Rose have built and nurtured Grace House's ministry for more than a decade. Both Johnson and Rose are coalfield born and bred. Johnson's grandfather was one of the organizers of the UMWA in West Virginia, and Rose grew up in Kentucky coal towns. Grace House serves as a worship and education facility for the Diocese of Southwest Virginia. Johnson directs an Appalachian studies program; Rose does counseling and advocacy work, and is part of the Coalfields AIDS Project. The mission serves as a regional center for women's ministry and a home rehab program which fixes up three to four homes each summer.

According to Johnson, Grace House was one of 15 Episcopal missions set up at the turn of the century — opened by coal and timber operators and staffed by deaconesses "who were young, bright, articulate, and upper class."

The deaconesses developed a variety of social institutions, such as clinics, Red Cross chapters, schools, clothing and food banks, Johnson said, but in so doing created dependency. "And they never challenged the social structure," she added.

In the early days of the union struggle, missions were used as safe places to organize. Families would picnic on a mission lawn while the miners disappeared into the woods to hold secret meetings. But people were abandoned when the missions closed in the 1960s.

When Johnson came to be program director at Grace House, she was not an Episcopalian, "and doubt I would have joined if I hadn't experienced the church outside the coalfields and got to know its depth and breadth. The Episcopal Church here is traditionally the church of the local elite or outsiders," she said.

The purpose of Grace House now is to change that image. "We live here and this is our life, too," said Johnson. "We go to the little community church up the road." And she shares with her neighbors the tensions and dangers of the strike. Johnson told how she was run off the road by a coal truck last summer, in full sight of a state trooper. She is wary driving now. "I've heard my license plate number being broadcast over the CB radio," she said.

"My neighbors have been shot at, had their cars egged, been blinded by security lights, and gotten jackrocked," Johnson said. (Jackrocks are made of nails welded together and thrown into the road to blow out car tires.)

Johnson participates in a weekly Bible study at St. Mark's Church in St. Paul, which helped plan a trip for miners and supporters to Pittston headquarters in Greenwich, Conn., thereby earning the censure of local conservatives.

The parish is a microcosm of the larger community. Both miners and Pittston employees worship there and participate in the Bible study. The divisions have tested many churches. One miner said that the strike was "a terrible thing for Christian people. It's like the Civil War; brother against brother, family against family." However, most local people are solidly behind the miners.

Support for the miners continues to build nationally and internationally. In Boston, due to a campaign by UMWA supporters, unions and the city withdrew nearly $100 million in deposits because Shawmut vice president William Craig was a member of Pittston's board of directors. Craig subsequently retired from the bank. The United Auto Workers supplied strikers' families with Thanksgiving turkeys. Lech Walensa, leader of Poland's Solidarity movement, was scheduled to visit, following visits by Guatemalans on strike against Coca-Cola.

The miners are using their organizing skills for political change. UMWA member Jackie Stump, a write-in candidate whose campaign started only three weeks before election day, defeated incumbent Donald McGlothlin for a seat in Virginia's House of Delegates. McGlothlin is the father of Judge Donald McGlothlin, Jr., who has fined the UMWA more than $32 million for strike related activities. All but one of UMWA-backed candidates won their races, including Douglas Wilder, Virginia's first black governor-elect.

The miners are returning the support wherever they can. A busload of miners went to Washington, D.C. to demonstrate with Eastern Airlines strikers. Another UMWA group went to Lexington, Ky. to help a local peace group construct housing.

Grace House director Johnson felt church people should get involved in the strike. She recommended making contributions to APSO's fund for winter clothes and Christmas gifts for miners' children. "The holidays are going to be hard here; the degree of uncertainty is so great, and though people won't admit it, things are tough," she said.

Out at one of the picket shacks, the radio weather report called for a hard freeze. Miners talked and whittled — the floor was carpeted with cedar shavings. As coal trucks rumbled past a line of state police cars, a miner gave a little smile and said, "Maybe Santa'll bring us a contract for Christmas." TW

Resources

APSO, P.O. Box 1007, Blacksburg, VA 24063, (703) 552-3795, has an emergency assistance fund for miners' families, and publishes *APSOlution* newsletter, a good source of information on the strike.

UMWA, P.O. Box 28, Castlewood, VA 24224, (703) 762-5537, has a Christmas for Pittston Miners fund to buy gifts for children, and offers free copies of *The Camo-Call: UMWA Strike Newsletter.*

Linda Johnson, Grace House, Rt. 1, Box 232, St. Paul, VA 24283, (703) 395-6588, will assist church groups wishing to visit the coalfields.

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Harris . . . *Continued from page 11*

in its proportions.

This church and society have short-lived love affairs with catastrophies, causes, and concerns. There is the danger that we can become so consumed with the environmental aspects of the science of survival and the ecclesiastical aspects of the dynamics of inclusion that we lose sight of the importance of the current struggle.

I have watched over the years this church of ours shift and drift from one noble undertaking to another without stopping to make the links and the connections between what we have been doing and what we are about to do. We must remain cognizant that the struggle with AIDS, the science of survival, and the dynamics of inclusion are inextricably linked.

We cannot be good stewards of creation without an awareness of the integrity of all creation, including all of humanity. Unlike Jesus, the church has not realistically come to grips or gotten in touch with issues of wholeness, wellness, illness, death, sexuality, or sin. We dare not talk of evangelism and its dynamics of inclusion without an awareness that what affects any of us affects all of us. And we cannot get sidetracked from our ministry.

There's also a danger of becoming tired and discouraged and giving up. It's understandable. People are dying around us, and that's depressing. I go into the cathedral in Boston and look at the AIDS memorial. There is one name on the sheet in 1985. And as the years move ahead the numbers of names and the number of sheets increase. That's discouraging, but we cannot give up.

Where is the hope? How is the hope to be realized? AIDS is unlike other plagues that have affected large sectors of populations, such as the so-called Black Death that swept across Europe in the 14th century. People were powerless in the face of those epidemics. They didn't know where or how they originated, how they were transmitted, or how to prevent them.

Again, if I may cite my friend Ben Strohecker, "Let's not waste energy on the origin of the virus." And I say, Amen. Whether it came from African green monkeys, a Canadian airline employe, or as some Africans believe, a serum fabricated in a CIA laboratory in Maryland and sent to their continent, at this stage engaging in such debate is to indulge people in their denial and is about as productive as rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic.

It is difficult to educate and police ourselves but we know it works. Our brothers in the gay community have proven that and we can learn from their experience. It is difficult to educate others, especially on a subject that they would just as soon forget — or about the needs of people whom they would just as soon not recognize.

But I think about the importunate widow in the Gospel — persistent, worrisome until she got her point across and received justice. We could use some of that persistence, especially in getting the point across to young people. Even if we have to wear them down as the widow in the parable did the judge. Perhaps also we can communicate the interrelatedness of other concerns and help people to put them in perspective.

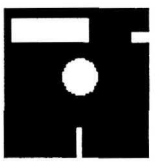
Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan has announced the Food and Drug Administration would allow wider distribution of AZT to children three months to 12 years old in advanced stages of the disease. It will be administered in strawberry syrup. The point is AZT testing got out to those who can benefit from it. And we need to push legislators and industry to make it affordable, or free.

Remember the national effort to get the Salk polio vaccine to people? Most of us lined up to get it on a sugar cube — free. We need to confront both church and society about mounting a sustained national effort — including needle exchanges where necessary — and being in the forefront of an international effort that rivals our commitment to the space program.

If we can spend that much money to put people in outer space, then we ought to get serious about putting those kinds of financial resources to the eradication of this illness.

Our church has AIDS, our nation has AIDS. And both have aids for those who have the illness, those who are the caregivers, those who live with persons with AIDS, and for those who tomorrow or the next day find themselves involved in any one of these groups.

While hundreds of thousands will be lost to us, we are in a moment of grace. There is still time to save a generation. Let's get on with it. TW



To potential WITNESS authors

THE WITNESS will now accept manuscripts on computer disks, either 3 1/2" or 5 1/4" floppies. The word processing program must be DOS compatible. Acceptable programs are WORDSTAR 3.3 and above, WORDPERFECT, MICROSOFT WORD, MICROSOFT WINDOWS WRITE, XYWRITE III, MULTIMATE and DCA files prepared with IBM DISPLAYWRITE 3, SAMNA WORD, VOLKSWRITER 3, and WORDSTAR 3000. **Do not send original disks.** We cannot be responsible for damage in transit. Send a copy and a hard copy print-out. Please indicate which program you are using.

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The face of God: Stories from

I have often prided myself on the understanding that the world is not a rational place and that most of what occurs in the course of human experience is not fair. I still believe in God, however, and in God's overcoming love and power to affect the course of life for good — in the next world but also, and importantly, in this one. I usually think of myself as being on pretty good terms with God.

At significant points in my life, though, all of my suppositions about God — about what God requires of me, my sense of God's presence and of God's answering love — have been shattered. Bewildered, I have stumbled through life gripped by inner pain beyond my ability to direct.

Such was my state in my early encounters with AIDS patients. I was working nights, from 11 p.m. to 7 a.m., the time that I always feel closest to my patients — when essential things become clearer, relationships more sharply defined. I was utilizing my skills as a nurse to give good care to my patients and to be a positive influence in their lives, but inside I felt an emptiness, a sense of God's absence. The suffering I witnessed didn't help — and then it did.

I remember Annie, a young black woman of 25 who was an IV drug user. She weighed about 90 pounds, but was successfully overcoming AIDS-related pneumonia — again. She would not readily speak, and when she did, she would not look at you directly. But there

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Church must combat stereotypes

by Hobart M. Banks

Many years ago, in my college days, I had the good fortune to visit Sweden for a summer program through the courtesy of the American Friends Service Committee. While there, I noticed an article in the local press quoting a sociologist as saying: "In America, the Jewish problem is not a religious problem but a race problem, and the Negro (sic) problem is not a race problem but a sex problem." I found this quite disturbing.

At the time, this experience led me to do a lot of reflecting about what seemed to me to be an inordinate emphasis on the sexuality of Americans of African descent. The stereotypes of the sexually insatiable, well-endowed, black male and the completely uninhibited black female were obviously fueled by it. It was commonly said that some white women would actively pursue black males out of curiosity. And there were even some white men who would insist publicly that "you haven't lived until you've slept with a black woman!" The results of this kind of talk complicated — sometimes fatally — the relations between blacks and whites.

One of the unfortunate connotations of the stereotypical emphasis on African-American sexuality is that of primitiveness and inferiority — blacks supposedly have limited intellectual ability and are promiscuous. If taken further, the allegation becomes that there is a greater incidence of sexually transmitted diseases among blacks, and the statistics showing the relative percentages of infection in African-American communities are provided as evidence of this. Sometimes it is even suggested that blacks are especially susceptible to certain sexually transmitted diseases — ignoring the fact that, before exposure to the Europeans, such diseases were unknown among these people.

When the new "plague" was first announced in the press, it was identified with the gay white male communities of New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco. While sympathy was extended to people afflicted with this new and fatal disease, there was some covert relief within the black community that AIDS was not immediately identified with it, feeding into the old stereotypes. Indeed, for some time now, there has been an attempt to deny that the new sexually

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the front lines

by Lynne R. Nelson

was a strength and tenacity about her, an internal will that was hard to define.

Annie listened to a lot of evangelists on television. Since I'm not much of a fan of such personalities, I seldom paid attention to what they were saying when I was in her room. But one memorable night, when I had come in to care for her, Annie was lying on the bed with her back to me. Although I thought she must have heard me come in, she did not stir. Struck by her attentive stillness, I hesitated to disturb her. Just then a voice rang out of the television, filling the room with its power: "In the midst of your deepest despair, I am with you, says the Lord." Very shortly, Annie turned towards me, holding out her arm so I could take her blood pressure. For the first time, her eyes calmly met mine, and in them lay the joy and certainty of the words we had just heard.

And there was Melanie, who liked to be called Mel. She had been infected with AIDS through a blood transfusion, given some years before during a complicated hysterectomy. She was the same age as I, married, with school-aged children and actively involved in her church and community — her life paralleled mine a great deal.

At the time Mel was my patient she needed a tremendous amount of care and support. She was lucid, but very weak, with multiple infections, and she was depressed. Several times I remember her asking me, "Why has God allowed this to happen to me? What kind of God is this?" I found Mel's situation very difficult to deal with, probably because she reminded me of myself so much, a reminding I resisted in order not to lose

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transmitted disease was really a problem in the black community at all.

It is noteworthy that the gay white male community in San Francisco mobilized quickly by establishing several strong, supportive groups and lobbying for improved treatment and more research on how to deal with this new problem. When it became apparent that one significant contributing factor was sexual promiscuity, the gay community began a massive and effective program of education that resulted in reduced "bath-house" activity and other situations that encouraged casual sex.

Somewhat more recently, the leadership at the Center for Disease Control (CDC) in Atlanta announced at a CDC-sponsored conference that there is evidence to suggest that the incidence of AIDS/HIV is about to explode in the "minority" communities. Figures were cited that showed significant increases in Hispanic and black communities on the East Coast, apparently related to IV drug abuse and the exchange of used needles. By this means female partners are also being infected and, in turn, some are becoming pregnant and passing on the disease to the newborn. It was also observed that Hispanic and black males who were gay are likely to function bisexually because of the greater stigma associated with homosexuality in these communities. Scary notions, like genocide, began to crop up as conference participants realized that, through dirty needles, bisexuality, or both, this disease is posing a considerable threat not only to whole communities, but to an entire new generation.

At this point, it is urgent that blacks and Hispanics learn from the gay community about mobilizing with effective education directed toward specific behaviors. But the educational message and tactics will have to be tailored to the needs of the specific communities and presented using language and formats most likely to be effective. I am, personally, very excited about being a part of such an effort and being involved in a religious community trying to meet its responsibilities in fighting AIDS.

In San Francisco, I feel especially privileged to be on the cutting edge of some of these concerns. My bishop, William E. Swing, has long been a leader in reaching out on behalf of the Episcopal Church to the gay and lesbian community, establishing The Parsonage and other ways to encourage dialogues between the church and gay groups. And he has added a canon to the ordinary to his staff for the specific purpose of dealing with the church's concern for people with AIDS and their loved ones. Without getting caught up in the politics of the gay community, or even the broader issues of the church's position on human sexuality, there is no escaping the mandate to reach out to the distressed — the sick and afflicted, the dying and bereaved, and those directly involved in trying to relieve the suffering.

Having learned many lessons in dealing with the gay community, the church must now pay attention to the needs of the black and Hispanic communities. If, as the result of my experiences, identity, expertise or skills, I can be of any particular service in this instance, I sincerely hope I can serve effectively. Here am I, Lord, send me. TW

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the objectivity I needed so badly.

One night when I went into her room, Mel was very agitated. The patient next door had died on the previous shift. Although nurses had been with the patient, she had still called out for someone to please hold her hand. With tears streaming down her face, Mel told me that she had wanted to do just that, but that she hadn't been able to move because she was so weak and there were so many intravenous lines and tubes. "My God, if I could have gotten to that woman to hold her hand, I would have! I wanted to comfort her as she was dying. I would have climbed over the side of this bed to let her know that I cared."

I was amazed by the intensity of her words and by her grief over another person's suffering. She had lost herself in compassion for someone else's pain. For that moment, her depression had vanished, replaced instead by a kind of soulful vitality. The next time I came to work, Mel had died.

Jake was a big-boned, redheaded Irishman with the face of an angel, even in his illness. He had been married years before and pictures of three beautiful children were always in view on his bedside table. Jake was bisexual and had contracted AIDS through a gay lover who had since died.

What impressed me about Jake was his sense of humor. It did not seem to be a veneer over despair, but a kind of therapy with which he dealt with his disease and with which he ministered to the inhibitions of others. "Oh nurse, I'm *dying*," he would moan, and then, with a smile, "but not today."

Jake would not use the bed in his room. "Once I get into that bed," he would say, "I'm dead." We accommodated him, and a well-padded recliner was ordered for him. He spent a lot of time writing letters to friends, calling up different people and talking with them. One night, at 3 a.m., I found him sitting up straight in his recliner, the lights in full blaze. With reading glasses perched on the tip of his nose, he was writing a letter and his eyes were sparkling.

"You've no idea how much I have to do," he explained. "Don't be concerned about me not getting enough sleep, please, please, please," he said in mock contrition. He looked very pale and tired, but I knew he had refused his sleeping medication. So I encouraged him to do what gave him peace.

It became increasingly difficult to care for Jake in his chair, to keep him off his back and keep his gangly legs supported, but no one wanted to make him get into bed. Jake's physicians left this up to the nurses, so we persisted in fulfilling this need. When Jake was too tired to write, he would dictate to the many friends who visited him, insisting that they read back what he said — even simple phrases were reworded to get things just right. Jake told me that all these letters and phone calls were "putting things in order, expressing things that have never been expressed but need to be."

Jake's room was always filled with flowers, which he loved. "Do you think they will have flowers?" he once asked. "That would seem to be in character for the place," I responded. I knew what he meant, and in his smile he understood that I knew.

On New Year's Eve, Jake asked to be helped into bed, and to have one of the flower arrangements placed within his view. The time had come, he said, when he could really rest, and this he wanted to do in bed. We lifted Jake into bed so he could face the window and the flowers. There was a quietness about him now, even in the midst of his discomfort and pain.

In the early dawn of that New Year's Day, Jake died. That morning I went home from work weary with exhaustion and grief. As a surprise, my husband had bought me a bouquet of mixed flowers in celebration of the new year. A low fire was burning in the fireplace and breakfast was waiting. These simple things profoundly comforted and consoled me. Within them was an echo of another early morning meal, this time with fish and bread cooked over a low charcoal fire — and with conversation about one's call before God. "Feed my sheep!" Jesus had said then to Simon Peter. I understood what this loving exhortation meant for me that morning more deeply than ever before. In trying to feed his sheep, I would be fed so very much more through them.

Several years ago, an issue of *The National Geographic* featured on its cover a photograph of the last smallpox victim on earth. He was a young black man with healed scars on his face, and he was smiling full face into the camera. I remember being overwhelmed with grateful tears, an unknown grief comforted — smallpox would claim no more lives. I have a vision of a day when such a photo will show the last AIDS victim on earth. He or she will be well and smiling, the disease eradicated, the cure complete. But that will depend on our willingness to allow God's supernatural love and grace take us beyond ourselves, to erase our fears and to see us in "the other," in the person suffering from AIDS — and not only ourselves, but the face of God.

Resources

National Episcopal AIDS Coalition
1511 K St. NW, Suite 715
Washington, DC 20005
(202) 628-6628

For a copy of *Sin, Disease, and Sexuality*, the Union of Black Episcopalians AIDS Task Force's theological statement, which was primarily authored by the Rev. Canon Nan Arrington Peete, contact:
UBE AIDS Taskforce
The Rev. Charles Poindexter, Convenor
St. Luke's Episcopal Church
5421 Germantown Ave.
Philadelphia, PA 19144
(215) 844-8544

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In ghetto: Double standard prevails

by Floyd Naters-Gamarra

There is definitely a double standard at work in the battle against AIDS. The people who are now contracting AIDS in alarming proportion to the rest of the population are people of color and poor whites in the inner-city ghettos.

Today the Latino communities in many cities have the highest incidence of AIDS, even though Latinos comprise only a small percentage of the population. According to recent national figures, the Hispanic population is only 7% of the total in the United States. But it makes up 15.6% of all AIDS cases nationwide. In Pennsylvania, Latinos make up 50% of all AIDS cases statewide — 25% of the Latinos tested for HIV infection in North Philadelphia are positive compared to a rate of 6.4% testing positive at all other sites citywide.

These people now getting AIDS in such large numbers are not only primarily black and Hispanic, they are also the people that our society considers its throwaways — the outcasts, the unproductive, the parasites, the lazy, shiftless, and homeless mentally ill; the obstacles to progress. These people, it is said, are draining our resources.

AIDS is spreading like wildfire through the ghettos of our cities. Children and babies are infected by fathers or mothers who contracted the virus through prostitution and/or drugs, and a great number of ghetto teenagers are being infected through a combination of unsafe sex and shared needles. We are witnessing not two, but three generations going down the drain.

What is happening is that genocide is being committed against people of color. We are talking about values and morality and good old-fashioned evil. We are talking about justice. We are talking about race, class, economics, culture, gender, age, sexuality, handicaps, religion, society — the human condition in all its expressions and need. We have dehumanized ourselves by ignoring the humanity of society's casualties.

Drugs have been a problem in the Latino and black communities for years, but did not become a "real" problem until it blindsided the white community, the mainstream group. Only when a problem moves into the mainstream is it cause for concern. That was also the case with the spread of AIDS.

AIDS initially affected primarily the gay male population which gave rise to a paranoid and ugly expression of homophobia. When heterosexuals began coming down with AIDS, it became evident that AIDS is a human, not a gay, disease, and that everyone was at risk if they were not careful in their sexual practices. So education about safe sex became a must.

It is a truly shameful fact that AIDS was allowed to spread by a number of institutions that could have nipped it in the bud, or contained it. When AIDS was perceived as only a gay disease, the Reagan adminstration was not interested in funding research of a disease that affected "those people." The medical profession was not interested either, since there was no future or glamor in dealing with "that disease." Even more shameful was the gay movement itself which in the beginning saw AIDS not as a human problem, but as a political and public relations inconvenience. And last, but not least, was the media, which had no real interest in talking about AIDS, except on the back page.

Latino people infected with AIDS are getting it primarily through sharing needles. The many AIDS task forces around the country are not dealing with this segment of the population. In my experience working in black and Latino communities, I have found that these agencies are more concerned about politics than funding. What is sad is that many advocates are gay brothers and lesbian sisters with whom we stood, and still stand, in solidarity, compassion and support.

But how could so much be forgotten in so little time, to the point that resources and support are being withdrawn from ghetto communities by political and budget surgery in city councils and legislatures throughout the land? Are junkies less human? Are addicted prostitutes less deserving? How does it happen that race, language and culture make some people less human and others less compassionate?

Finally, many will say that the problem is the drugs and the addiction in our society. I beg to disagree. These are merely the symptoms of the malaise of our society. Unless we begin dealing with our society's racism, sexism, classism; unless we begin providing decent housing, education, day care, and employment for all of our people — we will be denying the good news our church proclaims. TW

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Racism and the viral holocaust

by Elsie Pilgrim

I knew an IV drug user with AIDS who because of opportunistic infections had to be hospitalized. After he recovered he'd go back on the street because he had nowhere else to go. Once he went out and got run over by a car just so he would be able to come back and continue to get care. Eventually, he got into a fight, got stabbed, and ended up in court for beating someone up. The public defender assigned to him inquired after his health. "Oh, I have a little touch of AIDS," he said. She jumped up and ran out of the courtroom. The court attendant brought the judge a phone and after a hurried conversation the judge said, "All right. You can go. Case dismissed." That happens a lot. If someone is diagnosed with AIDS, the indictment is dropped, or people are actually discharged from prison. So I spent one of my days off looking for an apartment for him, and we found one. The landlord found out he had AIDS and threw him out. He didn't even come back to tell me; he just lived on the street for two weeks. He came back to the hospital in a coma. And then he died.

In New Jersey in the early 1980s, the majority of the AIDS cases we were seeing involved IV drug abusers, 95% of whom were male — many from minority communities. Sexuality complicates the question of how transmission occurs. In communities which are economically oppressed, men who are prevented from exercising power in socially useful ways may find other channels of expressing power needs — including sexual domination of other men. These men will not necessarily identify as gay. Bisexuality is therefore an issue in minority communities, possibly more so than in the white community. More recently, heterosexual women whose partners engaged in IV drug use or homosexual activity began to be identified as being infected. Because many people who are drug-addicted have sex for pay, we had cases of lesbians who were IV drug abusers who were engaging in heterosexual prostitution. It becomes a chicken-and-egg kind of question to try to identify "the source" of transmission. Presently 30% of the diagnoses of AIDS in northern New Jersey are women.

Statistics reflecting the magnitude of what was happening in the black and Hispanic communities weren't presented to the media and general public until August 1987 in Washington, D.C., during a conference on minority incidence of AIDS. Twenty-five percent of AIDS cases are now black people who represent 12% of the population nationally; 15% of cases are Hispanic persons who represent only 7% of the population nationally. In New Jersey, 53-54% of the cases are black (11% of the state population is black); 17% of the cases statewide are Hispanics. That adds up to a staggering 70% statewide. Some 90% of children with AIDS are black or Hispanic.

Mortality rates among blacks are higher than for whites because they tend not to have the same access to medical treatment and other support services. In some cases basic necessities like a home and food and a supportive community are lacking.

Congress has now provided extra funding to reach minority communities. But what is happening with the money on state and local levels? White and middle-class people are designing the programs and allocating the funds. Those programs from the beginning are marked for failure because they don't include any input from community residents. Neither the national nor state level asks local people for advice. And then they wonder why local people don't cooperate. For example, a white woman from Rutgers University was given a contract from the state health department to inquire from AIDS patients what their needs were. First of all, the state furnished her with a list of people to interview. That information was supposed to be confidential. It had taken us months to establish trust and rapport with those patients — some people are in marginalized situations. What do you think the effect is of a well-dressed white woman coming into a really poor, black neighborhood with her 80-page questionnaire to interview sick people? Some neighbor will say, "I saw that woman. Your son hasn't been looking so good. What's wrong with him?"

The people I try to reach as part of an educational program are elementary school teachers, church leaders, undertakers, beauticians, and barbers. I try to reach people in the Essex County Jail, the Urban League, the fraternal organizations, and the sororities. I spoke at one church, and five young ladies came forward to volunteer to work with AIDS patients in the St. Francis Hospital

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prison ward in Trenton. Their response really gave me hope. Tapping indigenous people and resources is how to win this war — but it's almost as though no one wants to win it. Social workers make their salaries from "resolving problems." Yesterday the problem was poverty; today it's AIDS. The name of the game is to hop from problem to problem rather than actually resolve anything. And the consultant network doesn't include blacks and Hispanics.

Why pay someone to establish needs, when that money could be used for much-needed services like hospices, caregivers, homes, food, medicine, or legal advocacy? The gay community has organized to get home care for people with AIDS, but affordable housing is lacking in many cases for blacks and Hispanics who are sick. Furthermore, there has not been one new rehabilitation center for treatment of drug addiction. Drug rehabilitation programs are part of the AIDS treatment program needed in minority communities. The waiting list is immense. You can't tell someone who says they're ready to try to kick a drug habit that they have to wait; you have to deal with them right then or you lose them

It is also a simple fact that if you're high on drugs, you're not in control of your actions. You may not even know with whom you're having sex. And you're certainly not worrying about taking any precautions. The talk about "safe sex" in this context is basically irrelevant — and even condoms can't be guaranteed as 100% safe. The statistics prove a reduction in transmission, but that's not the same as proving that something is 100% effective.

AIDS is a very ticklish issue in the African-American community. The gay community began mounting all sorts of campaigns, but within the black and Hispanic communities there were no advocates. For many years there was no serious discussion about how this disease was affecting minority communities. There was a false sense of security: "It's those white folks." And people basically don't believe in the system and the system won't use people in the community.

One of the best ways to communicate would be through the churches. People would believe the message. They'd believe *Jet, Ebony*, the beautician, the barber, the bartender, or Mrs. So-and-so because she's been around here a while. They'd also believe the minister and the deacon. But the potential of the churches hasn't been tapped.

My father was an Episcopal priest. He used to take us children along when he visited prisons in Trenton. I said, "Daddy, how can you go there? Those people are criminals." And he would say, "Child, when I go there I know what they've done. But I have people sitting in front of me every Sunday and I don't know at all what they've done." During my childhood years, it seemed as if every hungry person knew the way to our house, and my mother would always make a sandwich. Later she taught people how to take civil service exams. I guess I've just grown up with that concept of community service and being taught to see that spiritual and physical needs are connected.

We are living in the midst of a viral holocaust. The needs of people with AIDS are tremendous and those needs are going to increase as the numbers increase. There are people living in railroad stations, bus terminals, airports, and vacant houses who have AIDS. People have got to come together regionally and start planning now, or we will simply be overwhelmed in the 1990s.

Racism is a real issue here. One segment of the population is allowing this holocaust to be visited on another segment for various economic and other discriminatory reasons. The church and the world community must come out and join this struggle. So far the church hasn't done it. If an ecumenical D-Day-like attack is not made by the religious community, AIDS with its companion plague of drug addiction will eventually empty all the churches, too. It's just a matter of time. TW

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Survival . . . *Continued from page 8*
from becoming troublesome, which in our affluence we could afford to do.

But in the late '60s the simple fact emerged that our economy was irretrievably tied into the economy of the world by fossil fuels. OPEC nudged the price of oil upward and the whole edifice of predictable and growing cash flow on which the security of individual Americans depended began to topple. Inflation began in earnest. Grandiose investments in third world nations failed. There was, from then on, serious unpredictable regional unemployment. Businesses would start up, thrive, produce huge profits, and fail, leaving a trail of human and economic wreckage. I needn't go into the economic and social randomness and chaos of the late '70s and '80s, but the turmoil underscored how deeply rooted Social Darwinism is in U.S. culture.

At the heart of Social Darwinism is the use of the fear of death to motivate. Winners win, losers die. "Life," as they say at Harvard Business School, "takes no prisoners." Or as they say in the world of mergers and unfriendly takeovers, "In this world you have to be willing to shoot the wounded." Or as one politician said about people with AIDS, "You gonna play, you gotta pay."

I was amazed in the early '80s when David Stockman revealed that he had warned the Reagan Administration that lowering taxes and throwing money at National Defense would not increase revenues, but would multiply the national debt. The president "took him to the woodshed" but didn't fire him, or publicly castigate him.

Little did I realize that the Administration knew just what it was doing. It planned to use the debt as a threat of national economic disintegration and death, if our social programs were continued. It was the sledge hammer with which the rich and powerful destroyed the welfare state, deregulated their own enterprise, and took over to become richer and richer as close to a majority of us became poorer and poorer.

This then, is the kind of thinking which deeply shapes the culture into which AIDS appeared. It is a culture that is not only afraid of death, but deliberately motivated and driven by the fear of death. In this respect I think it may be historically unique.

Many cultures have some means for mitigating the fear of death, understanding that an unmitigated fear of death is destructive to corporate life. It drives individuals to behavior which is self-absorbed, impulsive, heartless, incapable of contributing to any cooperative enterprise. It is precisely as Martin Luther King understood it, a demonic power that utterly distorts our apprehension of reality and makes us subject to a thousand different kinds of oppression.

All true liberation is liberation from the fear of death. We can be freed from death's rule over us through God, who took on all the pain and fear of history in the person of Jesus, and who died and rose again and whom we call love — a curious, sacrificial love, without which all corporate life falls apart.

One does not cure AIDS, one lives with it. One does not *fix* death, one lives with it. These are simple givens of human life which cannot be framed as problems and neatly solved. The way we live with these givens is by the significance, the meaning, the kind of value we assign to them. One doctor, a simple evolutionary naturalist or Darwinist, sees AIDS as nature's way of shaping the human enterprise for its own good. Another doctor sees AIDS as a tragic event in human life which nevertheless brings a graceful and redeeming spiritedness to his understanding of human relationships, and assigns as much value to the marginal as to the mainstream.

And of course there are those who continue to see AIDS as a problem to be solved, and to see no need to look at it in a larger context of meaning. ("It's simply a disease. We shall continue our research. We shall find a cure.") These level-headed people contribute in a healthy way to our hope. But they do not help us to live with AIDS. And they do not convince the majority that taxes spent on AIDS research is a good thing. Neglect of AIDS research is regarded by too many in power as benign and intelligent social policy. In all the propaganda about the war on drugs, AIDS is never mentioned except for barring clean syringes from street addicts. Indeed, the war on drugs has kept AIDS out of the media for almost a year now. Yet we lose more people in a year to AIDS than we do directly from illegal drugs.

If our national leadership seems to us evil, we seem to them sentimental, silly, perhaps even dangerous. They are intent on saving us from ourselves if we are white and straight and middle class.

A prophetic church would concentrate on saving this leadership from a demonic world view which is almost a metaphor for sin — the belief that the human enterprise is best served by the material aggrandizement of the self, motivated by the fear of death. This idea, deeply built into our institutions and our education, underlies at this moment all of our public policy, foreign or domestic.

We can attack the policy itself forever, but as long as the false evolutionary ideology behind it remains intact, we shall be trivialized and marginalized. We shall not, as the church, be taken seriously.

Well, O.K., let's be realistic, Social Darwinist style. Unless a cure for AIDS is found, or some new drug which will make it possible to manage AIDS as a chronic rather than a terminal disease, the cost of treating those already infected with the HIV virus will devastate our entire health care system.

A new and fast-growing segment of those with AIDS is made up of heterosexual adolescents of both sexes, most of whom are runaways who work the

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streets as prostitutes. Experts estimate there are roughly a million such runaways on the streets. Their clients are mainly straight married men. Yet another radically marginalized group, but one that constantly feeds in to the mainstream, either through prostitution or by returning to the middle class.

Seen from a Social Darwinist point of view there are solutions to these problems, but the solutions are all totalitarian. The current one is neglect, palliated somewhat by gestures of concern and treatment. Indeed, national investment in both research and symptomatic treatment is more than just a gesture to the tight political organization of the gay community. But the full economic weight of the epidemic has not yet hit our health care system.

The totalitarian approach, already being discussed in some regions of the country, is compulsory universal testing followed by quarantine, something on the level of the internment of the Japanese in World War II mixed with the early 20th century approach to leprosy. Granted the numbers anticipated by the year 2000, this would be the logical outcome of a Social Darwinist understanding of the AIDS phenomenon, keeping whom we regard as the most fit alive and uninfected.

However, in a strange way, Social Darwinism also works against this kind of totalitarian solution since at its core it assumes deregulation as the proper environment for competition to work its magic. Under this totalitarian scheme, survival depends on a massive governmental intervention to separate the fit from the unfit, but such an intervention is a deliberate assault on nature, which will throw us off our course towards human perfection.

My point is that the Social Darwinist, free enterprise, survival of the fittest paradigm is most absurd when faced with AIDS. Competition among the drug companies, or even among research doctors to make a fortune or win a Nobel prize may not be the best way to find a cure for AIDS where access to all information is essential to success. Politicians calculating their chances to survive politically by reading polls may not make the best public health policy. AIDS among addicts and their families is hardly being touched. And above all, the revolution in community taking place around the whole issue of AIDS, when the fear of death is simply removed from all communal motivation, is beginning to effect more and more people's lives.

To be seriously concerned about AIDS is to come flat up against death. It is to plunge into the middle of all those things we have been taught to fear most: career failure, social disgrace, poverty, sexual marginality, drugs, pain, grief, loss. But the response in so many cases is sacrificial love, commitment unto death, mutual support, incredible courage, patience and kindness, and even a fair amount of wit and laughter. From a Social Darwinist point of view it makes no sense whatsoever. Yet from a classical Christian point of view, from a New Testament point of view, it makes perfectly good sense.

True community exists where love has overcome the power of the fear of death, and death has no more dominion, freeing the community to work toward a vision of justice. The role of a prophetic church, then should be clear and simple — preach the Gospel. Yet as I look around the church and into myself, I do not see the motivation or the vision. We, as the church, have not escaped the deep assumptions that drive our culture. My capacity for sacrificial love and my vision of a just world are always weakened or distorted by the fear of failure, loss, marginalization, hostile adversaries. But since I know that these motivations are there, I'm at least free to choose whether I shall let them rule my behavior or not.

And as I look around the church, I see adversarial behavior. Priests competing, bishops competing, men and women competing, classes, races and cultures competing. At one level we know better, and are often surprised and chagrined at our own behavior. But at another less conscious level that surfaces when we're depressed, or under severe stress, we believe what we have been taught. "It's a jungle out there. Nobody out there gives a damn whether I live or die. Look out for number one."

For the church to be prophet, it must tell its secrets. For *perestroika* there must be *glasnost*. For us to overcome the structures of paranoia that underlie so much of what we do, we must first endure the pain of *metanoia*, repentance, rethinking the failure of how we ourselves make sense out of life beneath the overlay of our Christianity.

To do this we must move to the margins of society not as lordly pastors, bringing comfort and help or expecting a quick fix and a lot of gratitude, but to rediscover hope on the other side of death, to find in life on the margin some of the values and virtues essential to Christianity which Jesus himself found always among the marginal.

If we can believe Scripture, the hope of the world is to be found on the margin, not in the mainstream. In those communities gathered around the phenomenon of AIDS we find no shortage of belonging, courage, or trust. Here, beyond the rule of the power of the fear of death we find a model alternative culture deeply Christian in its understanding of what life is about. Mutually pastoral, corporately prophetic, intensely alive beyond the power of the fear of death. We see what happens when God's grace makes human history a home for human beings, rather than a battlefield for the war of all against all. And perhaps the church can learn from this again, that the salvation of the world is not accomplished by the survival of the fittest. After that, we can, as a prophetic church, preach the Gospel of Jesus. TW

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