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THE WITNESS

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The New Missionaries

by Norman J. Faramelli

Reform in the Suites

by Jesse E. Christman

Network Reports-Letters

Letters to the Editor

The Witness reserves the right to condense all letters.

In our pre-publication issue we referred to Bishop Welles, retired, of West Missouri, as an "Honorary Vice President" of the American Church Union which, at that time, he was.

The following excerpt from a letter to Bishop Welles, printed at the request of the A.C.U., updates that information.

"You may recall that some months ago you wrote to me and advised me to the effect that you believed women should be ordained to the priesthood and gave me an option of listing you in the above capacity in the A.C.U. or not. At the time I had no idea that you would be led to the schismatic actions of July 29th and, because the A.C.U. has never demanded absolute agreement as to 'opinions' from its members, I saw no reason to drop you from the listing. However, the A.C.U. *does* require loyalty to the One Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, and to its doctrines and traditions, given through the ages under the Holy Spirit of Order and Truth and which can stand the Vincentian test. It is obvious that you departed from this loyalty on July 29.

"In the light of this, and with deep regret and sorrow, I must take up the option you gave me and by authority granted me under the By-Laws and the Council of the American Church Union, I have directed the Secretary to remove your name from our rolls.

"May God have mercy on you and the other offending bishops. Sincerely, The Rev. Canon Albert J. duBois, President, The American Church Union"

I was delighted to receive the first issue of *The Witness* — the special issue related to the Philadelphia ordination. It is very welcome and most refreshing. I subscribed to *The* (old) *Witness* and hated to see its disappearance from the scene. The other publications related to the Episcopal Church seem to carry only a report of 'institutional' news, some pious reflections, and a very conservative theological and political point of view. For a long time I've yearned for a progressive publication that could report the thinking of the 'talent' in our Church. People like Paul Van Buren, Joseph Fletcher, and numerous others have much to say and need to be heard by people in our denomination.

I wish you well and pray for your efforts. *The* (new) *Witness* is coming on the scene at a very important time

and the challenge is great."—Gary E. Young, Lexington, Missouri

Congratulations on the August 25 Special Issue of *The Witness*. Based on this fine intelligent commentary of the Philadelphia ordination, we have entered a subscription to the renewed *Witness*.

Your commitment to women's issues is obvious, however there seems an irony in the fact that *The Witness* board of directors is entirely male (and all clerics at that), the roster of outstanding future articles (p. 10) includes not a single female author, and your own editorial staff (p. 2) includes but one woman. Curious.

In the months to come as the reborn *Witness* flourishes, I hope all three areas will receive your attention and action.—Gretta P. Estey, Wareham, Massachusetts

Hallelujah! How very great to have *The Witness* back in publication—I have missed it mightily.

And so I will do some of my Christmas shopping early—as I wouldn't want anyone to miss a single issue—hoping you will start the enclosed subscriptions with your pre-publication issue.—Abbie Jane Wells, Juneau, Alaska

I am very glad to be able again to send my subscription money for *The Witness*. It is good to have a paper as spokesman for the social conscience of the Church.—Eleanor M. Clark, Wilmington, Delaware

I like everything about *The Witness*—what you say, how you say it, and how it is all laid out. I think it is going to fill a real need. Thanks very much for letting me have a look at the pre-publication issue.—Peter Binzen, Philadelphia

Among the Many Who Have Helped us as consultants in charting a course for *The Witness* are the following: J. C. Michael Allen, Jesse F. Anderson, Sr., Barry Bingham, Sr., Eugene Carson Blake, Richard N. Bolles, Myron B. Bloy, Jr., Alice Dieter, Ira Einhorn, Norman J. Faramelli, John C. Fletcher, Richard Fernandez, Judy Mathe Foley, Everett Francis, David A. Garcia, Richard E. Gary, John C. Goodbody, William B. Gray, Michael P. Hamilton, Suzanne R. Hiatt, Muhammad Kenyatta, Roy Larson, Werner Mark Linz, James Parks Morton, Charles L. Ritchie, Jr., Leonard M. Sive, William B. Spofford, Jr., Richard Taylor, Paul M. van Buren, Frederick B. Williams, Gibson Winter.

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Litigation or Morality?

by Robert L. DeWitt

Recently there appeared in the news media an item concerning the possibility of a civil suit being brought against the Episcopal Church. The story was based upon the fact that there have been conversations amongst some attorneys representing the 11 women priests raising the question as to whether the Church's present stance on the ordination of women may be in violation of federal law prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sex.

The initial reaction of many to this news was one of outrage. It is to be hoped that a second reaction will be one of sober reflection.

The tenuous and sometimes tense condition of the "wall of separation" between Church and State in this Republic makes it difficult to assess the legal exposure in this situation. Certainly, the civil courts are reluctant to assume jurisdiction in such a dispute if it can be avoided. However, such assumption of jurisdiction has many precedents. Last year in a much publicized case the Amish successfully defended, on the grounds of religious conviction, their refusal to comply with compulsory education requirements in Wisconsin. More recently, the president of the Mormon Church has been subpoenaed by lawyers for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People because of the discriminatory practice of not allowing Blacks to become senior patrol leaders in Boy Scout troops under Mormon aegis.

Regardless of whether this issue of discrimination against women finds its way into civil court, it has already found its way into our consciousness. Bishop Emrich, retired, of Michigan, in the early days of the civil rights revolution of the '60s, used to say he was tired of learning his Christian ethics from the federal government, the labor unions, and major league baseball. His point was that on the issue of civil rights those institutions were in some respects morally more enlightened than the Church.

Regardless of whether a civil suit is brought against the Church charging it with illegal discrimination against women, what response does the very possibility of such action provoke in us? An outraged "they can't do that to us!" Or, a prudential "they couldn't possibly make it stick." Or, a reflective "are the traditions and practices of the Church on this issue morally inferior to the norms of the secular state?"

Multinational Corporations

The New Missionaries

by Norman J. Faramelli

Over the past few years Americans have been made increasingly aware of the multinational corporation (MNC). Definitions of the MNC may vary from: "A corporation with divisions in two or more countries," to "an economic entity that is managed from a global point of view." Nevertheless, one fact is indisputable: the MNC exerts enormous economic power in the international economy and is able to transcend national boundaries and national loyalties.

The MNC leaders are the new missionaries of the secularized gospel of modern technology. Not since the spread of the Christian Church has such a universal phenomenon appeared. The MNCs are the principal agents of global social change, transforming social and cultural value structures and reshaping political and economic institutions. There is no analogue to the MNC in the political arena.

Statistics illustrating the size and scope of U.S.-based MNCs are legion. In 1971, 51 of the top 100 money powers in the world were MNCs, the other 48 were nations. Of the top 10 MNCs in the world, eight are U.S.-based. Harold Perlmutter of the Wharton School suggested that if current trends continue, one half the world's production would be in the hands of 300 giant MNCs by 1985.

There is a variety of reasons for the rise of the MNC. These include the global economic recovery after World War II and the diffusion of Western technology throughout many of the poor nations. With regard to the American-based MNCs, the U.S. tax laws were designed to encourage capital flow into foreign countries. The U.S. firm, for example, does not have to pay a tax on overseas profits until and unless those dollars are brought back home. Needless to say, such incentives encouraged foreign investment and undercut the power of the American labor

unions, many of whom have watched their memberships shrink. Each wage increase and new workers' benefits are incentives for the firms to move into countries where the wage rates are considerably lower. (A \$3-4/hour wage rate in the U.S. looks gigantic compared with the 15-50 cents/hour rate in many of the less industrialized nations).

The central issues surrounding MNCs, however, have to do with control and accountability. Salvatore Allende (the late President of Chile), addressing the UN General Assembly, said:

We are witnessing a pitched battle between the great transnational corporations and sovereign states, for the latter's fundamental political and military decisions are being interfered with by world wide organizations which are not dependent on any single state and which are not accountable to or regulated by any parliament or institution representing the collective interest.

Those issues are particularly acute in the less industrialized nations overwhelmed by economic giants.

There are a host of arguments pro and con regarding the presence of the MNC in poor nations. The advocates argue that it provides the host nation with necessary capital, efficient technology, managerial skills, access to world markets. Critics counter that the MNC does not provide capital, but drains the capital from the host nation and increases its debt, provides the wrong kind of technology and managerial skills, while the markets remain dominated by the MNC. Furthermore, the host nation is often used as a tax dodge for the MNC. Critics such as R. Muller and R. Barnett in "The Transformation of Wealth" even claim that the MNC is the chief reason why the gap between the rich and poor is widening.

Ambassadors of Industrialism

It is impossible to address all those issues in one article. The focus here will be primarily on (1) the values of the MNC, and the consequences of those values on the less industrialized nations, and (2) the appropriate response that concerned citizens can make to the MNC.

The MNCs are the ambassadors of the values of industrialism. Like the missionaries of old, they have an ambivalent track record. The MNC is the instrument by which the consumer society is developed, and by which industrial and consumer ideas are translated into realities. Thus, one's criticism or praise of the MNC depends largely upon how one views industrialism, the consumer ethic and all its accompanying inequities.

The gospel of industrialism claims that progress is



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measured by an endlessly increasing material standard of living. The poor are to be taken care of by economic growth, as part of that growth "trickles down" to the lowest economic sector. Of course, environmental damages frequently result, but that is seen as a small price for industrial progress. The MNC, of course, seeks to guarantee its future by attempting to maximize both its growth and profit profile.

Does the presence of the MNC help or hurt a poor nation? Obviously, that question has to be answered in a specific context and depends on the terms agreed upon — wages, taxes, licensing contracts, etc. The answer depends upon where one sits. If you are a well-intentioned corporate manager in New York City, or a manager in the foreign operation, you are convinced that by providing a few jobs you are helping the plight of the poor. If you are among the top 20 percent in that foreign nation, you will probably receive some of the benefits. If you are one of the many formerly unemployed in that nation who now has a job, you will probably be a little better off. But if you are among the bottom 50 percent of the population in that nation, the presence of the MNC will not help you; it may even make your life a bit worse. Numerous studies done by the U.N. and the World Bank demonstrate that, contrary to the myths, economic development in most poor nations (with or without MNCs) does not help the bottom 40-50 percent. A labor-saving device developed by the MNC in the U.S. may be appropriate there, but it compounds the economic problems when it is transferred to a poor nation with a high unemployment rate. Also, the MNC has great accounting flexibility since it can arrange its books to show a profit in nations where the tax rates are low, and losses where the tax rates are high, even if the opposite is true. Such bookkeeping helps to perpetuate poverty.

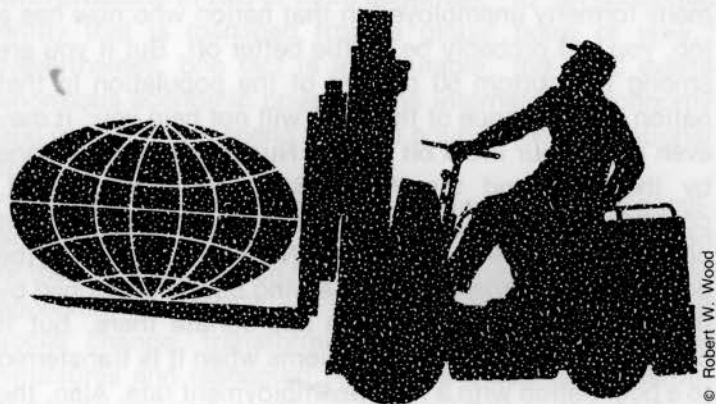
Managers and Structures

Such critiques often infuriate the well-intentioned manager, who is trying to aid the development process in the poor nation. But we have to distinguish carefully between the economic structures with their operational values and the intentions of the manager. Often the motivation of the individual management is irrelevant. R. Barnet wrote:

The question . . . is . . . : Can the global corporation, given its drive to maximize worldwide profits, the pressures of oligopolistic competition, and its enormous bargaining power in weak economies, modify its

behavior in ways that will significantly aid the bottom 60 percent of the world's population? ("Foreign Policy," Winter '73-74, p. 122)

During the 15 years that MNC investments in less industrialized nations flourished, the gap between the rich and poor nations increased dramatically. But one might be further incensed and inquire: Why blame the MNC for the lopsided and unjust distribution of wealth and income in poor nations? Is not income and wealth distribution the responsibility of the national government and not the MNC? That is correct, but the presence of the MNC (with the consumer life style that it promotes) can preclude alternative models of distribution. In a poor society the consumer life style must, by necessity, be limited to only a few. In the 1960s, for example, Brazil had to make some hard economic decisions. If it redistributed income fairly, each Brazilian would have had enough for only a part of an automobile. The Brazilian government consciously



decided to subsidize the consumer class (top 10 percent) so its members were more readily able to purchase automobiles. Of course, to maintain political stability under such unjust conditions, the government has had to resort to various forms of repression, including torture.

The MNC professes to be politically neutral and, in most instances, earnestly tries to be. The ITT political intervention in Chile, for example, was the exception rather than the rule. But political neutrality is a fiction. Economic presence alone legitimates the status quo.

Despite its avowed neutrality, the MNC demands political stability in order to survive and thrive. Only stability can guarantee its growth of sales and profit margins. Oftentimes, liberal managers find themselves supporting (or at least existing with) regimes that espouse values and tactics that are antithetical to their own. But the MNCs appreciate the stability — absence of corporate criticism and outlawing of strikes — enforced by military

dictatorships. Being a hierarchical organization, the MNC has had little difficulty existing side-by-side with repressive military regimes. The harmonious co-existence between the MNCs and the military juntas in Chile, Greece, Brazil and repressive governments in South Korea, South Africa, Rhodesia, the Philippines, and South Vietnam illustrate the point. The instances are far too numerous to be coincidental. The most effective way to guarantee stability is to suppress dissent. That is, someone's stability is someone else's repression. That is a reality that MNCs would prefer not to face. A manager who is a zealous civil rights advocate in the U.S. finds it difficult to understand that his company's presence in South Africa is propping up a repressive apartheid government. But that is the difference between personal intentions and structural realities.

An Appropriate Response

The responsible citizen is soon perplexed by something as vast and complex as the MNC. How does one sort out the ethical issues in order to see what is needed? After knowing what needs to be done, how can one take the appropriate action steps?

These are some preliminary steps that persons in the religious community can take to deal with the MNC.

(1) Religious institutions should engage their members who work in MNCs in dialogue. From them we can learn much about the operations and values of the MNC. But fruitful discussion demands viewpoints from others who are knowledgeable of, but not employed by MNCs, especially persons from the less industrialized nations (where the MNCs operate) who have not benefited from industrial progress.

(2) Religious institutions should use their stock ownership in MNCs as a means of leverage to get the necessary disclosures as to the company's policies and practices abroad. It is imperative that full accounting practices be disclosed so that the public will know if a company is using a particular nation as a tax dodge.

There are still more substantive measures that should be pursued by the religious community. For instance, it should work for legislation that will more carefully regulate the flow of capital out of the U.S., or at least demand that the MNCs make adequate provisions for the impacted U.S. labor force before it moves its capital abroad.

On a wider scale, many things need to be done to control, regulate and make MNCs accountable to the body

politic. These are difficult issues on which to get handles, but there is a need for:

- (1) International labor unions to counteract international corporations (steps toward equalizing the wage rates is in the best interest of all workers);
- (2) Regional compacts between the less industrialized nations patterned after the Andean Pact (Western Latin American nations) and OPEC (Oil Producers and Exporting Countries). Such regional moves will make it more difficult for the MNCs to play off one nation against the other;
- (3) Development of international organizations that can control, regulate and guide the MNC and subordinate private economic activity to the wider public good.

The MNC may not be the sole cause of poverty, but given its power, influence, uncontrollability and lack of accountability, along with its desire to maximize corporate growth and profits, it is clearly not the answer to global poverty. Nevertheless, it is essential to realize that the issue is not the abolition of all MNCs, or a reverting to an economic parochialism. The first issue is to decide what values we want to maximize in society and then spell out what role economic institutions can play in that process. If our concerns for economic justice and environmental quality are to be implemented, appropriate institutions will have to be designed, and existing structures reshaped.

The crucial question is not whether the MNC is good for the overall economic indicators such as GNP, but: What effect does the presence of an MNC in a particular nation have on the bottom 50 percent in that nation? That question demands our primary attention if global economic institutions are to be an answer to, and not the cause of, world poverty.

Norman J. Faramelli: co-director, Boston Industrial Mission; working on the social, economic, ethical and environmental issues related to industrial development.

A Case in Point . . .

by Francisco Reus-Froylan

Norman Faramelli's description of multi-national corporations sounds familiar to Puerto Rico. A brief review of some MNCs and their effect on the "enchanted island" will show why.

Puerto Rico is 100 miles long by 35 wide, with a population approaching three million: a population density of more than 875 persons per square mile, one of the highest in the world. The industrialization of Puerto Rico has created a consumer society, urbanism, and technology. But it meant the disappearance of more than 100,000 jobs directly or indirectly related to agriculture. This fact has caused chronic scarcities of tropical foodstuffs and the seasonal migration of thousands of Puerto Rican migrant workers to the large farms of the eastern seaboard of the United States. It has meant the abandoning of the land and the growth of slums in Puerto Rico and the United States.

Meanwhile, the MNCs have fared better. The Puerto Rican government offers incentives: cheap labor, corporation tax exemptions for 17 years, renewable as they run out; heavy industry, user of great quantities of electric energy, is accordingly supplied power at less than cost, while individual consumers are subject to periodic rate hikes. Two petrochemicals receive water from a joint subsidiary which extracts water from subterranean streams without paying a cent. And the affluence of the refineries, petrochemical and pharmaceutical companies constitute a growing danger to the health of the people, agricultural and other vegetation; fishing in coastal waters has severely declined near such installations, while local and federal environmental agencies issue mild reprimands.

Puerto Rico has been evangelized by the MNC missionaries. Many of us think there ought to be a reformation.

Francisco Reus-Froylan: Bishop of Puerto Rico; recently received an Executive Council grant to assist in the struggle against industrial interests in his diocese.



Reform in the Suites

by Jesse Christman

The decline in social activism in recent years, within and without the churches, has been the subject of endless words and explanations. Whatever the cause, the results are clear; student militants graduate and disappear; new-left activists retreat to communal farms, the Guru Maharaji or Transcendental Meditation; white liberals take up transactional analysis and the churches dismantle their social action agencies.

Impulses for social change take different forms in this decade. One of the more promising is the struggle for corporate social responsibility that grew out of the black struggle, the urban rebellions and the peace movement of the 1960s. It represents a change from "action in the streets" to "reform in the suites." Instead of popular agitation against the governmental establishment, it identifies the corporation as the engine that moves America and directs its limited resources toward affecting the behavior of corporate America.

Corporate social responsibility advocates use of a variety of methods, from stockholder resolutions to consumer boycotts, to press their point. They identify specific concerns — minority hiring, air pollution, investment in Southern Africa, strip mining — and address these issues corporation by corporation. They use the leverage of stockholdings to gain a forum and the pressure of media to advance the cause; they develop public interest law firms, research centers and publications. They seek support in Congress, in the university and among stockholders and consumers.

What does it all add up to? Has corporate America changed? Will it? Does significant social change come

about through this kind of pressure on corporate institutions? Or will this effort, too, fade away, discouraged and exhausted by the unequal struggle?

Four assertions can be made about the movement for corporate social responsibility. First, were it not for corporate social responsibility, social action in many national denominations would be virtually nonexistent. Second, the target is correct — the corporation is the heart of America's problem. Third, the expectation of fundamental corporate reform is unrealistic; indeed, corporate social responsibility is probably a contradiction in terms. Fourth, the corporate social responsibility movement must continue to grow.

Church Social Action

Recent years have seen the systematic dismantling of the social action structures of major denominations. Staffs have been cut, budgets reduced and a generally low profile has been adopted in agencies once noted for their critical analysis and decisive mobilization for action. This has come as a result of the re-assertion of power by conservative regional interests resistant to what they view as an unrepresentative, out of control and left-leaning national bureaucracy. In most cases they have succeeded so well that social action in the churches has become a tame game.

Corporate social responsibility, on the other hand, has successfully bucked this tide, combining as it does the money managers who handle church investments, the remnants of social action and mission agencies and some grass-roots people upset over particular corporate behavior. This has allowed the church structures concerned for social responsibility in investment to move aggressively in a number of instances such as strip mining in Appalachia, investments in South Africa and copper mining in Puerto Rico.

The critical point of leverage is the investment portfolio. Even the most conservative churchperson is hard put to counter the argument that stewardship of the church's investments relates to where and how the dollars are used as well as what the return is. The irony, not to say contradiction, is obvious. Affluent churchpeople donate a part of their wealth to the Church, which in turn sets up programs to monitor and sometimes pressure the very companies which generated the wealth in the first place. Nevertheless, the Church's duty to practice a careful stewardship of its wealth provides a solid base for denominational involvement in the corporate social responsibility movement. That involvement is one of the

few signs of life in an otherwise moribund social action scene.

As gross as it may seem on first glance, the adage "the business of America is business" is on target. The critical issues of this society are decided with the interests of corporate America uppermost. This is true whether we talk of detente with Russia, the tax structure of cities and states, basic policies regarding higher education, the health care delivery system or the cooling of the war in Southeast Asia. This is no cry of alarm over a conspiracy in the board rooms to control the society, rather, it is an assessment of the underlying consciousness that pervades our world. The large global corporation, with its human, technological and financial resources, provides the goals, the direction and the organizational focus for the energy of our people. Its initiatives in seeking new markets, developing new products and searching out raw materials determine the basic character of our social existence.

Toward Corporate Reform

A movement that directs its attention to corporate enterprises and seeks to influence and shape corporate decisions and behavior is dealing at the center of the control system of the society. The revelations that emerged in the investigations of Watergate only illustrate the functional interlocks between economic interests and political decisions. The hard fact is that the "golden rule" still holds, i.e., "he who has the gold makes the rules."

The stated intent of corporate social responsibility activists is "to make the corporations responsible." Presumably, this means that companies will build social criteria into their decision-making process which, if honored, will avoid the abuses of the social and physical environment which might otherwise result. It envisions an economic institution intricately wired into the myriad interests and constituencies on which it has an impact and acting in such a manner as to avoid injury to any. This vision may be unattainable, given the present ordering of our capitalist system.

Corporate organizations are pre-eminently profit-making institutions committed to growth and profit. Corporate managers are evaluated by their performance in the light of profit goals. The corporate management that fails to achieve its maximum economic potential will be replaced, and soon! Companies that fail to grow and prosper will be taken over or liquidated by the economic interests to which they are beholden. The upshot is that there is a narrow range in which corporate management

can work in pursuit of corporate responsibility. Small costs in large institutions are acceptable. Large costs will be borne only under direct coercion by government, a government not incidentally committed to the perpetuation and flourishing of this very economic system. This argument against the possibility of significant corporate reform is not based on devil or conspiracy theories, i.e., corporate leaders are not bad men in the personal sense. They are about as moral as the rest of us. But it is the institutional realities under which they operate that determine their decisions and corporate behavior. Those realities are growth and profit into the foreseeable future.

A Crucial Intersection

The corporate social responsibility movement is positioned at a crucial intersection of corporate capitalism; that is, at the contradiction between the inevitable and necessary logic of capital to grow or die, to make a profit (larger than last year if possible) or lose the chance, and the pressing needs of a society fraught with inequality, outright poverty and deep-seated social disorder. It is involved in pressing corporate America to live out its liberal promise that our economic system can be the vehicle for solving the social problems of the society. In fact, it is pressing corporation leaders to do what they cannot accomplish — to save the world profitably. The result is catastrophic: imperialism and racism abroad, supported by the force of U.S. arms; inflation and unemployment at home; a consumer economy fueled by massive debt which enslaves, controls and trivializes our people.

Yet, the corporate social responsibility movement must press on. It must increase the demand for corporate responsibility to combat the ills of society. It must build the expectation among the masses of people that corporate America can and will act to solve society's problems. And, when it becomes clear that it will not because it cannot, corporate social responsibility advocates must be prepared to explain the reasons for that failure and to struggle for an economic system that can direct resources to areas of greatest need rather than greatest profit, a system that can build a new and viable democratic political system where politics directs the economy instead of being its compliant handmaiden.

The America of the 1970s badly needs a resurgence of creative imagination about new social, economic and political arrangements that will transcend and supplant the present political economy. We need a new way of allocating resources and organizing the energy and talent

of our people. We need goals which go beyond "getting and spending," beyond growth and profit for the privileged one-third of our society. We cannot continue forever patching up and rationalizing our economic order. The price of inflation and unemployment, trivialized and alienating work and leisure, racism and exploitation at home and abroad is too high to be acceptable. But to break out will require creative thinking and thoughtful action of the highest order. The beginning of the process is upon us, involving as it does locating the problem at the heart of the corporate enterprise. Corporate social responsibility is one available vehicle for thoughtful action to create a humanly effective and economically viable social order.

Jesse E. Christman: began observing corporate behavior in four years spent on an auto assembly line; organizational consultant; board member, Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility; currently in management in a large company.

Tax Resistance

David and Goliath

by Andrew Wallace

Tax resistance is the fly in the soup at the sumptuous spring banquet of the Internal Revenue Service. A minor annoyance. No more.

Withholding federal income or telephone taxes is not going to topple the government or send it into bankruptcy. But in Philadelphia a variety of community groups have benefited from low-cost loans made by War Tax Resistance from a \$65,000 fund amassed by about 100 tax resisters.

Ordinarily, tax resistance is an individual act of conscience, similar to conscientious objection to military service — one of the few ways citizens have to say "no" to war, oppression, military might. Resisters have based

their arguments on religious principles or international law. A few churches have refused to pay the telephone surcharge.

John Egnal, a Philadelphia attorney who has specialized in the defense of tax resisters, said that one internal IRS memo instructed agents to prosecute the most visible resistance cases to get across the message to the rest that tax withholding does not pay. Another told them to ignore the church refusal to pay phone taxes so as not to stir institutional wrath.

There have been some victories and some defeats in the courts but the wins have been narrow ones and no one has established the major point — that being forced to pay taxes for an immoral war is an infringement of religious rights. Nor have the courts yet consented to listen to arguments arising from international law, Egnal said.

One of the recent victories came when the 4th Circuit Court of Appeals in Richmond, Va., ruled that Lyle and Sue Snider were not attempting to defraud when they claimed three billion exemptions (the population of the world) on their W-4 form. They were using "symbolic speech," the court ruled. Yet in California, Martha Tranquilli went to jail for nine months for listing as her "children," peace groups like Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and War Tax Resistance on her return.

Egnal described the government's attitude in recent cases as trying to balance its right to tax with the First Amendment guarantee of religious freedom — with the tax power always weighted a bit heavier.

Other Court Cases

One recent court test involving a Quaker couple working for American Friends Service Committee resembled "a minuet," he said. In the ruling, the government agreed not to force AFSC voluntarily to hand over taxes the couple wanted to withhold as a protest and thereby violate their peace witness. Instead, IRS was able to withdraw the entire sum from the Quakers' bank account at year's end with penalties and interest. The peace principle remained intact and the government got its money.

One of the most fascinating tax cases to surface anywhere has been that of the Rev. David M. Gracie, the urban missionary for the Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania, who for several years has been refusing to pay 50 percent of his income taxes.

What makes it so interesting is that Father Gracie has involved the church in his struggle. To collect the priest's back taxes, IRS went to his employer, the Diocese of

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Pennsylvania, in 1972, and the diocese paid. But when IRS sent a second levy to the diocese last spring, the Diocesan Council did an about face and refused to honor it.

IRS went to court to enforce the levy and the Diocese argued that it was unconstitutional for IRS to force it to collect taxes from an employee who refused to pay for conscience' sake. Later, Father Gracie himself asked permission to intervene in the suit. His contention is that the First Amendment guarantees his right to withhold taxes when that money is being used for immoral purposes. To pay would involve him in "crimes against peace," he said.

In reversing itself, the Diocese sidestepped a potentially embarrassing dilemma: "Part of the role of the church is teaching people to make a decision about whether to participate in war," the priest said. If the church paid his taxes for him, it would short circuit his doing what it had taught him to do.

But Father Gracie thinks he has not been successful in getting the church to examine the underlying reasons for his protest. "When you are a citizen of an expansionist empire, where does your obligation to the state end and your resistance begin?" he asks.

The State's Authority

William Stringfellow has a valuable observation on this dilemma in "An Ethic for Christians and Other Aliens In a Strange Land." He calls to mind that in the Garden of Eden, all creation fell along with Adam and Eve. Institutions — the government, Lions clubs, the military, even IRS — are in the same fallen state. To him the state itself is the paramount demonic power and its authority is the power of death.

Stringfellow sees the greatest evil coming not from the "evildoers," but from the myriads of human beings "immobilized . . . by their habitual obeisance to institutions or other principalities as idols"

Amid such decadence, he continues, "one can discern and identify maturity, conscience and, paradoxically, freedom in human beings only among those who are in conflict with the established order."

"In conflict." That's where many of the tax resisters are and where the churches should be. What war tax resistance is doing is continuing to force Americans to take seriously questions of governmental morality and demanding that it act humanly.

Andrew Wallace: wrote about tax resistance while a reporter for *The Philadelphia Inquirer*.

Network Reports

Corporate Responsibility Strategy for 1975

The Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility in New York City reports that in 1975 the major denominations in the United States, including the United Methodists, Presbyterian Church USA, American Baptist, and the Episcopal Church, will increase their actions on social responsibility issues over what they did in 1974.

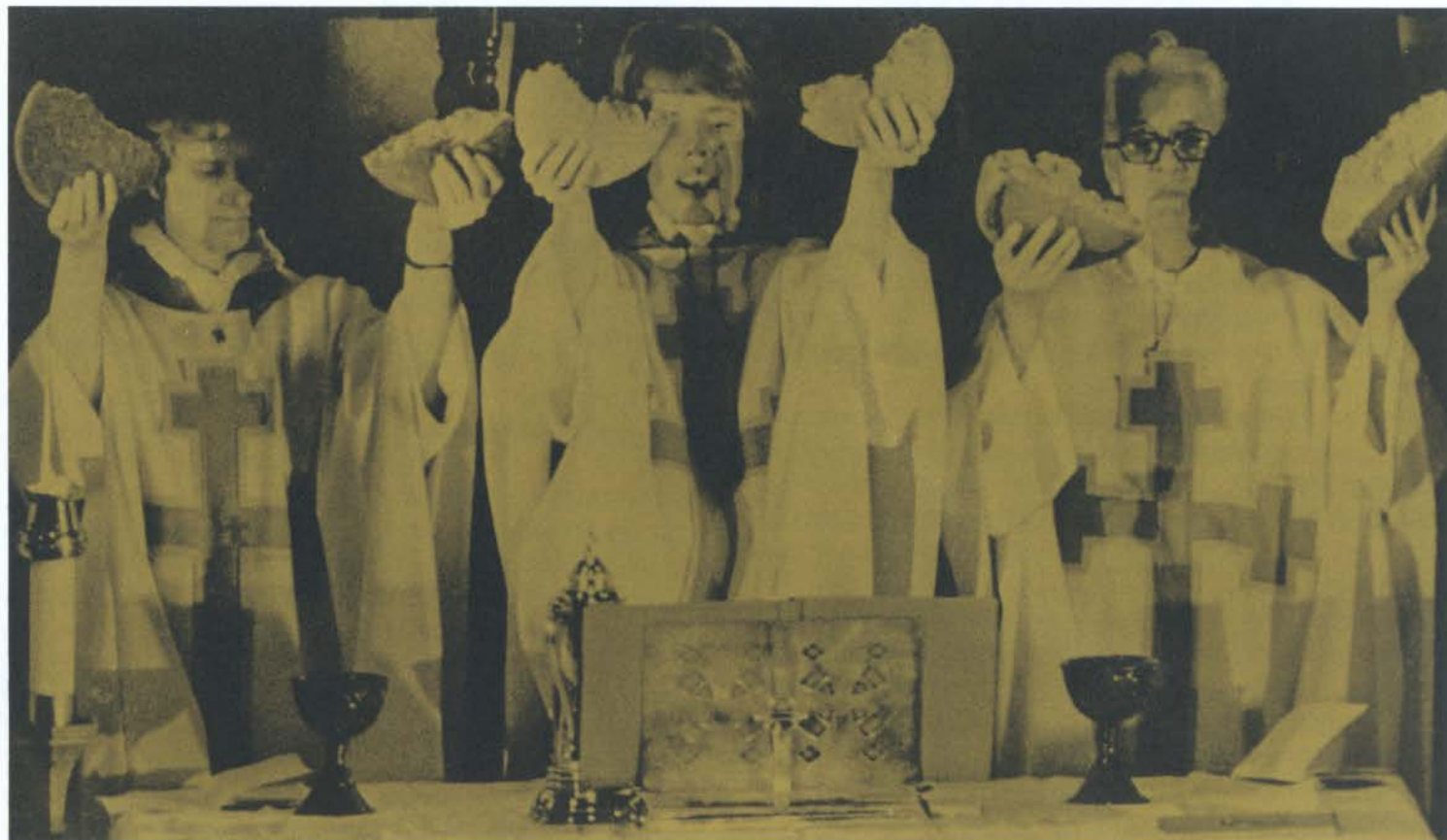
The issues that will particularly concern the churches in 1975 are: American investments in South Africa; the role of oil companies in Namibia, Southwest Africa; Equal Employment Opportunity; racism and discrimination against women; Agri-business and its role in the world hunger crisis; stripmining and alternate energy sources, investment in Latin America and the Philippines; and, for the first time, the churches are looking hard at the role of women as portrayed in advertising.

Representatives from sixteen denominations will meet in New York City the last week in November to determine policy and action strategies for 1975. For further information, write: Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10027.

House of Bishops: Theological Consultants

In a very important move, the House of Bishops at its recent meeting in Mexico voted unanimously to invite theologians and other consultants from time to time to assist the bishops in dealing with major issues confronting the Church.

This action was proposed by the Committee on Theology, and arose in the charged and confused atmosphere surrounding the issue of the ordination of women. It would seem to reflect a growing realization on the part of the bishops that our theology, both as Anglicans and Christians, is not a closed system but open to the ongoing revelation of God's truth in His creation.



CELEBRATING A EUCHARIST, three of the 11 women priests, *left to right*, the Rev. Alison Cheek, the Rev. Carter Heyward, and the Rev. Jeannette Piccard, participated in an ecumenical service at Riverside Church, New York City, on October 27.

AP Wirephoto

Readers of *The Witness* are invited to submit reports on a wide variety of subjects and events looked at from many perspectives. Send reports to *The Witness*/Network Reports, 17187 Wildemere, Detroit, Michigan 48221.

Coming in the next issue:

Oppressor or Oppressed?

The Church in Latin America by J. Antonio Ramos
With comments by J. Brooke Mosley

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