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Hesh Wiener

A New Holocaust?

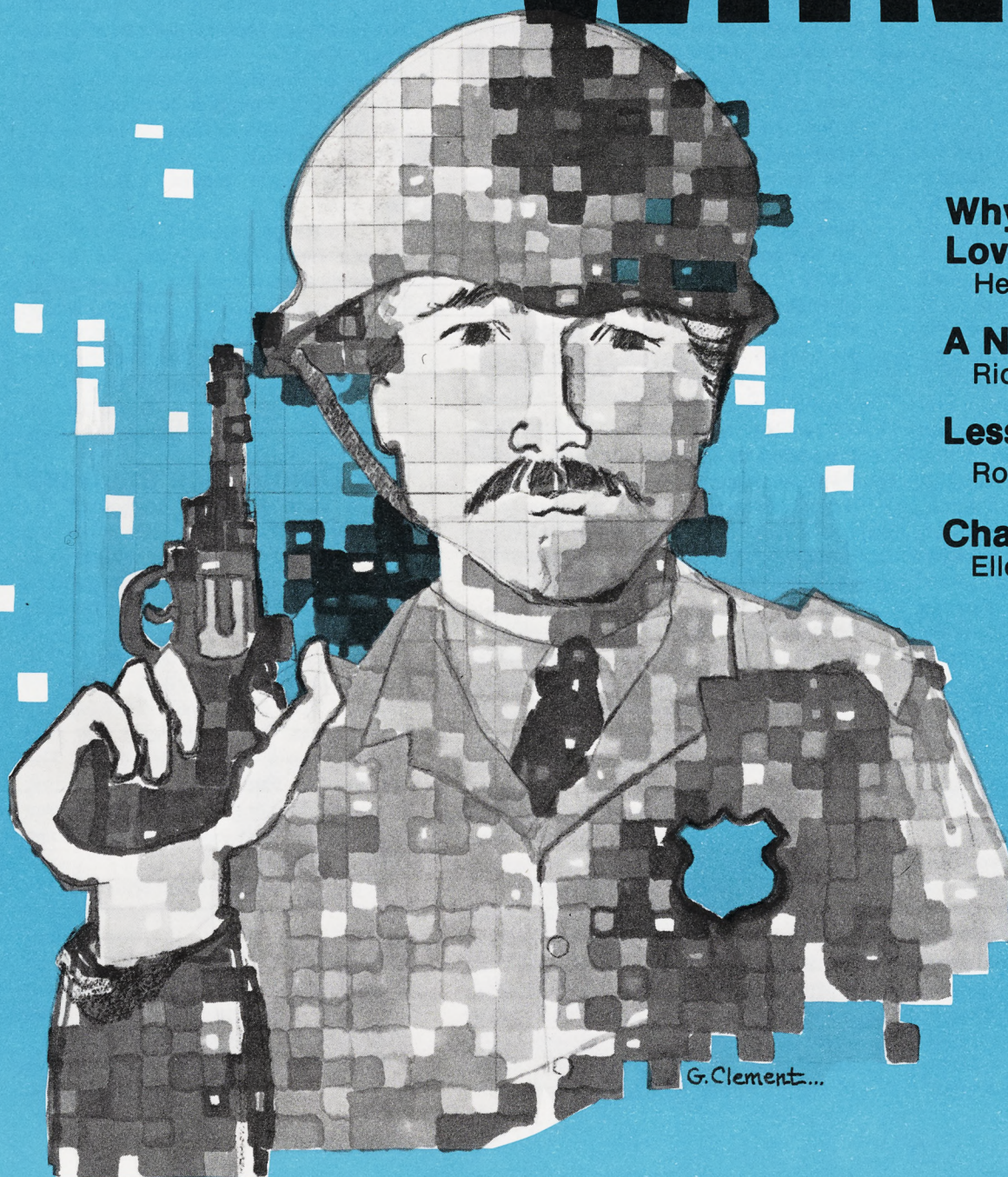
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DuBois Addendum

The November WITNESS carries an article, "Lessons From a Shabby History," by Reginald G. Blaxton. In the article, speaking of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, he notes that Dr. DuBois was baptized a Christian at the font of St. Luke's Church, New Haven. He then goes on to say, correctly, that Dr. DuBois became disenchanted by the Episcopal Church's refusal to face racial issues, the general withdrawal of white churches from any real confrontation with his main dedicated concern, and even the black churches in their struggle to support their people in a fight for identification. Everything in the article was true, but it left the reader with the feeling that Dr. DuBois had disengaged himself from the world of religious faith because institutional religion never supported the cause of human equality and freedom.

When Dr. DuBois was indicted, allegedly as an agent of a foreign government for circulating the Stockholm Peace Pledge against nuclear weapons, and when he and his lovely wife, novelist Shirley Graham, were able to buy a house on the most exclusive street in Brooklyn Heights, the Episcopal Church of the Holy Trinity rallied the clergy and liberal citizens to meet the DuBoises and introduce them to the community.

When Dr. DuBois was acquitted in Washington, he loaned his material, personally involved himself in a whole series of annual "Negro History Weeks"

held at Holy Trinity, and encouraged the participation of the congregation in the whole racial struggle.

Dr. DuBois died in Ghana on the eve of the famous March on Washington, where Dr. Martin Luther King made his most famous speech. When the DuBois will was found and opened, it contained a request that his burial service be taken by the minister of the Church of the Holy Trinity, with Paul Robeson singing his favorite spirituals.

The then-president of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah, invited me to fly to Ghana to fulfill Dr. DuBois's request. Mr. Robeson was not able to respond and a singer from the Metropolitan Opera, Mrs. Nadyne Brewer Rauch, went with me in his place. The service, which had by reason of time, to be a Memorial Service, was held in the Aggrey Memorial Chapel on the campus of Achimota College in Accra. More than 2,000 Africans attended. The President sat in a chair at the head of the aisle, flanked by Ambassador Huang Hua, who is now the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China.

The Memorial Service, which was broadcast throughout Africa by Ghana Radio, was repeated by tape on WBAI in this country. Now in my possession, it was based on the Book of Common Prayer, a personal re-telling of Dr. DuBois' life and significance in our country, and prayers drawn from our liturgy and the "Grey Book." The point is that Dr. DuBois, christened in St. Luke's, New Haven, died within the enfolding blessing of the church of his initiation.

Others can determine what this means. I simply wish the record to be accurate.

The Rev. William Howard Melish
Corona, N.Y.

Charismatic Rebukes

When my subscription expires, please do not renew it. I am of the charismatic Episcopal persuasion, so I really feel that most of the articles in your magazine, if not all, are entirely irrelevant. A friend of mine in Tennessee, who gave the subscription to me in hopes of changing my non-

activist stance on so many issues, will probably despair, but I in turn sometimes despair of ever making a charismatic out of him, too, so we are even.

I cannot honestly wish you the best of luck nor God's blessing, because I think you folks are utterly lost and confused in this modern world and indeed will be left behind after God's real children are taken away from the earth on the Rapture; you and people like you will be the Episcopal representatives when the Super-Church (Revelation's "Great Whore of Babylon") is set up to be the anti-Christ's religious arm during the last seven years of history before the Second Coming.

Strong words, maybe, but I cannot help that.

If I misjudge you, and Jesus really is "your personal Lord and Saviour" as the Evangelicals so tiresomely but also truly (unfortunately for *you*, perhaps) recite; if your work with gays, Chicanos, and so on really is the work that the Lord has given you to do . . . then forgive me.

David Zillmer
Stillwater, Minn.

Sex Dominance the Issue

Please send me two copies of the October WITNESS on "Gays in the Church." Your articles are useful to us as we serve the outcasts of the organized churches, which of course includes gays.

My observation is that rooted in homophobia is the larger hatred of women. Yes, there are Episcopal gay men priests. Some of these gay men opposed the ordination of women. The old English Patriarchy and Boarding School mentality exists there, too. Some gay priests finally related to women as oppressed also.

Could all of us, brothers and sisters in Christ, finally recognize that the root of *all* oppression lies in dominance/submission-type thinking? That *only* as we give up our power over each other in our relationships can we hope to have any justice or mercy in our society?

Straight or gay is not the issue. We

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Saints in Caesar's Household

Robert L. DeWitt

When we think of the early church and the people who made it up, we think of ragged apostles wandering the countryside — of little people. Christianity was, indeed, as a contemporary commentator said, "The religion of every poor devil." St. Paul referred to himself and others as "the scum of the church." And so they were — slaves, soldiers, shopkeepers, gladiators.

But St. Paul in his epistles many times refers by name to people to whom he wished to be remembered, and then occasionally adds the words, "and to the saints which are in Caesar's household."

Those members of the early church, in Caesar's own household, were doing the variety of things required of such menials — cooking, cleaning, repairing, hammering out swords and shields, polishing armor. Imagine the compromise in their situation. They were getting their very subsistence from the emperor's household, when their ultimate loyalty was to the God of Abraham, the Lord of hosts. They found themselves working next to people who would say, "We have no God but Caesar," and yet those early Christians were, themselves, working for that false god.

Was their situation so different from our own?

We are all caught up in, and dependent upon, the complicated and powerful network of economic and political forces which rule this world, just as the entrenched strength of the Roman Empire ruled the ancient world. We have only to think of the insurance on our homes and on our lives, the supermarkets where we buy our food, the automobile we drive (and the bank where we make our payments on it), to realize that all of these entities are local precincts of

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Why Police States Love the Computer

by Hesh Wiener

"Computers," said think-tanker Herman Kahn recently "are obviously the supporting device for a totalitarian culture. I'm not saying it will happen, but it is an open issue."

You're a bit late, Mr. Kahn. It has already happened.

The largest single customer for computers in every country is the country's government. All governments use computers for social control. They differ only in the degree of control they exercise via the computer and the kinds of activities they control. Pioneered by the wealthy and technologically advanced democracies, the use of computer systems for police, political, health, medical, and economic administration is now a high priority for every dictatorship.

The problems raised by the use and abuse of information-processing systems are not restricted by national boundaries. The international flow of data, once a trickle, is rapidly becoming a torrent. Files on political activists, potential activists, and even socially concerned clergymen are being exchanged among the governments of Latin American regimes. Dossiers stored on the computers of the FBI, State Department, and other agencies (many of whose files are already linked to state and local police files) are finding their way into the computers of foreign governments — sometimes accompanied by fingerprints or passport photographs.

Private institutions also have immense collections of data, and all the problems associated with dossiers in the hands of government agencies become more severe when private interests are involved. It is difficult to distinguish between

Hesh Wiener, former editor of *Computer Decisions*, is a New York-based journalist who specializes in articles about how computers affect people's lives. The above is reprinted with permission from the quarterly, *Business and Society Review*, 870 Seventh Ave., New York, N.Y. 10019. Copyright Hesh Wiener and *Business and Society Review*.

data that may be used for commercial purposes and data used for repression. Private interests are so powerful in this area that any legal restrictions on the collection, storage, and sale of data by private concerns may eventually be overcome by the establishment of offshore data banks — data havens in a few countries that wish to profit from them.

The companies that manufacture computers are aware of the problems brought about by the misuse of their products. They know that their machines are used to enforce the social policies of reasonable and unreasonable governments alike. In particular, they know that their machines are sought by dictatorial regimes to aid in the roundup of political enemies and by megalomaniacal despots to plan and execute intrigues and wars. The knowledge of the computer companies is extensive and, in some cases, so specific that it borders on complicity.

The computer manufacturers know what they are involved in because large computers are not sold and abandoned. The companies induce customers to purchase computers by promising assistance and a continuing technical presence, which they provide. In fact, even if the computer manufacturers wished to maintain some distance between themselves and their customers, they would fail. Computers and the programs which make them work are so complex that no customer could use them effectively without help from the seller. The most carefully kept secrets of the U.S. government are stored on computers run with the active involvement of the manufacturers.

The level of detail known to a company which installs and services a computer includes knowledge of the kinds of jobs being done, but generally falls short of information about the exact data stored in the computer's memory. For example, a company that sells a computer to a social surveillance agency would know whether the machine will be used for the storage of files, or for computation, or for communications. It would know the size and form of each file and the total size of the data base, but it would not know who or what will be on file. It would know something of the complexity and type of calculations to be performed, but it would not know the details of the calculations. It would know the capacity of the system for sending messages, but it would not know the content of the messages.

"Any police state I know of would be much more effective with computers."

—Herman Kahn
Hudson Institute
Croton, N.Y.

NCC Opposes Sales

The National Council of Churches is definite that computers should not be sold to be used by police agencies of repressive regimes.

William Wipfler, NCC human rights officer, said "We called the attention of IBM to the repeated violations of human rights in Chile and asked them to reconsider their plans to install a 145 computer." The National Council of Churches backed their pleas with proxies totaling 200,000 shares of IBM stock. Some religious leaders felt that IBM's installation of the 145 was "like selling a computer to Hitler."

"But the question is more serious than whether IBM would sell computers to Hitler," says Wipfler. "It's whether they would sell gas chambers to Hitler. Either way you're giving him weapons. When you know who Hitler is, you can't pretend you don't know what he's doing with your equipment."

There is some question about who has responsibility for the way computers are used. The greatest burden must be borne by whoever uses the computer, of course. But there is also some responsibility borne by the government agencies which issue permits for the shipment and installation of computers abroad. The companies which provide data processing resources can be held responsible for their decision to sell or not sell the equipment. And after the machinery is installed, the companies have a responsibility to evaluate their commitments. Having learned the details of the way their computers are used, the manufacturers could cease providing the promised service.

These questions must be addressed most seriously by American computer companies, which dominate the world market for computers. In the non-Communist world, nearly all government computers are of American manufacture. Even the governments of nations with indigenous computer industries own and operate many computers of American manufacture.

Among the American companies one corporation clearly dominates the market for large systems: International Business Machines Corporation. IBM is believed to have between one-half and three-fourths of the large systems worldwide. By virtue of IBM's commitment to excellence, particularly in service and support, its products have become worldwide standards. The computers of many other

nations — Japan, Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and the Eastern bloc — borrow heavily from IBM's designs, and their manufacturers mimic IBM's attitudes and policies. While IBM did not invent the computer, IBM did invent the computer industry.

This leadership makes IBM the place to begin questioning an industry that has given great record-keeping power to benign and demonic governments alike. And IBM's home country, the United States, is the leader of all the world's governments in matters involving computers. In particular, the most questionable use of computers involves the alliances between the U.S. government and Latin American dictatorships.

Similar situations exist outside Latin America, notably in Korea, Iran, and the Communist world. For example, Iran has an American electronics network called Ibex (a descendant of the McNamara Line across Vietnam), which is said to guard borders, monitor communications, and store the files of the Shah's secret police. The Korean CIA is believed to depend on American computers for its wide-ranging activities. The Eastern bloc, far behind the West in using computers, is said to envy and emulate the facilities of its more advanced competitors.

But Latin America has been a main focus of recent investigations into the ways computers are misused with the help of American funds and know-how. Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil are in virtual states of siege. Persons suspected of harboring adversary political beliefs are systematically kidnapped, imprisoned, tortured, and killed — most often by agents of government. Persons believed to be associates of known political activists are similarly treated. Torture is commonplace, and computers are helping. In Chile, according to one refugee who had served in a high academic position, the government's computer systems store complete information about "the opposition, those considered leftists or suspects. The computer has all the facts." Reports of police roundups in Chile include descriptions of the processing of identification cards in ways that can only be explained by the presence of computers.

About two years ago, the Chilean government wanted to buy a new information system for \$5.5 million from Rockwell International. The U.S. government refused to issue an export permit, because it believed that the computer would be used to terrorize the Chilean populace further. Undaunted, the Chilean government decided to buy the computers directly and hire American consultants to turn the machines into a system capable of storing complete dossiers, including fingerprints, on every citizen of Chile. One executive of an American consulting firm has said that his company was asked to provide expertise, not equipment, to the Chilean government, thus circumventing export

Everybody Plugs In

"Two private insurance companies now have a computer terminal on the Social Security Administration Data Acquisition and Response System, despite promises to Congress in 1973 that this would never happen. Soon, 14 more private insurers and several more private hospitals, with thousands of employees, will have terminal access. Auto insurers now have terminals allowing on-line access to state motor vehicle records. The government, in turn, links into the New York Times Information Bank, with its data on individuals from the pages of the Times and 60 other publications. State tax agencies exchange data with the Internal Revenue Service by computer. And the Medical Information Bank in essence links together all of the major health insurers. Banks, with their personal information about customers, will soon be linked with the Federal Reserve Board's electronic funds transfer system."

—Robert Ellis Smith
Computer Decisions

restrictions. His company, after thinking over the proposal, turned it down. But an official of the Chilean embassy confirms that this contract will be awarded after all — to a company that helped build the fingerprint system used by the FBI. The system, which will be operated by the Chilean government, could be functioning within a year.

Not all the computers used by the government of Chile are in the offices of governmental agencies. According to a former official of the Allende regime, there is a data-processing service called ECOM that does extensive work for Chile's secret police. The chairman of ECOM, which uses IBM and Burroughs computers, is an active general in the Chilean army. The president of ECOM is Rene Peralta, a former officer of the Chilean navy and a former director of computation at the University of Chile. The university also has a computer, and the National Council of Churches claims that the machine is being used by police agencies. IBM disputes the claim, but a company spokesman admits that his firm is aware that "the generals have taken over the university."

One man's ordeal in Uruguay indicates that dossiers kept on computers are exchanged among the governments of Latin America. The man entered Uruguay and was picked up by the police for questioning. His interrogators asked him about a Catholic priest they sought. The man was presented with a computer printout detailing the priest's

career, including all the priest's known addresses, his salary at each, his telephone numbers, and his relationships with persons in Uruguay. What most amazed the interrogated man was that the sought-after priest had never been in Uruguay. The data on the computer printout had been supplied by the police of another country!

Brazil, the largest and wealthiest nation in South America, is also a leader in using computers. IBM has a factory there which makes large System/370 machines and ancillary equipment. It is believed that the police of Brazil use IBM computers to manage large collections of dossiers. Evidence of this practice comes from a document prepared by IBM.

The IBM paper, which came from a survey of IBM's customers conducted by its Rio Governo office in Rio de Janeiro, indicates that in December 1973 the police of the state of Rio de Janeiro (then called the state of Guanabara) were planning to install a pair of IBM 370/145 computers equipped with forty inquiry terminals. These terminals would be placed where they could be used to retrieve files instantly.

The report lists the uses to which the computers would be put. In addition to routine files — such as those containing lists of stolen vehicles, criminals' names, and wanted persons — the computers would be used to store files of "political activists."

IBM has admitted, following publication of the document, that it is authentic. IBM claims that the system was never ordered, but refused to say whether Brazilian police have other, similar systems. At the time the system was sought by the Brazilians, American newspapers were carrying detailed reports of abduction and torture by the Brazilian secret police.

The police in Argentina have a system, built by an American company, which is the most advanced of its kind anywhere. The equipment, sold under the trade name Digicom by E-Systems of Garland, Texas, is a radio communications system connecting police cars with computerized information at police headquarters in Buenos Aires. One of Digicom's many abilities is locating by triangulation the police cars which carry it. Another device being used by the police of Buenos Aires is called Wheelbarrow. Like Digicom it has a radio transmitter and receiver, and like Digicom it can be used to locate the vehicle bearing it. Unlike Digicom, it does not facilitate communications. Wheelbarrow is a self-locating bomb, triggered from police headquarters.

The problems caused by computers in the hands of dictators are compounded by the international flow of dossiers. One important agent for the transfer of police and other government files is Interpol, headquartered in St.

Cloud, France, outside Paris. Interpol is a coordinating agency for the police of its 125-member nations. Each member maintains a national central bureau which serves as Interpol's local anchor. The U.S. bureau, for example, housed in the Treasury building in Washington, sorts out requests for information and sends them to the appropriate agencies. Among the agencies fulfilling Interpol requests are the FBI, which provides criminal records and fingerprints; the State Department, which provides passport information, including photographs; the Immigration and Naturalization Service; the Drug Enforcement Administration; the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms of the Internal Revenue Service; the Postal Service; and local police agencies. In addition to information requests, Interpol may ask for services such as surveillance or detention.

The information on the requests made by Interpol members is sometimes sketchy. Because the United States examines each request and only provides data in response to those queries stemming from criminal charges, the Government Accounting Office believes that the American office of Interpol is not being misused. However, requests from foreign countries are also made directly to foreign offices of the FBI, Drug Enforcement Administration, and other U.S. agencies abroad. This less-regulated route is used very often.

These police channels are not the only links among the computers of various nations. Credit bureaus in the United States have extensive records on many foreigners, principally Canadians, and medical records travel along the same routes that tourists and immigrants do. In fact, the linkage of computers to remote sites is so easy today that, according to Congressman Barry Goldwater, Jr., fire marshals in southern Sweden routinely use a data file in Cleveland to plan fire control strategies.

There has been no evidence that these files suffer widespread abuse. But there are also no laws or regulations to limit the flow of data. American and European nations, principally those which have enacted legislation to control data flow within their borders, have expressed concern that any efforts to control the misuse of computerized information will fail unless international conventions are established.

For the most part, the social problems posed by the widespread interchange of computerized records among nations are overshadowed by the problems of computer misuse within nations. But all the problems are growing rapidly throughout the world. While not as dramatic as the threats to human survival posed by shortages of food, energy, and housing, the threats to freedom and privacy may be more pernicious just because they are largely invisible. ■

Disturbing Signs Of a New Holocaust

by Richard W. Gillett



Make no mistake about it: something fundamental, a kind of seismic shift in the public mood, occurred in 1978, the “year of the tax revolt.” One senses in the nation that the post-Watergate period of quiescence, of withdrawal, has rather suddenly come to a close. And that a public which has for the last few years kept its thoughts to itself has found its voice again. It is a voice that sounds reactionary, highly suspicious of political leadership, resentful of complexity, and receptive in its mood to simplistic solutions.

Another happening earlier in 1978 appeared to affect deeply a substantial number of Americans. It was the compelling television film, *Holocaust*. Sophisticated criticisms of *Holocaust* and its authenticity notwithstanding, I found myself profoundly affected. The film made me begin to face that at a real time and place during my own lifetime, a group of human beings had systematically undertaken to liquidate another group of human beings, identifiable by their racial and ethnic characteristics, which characteristics deemed them expendable. And the Christian churches in Germany and beyond, by and large stood by in only partial ignorance, and let this happen. It began to come home to me that a) human beings are fully capable, given sufficient rationale, of deciding that other human beings are expendable; and b) other, even well-meaning human beings are capable of either

rationalizing such a horror, or of pretending it isn’t happening.

My mind returned to *Holocaust* for weeks afterward, until the winds of debate over Proposition 13 began to blow in gale force, pushing these reflections aside. The “13” vote came, with its devastating results for the poor, the public education system, minorities, public health, and public libraries. In trying to assess the damage, and in trying to understand how two-thirds of the voters could have let this occur, I found myself returning in thoughts to the Jewish Holocaust. The two events began to roll around in my mind as comparable.

It is well known that at least since medieval times in Europe Jews have been the objects of persecution and isolation. But by the late 19th century Jews in Europe were seen as a symbol of the new secular industrial and democratic society that was dissolving the power of the old ruling classes of Christendom. As such they appeared to fearful people to be a threat to the power structure. And, since some Jewish intellectuals were also attracted to Marxism, Jews could sometimes suffer the double stigma of being both “Christ killers” and Communists. The year 1919, according to Ernst Nolte, a scholarly German historian, was a critical year for the development of fascism. In that year — one chaotic year after the end of World War I and two years after the triumph of Bolshevism in Russia — a localized, short-lived proletariat revolt, the Munich Soviet Republic occurred in Germany under the leadership of a few

The Rev. Richard W. Gillett is director of social concerns and Christian education, All Saints Church, Pasadena, Cal.

intellectuals, mostly Jewish and anarchist. At the time, these revolutionaries aroused intense hatred — none more so than in the mind of a young propagandist named Adolph Hitler.

Through the next dozen years, Hitler began to build his national socialist party. They were years in which a nation, crushed by war and deeply disillusioned in spirit, was likewise disturbed by the Communist revolution that had taken place in the monolithic nation to the east, Russia. Hitler's powerful and hypnotic speeches responded to that anxious national mood. Never give the public more than one object of hatred at a time, wrote Hitler. He saw that coupled with the emotional appeal to national pride, hate can be a powerfully unifying force. The Jews became the hate object in the ideology of purifying the Aryan race.

In 1931, two years before Hitler's seizure of power, papers known as the Boxheim documents were discovered in the German state of Hesse. They were written by a Nazi, and contained secret instructions for the Nazi overthrow of the Hessian state government. One feature was a plan for starving the Jews of Hesse by denying them ration cards. The man who discovered the "Boxheim documents" and revealed them to the press was shot soon thereafter. His murderers were never apprehended.

Subsequently, the Nazis polled 46% of the vote in a local election in Hesse — an indication of the hatred building toward the Jews.

The year 1933 was crucial in Germany. Beginning then, writes Nolte, the elimination of the Jews from the body of the German nation was undertaken not by way of mass demonstrations and revelatory speeches, *but by legal measures* (emphasis mine). For example, the Nazi policy of racial health for the nation was officially promulgated that year: A law was passed authorizing the state to sterilize certain elements of the population which were deemed undesirable. Included were those with a wide range of hereditary diseases — and, implicitly, the "inferior layers" (Jews) of the population which showed a very high birth rate. In the ensuing years, Jews saw the legal barriers against their civil and constitutional rights progressively raised, until by 1938, the licenses of Jewish doctors were revoked (remember the doctor in *Holocaust*?) and the exceptions still then existing for Jewish lawyers and patent attorneys were removed. It remained only for a few trumped-up or entirely fabricated incidents the next few years (such as the infamous Kristallnacht in 1938) to set up the machinery and the rationale for the full-scale extermination process which created the camps and the ovens of Auschwitz, Buchenwald, Belsen, and others.

So how does all this compare with our treatment of the poor among us in America over the last several years?

Of course, the history of the isolation and prejudice

"Trends, public attitudes, and even some of the legal machinery are already settling into place for the occurrence down the line of a catastrophe similar to that of the Holocaust, with the poor, the unemployed and the powerless as the new scapegoats for our collective frustration and cynicism."

against the Jews in Germany and Eastern Europe is not comparable to the history of our discrimination against the poor in this country. We do not have a madman at the head of the nation, nor do we now (note: *now!*) have any semblance of laws which by definition single out a race or a group as inferior. No one is building any concentration camps for the poor (although we built them back in 1942 for the West Coast Japanese!).

I suggest, however, that there are striking parallels between our recent American experience and that of the Holocaust. *Moreover, I would assert that events in recent years — 1978 in particular — reveal that the trends, public attitudes, and even some of the legal machinery are already settling into place for the occurrence down the line of a catastrophe similar to that of the Holocaust, with the poor, the unemployed and the powerless as the new scapegoats for our collective frustration and cynicism.* I would also assert that "Proposition 13 year" may be the watershed year which has clearly revealed such a trend. And that it calls for extraordinary measures by the churches and others to witness for human wholeness and solidarity. It may be much later than we think.

The ideological groundwork has been some years in the laying, going back to the Nixon era. "Bums on welfare" (Nixon's phrase), the discarding of dissident elements "with no more concern than rotten apples in a barrel" (Spiro Agnew) and — from the present U.S. Senator from New York, Daniel Moynihan — the phrase "benign neglect" as suggested policy toward blacks, all sound remarkably like some of the rhetoric directed at the Jews in Nazi speeches of the 1920s and 1930s. In the California campaign for Proposition 13, rhetoric against welfare recipients flew hot and heavy, fueled by repeated press magnification of a few bizarre stories of welfare cheaters who had "gotten rich on the government." Riding the bandwagon, the minority leader of the California State Assembly shouted after the vote, "this is our chance (to cut welfare). Wow! The people are with us."

But there are also disturbing parallels with the German Jewish experience in the legal area. The Boxheim documents referred to earlier advocated the denial of ration cards to the Jews. How does this compare with the suggested reduction and increased cost of school meals to needy children in California, and the decreased effectiveness of summer feeding programs due to personnel layoffs? What

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Lessons from the '60s

15 Commandments for Liberals

Many of us entered the '60s as political liberals, believing that society could be changed by persuasion, the power of moral example, appealing to our opponents' better side, "rational dialogue," and so forth. We wanted above all to be credible to our middle class counterparts with whom we thought (wrongly) power was lodged. As the decade spun out, we found ourselves, with varying degrees of resistance and compliance, being forced down the road of what might be called "reluctant radicalization."

As I reflect today on some of the lessons learned on that pilgrimage (the *terminus ad quem* of which must be extended at least until early 1973 when we finally got out of Vietnam), here is a list of 15 which I cite in the hope that everyone may find at least one or two with which to resonate, three or four with which to disagree, and enough stimulation to suggest a half dozen more that have not occurred to me.

1. *It is important to get on record as opposing evil. It is also important to be effective in stopping evil. But if you can't stop it, at least oppose it.* It is even possible that in ways you cannot foresee, your attempt to get on record can be effective, although it is somewhat easier to do this in the U.S.A. than in Argentina. Remember that "results" can almost never be measured. Backup consolation: at the very least, things might have been even worse if you had done nothing.

2. *You mustn't be too picky in choosing allies, but you must also be willing not to keep them too long.* You can easily be coopted (being the "token liberal" at a rally with distinctly other ends in view for which you too will later be held responsible), but if you opt out of such situations in order to remain "pure," you get nothing done at all.

In looking for allies, never count too much on the institutional church. Individuals, yes; small groups, yes; but rarely the institution as such. Christians can often work better with, and learn more from, secular Jews who still have

prophetic passion in the marrow of their bones (probably inherited from their grandfathers, who always turn out to have been rabbis).

Common cause can be made with people who have a variety of motives: the student who wants to save his skin, the businessman who has decided that the war is bad for business, the pacifist who feels that all wars are wrong. Be prepared for the fact that such alliances may be very temporary; the day after the war you may need to be against the businessman and maybe all the others as well.

3. *Although you must keep some priorities about what is really important, remember that almost all issues centering on social change are interconnected.* You may originally have thought that for those in the civil rights movement to become involved over Vietnam was diversionary; but you probably came to see that the draft was drafting twice as many blacks proportionately as whites and that there was a racial and genocidal component to what we were doing to dark-skinned Asians.

The word here is "holistic analysis."

4. *A variant on #3: Try to be clear who the enemy is.* I felt on my own campus that the real enemy was in Washington, rather than in the university's administration building or at the campus computer center. I was no more than half right. It took me a long time to see that the university legitimated and expedited the war in Vietnam: the Trustees profited from it, the scientists developed weaponry for it, whole faculties were funded by Department of Defense contracts. Very gradually I came to see that the enemy was the whole system. My earlier analysis was too political and too little economic. I am discovering that when the fundamental analysis is economic, that goes a long way toward explaining the politics.

This goes hand in glove with another sort of analysis foreign to most liberals in the sixties. J. Anthony Lukas, reviewing a book on selective service: "America's dirty little secret is not sex. It is not power. Nor is it success. America's dirty little secret is class. It remains a secret even to some of its most cruelly treated victims." (*New York Times Book Review*, 6/11/78)

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by Robert McAfee Brown

5. *The escalation of moral numbness demands the escalation of moral protest.* As yesterday's unthinkable act became tomorrow's acceptable practice, more radical protest was called for. For many of us, the big step was over the line of lawful protest into non-violent civil disobedience. At the time it was a huge step; in retrospect, one wonders why it did not come sooner.

6. *Further probing of #5: As a technique, non-violence can be useful; as an ideology it can be dangerous.* Non-violence helped to make an important point in the '60s in relation both to civil rights and Vietnam: to be against violence to blacks but to engage in violence on behalf of blacks, or to be against violence in Vietnam but to engage in violence at home, was a surefire recipe for fuzzing the issues. Consistency between what we were doing and what we were urging others to do at least gave clear messages.

The unquestioned success of non-violence in certain situations in the '60s, however, often suggested that it could be successful in all other situations. Proposals to urge non-violence on all third world peoples or on all minority groups at home, could sometimes be irresponsible. White ministers arrested in non-violent demonstrations might not be worked over in jail; black workers surely would. Corollary: No one can propose that someone else become a martyr.

7. *You are called upon to be who you are where you are, not to be somebody else somewhere else.* Dan Berrigan and Bill Coffin and Jane Fonda are signs but not necessarily models. Inadmissible attitude: Everybody to the left of me is rash, everybody to the right of me is chicken.

Rabbi Zushya, contemplating death: "When I approach the divine throne I will not be asked, "Why were you not Moses?" but only, "Why were you not Zushya?"

The final word, however, goes: Ideologically, you had better be somewhere else tomorrow than where you are today.

8. *The maintenance of credibility is difficult but worth struggling for. It can also be a cop-out.* If you want to be heard by the middle class, wear a tie and keep your hair cut. Do not give people the chance to dismiss you for the wrong reasons. But in doing so, remember that you will be tempted

so to temper your habits and speech that no offense will be given and no message of any importance will be heard.

9. *A variant on #8: Cultivate wall-eyed vision.* Keep one eye firmly fixed on tomorrow, the other on the long future.

Variant on the variant: Don't wait until all the facts are in before you act. The facts are never all in.

10. *The worst things our government does in foreign policy are not deviations from an otherwise good policy: they are only examples of a bad policy.* Handy shorthand version of that policy: "If we can do it without bombs we will, but if we cannot, then bombs will do." Therefore:

11. *Learn to distrust almost everything a public official says, even about motherhood,* (though you may believe what Chuck Colson says about grandmothers). Those who struggled in the '60s could all wear buttons with the letters "DBW" (Disillusioned Before Watergate). Johnson and Nixon consistently lied to us. So, probably did JFK. On foreign policy, Carter sounds more and more like them all.

12. *Corollary of #11: Don't trust the "experts"; they usually disagree among themselves:* A great moment of truth: the initial hearings of the Fulbright Committee after the Gulf of Tonkin incident, when the southeast Asia "experts" cited by the Committee turned out to have a totally different reading than the southeast Asia "experts" cited by the White House.

13. *A further corollary of #11: Be more willing to trust the young.* In the sixties they even radicalized their parents. Translation for the 1980s: Be more willing to trust the hurting. Minorities, women, and the unemployed have a stake in a better world for all. They might even radicalize us.

14. *A pair of paradoxes. First paradox: don't overestimate victories, but don't underestimate them either. Second paradox: don't underestimate defeats, but don't overestimate them either.* Even the victories may be instances of co-optation; a battle won in the courts may only have been possible because you were from the middle class; a black or a Chicano would have lost.

But cherish the victories. Never agree that the '60s went down the drain, or that the protest was for naught. Public sentiment did turn against the war. Millions were

conscienticized. At least a thousand will never be the same again.

The system appears to have emerged basically unscathed. But it only appears so. It is creaking. It cannot stem inflation. It cannot cope with minority needs. It cannot tolerate full employment. Things will clearly get a lot worse before they can get any better. Precisely the definition of a revolutionary situation.

15. *Don't try to go it alone. You will begin to believe the things they are saying about you.* You will also become a candidate for early "burnout." To have some kind of community is an absolute necessity. Remember that the community will give you more than you give it, and that your family will pay a heavier price than you for what you do, no matter what happens. A community in the here and now is important, a community with linkages to the past is equally so. To press the point all the way, you need to recognize that your final accountability is not even to your community but only to God. Personal confession, or, an appropriate note on which to end: the thing that got me through the '60s was Luther's hymn, *A Mighty Fortress*:

*And though this world with devils
filled
Should threaten to undo us,
We will not fear, for God has willed
God's truth to triumph through us
Let goods and kindred go,
This mortal life also,
The body they may kill,
God's truth abideth still,
God's kingdom is forever.* ■

Study Manual Available

Robert McAfee Brown's article is reprinted with permission from *Is Liberation Theology for North America? The Response of First World Churches*, a 160-page study manual of addresses at a 1978 Theology in the Americas Workshop. Selections also include addresses by James Cone, Vine Deloria, Jr., Rosemary Ruether, Gustavo Gutierrez, Beverly Harrison, Sergio Torres, Lee Cormie, Marie Augusta Neal, and Jim Wallis.

Each address is followed by discussion questions and bibliography. Available for \$5 from Secretariat, Theology in the Americas, Room 1268, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027.

Next: Christian

Recently I received (unsolicited) the newsletter from a local charismatic group. Among other things, the editors asked the readers to supply the names of "born-again, spirit-filled Christian" doctors, lawyers, and other professionals, the rationale for this request being that it is hard for born-again spirit-filled Christians to rely in time of need on professionals who have not had such conversion experiences. That section of the newsletter concluded by asking, "Does anyone know of a Christian used car dealer?"

Leaving aside the humor occasioned by the concluding request, the newsletter—and others like it—are worthy objects of concern and attention. It is obvious that a religious revival of some variety is sweeping the country. Even *Time* magazine has covered it. The generally blasé *Episcopalian* declared recently "Charismatic or Dead in 10 Years" as its leading headline. And campus chaplaincies, long familiar with the previously small numbers of students evangelizing under the auspices of Campus Crusade for Christ and other groups, are now faced with growing legions of born-again, spirit-filled students seeking souls for groups deliberately outside "traditional" chaplaincies.

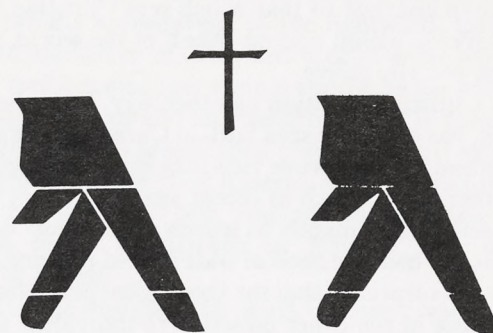
The resurgence of revivalism inside and outside the institutional church brings to mind some crucial issues in the life of the church. The historical, sociological, and theological approaches of the current revival are problematic for those who are to greater or lesser extent unimpressed with such fervor. The problems are significant not only for what they say about the revivalists of whatever type, but also what they may challenge the more staid to say about themselves.

One feature of many charismatic, evangelical, and spiritual renewal groups within the revival movement is their lack of historical analysis. A frequent claim is that God is doing a new thing in our day in filling souls with a new infusion of the Holy Spirit. This claim is surprising coming from tradition-minded Episcopalians, let alone from adherents of evangelical and charismatic denominations of long standing. Nor is it only the revivalists who so conveniently ignore their church history. Theological liberals exclaim in dismay at the crisis for the institution

The Rev. Ellen Wondra is associate chaplain at the University of Minnesota. The above first appeared in *Plumbline*, of which she is news editor, and is reprinted with permission.

Yellow Pages?

by Ellen Wondra



occasioned by the latest onslaught of conversions in the midst of the faithful. It was ever thus. Even the most cursory review of U.S. church history cannot fail to notice such periods as the Great Awakening, the Second Awakening, the frontier revivals, and the various sectarian impulses occurring with almost predictable regularity at 30 to 50 year intervals in the more than 300 years of Christianity's presence in the United States. As historian Perry Miller has pointed out, the incidence of religious enthusiasm is a "crisis" so continuous as to be a chronic state of affairs. Yet the resurgence of revivalism and sectarianism takes us by surprise every time, despite the essentially sectarian nature of U.S. religion and the reliance of Christianity in general on personal religious experience, including conversion.

Part of what is lacking within both the revival movement and within the institutional churches responding to it is an awareness of the similarities between the current revival and the many which have preceded it. Most obvious is the great variety of groups within the revival movements, ranging from some characterized by emotional excess to others essentially sober and restrained. Also various is the aspect of God's will for creation the many groups claim to be following. While some seek participation with "traditional" churches, others emphasize recruiting those with no religious affiliation, evangelizing on streets, in front of auditoriums, and in other public gathering places. The common threads connecting the elements of the many revival groups — and distinguishing them from most of the institutional churches — are their emphases on individual personal religious experience, salvation, and transformation, and also on personal evangelism of a fairly assertive and direct nature. Also common is the presence of a critique of the contemporary institutional church as having departed from the model of primitive Christianity, and in like vein an exaltation of revivalism as being more reflective of the earliest church as well as more discerning of the current work of the Holy Spirit.

Beyond that it is difficult to characterize any single revival movement, although historical parallels of segments of each are evident. In each period of revivalism some groups are millennialist, some socially conservative, some isolationist. Some rely solely on personal conversion and commitment, while others include social reform as necessary to support

the converted life. Some seek to renew the life of the denomination that gave them birth; others are eager to separate from any previously existing church.

And though many deny it, all find their genesis not only in the movement of the Holy Spirit, but also in the movement of the human society around them. Notably lacking in the present revival is the very social analysis which could inform these groups of the nature and breadth of their own appeal. As the revival of the mid-Nineteenth Century arose from the problems presented by immigration, urbanization, and industrialization, so does the present climate of alienation, powerlessness, and apathy give rise to the spiritual examination and need which may lead to conversion.

But where some Nineteenth Century evangelists responded to a chaotic social situation with the two contrasting yet complementary remedies of individual and social renewal, the majority of groups in the current revival view today's social evils not as worthy subjects of spiritually-based remedy, but as adequate rationale for individualistic evangelism that seeks not the renewal of the world but the removal of newly-converted souls from its grasp. A more societally-oriented evangelism may develop as the movement matures.

However, it is worth remembering that revivalism centers in the soul-shaking, emotion-stirring experience of conversion, the power — if not effect — of which fades in time. The Great Awakening spanned six years, although its effects are still with us. The current revival may or may not last as long; its effects are not as likely to be as pervasive if its adherents continue to ignore the society whose inadequacies have in part produced it.

The ability of the current revival to include social aspects along with its individualist emphasis is hampered by its theology, of which the ark is a worthy symbol. Revivalists — and particularly the more socially and theologically conservative among them — see the faith they profess as an ark, like Noah's, in the midst of the chaotic sea of unbelief,

onto which many souls ought to be pulled. Such a view is in sharp contrast to that which sees Christian faith as leaven working within and on behalf of the world, a view held by the socially active.

Christian tradition and theology, from the apostles' time on, has of course seen faith in Christ as both ark and leaven, although at times one view may be more widely held than the other. The church in recent years may very well have seen itself predominantly as leaven in the midst of the lump of a society badly in need of wide spread redemption. Perhaps it is not surprising that the theological pendulum has for some swung in the other direction to individual salvation as an escape from the afflicted social order. But if, as some claim, the church must be "charismatic or dead in ten years," the prospect is alarming, for then the balance between ark and leaven is lost. Both are important, and without both the power of the Gospel at its fullest is diminished.

It may be true that the church has, in recent years, been more attentive to the world around it than to its members, but its attention has not after all been all that radical, and the vast majority of the faithful do spend the vast majority of their time not in prayerful consideration of the will of God but in worldly activity. A recent Lutheran survey shows quite tellingly that drops in church membership cannot be traced either to ecclesial demands for social awareness, or to ecclesial neglect of social matters. It is therefore inaccurate to pinpoint ecclesial social action as an important precursor to the current revival movement. Rather, general malaise, anxiety, and insecurity across the breadth of American society is a much more likely germinating ground for increased interest in withdrawal from the world as indicated by much of the anti-world sentiment typical of many revival groups. Of these sentiments, the notion of a "Christian Yellow Pages" is highly symbolic.

It may, indeed, be difficult for born-again, spirit-filled Christians to rely in time of need on those not falling into that category. But if that is the case, a crucial weakness in theology and faith is blatantly evident. As Archbishop William Temple observed, to be a Christian is to be a missionary. No evangelical slouch himself, "the people's Archbishop" saw clearly that the duty of the Christian is not to withdraw with others of like experience except for sustenance and nurturing. Once one is confirmed in one's own faith, the outcome ought to be to enable others to meet God, and part of how that is done — and a large part at that — is to bring the world ever more in line with the vision of the Kingdom of God as potentially present in the world.

The public ministry of Jesus the Christ was principally one of healing, spiritual and physical, as an indication of the immediate and pressing presence of God among us. The love of God is for the world as much as for individual faithful

persons. Certainly the knowledge of this love is spread through personal evangelism. It is also spread, and perhaps more effectively, by direct efforts to transform the world into a more transparently loving and Godlike arena for human life.

As some Nineteenth Century evangelicals knew, it is hard for the converted to maintain an active, renewed faith in an environment inimical to meaningful human life. For Christians to devote themselves to rescuing others from the inimical environment and not attempt to change that environment ignores the will of God that the entirety of creation be transformed and saved.

But the lack of world-attentiveness evidenced by revivalists is not sufficient reason to brush them aside altogether, serious as that lack is. Observers of the revival movement note, with some sorrow, the warmth and fellowship of revived and renewed communities, qualities found in lesser degrees in many more institutionally-oriented congregations. Such qualities speak positively of the transformation of lives brought about by intensified faith experiences.

The challenge facing those not involved in revivalism is that of acknowledging the ability of revivalists to encourage renewed faith, and to develop appropriate ways of revitalizing the commitments of the faithful. Without strong and active commitment on the part of individual persons of faith, the church is unable to show forth the transforming light of the Gospel in the world, even as it is if the faithful see the world as redeemable only individual by individual.

Further, both revivalists and "traditional" church people must acknowledge the constant need to reexamine the relationship between church, world, and individual. Human needs change, as does human experience. Not all expressed or felt needs automatically ought to be filled by the church or by religion. While the church as institution generally lags in its response to the material and spiritual world in which it moves, revivalists all too often depend on simplistic and often fragile theologies to assure the needy of the presence of God. Surely there is a balanced approach. But finding it requires that revivalists not see their experience as qualitatively more valuable than that of those who see their baptism as rebirth.

And those who find such sentiments excessive to say the least must set aside some of their aversions in order to understand the hunger for God that makes widespread revivalism a reality. The middle way need not be the lowest common denominator. In the past, American Christianity has been able to incorporate the best of revivalism and let the rest die out until the next resurgence. God willing, and spirit-filled used car dealers aside, this round will be no exception. ■

Continued from page 9

about the periodic incidence nationwide of poor mothers, hospitalized for other reasons, who have found themselves sterilized without their consent? How about the post-13 legislative decision in California to deny full cost of living raises to blind, elderly and disabled welfare recipients, and to deny any raise whatever to AFDC welfare mothers? Or the California legislative decision to deny state-paid abortions to poor mothers? Do they not sound like some of the "racial health" legislation of Nazi Germany? And how about the slowing up of Affirmative Action progress, as seen in the Bakke Supreme Court decision?

These and other trends over the last decade have caused several prominent observers and studies to conclude that this nation is well on the way to the creation of a permanent underclass, whose members live out their lives from childhood to death, devoid of any meaning, hope, or purpose.

Intent vs. Effect

Of course, in making any comparison between the Jewish Holocaust and the progressive isolation of the poor in this country, one must distinguish between the *intention* and the *effect* in each case. In Germany in the 1930s and '40s, both the intention and the effect was to exterminate the Jews. In our time and place, there is no direct *intention* on a national scale to exterminate the poor. *But one must look at the trend of the effect.*

And here, evidence tends to show that the poor are being progressively isolated. One of these criteria is unemployment. Not only do we tolerate a persistently higher rate than in former years, but the government is also now revising the way in which unemployment data are measured, so that the picture will not look so disturbing. Secondly, studies of the distribution of wealth in America show that people at the low end of the income scale are losing ground. A recent study by Douglas Dowd shows up the myth that "a rising tide lifts all the boats." In 1910 the top fifth of the population on the economic scale received 46% of the national income, while the bottom fifth wound up with slightly more than 8%. Only five years ago the top fifth was still getting more than 40%, while the bottom fifth's share had fallen to slightly above 5%.

Finally, who can deny that the spreading tax revolt fever nationally is resulting in bigger-then-ever corporate and capital gains tax breaks and drives to reduce income taxes at state and national levels, while the aforementioned cuts in welfare and public health are biting deeper and deeper into the poor?

The *effect*, then, in our situation indicates that an isolation of the poor and powerless of this nation has been

occurring for some time, and that in the closing years of this decade, it is rapidly accelerating. In the rightward, fearful mood we find ourselves in, who can predict what would happen if an artful demagogue should appear on the scene? What if the unemployed and the "welfare bums" in coming years suddenly decide to protest their plight? To what extent might an aroused middle class America willingly follow a demagogue who ordered them transported en masse to concentration camps in Arizona or Nevada, and, say, sterilized — or worse?

The record of the way the churches in Germany reacted as the Nazi vengeance increased is instructive. Writes one commentator: "The 'confessing church' did not dispute the right of the state to enforce a system of total discrimination against the Jews in secular life . . . *partly because it feared for its own safety* (italics mine) and partly because of the widespread belief that there *was* a 'Jewish problem' which required some action." Another observer notes that it was the conservative, fundamentalist churches of Germany who were the most anti-Jewish and who sided most patriotically with the Nazi regime while pretending to observe the separation of church and state.

Does this sound familiar when applied to mainstream and fundamentalist American Christendom today in their failure to be champions of the very poor and outcast for whom their Master was nailed to a cross?

Niemoller Prophetic

The words of Martin Niemoller, the courageous German Lutheran pastor who, along with Dietrich Bonhoeffer and a few others, spoke against what was happening in Hitler's Germany, are worth quoting.

"In 1933 and the following years there were in Germany 14,000 Protestant clergy and nearly as many parishes. If we had then recognized that in the Communists who were thrown into concentration camps, the Lord Jesus Christ himself lay imprisoned and looked for our love and help, if we had seen that at the beginning of the persecution of the Jews it was the Lord Christ in the person of the least of our human brethren who was being persecuted and beaten and killed, if we had stood by him and identified ourselves with him, I do not know whether God would not then have stood by us and whether the whole thing would not then have had to take a different course."

Do we dare in our own time, to look at the poor around us and far beyond these shores who are held in shackles by an oppressive system, and see the Lord Jesus? And do we dare join him, knowing that in that union is our only salvation, and — who knows — perhaps the avoidance of another Holocaust?

Meditation on Youngstown

by William A. Hughes

Religious leaders from all over the nation met recently to study proposals for the re-opening of the "runaway" Campbell Works of Youngstown Sheet and Tube. One of the speakers at the convocation was the Most Rev. William A. Hughes, Auxiliary Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Youngstown. In his remarks, Bishop Hughes touched upon fundamental religious principles relevant far beyond the Mahoning Valley crisis, which was the occasion for these remarks.

Both the old and the new dispensations are united in the fact that religious people care about their brothers and sisters. The words of the prophet Isaiah remain clear: "Cease to do evil, learn to do good, search for justice, help the oppressed."

And how often have we both in the old and the new dispensations sung the words of Psalm 103: "Yahweh, who does what is right, is always on the side of the oppressed."

In the new dispensation Jesus very clearly identifies himself with the poor and the victims of injustice when he makes as a criterion for judgment, "Whatever you do to one of these, the least of my brethren, you do to me." And who can forget that startling day in the synagogue when he brought both the old and the new dispensations together. Picking up the scrolls, he read from the prophet Isaiah: "He has sent me to bring glad tidings to the poor, to proclaim liberty to captives, recovery of sight to the blind, release to prisoners, and to announce the year of faith in the Lord." Rolling up the scroll, he gave it back to the assistant and sat down. All in the synagogue had their eyes fixed on him

and he began by affirming it and saying, "Today this scripture passage is fulfilled in your hearing."

It was this basic concern for people that motivated the formulation of the ecumenical coalition in the Mahoning Valley. The decision to close the large portion of the Campbell Works of Youngstown Sheet and Tube was done without consultation, without warning, and with little concern for the families who would be affected by it. It was this insensitivity to the needs of human beings that caused the moral response among those who believed in the basic principle of the Judeo-Christian ethic that we do care about one another.

Over 200 clergy of this area signed a statement that reflected our concern approximately one year ago. Our religious motivation was the key to this statement, where we said together that we enter this complex and controversial situation out of the concern for the victims of this shutdown, out of love for our valley in this time of crisis, and out of the conviction that religious faith provides essential insights about our problems and possibly our remedies.

Our Judeo-Christian tradition insists

that economic life should reflect the values of justice and respect for human dignity. Economic institutions, although they have their own purposes and methods, still must serve the common good and be subject to moral judgment. Corporations have a social responsibility to their employees and to the community as well as a responsibility to shareholders. We signed in that statement this sentence: "We deplore not only the decision to close the steel mill but also the manner in which that decision was made, the way it was implemented and the pattern of neglect which led to it."

Throughout the year, the coalition has continued to spread the message throughout the country of the moral responsibility of company to workers. But it has not only spread the message; it has become involved in studying methods whereby the Campbell Works could be reopened, workers reemployed, and the quality of life available to former workers of the plant restored. For those of us engaged in the work of the coalition, this has been a year of learning, a year of clarifying our goals and hopes.

We continue to maintain that it is possible to save these jobs. It is possible for a government that cares to provide the help that is needed. It is possible for all of us to work together so that this kind of decision will not happen again here, or in any community across the nation. It was not by accident that those words from Isaiah were chosen this evening. Those words of love and justice that are framed in compassion but accentuated in action, speaking of release for captives, sight for the blind, good news for the poor, setting free the oppressed. He speaks of *recovery* of sight to the blind, not just of red and white canes and leader dogs. He declares *setting free* the oppressed persons, not just making their lives bearable by easing the pain temporarily.

And so this ecumenical coalition has sought to be the incarnate expression of the old and the new dispensations, showing concern for persons in their circumstances, but attacking those conditions of society — oppression, captivity, sightlessness, lack of involvement — that dehumanize persons, making them less than what God called them to be. Good news to the poor is not simply work and bread today and unemployment and hunger tomorrow; participation in decisions that affect their lives now but manipulation tomorrow. Addressing the basic social and economic conditions that inhibit corporate responsibility,

This is Communism?

Edgar Speer, chairman of U.S. Steel, spoke recently about the Ecumenical Coalition of the Mahoning Valley, the group attempting to reopen a steel mill and reemploy 5,000 jobless workers around a community ownership and management model.

His speech, before the Chamber of Commerce in McKeesport, Pa., included the following statement: "The whole concept of community owned facilities is the same as Communism — particularly where the profit of a facility will go for the social benefit of the people. This is Communism."

self-determination of people, and the opportunity for work rather than welfare, is what this coalition is all about.

Love and justice can be words spoken easily and rendered meaningless or they can permeate the very fabric of humankind — social and economic conditions. Believers strive to improve the latter because they care about their brothers and sisters.

Let us pray. Dear God, cities are for needs and wants that cannot be met in isolation. Have we expected too much and put in too little? Stir us to renew our cities as you renew the earth each spring. That families may have decent living space, the poor may have hopes fulfilled, the sick and the aged may be treated as persons, that gainful employment may be open to all, and meaningful life be not a dream but a reality. Teach us to cooperate rather than to compete, to respect rather than to revile, to forgive rather than condemn. May we be open to the share of the divine life that you have implanted in each of your sons and daughters. And please, may we forge a bond of love that will make a living reality the brotherhood and sisterhood which we profess. ■

Peoples' History



February 14, 1977

Maria Cueto & Raisa Nemikín refuse to testify to a grand jury investigating the Puerto Rico independence movement.

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Editorial continued from page 3

that vast empire.

The clergy, we like to think, enjoy a privileged exemption from this servitude. They serve only the Lord — unless, of course, they have insurance, or shop at a supermarket, or drive an automobile, or use a bank, or reflect on the stocks in which their church's resources are invested! The whole structure of the society in which we live is a hostage to the principalities and powers of this world, and we have to do our work and live our lives next to people who say: "We have no god but the market," or, "We have to go along with company policy," or, "You can't fight city hall."

Well, that's the way it is. Or is it? That is the way it was long ago in the land of Egypt. But it didn't stay that way. Someone preached some good news. And that good news was: Yahweh knows this is the way it is. But Yahweh doesn't *like* it the way it is. And it is going to be different. Pharaoh, let my people go!

Now, Pharaoh did not immediately agree. The plagues came because he kept postponing agreement. Perhaps he just wanted to be *sure* that Yahweh wanted his people released. Or that the people *wanted* to be released. But finally, satisfied on both counts, he let them go. Well, in a way, he let them go. The good news made a difference. And that was what made possible the Exodus.

Centuries later, in Caesar's time, people also said: "Well, that's the way it is. Caesar holds the sceptre and all the cards. You can't lick them, so join them."

But it didn't stay that way. Someone preached the good news. And the good news was: God knows this is the way it is. But God doesn't *like* it the way it is. And it's going to be different! Caesar, your empire is going to decline and fall. My people will be free to come out of the catacombs, out of the prisons, and rebuild the face of this world.

Caesar didn't really hear these words himself. But history heard them. And God's people heard them. And as the empire crumbled, they rebuilt the world.

But the barbarians who battered the empire ushered in an age of darkness. Feudalism developed, to salvage the semblance of order. Then came a renaissance of learning and understanding, then the rise of modern states, the development of colonialism, capitalism, modern imperialism, and the new empires of corporate conglomerates — which surpass even Pharaoh and Caesar in power. And that power holds millions of

people hostage to poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and hopelessness.

And this is the way it is. And God knows that this is the way it is. But God doesn't *like* it the way it is. And it's going to be different . . .

As in the past, so in our time, there is a need to preach this good news. And the first, beginning press dispatches of that news are released here, there, wherever people remember who they are, and which side they are on. ■

SARAI (Genesis 18:11)

All my useless seasons
humiliating years
moons of pain and blood
for nothing

Hagar's jeers
and Abram's sweet tolerance,
disappointment, half-hidden tears
loving that brought nothing

and waiting, and waiting
for the nothingness to go away.

And now some god stands outside our tent
talking only with Abraham, promising *him*,
after the fact of the covenant,
an heir.

I was to wait,
while my breasts despaired of milk,
my limbs lost the strength to
chase and play
with a laughing child
and my back was too bent to bear him up

til that child was convenient
as an adjunct to the bargain.

I did not want nations, or perpetuity
I have lived out my life without that small love
disowned as a sister, the wandering pawn

of a god who won't speak to my face.

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Letters continued from page 2

must once and for all give up our sexual control over each other. Perhaps if the family could set a model for this there might be hope.

Doris Bradley, M.S.W.
Albany, Cal.

Balderdash, Says She

I was appalled by the article by the Rev. John Snow in the October WITNESS. Surely we should love gays but not condone their immorality. Evidently Mr. Snow has revised the 10 commandments! Balderdash!

sell Socialism, which has caused Britain's downfall, and Communism, the cruelist form of government ever established, murdering uncounted millions, crushing and dominating more people and countries than any form of government ever has.

It is not possible, necessary or worthwhile to take up each phase of your study guide; it is too tedious and boring to wade through all the critical, negative attacks. But I'd like to point out that in your "Personal Impressions" the experiences related are as false, untrue and childish as to be ridiculous. They

technological solutions for societal problems. Here is where the research is done and decisions are made which effect our whole human future. Ministry in higher education is an integral and vital mission of the church and we need more, not less, of the expertise and Christian witness which Crocker so ably brought to this portion of God's vineyard.

The Rev. David Ames
Episcopal Ministry at Brown-RISD
Providence, R.I.

Crocker on Target

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utilities in his house. There is no screen on his windows, no insulation on his single wall, no brick in his water closet tank for the two-holer out back has no water closet.

Yessir, have a heart I do, for the deprived of the cities. At least there are attempts to help them. But where is the hope for the red neck, the coal miner, the river rat?

The Rev. Reese M. Hutcheson
Fort Smith, Ark.

Cluttering Mail

It is tragic, sickening and pathetic that you find it necessary to work so hard to overthrow Capitalism, which has made America the envy of the world, and try to

reflection and, I hope, some honest soul searching for our beloved Episcopal Church. John Crocker's article in the November issue is great, but we really miss him on the campus. As one who has been a chaplain for only eight years I hope that his "switching mentalities" will increase his effectiveness at "needling" the church to increase her financial support for ministry in higher education.

We need to be with people "at work" in the universities as he demonstrates so well in his article, and to do that effectively we must have the church — at parish, diocesan, and national levels — solidly with us understanding the struggle and tension of caring for people as prior to and more important than

We have found much comfort, great support, many new ideas and expansions of some old ones, and more than just a few agonizing moments from bringing THE WITNESS into our lives this past year. And we wish to continue into the new year.

Lynn & Alan Taylor
Concord, Cal.

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