

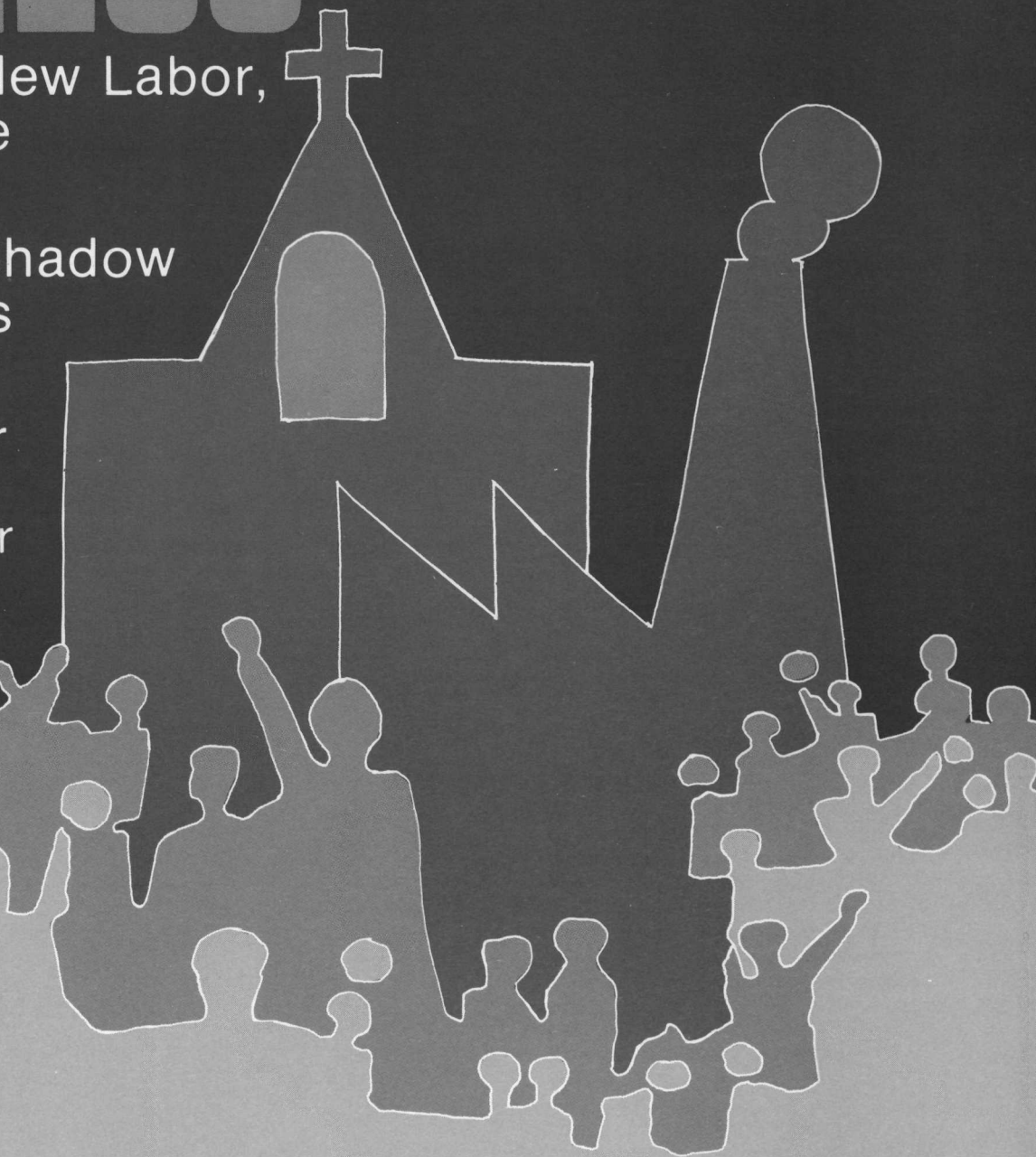
THE WITNESS

VOL. 63, NO. 7 JULY, 1980

Time Ripe for New Labor,
Church Alliance
Henry Morrison

Ministering in Shadow
Of TMI's Towers
Lockwood Hoehl

Why Males Fear
Women Priests
Rosemary Ruether





Teachers Seek Reprint

I should appreciate receiving a copy of the full text of Anne Braden's Haverford speech, excerpts of which appeared in the April issue ("Lessons From Three Decades of Civil Rights").

Permission is requested to reprint, with full acknowledgement, either the full or abridged versions, for gratis distribution to the Human Relations Committee, Executive Board, and interested members of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers.

**Mark K. Stone, Chairperson
Human Relations Committee
Philadelphia Federation of Teachers**

Ms. Braden is Visionary

The April issue of THE WITNESS fell into my hands through the concerned sharing of a Christian friend. I was so pleased to see so strengthful a magazine on Christianity and social change available to the public that I read it at once, cover to cover.

As a reviewer and editor, I would say that you have a vital spokesperson and your article on the Civil Rights Movement was an irrevocable confirmation of that fact. "We are living in a moment when society is literally falling apart before our eyes," and supposing that the author of that quote, Anne Braden, has a true hypothesis when she suggests that we face "potential facism," I would say it will

soon come to bear if the semi-aborted momentum of the civil rights movement (and its gains) are not realized as the embryo of American progress. If we allow the life the '60s and '70s gave us to grow, it will indeed carry us into an open society "where there is room for everybody."

Ms. Braden is visionary and so is the scope of your magazine. The apartheid article by Jesse Jackson, and "The Seven Tensions" article by Mattie Hopkins attest to this farther. Carry on with your fine work.

**(Ms.) S. Diane Bogus, Editor
WIM Publications
Inglewood, Cal.**

Orders for Clients

I am ordering a copy of the April issue for eight clients and associates of mine in two projects for training for affirmative action and racial equality.

I was introduced to THE WITNESS by a friend several months ago. I am impressed with the quality of writing and honest confrontation of issues therein. Keep up the good work.

**Lydia Walker Savasten
Human Relations Consultant
Unger, W. Va.**

On the Other Hand

I can't imagine ever subscribing to THE WITNESS after the April issue. Can't you see you make the racial issue worse?

**Mrs. E. O. Gibb
Dodge City, Kans.**

Supportive to CWS

We would like to thank you for the superb contents of your periodical which we eagerly absorb each month. Please do continue your innovative witness. We find it immensely supportive of our own work and convictions.

We would like to order two two-volume sets, including *Must We Choose Sides?* and *Which Side Are We On?*. We will be using them in our educational

programs and thank you for bringing them to our attention.

**Loretta Whalen Force
Educational Consultant, CWS
Elkhart, Ind.**

Saddened by Letters

The April issue arrived and I have read it, admired it for professionalism, effectiveness of format and the Pauline "red meat" editorially — and more particularly the words of Jesse Jackson and Mattie Hopkins.

No reader has the right and, I think, a tiny percentile only of any periodical think they do, of requiring agreement and support from publishers and editors for the subscriber's own views, regardless of how intensely those views are felt.

Believing that strongly, I hope you will not remove my label from your files when I tell you how saddened I am by the content and mood of almost all the several letters in the April issue anent Bill Stringfellow's piece in an earlier number. I read Stringfellow; I admire him, value him as a catalyst and as a competent wordsmith, a needed crier of dangers, failures and mistaken use of the structures of holy church. I suggest that he may have called "Wolf, Wolf" in his piece re Bishop Allin and that it was less thoughtful than his usual work, certainly more emotion than fact and probably written more in personal hurt.

Bishop Allin is, when the verbiage settles, guilty of expressing his conscience in public and of ruefully and most carefully, most charitably, most honestly setting the record straight and public.

Having left no doubt as to his own conviction and noting that a vote no matter the count never changes anyone's opinion or belief, Bishop Allin has behaved with dignity, personal charity (he has directly been responsible for at least two women priests being assigned to positions of considerable responsibility in national church administrative ranks) and his usual directness, tempered by his great love of persons, his charm and his

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THE WITNESS

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Theology in the Americas:

People Leading the Way

Robert L. DeWitt

Pope John Paul II's recent statements and actions have moved many to wonder about his conservatism. Some feel he may have a single-minded conviction about the sanctity of ecclesiastical traditions; others, that he may be making a pragmatic judgment that church people need a fixed cultic point in a confused world.

Regardless, his emerging policies suggest that the pattern of things-as-they-have-been should be guarded jealously against the erosion of experimentation and change. This is the message promulgated by his protection of the liturgy against "undue experimentation, changes and creativity," forbidding women to act as servers at the altar, and by the dictum that "it is not permitted that the faithful themselves pick up the consecrated bread and the sacred chalice, still less that they hand it to one another."

To those who are not Roman Catholic, and to many who are, these seem like arcane issues. In accord or not, they feel, "Why all the fuss? It makes no difference." But does it?

With exceptions like the Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran, few religious bodies have as dominant a figure as a pope. Yet few are the churches which do not exhibit many of these same tendencies of reaction. What impact is the religious establishment having on a world desperate for change?

We live in a society that requires change — basic and radical. Who can contemplate the poverty, unemployment, suffering and illiteracy, and the myriad more subtle forms of deprivation in the world, without feeling strongly and urgently the need for sweeping change? There are, indeed, those who would not agree — those coldly callous, or those who have lost all hope for a better world.

But those who recognize this imperative for change are aware that the greatest resistance comes from the established powers and authorities of this world, the current and controlling way of doing things, the status quo. Social analysts have also detected that there are those with vested interests in that status quo who see change as a threat to their position of privilege. The general reluctance to consider a reduction in the arms budget, to discuss socialist alternatives, to recognize the diabolical extensiveness of institutional racism and sexism, are but three examples of the prevailing influence of the status quo. Yet, we live in a world that requires basic and radical change. In the near-range future we will be hearing and seeing much more evidence of this fact in our politics, in our industry, in our economy, in all areas of our life. A church which resists the moral imperative for radical change sides with those forces of the status quo in all areas of life which impede the coming of a more just society.

In that case, the church, which like the Liberty Bell is

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Time for a New Church, Labor Alliance

by Henry Morrison

From the 1950s on, support for labor struggles has been low on the priority list of most religious social activists in the Episcopal Church and elsewhere. Exceptions are the United Farm Workers and, through the J. P. Stevens boycott, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), which have been able in recent years to breach the wall of suspicion or indifference that separates church-based activists from the organized labor movement.

Labor and the church ought to be natural allies. Was not Jesus, himself, a laborer? And aren't the transnational corporations — the chief opponents of the biggest labor unions — seen by many church people as primarily responsible for the crisis of world hunger? Doesn't labor have a great stake in combatting the two evils which

have most concerned religious social activists over the past few decades: racism and militarism? Racism divides labor against itself and sets workers fighting one another instead of the corporations; and periods of labor upsurge — above all the 1930s — have always been marked by the breaking down of racist attitudes and behavior among white workers and the development of firm multiracial unity. Money spent on the military produces far fewer jobs than a comparable amount spent for civilian purposes and fuels the inflation which, along with unemployment, is the major economic scourge of working-class people. Granted, the position of the official labor "establishment" — particularly on militarism — has often been disappointing; but the objective conditions for an alliance between organized labor and church activists are there. Whence, then, the current alienation?

It was not always this way. In the last decades of the 19th and the first three

decades of the 20th century labor rights was *the key issue* for religious social activists in general and for Episcopalians in particular. Labor was the focus of the social gospel movement; and the Episcopal Church pioneered in giving official recognition to the social gospel. As early as 1901, General Convention established a standing commission on relations between capital and labor, which in its 1904 report, accepted by Convention, stated its conviction that "the organization of labor is essential to the well-being of the working people." This may sound commonplace today, but in 1904 to uphold the right of labor to organize bordered on the dangerously radical — the organized labor movement then enjoyed a reputation among respectable burghers akin to that of the Black Panthers in the '60s. Support for labor's right to organize and to collective bargaining was voiced again by General Convention in 1916 and 1922, and the 1916 Convention also called for "the extension of true democracy to

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industrial matters" — a demand still unfulfilled.

These affirmations did not appear out of a vacuum; they were preceded by the courageous struggle of a small group of Episcopalians, starting in the last decades of the 19th century, to bring the church to recognize and support the rights of labor. In 1887 Episcopalians in New York founded the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor. Bishop Frederick Huntington became CAIL's first president, and soon over 40 bishops were listed as vice-presidents; CAIL was clearly more than a marginal organization in the church's life. It stressed not only education but also active solidarity with labor. Among other accomplishments, it persuaded the Diocese of New York in 1891 to have its printing done only at firms paying union wages. Some CAIL members joined the Knights of Labor, a leading and generally quite radical, labor organization. Among these was James Otis Sargent Huntington, son of Bishop Huntington, who supported striking miners in Spring Valley, New York, in 1889-90. CAIL organized yearly "Labor Sundays" at which delegates of Knights of Labor met with Episcopal clergy from all over New York.

Another Episcopal member of the Knights of Labor, the Rev. William Dwight Porter Bliss, founded the Society of Christian Socialists in 1889; the very next year he was instrumental in winning the support of Boston clergy for locked-out shoe workers in Haverhill, Mass.

CAIL disbanded in 1926 when a secretary for industrial relations was made a regular staff member of the national church's Department of Christian Social Service. By that time, however, labor's cause had been taken up by the Church League for Industrial Democracy, founded in 1919. From the time of a soft-coal miners' strike in 1922,

CLID, in the person of its executive secretary, the Rev. William Spofford, Sr. (publisher and editor of *THE WITNESS*), was a ubiquitous presence at labor struggles, and its stance was firmly pro-labor. In 1924, Spofford arranged for labor leaders meeting at the AFL convention in El Paso to preach in the city's churches, an experiment so successful it was repeated at subsequent AFL conventions. CLID did not, however, limit itself to preaching; it gave moral and material support to labor organizing drives and strikes.

With the 1930s, labor's drive to organize went into high gear, and so did church. In the midst of all this, General Convention in 1931 and 1934 advocated unemployment compensation and social security, and the House of Bishops in 1934 upheld once again labor's right to organize and bargain collectively.

With World War II and labor's acceptance of the "no-strike pledge" in the effort to defeat fascism, labor's need

for support by church people waned. The alliance showed some signs of revival, with Spofford naturally in the lead, in the postwar strike wave. Leafing through the volumes of *THE WITNESS* covering the late '40s and early '50s, one notes that the number of articles and comments devoted to labor questions first diminishes and then simply goes to zero. The attention of church social activists turned first to defense of themselves and others against the McCarthyite onslaught, then to civil rights and nuclear disarmament, and finally to the struggle against the Vietnam War. Labor concerns were not opposed; they simply dropped from sight.

The backdrop for this development was, of course, McCarthyism. It is too little remembered that what is commonly called "McCarthyism" was trenchantly put forward by Charles E. Wilson as early as 1946: "The problem of the United States can be captiously summed up in two words: 'Russia abroad, labor at home.'" The problem





of “Russia” was dealt with by the Cold War, which in turn provided a convenient justification for an attack on the labor militancy that flared up in the wake of World War II. This attack, beginning with the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947 and culminating in the expulsion of Left-led unions from the CIO in 1949, purportedly aimed at ridding labor unions of Communists in the interests of “national security”; but business and government (aided by right-wing labor leaders) cheerfully took the opportunity to rid themselves of virtually all militant unionists — of whom the Communists had of course been the core. The result was that the creative and militant leaders in the unions, those who had a vision for the labor movement that extended beyond purely business issues

to the broader questions of social justice with which religious activists were naturally concerned, were driven from the movement. The “business unionism” leadership that emerged after the smashing of the Left tended to line up with the corporations on the issues of McCarthyism, militarism and civil rights — which positions obviously had little appeal for church social activists.

To this new conservatism of the top labor leadership must be added the fact that, from the boom of the early ’50s on, the labor movement was no longer the underdog it had been. In the ’30s and earlier, unionism was under attack from all sides (including, often, the churches) and poor in resources; any help that churches could provide was welcome, and unions (such as the UAW in Detroit) often made use of church facilities for meetings and for producing literature. By the late ’40s or early ’50s, however, unions were strong and prosperous enough not to need this kind of assistance.

The relative prosperity of those years, coupled with McCarthyite repression, enabled the conservative union leaders to stabilize their positions. As long as the boom lasted, it must have seemed to many that labor militancy was *passé*. Workers were hardly wealthy, but their real wages, on the average, were growing, and such grievances as there were could be handled by a friendly business chat between union officers and the boss rather than the “old” methods of militant struggle — or so some labor leaders seemed to think. Class struggle was replaced by class collaboration, and the labor “establishment” took on the appearance of being a conservative and comfortably-fixed component of the overall “establishment.”

Of course, the supposed prosperity and conservatism of labor have always been more illusory than real, even in the boom years of the fifties. Wages of \$9 or

\$10 an hour or even more — far above the national average — seem impressive at first glance, but given today’s prices, such wages are perhaps just about enough to sustain an average-sized family of four or five — *if*, that is, the family is willing to incur heavy debts (for such items as a car, which is usually a necessity, not a luxury), and *if* the wage-earner works a full year. Work in many industries, especially those that seem well-paid (logging, longshore, and construction, for example) is seasonal or intermittent, and a worker is lucky to get half a year’s worth of wages per year. Then, too, the insecurity generated by the constant threat of unemployment, and the toll taken by repetitive and often dangerous and unhealthy work, by speedup, by forced overtime, and, for a majority of the workforce, by racist and sexist attitudes and practices, must all be taken into account.

As with labor’s “prosperity,” so with its “conservatism”: hard hats can no doubt be found to beat up anti-war demonstrators, but the fact remains that most workers feel on some level they are being “ripped off” and exploited by the boss — that (to be precise) their productivity has risen far more quickly than their real wages, so that the profit raked off by the corporations for their labor is constantly growing, while their share of the wealth they produce is constantly plummeting. Whatever the pretensions of “business unionism,” workers have been as ready to show their militancy in the post-war decades as they were in the militant thirties; the frequency of strikes has been considerably greater in the post-war decades than it was even in the decade that saw the upsurge of the CIO.

It must not be forgotten that one third of the basic industrial workers in this country are Black; there are also substantial contingents of Latino, Asian, Native American, and Arab workers. These workers, bearing the brunt of racism, can hardly be classed as

generally “prosperous” or “conservative,” and their attitudes and their struggles, both on the job and in the community, have an impact on the thinking of the entire working class.

However, as long as the boom years lasted, the U.S. labor establishment was able to put up at least a facade of relative prosperity and relative conservatism. Today, the wind of crisis is blowing that facade away. Workers are caught in simultaneous inflation and unemployment, and over the past few years real wages have been steadily dropping. Business used to try to curb labor militancy by granting concessions; in the current economic crisis, however, business can no longer afford concessions; indeed, as the Chrysler situation demonstrates, business is now demanding concessions from workers. At the same time, it is making attacks on unionism *per se* on a scale not seen since the '30s, through such devices as the Council for a Union-Free Environment and “consultants” specializing in union-busting.

Coupled with this has been the rise of the so-called “New Right,” which attempts to blame the economic problems of what it terms the “middle class” (most of which is actually working class, since what is meant is everyone above the poverty line) on the poor and on the “excessive” demands of unions. These themes have been taken up by politicians calling for a “balanced budget” (to be achieved by slashing social services, not the military budget) and by the Carter Administration itself, in its attempt to curb inflation by pressing for a ceiling on wage hikes, despite the fact that it is the drive for profits, not wages, that spurs inflation. Over the past several decades, inflationary price hikes have *preceded*, not followed, a rise in wages.

The weakness of its economic theory notwithstanding, this attempt to pit the poor against the not-quite-so-poor has made inroads into public thinking.

Coupled with the economic crisis, this has created a new vulnerability for the trade union movement — which in turn is generating a fightback in labor’s rank and file. Dissatisfied with what they see as the complacency and conservatism of some union leaders, rank and file unionists are organizing to press for a new militancy and for democratization of union structures. Almost every major union has such a grouping; examples are the Auto Workers’ Action Caucus, National Steelworkers’ Rank and File, and the Teachers’ Action Caucus. Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD), based in Chicago, is a national coordinating center for such groups. Black workers, organized in black caucuses in many unions and nationally in the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU), are naturally playing a major role in the growing labor ferment, as are women workers organized in union caucuses and in the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

The rank-and-file movement has already scored impressive victories. The Miners for Democracy group ousted the corrupt Tony Boyle from the presidency of the United Mine Workers, replacing him with Arnold Miller and at the same time securing such important reforms as the election of district and national union officials, the rank-and-file ratification of contracts, and reduction in the salaries of the top union leaders. Unfortunately,

the group was disbanded after Miller’s election, which undoubtedly played a major role in his decline as a militant leader. Rank-and-file forces won Ed Sadlowski the directorship of the key Chicago-Gary district of the Steelworkers against the hand-picked candidate of the national leadership, and they nearly won him the presidency of the union when he ran against ex-president I. W. Abel’s chosen successor, Lloyd McBride.

Equally important is the role rank-and-file pressure has undoubtedly played in some new positions which have been taken at the top levels of the labor movement. In addition to the UAW and IAM support for the Transfer Amendment, mentioned earlier, these include the Steelworkers’ and AFL-CIO support for affirmative action in the Weber case and the resolution from the traditionally pro-military AFL-CIO Executive Board endorsing the SALT II Treaty.

Some labor leadership is also beginning to move away from its long-time allegiance to the Democratic party towards new, more progressive, political alliances. There is now serious talk, by the California AFL-CIO among others, of forming a third party based in labor. The Progressive Alliance, initiated by Douglas Fraser of the UAW, has become a gathering place for labor leaders and others, including religious social activists, interested in

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Resources

The Church and Industry by Joseph F. Fletcher and Spencer Miller, Jr., New York, 1930.

“The Social Attitudes of the American Episcopal Church During Two Decades, 1919-1939,” in the *Historical Magazine of the Episcopal Church*, June, 1956.

Labor’s Untold Story by Richard

Boyer and Herbert Morais, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, New York, 1971.

What’s Happening to Labor? by Gil Green, New York, 1976.

Labor Today, Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy, national newspaper, 343 Dearborn St., Room 600, Chicago, Ill. 60604.

If Socialism Comes To the United States . . .

by Harold Freeman

Simple and attractive as basic socialist principles may turn out to be, it will probably not be they but rather the profound senselessness of capitalism that will continue to strip the latter of support.

It is no longer easy even for some conservative Americans to see merit in a system which insists:

1) that we should sell arms to likely antagonists, and in the name of peace;

2) that to hold unemployment down we must produce material which has no use other than to kill people, a policy which is said to have the additional merit of being the surest way to avoid killing people;

3) that it is sensible to spend \$25 billion to put two men on the moon while 40 million Americans need help we cannot then afford to give them;

4) that it is reasonable for people to

go hungry in the midst of stores filled with food (one of every three shoplifters in America is now stealing food), to be badly clothed in the midst of warehouses filled with clothing, to go without medical help in the midst of great medical centers ("Some of you people may have to die" — Mayor Kevin White of Boston) because they cannot "afford" these things;

5) that whenever there is a shortage — of anything — it should always be the poor, who may have the greatest need, who will suffer the most;

6) that an economic system should always strike hardest at those who are least able to fight back — those down with sickness, accident, unemployment, old age;

7) that it makes sense for a person to be ordered to remain idle with consequent suffering of all close to him or her when he or she is trained and able and eager to produce needed goods and services;

8) that the way out of industrial depressions, 27 of them in 122 years, is to fire workers, then counter consequent high unemployment by inaugurating programs to get them

back to work;

9) that it is sensible for millions not to get needed housing while 30% of the housing work-force looks for work;

10) that it is entirely within the rules to withhold from the market meat, medical services, oil, natural and manufactured gas — needed, not merely for comfort but for survival — until the price is right, at which price lower-income families may not be able to buy at all;

11) that it is proper for millions to live in continuous insecurity, from birth through education, employment and, hardest of all, through old age;

12) that it is without serious consequence to tell hundreds of thousands of first-job-seeking young people, including young whites, that society has no jobs for them;

13) that it is reasonable for a small number of owners and managers to make fortunes while 8 million workers cannot find money to feed their families.

The days when people can be persuaded to accept nonsense of this order of magnitude are by no means over but they may be slowly ending, and

Harold Freeman is a professor in the Department of Economics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The above article first appeared under the title "Toward Socialism in America" and is reprinted by permission of Monthly Review Press. Copyright 1979 by Monthly Review, Inc.

we may someday look back on these days with disbelief.

It is difficult to tolerate a man-made system whose behavior the men who made and direct it cannot predict, whose behavior a year ahead with respect to such important measures as employment, output, prices, and even stability has become a matter of conjecture, with as many "experts" predicting rise as fall, growth as decline, with government speaking for months and even years of "bottoming out," while academics suggest that "we tighten our belts" and business analysts report, with exemplary confidence, that "the economy may go either way" . . .

In *The Wall Street Journal* J. Roger Wallace wrote: "The hard cold truth of the matter is that at this particular point no one can make a business forecast for the next few months, let alone for a full year, without including so many escape hatches as to render the prediction meaningless" . . .

It is a grim experience to put up with a system which, to survive, must periodically destroy the lives of a substantial number of the people in it. The day may come when the American

people begin seriously to wonder why there *ever* need be bad times, why factories which are open this month must close the next; why food, goods, and medicine which are within income one year must be beyond it another; why thousands who work today must be idle tomorrow. If masses of people begin to reflect on these events, events which are conventional features of our economy, which provide fortunes for a few and misfortunes for many, and for which grown men and women can give no sensible justification, it may be the moment of dangerous truth for American capitalism.

Socialist Principles

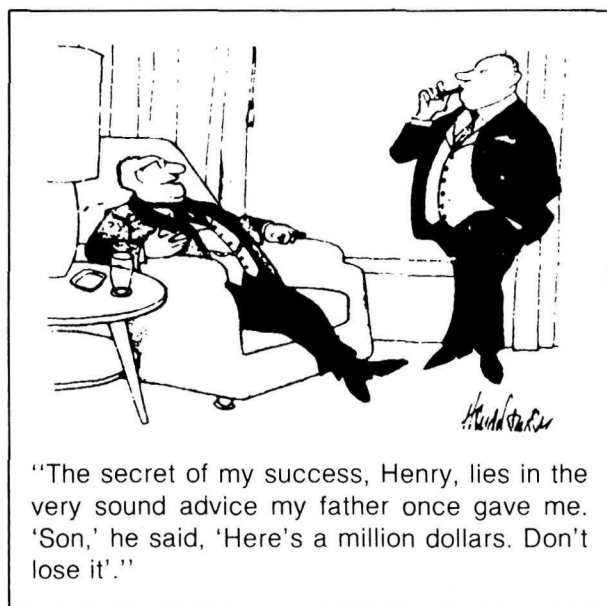
We will state the assumptions and the principles of socialism, as some of us see them. But it will be a brief statement; no detailed blueprint of life in socialist America can be written. To announce in advance the programs which a democratic American worker society will choose to follow is intellectual posturing: Who can really say? Moreover, formal programs in advance of the fact carry with them an air of rigidity, an air that is alien to the

flexibility implied in democratic socialism. Like capitalists, socialists will have to make decisions on policy questions as they go along.

This inability to produce a blueprint will surprise and disappoint many Americans. Whether for, against, or uncertain on socialism, they would like to know in some detail what they may be in for. Considering the unlimited radical literature on what is wrong with capitalism, the unending debate in radical circles on how to get from capitalism to socialism, and the volumes of interpretation of every paragraph written by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, and Mao, Americans find the paucity of information on the practical behavior of a (presumably attractive) socialist state curious and even suspect. They have seized upon this paucity to draw their own picture of coming American socialism, and their picture is unflattering and weird. It usually consists of the worst elements — and only the worst elements — of the past 60 years of Soviet Russian history, with repression of minorities, invasion of neighboring countries, and cold, centralized bureaucracy prominent among them. In such a montage — and there can be no way of proving that America will be *certain* to escape such pitfalls — any attractive features that a socialist society may have will not be found.

This dark description is carefully cultivated by American capitalists. And by others who, using it, are able to write off socialism without the need to read a single line of Marx or even the need to think about the subject for a single moment . . .

Socialism begins with certain assumptions. First, that we are humane people. That we want to share love, share well-being, share power, that we want human dignity to prevail. That we have or can have fraternal goals. To these are added the beliefs that the desire to own anything privately is not "human nature," but rather, human

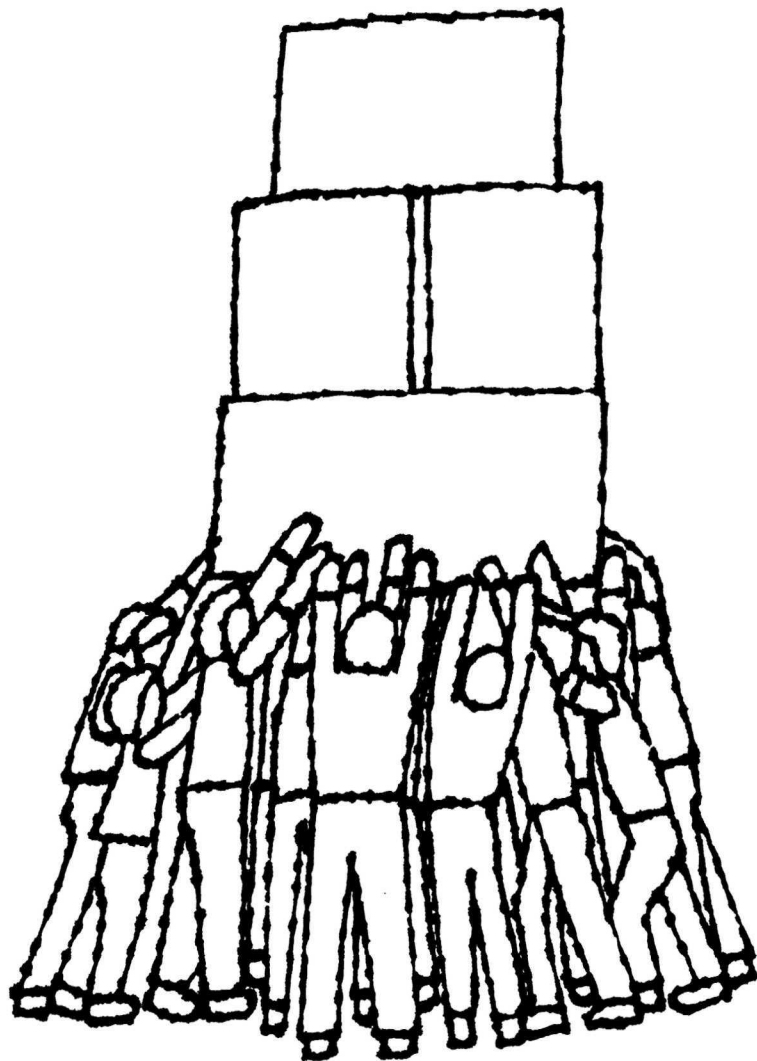


nature historically conditioned by early capitalism, that the desire to own everything privately is a peculiar by-product of advanced capitalism.

Socialist institutions therefore aim at humanity and equality — goals strikingly different from those of capitalism. Socialism imagines that people are willing, perhaps even eager, to participate in the planning and activity which will permit us to approach these goals — rather than wait for them to eventuate, via an invisible hand, as an accidental by-product of a system which hardly acknowledges their existence. Socialist society will probably classify people by performance, as does capitalism, but what is meant by performance will be different . . .

Socialists generally acknowledge that 19th century capitalism stimulated rapid scientific and technological development, and that some part of American well-being can be traced to that early development; the *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels is almost lavish in its praise of the capitalist past. But that historical gain is dwarfed by contemporary loss. The socialist structure proposed to replace capitalism has numerous variants but its basic principles are few.

Production shall be publicly owned, and each person shall have the guaranteed right to participate in its activity and its proceeds, from birth through education, employment, retirement, to death. Marx viewed public ownership and the continuous right to participate in production as the means of ending alienation from the work we do, from the products we make, from the environment in which we live, from each other, and from ourselves. Making a living must also be living. Elements critical to the quality of life such as a sense of belonging, creativity, a capacity for reflection, the expression of talent, the satisfaction of needs, understanding, planning and deciding, and self-esteem must be built



into the work we do. This is a critical principle of socialism, and it is the precise opposite of the principle of advanced capitalism which separates ownership and labor, strives for impersonality and anonymity in production, substitutes consumption for personal development, and in no way guarantees participation.

A second principle of socialism is generalized equality. Equality between sexes, among racial groups, equality in opportunity, equality in wealth and income. It is a generalized democratic principle contrasting with the narrow democracy of capitalism which merely permits people to choose among close variants of inequality. This socialist ideal may never be fully realized; it describes the ultimate communist, as

against the practical socialist, state. It may always conflict with the need to motivate or the wish to reward exceptional effort in a socialist society; Marx regarded it as likely to be achieved late in socialist enterprise and Lenin expected it — and the Soviet Union and China have found it — to be difficult to attain.

Capitalist society has an automatic mechanism for ordering the problems it deals with — whatever is most profitable comes first. As a consequence, many social problems which show little or no promise for private profit are low on the list or cannot be found on the list at all. In a socialist society they will be reinstated.

It is a third socialist principle that issues receive attention in proportion to collective estimates of their social

importance and possibly in proportion to the number of people seriously affected, and not as now by estimates of their prospect for private profit. Instead of a profit-oriented decision between the production of cars with 200 or 150 horsepower (when 60 will do), an American socialist society may have to decide if it should study arthritis intensively or build more day-care centers. Instead of a comparison of the profit margins of an underarm deodorant and the training of mercenaries for the Near East, socialists may have to make a choice among a clean river, leisure, and growing additional wheat. Repairing the leaking roofs of 1,000 houses in the Southeast may be considered more valuable than winning the Indianapolis 500, a judgment which could only bring amusement in the current marketplace.

If Socialism Comes

Modern socialists with good sense do not lock themselves into positions. It is important to stand firm on a few basic principles, to speak out for them, then to consider and often accept amendments which do not distort or destroy the principles. Socialism is not a museum piece, perfect and delicate, in need of protection. It is not an infantile dream of problem-free perfection. It is a viable political alternative with strength and weakness, an ideology to be exposed to criticism and amendment. . . .

If socialism comes to power in America, it will face problems which neither its principles nor anything in Marx or Engels will solve. Marx and his successors were largely concerned with an analysis of capitalism; they have said little to help us administer an American socialist state or even to anticipate its problems. We cannot be sure to what extent socialism in America will restore broad social consciousness buried under decades of capitalist individualism. We cannot estimate if team spirit can be an adequate motivator (can accomplishment be its own reward?) or to what degree distribution of income, prestige, or power will have to be

adjusted to contribution in order to insure high performance. Another serious problem which can only be solved slowly is the accountability to the whole people of bureaucracy made necessary by the sheer size of the population. All we can expect is that the few principles of socialism and the social consciousness which they may generate, along with fair solutions to inevitable broad and difficult problems, should rid us of many sources of deprivation and alienation, and replace them by positive sources of moral and economic strength, with expansion of genuine freedom and reduction of inequality. The result will hardly be nirvana. Socialism has neither ambition nor ability to produce a society without problems or conflict. It can only aim to work toward one in which problems and conflicts are socially meaningful and their solutions promising to all members of the society.

Socialism can make few promises. Social structures in action are never quite what they are on paper, and each of them, including socialism, must be judged by the quality of its ethic, by its public record wherever it has one, and by our estimate of its promise for the future. On balance and only on balance, a good part of the modern world, including almost every developing nation in it, now regards socialism as the better prospect, both for democracy and social progress.

It is correct to say that the goal of socialism is humanity. In Marx, socialism is not fulfillment; it is only the basis, the condition for fulfillment. It is the springboard to the goals of self-development and self-realization. To achieve these goals, we argue that people must abandon a system which has neither love for them nor even any serious interest in them as people, a system which uses them simply as agents in a drive for private profit. It is a system which cannot be truthful for there is profit in deceit, it cannot be equitable for there is profit in discrimination. Of the capitalist system

one man wrote, "It is not intelligent, it is not beautiful, it is not just, it is not virtuous — and it doesn't deliver the goods." It was neither Marx nor Lenin nor Trotsky nor Mao who wrote those lines, it was Keynes.

There can be no claim that socialism will be free of losses. Socialist society must face the problem of personal liberty versus the control needed for planning; any solution must bring losses. Socialist society will likely prefer stability to the more rapid growth and decline based on variation in profit expectation; average growth may be slower. Socialist society in America may decide to face terrible national and international problems comfortably outside capitalist culture — simple examples: (1) every eight seconds someone in the world dies of hunger; (2) half of the world's school-age population are not in school; (3) 41% of the world's adults are illiterate; (4) 100,000 children go blind each year from vitamin A deficiency.

The box of unresolved American moral, social, and economic problems is heavy; they have accumulated for a century or longer. Socialism will want to open this box, and we will be frightened by what we find; we have little experience and less theory for solutions. But the sooner the box is opened the better; time only increases the variety of its content. There will also be problems which are intensified but were not initiated by capitalism; there has been and there may continue to be war. But unlike our current approaches which are piecemeal (therefore often contradictory), narrow (therefore solutions to lesser problems than we really face), and charitable (therefore always at our option to withdraw), the great social and economic problems will finally be faced *within* the system, evenly and by all the American people in their general and difficult search for a good life. Socialism will likely succeed on some and fail on others; the record cannot be written in advance. ■



"Carolyn Taylor"

WITNESS Readers Liberate Clergywife

A clergywife who wrote anonymously a year ago to THE WITNESS seeking a support system because she felt oppressed in her role now feels strong enough to reveal her identity.

She is Carolyn Taylor Gutierrez of Elkins, W. Va., whose letter to the editor brought a response unparalleled in the history of the magazine. It also won THE WITNESS a first prize at the national Associated Church Press Convention last month for best treatment of reader response. Said the judges:

"The letter and article by an anonymous clergywife are an excellent example of a threefold reader response: the initial letter, the outpouring of letters it prompted and the concluding article, summing up the overwhelming support the writer found. The series shows how a magazine and its readers can pinpoint a subject and touch a most responsive chord."

Today Carolyn has a challenging ministry of her own, answering letters, tapes, and putting distraught clergywives in touch with each other regionally.

Lonely Terrain

Only a year ago, however, "Carolyn Taylor" had written THE WITNESS that she lived in lonely terrain, unable to get adequate counseling for fear of

causing hurt and embarrassment to her Episcopal priest-husband.

"When I married five years ago," she wrote, "it was a classic storybook affair — love at first sight, hasty courtship, brief engagement and joyous and beautiful church wedding. Young priest from a parish in New York City's ghetto marries liberal young writer, devoted churchwoman from another large Eastern city.

"In essence, how could I have planned for the circumscribing of my life in the church by unspoken expectations of tradition where a clergyman's wife is viewed as an appendage of his, useful surely as his right arm, but meant to be just as silent?"

She concluded her letter, "My husband says I sound like a sore puppy. Maybe so, but am I alone? Are there other clergywives who feel left out of the community of the church, cut off from priestly counsel and from the opportunity to exercise all of their talents in the church?"

Yes, Carolyn, there is a Santa Claus. Letters poured in from all parts of the country offering consolation and advice.

In an article for THE WITNESS five months after her letter appeared, Carolyn, still writing anonymously, documented the response. She had

received correspondence from clergywives and daughters, clergy themselves (both men and women), laywomen, widows of clergy, and two bishops.

Paralyzing Effect

"They spoke sometimes in two and three-page typewritten letters of the paralyzing effect of being forced to live according to the expectations of others and the tension that such denial of self creates," Carolyn wrote. "Several likened life in the rectory to that of other 'public wives.' From the responses, it seems to me that the church has developed a subtle and effective system to keep the clergywife in her place.

"Correspondents alluded to how life in the church has robbed them of their self-esteem, caused marital strain or even sent them into crippling depression."

As to Carolyn's own marriage, sharing the letter with her husband, Jorge, enabled them to grow in tolerance and understanding. "Hearing similar complaints from others has given credence to my arguments," she said. "He is genuinely supportive and compassionate and I am better able to fight the 'victim' role. We've been talking about issues, hearing each other without screaming out of terror that one of us may desert the ship."

by Mary Lou Suhor

Revealing her identity has also made a difference in her parish, Grace Church, she said. "Now even if I *tried* to do the dishes after coffee hour I wouldn't be permitted," she laughed.

Readers who would like Carolyn's

original letter to the editor and her subsequent article can write to THE WITNESS, enclosing a self-addressed, stamped envelope. Those who would like to communicate with Carolyn can write to her directly at 252 Diamond St., Elkins, W. Va.

★ ★ ★

Who Writes?

Speaking of Letters to the Editor, we did a mini-survey at THE WITNESS to get an idea of who wrote the letters which appeared over a year's period. We found that 58% were written by men, most of them clergy; 41% by women, most of them lay; and 1% by a couple.

Similarly, we tallied who wrote the articles which appeared over a 12-

month period. Results: 50% were written by men; 29% by women; 3% co-authored, man and woman; and 18% written by staff.

Finally, in a casual study of our subscription labels, we noted that 37% were clergy, 56% lay (including 27% women, 24% men, and 5% couples) and 7% institutions. We say casual because a Pat Smith might be male or female, and clergy may be counted as lay if "the Rev." does not precede the name. We estimate that one out of 12 subscribers to THE WITNESS is now from Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Presbyterian or Methodist circles. If we've missed your denomination, remember, the study was not totally scientific!

As we said in our recent promotional mailings, some have called us "responsible muckrakers," others, "the social conscience of the church." Whatever the label, we strive to present a point of view not offered in the mass media, which frequently doles out ideological food stamps on behalf of the Establishment, rather than asking the hard questions leading to systemic analysis and creative solutions to social problems.

Editors of THE WITNESS believe that for Christians, political consciousness raising and ideological struggle within the churches go hand in hand. Reporting, therefore, which links the radical salvation history of the people of God to an understanding of how the economic system affects the social welfare is essential.

Our concern with economic factors is closely allied to our anguish over the presence of sexism and racism in a society that champions freedom for all, and in the church, which espouses the dignity of the human person. THE WITNESS promises to continue in the tradition of courageous reporting for which former Editor William Spofford was noted, and for which he was persecuted in the McCarthy era.



Carolyn Taylor Gutierrez with her husband the Rev. Jorge Gutierrez, three-year-old daughter Sara, and pet rabbit, "Scrambled Eggs."



Part 2 of a Series

Ministry in the Shadow Of TMI's Towers

by Lockwood Hoehl

Churches in and around Middletown, Pa., marked the first anniversary of the accident at Three Mile Island with a public worship service, centerpiece of which was a *Statement of Confession and Faith*. Following scriptural readings, the Statement concluded:

"We know not what the future holds in terms of nuclear power as a source of energy, but with our faith in God we can live with fear and uncertainty."

Lockwood Hoehl is a free lance writer and photographer who lives in Pittsburgh.

"We also recognize that the lifestyle to which we have grown accustomed, accept as normal — sustained by cheap energy — is a contributing factor to the kinds of dangers posed by the nuclear reactors on Three Mile Island. The Three Mile Island incident may be a call from God to re-examine our priorities, re-evaluate our materialistic way of life. It may also be a call to bring our whole lifestyle, as Christians, into line with the faith we profess."

In addition to the fact that 15 clergy agreed on its content, the Statement is notable on two counts. First, it expresses the faith of Middletown's clergy that the fate of area residents, Three Mile Island, and nuclear power is in God's hands. Second — perhaps as a result of the first — it lacks a clear call to social action. These two aspects of the Statement surfaced again and again in conversations with area clergy.

Why this pattern? One answer might be political, as suggested by the Rev. Charles Dorsey, Executive Minister of Christian Churches United in Harrisburg.

"The closer you get to the accident, the less likely clergy are to stick their necks out," Dorsey said. "They are more interested in reconciliation and calming than in taking the prophetic role, a role that would cause them to lose their ability to function with the whole congregation. They might lose half of it."

This suggests that the clergy recognized a choice, and unanimously opted not to speak out, nor to call for action, nor to be prophetic. More likely, their response has been an unconscious function of how they view themselves as ministers in the community.

This pastoral image emerged in interviews with four clergymen, who shared their experiences since the accident at Three Mile Island's Unit 2 reactor on March 28, 1979. Who are

they, and what do they have to say?

The Rev. Howard "Sud" Kishpaugh is rector at All Saints Episcopal Church in Hershey, 10 miles northeast of TMI. He grew up in Hershey, and has had parishes in Hawaii and Mississippi (during the civil rights struggles of the 1950s and early '60s). The Hershey Sports Arena was the major evacuation point after the accident, and he spent eight days there.

The Rev. W. Jackson Otto is pastor of Middletown's Wesley United Methodist Church, with 780 members. His pastorate there began two years ago.

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. George V. Lentocha is pastor of Seven Sorrows Catholic Church, Middletown. He has had several parishes in the area since his ordination in 1955. His parish includes Three Mile Island, and has about 4,000 members. TMI's cooling towers, which can be seen from his front door, are about one and a half miles away.

The Rev. Donald L. Ripple is pastor at Emmanuel United Methodist Church in Royaltown, sandwiched between TMI and Middletown. He has been there for three years, and there are 358 in his congregation. A native of central Pennsylvania, Pastor Ripple has conducted 62 week-long evangelistic missions over the past 24 years, where he preaches with "a view toward people being born again."

All except Msgr. Lentocha are married and have adult children.

Msgr. Lentocha remembered vividly the details of the week following the TMI accident. Because of the size of his parish, his interactions were with a broad range of people.

No official announcement was made on the Wednesday of the accident, so the news spread erratically through Middletown. Msgr. Lentocha heard about it from the principal of the parish school, where students were being taken away by their parents. On his way to the school, he ran into parents rushing to their cars with children covered by coats

and blankets to shield them from radiation. "I made an effort to calm the people down, and I think I succeeded more or less," he said.

Information trickled in through the next day, but none of it adequate enough for a rational course of action. As the news increased, so did the confusion. Word of possible evacuation spread; so did fear. "Fear spreads in a strange way, just like a wave," Msgr. Lentocha said. "You see other people who are fearful, so you become fearful, because you presume you're supposed to be. You feel a little stupid, and you don't even know why."

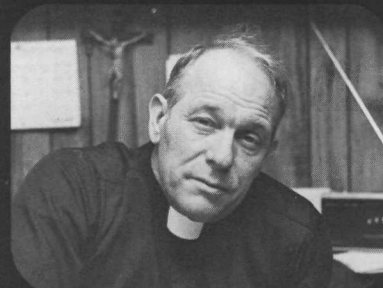
On Friday, Pennsylvania Governor Dick Thornburgh recommended evacuation of pregnant women and young children within a five-mile radius of TMI. Some parents asked Msgr. Lentocha what they should do. He told them the decision had to be their own, but suggested they leave if they had a place to go.

According to a study by Robert F. Munzenrider of Pennsylvania State University and Cynthia Flynn of the University of Kansas, about 21,000 or 60% of the 35,000 living within the five-mile radius of TMI evacuated during the week following the accident.

Msgr. Lentocha did not leave. "This is why I am here — for people who are in difficulty, to help in any way I can. For those who can't leave, someone needs to be around to encourage them — in terms of faith, if nothing else," he said.

"This sudden challenge made me feel more like a priest than I had for a long period of time. I thought, perhaps this was what I was ordained for — this very thing."

Under quite different circumstances, the Episcopal priest in Hershey reacted in a similar way. "Sud" Kishpaugh did not become deeply involved until the evacuation center in the Hershey Sports Arena was set up. He had been at a diocesan meeting and on his return, heard radio reports of the evacuation. He went directly to the Arena.



The Rev. Howard Kishpaugh



The Rev. W. Jackson Otto



Msgr. George V. Lentocha



The Rev. Donald L. Ripple

"I just saw that as part of my responsibility," he said. "I've lived in Mississippi during hurricanes. I've lived in Hawaii during tidal wave alerts. I don't even think of these things, other than that it's part of my job as a priest of the church, to go where there's a need."

For the next eight days, Kishpaugh spent from 5 or 6 a.m. until midnight at the evacuation center. The Red Cross had supplied meals, cots and blankets. But evacuees were fearful mostly from the uncertainty of the situation and from their unease about leaving their homes unattended. "My job was to try to keep them calm, to identify their individual or family problems, to take care of their babies, and to be a liaison with the Red Cross and operators of the Arena. And, then I had general services on that Sunday."

Sunday services for the other three clergy went on, but with greatly reduced congregations — mostly older adults and very few children. Msgr. Lentocha's worshippers at his five masses were about one-third normal size. Pastor Otto's attendance was down to 65 from 145. Pastor Ripple's congregation — the closest to Three Mile Island — was down from 200 to 50.

What does one say to people who are confused, frightened, and shaken by an uncertain present and an unknown future, while feeling much the same oneself?

"The intensity of faith at our church was something I'll never forget — spontaneous, by the way. It was brought about by the people's common bond," Msgr. Lentocha said. His sermon urged the congregation not to be overly concerned because God would have the last word. One of the hymns was the comforting standard, "Faith of Our Fathers."

Msgr. Lentocha gave general absolution at all masses that Sunday, because the outcome of the accident was so uncertain. Recognizing that this could stimulate even more fear among

the congregations, he told them, "I'm not giving you general absolution because I think there's imminent danger of death or disaster. I'm giving it because you have lots to worry about, and you're not going to have to worry about the condition of your souls. God is going to take care of that for you right here and now."

Msgr. Lentocha was also sustained by frequent positive reports from workers at TMI. "Usually they would say to me, 'Father, if I thought this was that bad, I'd get my wife and kids out of here pronto. And I'm not doing it.'"

Pastor Ripple appreciated the TMI workers for a different reason. "I'm glad the people who were working at the Island didn't run," he said. "If they'd have split, the thing surely would have melted down. A lot of alarms were going off down there indicating trouble. Still, they stayed with it. They can be blamed for being overconfident. But I appreciate that they kept their cool."

An important ingredient is the character of area residents, who are generally described as being conservative, responsible, of solid stock, and not easily excited by anything. Msgr. Lentocha said, "They tend to take life as it comes and cope with it."

According to the study by Munzenrider and Flynn cited earlier, of the households where no one evacuated, one of the reasons for not leaving given by 65% was that "whatever happens is in God's hands."

Obviously that is a complex mix. And curiously, none of the four clergy has had great numbers of anxiety-ridden parishioners flocking to their doors for pastoral counseling. Pastor Otto is a bit concerned about that.

"This has brought some anxiety to me," he said. "Perhaps — I hope — it is an indication of growth or stability in faith."

But Pastor Ripple sees it as normal. "It seems to me in any catastrophe, the people who are closest are the ones who

are able to come to grips with it in terms of daily living. They adjust better than those who live farther away."

In Hershey, however, "Sud" Kishpaugh has seen few cases of stress caused by TMI. He believes his pastoral function in regard to nuclear power begins and ends with ministering to those people.

"My role is taking care of people here and now, not making judgments for or against nuclear power," he said. "If one of my parishioners comes in traumatized, then I minister to him or her. I will agree that nuclear power is a bad thing for him or her right now. But, I'm not going to say, 'You ought to go out there and shut that plant down, because your kids are going to have some sort of thing 10 years from now.' I don't see myself as having to decide for the future of nuclear power."

Msgr. Lentocha's point of view is similar. "I myself am very conscious of the seriousness of the situation," he said. "But, I would not want to convey that same consciousness to people whom it would hinder rather than help."

Pastor Otto does not give nuclear power and Three Mile Island a lot of thought anymore — "I'm concerned, but it doesn't overwhelm me" — and would prefer that the community turn to other concerns. He believes that, if there is a future for nuclear power, then those in authority must become more responsible to the public.

Of the four clergymen, Pastor Ripple appears the best informed about nuclear power, and the most critical of it. He thinks the unsolved waste disposal problem may doom the industry. And he implied that the industry has lied about how cheap nuclear power would be. "Because of one accident, billions of dollars are being lost," he said. "And who can measure the emotional trauma in people in terms of money?"

What about the morality of nuclear power?

"I think human sophistication has been greatly challenged," Ripple said. "If we cannot dispose of nuclear waste properly, then it does involve morality. We're presenting a high risk and a danger to future generations — if there are going to be future generations. Therefore, if we can't solve these problems, the industry has to cease."

But Pastor Ripple sees the end of nuclear power in terms of its eventually committing suicide, rather than in his taking or urging action now to stop the threat which exists.

In contrast, Msgr. Lentocha is cautiously optimistic and supportive. Can he foresee any evidence that would make him take a stand against nuclear power?

"I'd have to say I doubt it," he replied. Even a major catastrophe — God forbid — would still be, in my mind, part of this process of development. I hope that it would never happen, but foresee that it could. I would rather keep the positive thrust that says, 'With God's help and our know-how, we can make it safe.' I think that heaven is not pie in the sky. It begins in this life. In America, we have seen what it can be like to have a beautiful life, more than any other people in the world.

"But, the disparity between rich and poor nations on the face of the earth is tremendous. We should be working to get rid of that disparity. And it seems to me that nuclear power, on the surface at least, has that kind of potential."

The Three Mile Island area is surely not heaven on earth. Nor is it a devastated hell. For the most part, the area has survived the worst nuclear power accident ever. And area clergy see their survival in terms of God's action, not human endeavor.

"We've been through a bad experience this past year, but we've been with God," as Pastor Otto summed it up. "God has led us through it, and we have faith that God will continue to lead us."

Nuclear Energy

What Can We Do?

by Paul Moore

The Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Bishop of New York, delivered the sermon at the Episcopal Cathedral in Harrisburg commemorating the first anniversary of Three Mile Island. Excerpts appear below. Readers will note, in contrast to the clergy statement in the previous article, a more definite focus and call to action. Granted that Bishop Moore lives further away from the core of the problem, THE WITNESS suggests it is not really that much further — "as the wind blows."

To deal with nuclear disaster a perspective is needed never before brought into play in the story of the people of the earth. The eschatology of tradition never has contemplated human beings as physical actors in the approach of the eschaton. The millenarians standing on the hillside on a mystic date did not contemplate touching the button to bring that end of all things to pass.

As Adam in the richness of the garden reached out for the apple beyond his known riches, so our nation has in pride gone past the edge of human experience in its reaching, driven by an ever increasing hunger for violence and power, to grasp a gift which has become a curse. Nuclear energy was born in secrecy out of the womb of war. We did not put it away, even after seeing the horror of Hiroshima. But our arrogant hunger for luxury and wealth and power converted it to so-called peaceful use. This is primordial arrogance and pride, known in all mythology, whether the Tower of Babel or the downfall of Prometheus.

No way is known, or even imagined, by which to dispose of nuclear waste, already eating its

cancerous way into the bowels of the earth. No way is known by which to make nuclear energy safe. Nuclear poison leaks out, like the ooze in some Saturday morning horror show, from the aging crannies of our nuclear plants.

Humanity does not have to have nuclear energy. It is ironic that if we had no armaments the fossil fuel saved thereby would go a long way toward making much further conservation unnecessary. But even with the enormous consumption of fossil fuel by our armaments, conservation can and must contain our need until *renewable* energy becomes efficient.

Nuclear arms, once let loose, can destroy us completely. Nuclear accidents can destroy huge sections of our nation. Nuclear leakage can irreparably deform the delicate genetic structure of our being.

These stark facts should be enough to stop the use of all nuclear energy for war or peace forthwith. What can we do?

1. We engage the power of God and we keep close to the Bible, that our minds may be honest, our

spirits humble, our hearts loving, and our vision clear, our lives courageous.

2. We engage the full power of the intellectual community to spell out in the truth of high science and enlightened reason, the same answers revealed by scriptural truth in the mind of faith.

3. We engage the full power of the Labor Movement, calling it back to its early days of compassion and justice, and pointing out that technological and nuclear power continue to erode, with capital-intensive industry, the functioning of human beings in the economy of the world — the ecology of labor.

4. We engage the poor, who will be the first and worst in suffering, since they live in great unprotected urban areas. As unskilled persons, they are the first to be fired in the speedup of technology. No movement

invoking God's help can be valid without the presence of the poor. Furthermore, the armament race, the nuclear race, already is destroying the families of the poor by increasing inflation and by limiting the resources which should be upholding them — the services to which they have a right.

5. Engage the so-called spirit-filled churches by hard-nosed exegesis. If they are filled with the Holy Spirit, insist that it be also the spirit of truth. Let us not allow any Christian to escape into some futuristic eschatology, but be forced to see a nuclear holocaust as a realized eschatology, the timing of which, as is consistent with all creation, is partly up to human free will.

6. Engage the young, who stand the most to lose, and who, from their background, can understand the mysteries and dangers of nuclear science better than most of us older people.

Engage the idealism which dwells within every young heart.

7. Engage the elderly, who should have the wisdom to know that peace cannot be won by weapons and that happiness cannot be found in technology. Engage the old, many of whom have been put aside to rot, as an indirect result of a defense-oriented economy.

8. Engage all citizens in the movement, making clear that the nuclear problem, the energy crisis, the armament industry, inflation, unemployment, are all intertwined as part of the same problem.

And finally, let us speak with hearts filled with the love of God for the suffering and endangered children, and filled with the courage of the Prophets and Jesus of Nazareth. Let us speak with hearts filled not only with fear of the final judgment, but also with hope in the power of God. ■

Coming Up . . .

in **THE WITNESS**

- **HISPANICS:** Richard Gillett, founder of the Puerto Rican Industrial Mission, will present a penetrating analysis of the growing importance of Hispanics to work, culture and religion in the United States. While attention is currently focused on the Middle East and the "Russian threat," a storm appears to be gathering within the Hispanic community in this country, closely related to oppressive U.S. economic and political policies.
- **THE TIGHTENING NOOSE:** John Gessell analyzes the alarming scenario in which U.S. tax dollars are spent to convince people of an external threat so menacing that only the most advanced state of military readiness, including first strike capability, will meet it.
- **THREE MILE ISLAND:** Lock Hoehl continues the series on Three Mile Island, interviewing residents of the area.

Nothing Small

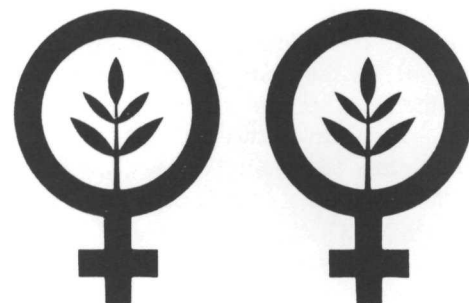
Nothing small can come of this
Nothing dead can issue from this life
Nothing humble, nothing easy
Even peace will be incendiary, acid-lined
We will straddle steaming and ice-blue nights
like dazed explorers moving
through inverted spheres
Such translations are large
unsuited to Sunday gardeners,
tourists, random lovers.
Decline no dares
advance every hope
presume all things
Prepare to carve
your own commandments in stone
if you risk this journey
of our own creation.

—Charles August

Historical Analysis:

Why Males Fear Women Priests

by Rosemary Radford Ruether



Historically, women appear to have been ordained more easily in those traditions that emphasize the ministry of the Word. Heavier resistance to women's ordination seems to come from those traditions which stress sacramental office or priesthood; i.e. Roman Catholic and Orthodox. The Anglicans are still deeply divided on the issue. What connection does this continued resistance have to the symbolic difference between preacher and priest? Is the symbol of preacher somehow more open to women than the symbol of priest, and, if so, why?

As we look at the biblical and historical traditions of Judaism and Christianity, we would have to say that any such alleged difference is relatively recent. The Old Testament certainly resists woman as priest, although there is evidence that women as priestesses of the Goddess did serve for considerable periods of time in the first temple. Woman as priest in the Old Testament context, therefore, is connected with priestess of the rival religion of Asherah. This is undoubtedly an important reason for its repression and still forms an ongoing tradition of resistance to woman as priest.

Rosemary Radford Ruether, feminist theologian, is Georgia Harkness Professor of Applied Theology at Garrett Evangelical Seminary, Evanston, Ill.

The rabbinic tradition is the source of the nonpriestly ministry or teacher of the Word. The office of rabbi arose in connection with a new religious assembly, the synagogue, a gathering to study and preach the Word, which took its origin in Judaism when the temple and its priesthood were overthrown. Yet the resistance to woman as rabbi is scarcely less strong than to woman as priest. Woman is not called to the torah in traditional rabbinic Judaism. Since many of the festivals are transferred to the home, in a sense she plays priestly roles in the home along with the husband, but the cult of the Word is strictly masculine. Women are firmly shunted to one side to cultivate the home, and, to send husband and sons to the synagogue to study. They listen to the Word only behind the veil.

When we move to the New Testament we find a contradictory history. At first, women seem included in the Christian synagogue. The study of the Word and the disciple-teacher relationship is open to them. They too become local leaders and traveling evangelists. But, by the time we get to the deuterio-Pauline writings, they are being firmly put aside. The exclusion is not in terms of priesthood, but in terms of *teaching*. The model for ministry in *I Timothy* is basically rabbinic. The bishop or elder is identified essentially as teacher, not as priest. His credentials are established

primarily by his reputation as a moral patriarchal head of family. The patriarchal family is the model for this exclusively male leadership of the church. Even when we move to the late second century, with the doctrine of apostolic succession, in Irenaeus and Tertullian, the primary model is rabbinic rather than sacerdotal. Apostolic succession is understood there, not as the passing down of sacerdotal power, but as the passing down of a deposit of faith, a teaching tradition.

In the New Testament we cannot speak of the exclusion of women as priests, because this model of ministry does not exist there. Christian ministry is identified in terms of teaching, preaching and prophetic power, not priesthood. Priesthood in the New Testament, as for rabbinic Judaism, still means the temple cultus, so there is no question that Jesus and his followers are nonpriests. Insofar as the very symbolism of priest is taken over (as in Hebrews), it is done so as to deny that Jesus has established a new priesthood who are "many in numbers." Jesus is the High Priest who establishes a priestly people by abolishing a caste of priests.

When the Christian ministry takes the place of the old Roman priesthood, as the clergy of the established religion of the empire, there is a definite return

to the model of temple priesthood. Some of this is found earlier, of course, as early as the writings of Clement of Rome and Ignatius of Antioch. But, with the fourth century establishment of the church, the concept of the Christian ministry as a new priestly caste becomes dominant. This has the effect of reviving some of the purity taboos of Old Testament priestly law against women in the sanctuary. This caused a further repression of the remnants of the female diaconate. But, the repression of woman as public teacher or magister of the church is equally important. When St. Jerome praises Marcella for her skills as a biblical exegete, he is careful to declare that she teaches only in private and not on her own authority, for she would not want to encroach on the Apostle's ban against women as teachers.

In the Medieval period, canon law forbids women the priesthood on the grounds of the unfit nature of the female to represent Christ. The scholastic tradition supports this view. This brief survey indicates therefore, that in the classical Catholic traditions, there does not seem to be a stronger exclusion of women from priestly office than from teaching office. There are, in fact, parallel traditions of exclusion from both.

The Reformation did not initially change this situation. The apostolic injunction that "women shall keep silence" was taken by Calvin and Luther as excluding women from the preaching office. This exclusion was occasionally modified among some of the left-wing sectarians. For example, Baptist women occupied pulpits in England during the Puritan Civil War in the mid-17th century. The Quakers, from the beginning, defended women's right to preach.

This left-wing inclusion of women was based on a belief in the direct ordination to preach as a gift of the Holy Spirit. The church does not endow

the minister with this charisma, but rather *recognizes* those whom the *Spirit has endowed*. This charismatic view of preaching office is fundamental to the opening of the pulpit to women that occurred from time to time among left-wing Christian sectarians from the Reformation into the 19th century.

But this charismatic view did not have a permanent effect. As the sect became more institutionalized, the pulpit would often be closed to women. A definite change in this traditional exclusion of women came about only when the left-wing charismatic view of ministry was joined with two other developments — liberal theology and liberal biblical exegesis. Liberal theology Christianized the liberal view of Original Nature. Instead of the doctrine of Creation being seen as one of hierarchy and male-headship, liberalism asserted the original equality of all persons, men and women, in the original order of

creation. Not nature, but sin, has created patriarchal hierarchy. Salvation in Christ is not an otherworldly salvation, but is intended to transform the present social order toward that new equality in Christ which, also, restores the original order of Nature.

When the first woman, Antoinette Brown, was ordained in 1853 to the Congregational ministry, her ordination sermon was preached by the Wesleyan Methodist evangelist, Luther Lee. He took as his text Galatians 3:28: "in Christ there is neither male nor female." But fundamental to his argument in favor of Miss Brown's ordination was his charismatic view of preaching office. Preaching office is understood as a gift of the Spirit, continuing the outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost. Since the Spirit of prophecy was clearly given by Christ at that time to both men and women, the church has never had any business

FOR EVERY ANYWOMAN

I
am
anywoman
I am . . .
anywoman who . . .
anywoman who would . . .
I am anywoman who would invade . . .
who would invade the sanctuary; but
not just the sanctuary, the magisterium, too.
I am Everywoman who would not stop at less
than the very fullest recognition of
my claim to being — my claim to
being the token (broken wo-
man) who would dare . . .
dare to claim equality
(in the sight of God)
equality (as created)
with *any* Everyman;
with every any-
man, akl
am
I

—Ann Knight

(This poem celebrates the founding of St. Joan's
International Alliance, Canadian Section, March 26,
1979. Copyright retained by the author.)

excluding women from ministry, according to Lee. However, underlying this Evangelical view of preaching is also a liberal view of theology and scriptural exegesis. Salvation has to do with the restoration of the equality of the original Creation to the social order.

In the 19th century women occupied pulpits in two different contexts: the liberal churches, such as Congregationalists and Unitarians, and the Evangelical and Pentecostals, where the charisma of the Spirit was more important than institutional office. These two traditions have become sharply split today, with the Evangelical Revivalist Churches often espousing an antiliberal theology and exegesis that insists on male-headship of society. But this was *not so* in the 19th century. At that period Evangelical revivalism often went hand in hand with reform and was close to movements such as abolitionism and feminism. Therefore these two tendencies — charismatic ministry, and liberal theology and exegesis — often met and mingled, reinforcing each other in an openness to woman as preacher.

Today, those churches which reject the ordination of women are not only the traditional Catholic Churches, but also the Fundamentalist Churches that reject liberal theology and exegesis. I am inclined to regard this second element as more decisive. Although a charismatic view of ministry as prophetic preaching has often opened the pulpit to women in irregular assemblies, no institutional church has formally ordained women unless it has also adopted some version of liberal theology and exegesis. This is equally true of the Catholic traditions. The Anglican and Catholic theologians who accept the ordination of women also accept historical criticism of the Bible and reject a theology of male-headship as the order of Creation. Those who reject women's ordination, whether Evangelical Protestant, Catholic, or

Orthodox, basically reject these changes. Thus the acceptance or rejection of liberal theology and exegesis would seem to be more finally decisive than whether one views the ministry primarily as preacher or priest.

Yet there still does seem to be a different emotional impact created by the concept of priest that militates more against women than does that of preacher. But it is difficult to say if this is really the case, and, if so, why it is the case. If one examines the two roles from the point of view of traditional sexual archetypes the role of preacher appears less "feminine" than that of priest. The preacher, as speaker of the Word, is more abstract and cerebral. Traditionally, the symbol of Logos or Word of God has been male and hierarchical in Christian imagery. The Word descends from above the passive body of the people from the high (phallic) pulpit. One speaks of the "seminal" Word, and the attitude of the laity in receiving it is one of passive receptivity. All this enforces a highly male symbolism of the preacher.

The priest, on the other hand, mediates the enfleshed Word, the *body* of Christ. The Eucharist has traditionally stimulated nurturing and suckling imagery in Christian piety. The Christ who feeds us with his body is imaged, in long traditions of mysticism and piety, as a mother feeding us with milk from his breasts. In baptism we enter the womb of Mother Church and are reborn. In the Eucharist we are nurtured or fed in the new life of Christ. The popular image of the kneeling saint receiving the blood of Christ squirting from his side, often paralleled with Mary feeding him or her milk from her breasts, shows how readily Eucharistic sacramentality inspires maternal archetypes. The roles of feeding, washing and serving of the priest at the altar suggest more what mothers do than what fathers do. Even the dress of priests is today primarily evocative of

femininity rather than masculinity.

Thus the image of preacher appears more abstract and masculine, and that of priest as more enfleshed and maternal. It is precisely at this point that we may have the clue to the far more passionate and irrational resistance to women as priests than women as preachers. The woman as preacher abstracts herself into a male role, and so does relatively little to threaten the inherently masculine imagery of the role itself. But woman as priest reveals the enfleshed and maternal imagery of the role and thus much more directly challenges it as a male role. The male, in order to appropriate a maternal sacrality for himself, must maintain a much more rigid exclusion of women from it than is the case with a masculine sacrality.

It may be that the vehement taboos against women's "impurity," as the fence around the sanctuary, are constructed to maintain this male appropriation of maternal sacrality. This may have been the deeply buried root of the exclusion of women from priesthood in ancient Israel in the war of the male God and his priests against woman as priestess of the Goddess.

The opening of the priesthood to women thus creates for men (usually not so much for women) a *return of the repressed*. Men feel themselves lapsing back into the childhood dependency on the mother. The whole male transcendence through suppression of the mother and the maternal sacrality is threatened. Thus we may not be able to clarify the right of women to represent Christ equally with men until we sort out the male repression of the mother complex, as both an historical and personal psychopathology. In any case, we must look to the drive to open the priesthood to women as evoking far more vehement and irrational, even violent, responses than was the history of opening to women the ministry of the Word. ■

Continued from page 7

politics independent of the old two-party machinery, although it has not definitely come out for a new party. It is becoming acceptable again in some labor quarters to identify openly with socialism; a number of union officials, including some top leadership, are publicly involved in the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, and Communists are again being elected to union leadership, at least on the lower levels.

The time is therefore ripe for the building of a labor-church alliance, first, because the labor movement is showing both greater militancy in "on the job" struggles and greater openness to the broader questions of social justice with which religious social activists have traditionally been concerned, and, second, because of the greater vulnerability of the labor movement today, it needs support from the religious community in a way that it may not have seemed to before.

The task of building this alliance demands creativity, patience, and tact on both sides; in particular, church people must be careful not to give the appearance of preaching to or interfering in the internal politics of the labor movement.

The first responsibility is to inform ourselves. We need to become regular readers of the local labor press, to learn of the condition and struggles of labor in our area.

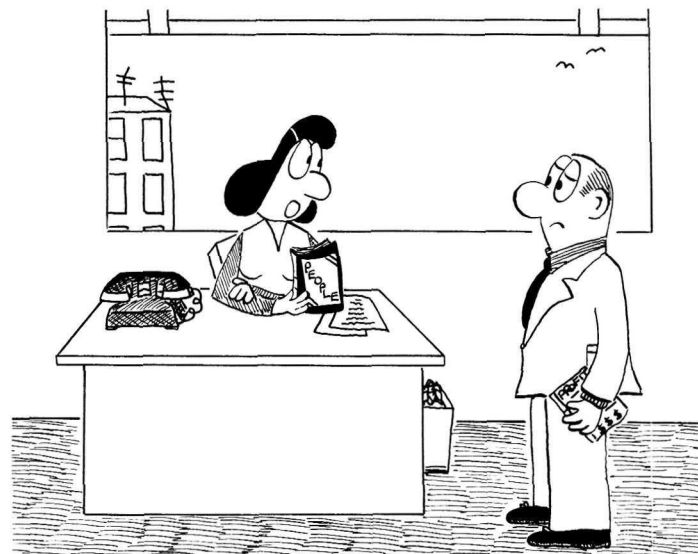
Further, the actual building of an alliance will naturally begin with personal contact. Various forums, such as the Boston Labor Guild and the Religion and Labor Taskforce in Cincinnati, already exist to regularly bring together local religious and labor leaders; these can serve as a model for other areas. On the national scale, the Religion and Labor Conference, sponsored by the Center of Concern in Washington, D.C., has been bringing together middle level trade union

leaders and religious social action professionals. The tendency of these groups has been to deal with established leadership on both sides; there is a need for including the rank and file, particularly those from labor who are involved in organized rank-and-file groupings.

Joint action should be a natural fruit of communication, and one hour on the picket line may be worth ten in secluded conference with union officials. The Boston Labor Guild, for example, was able to undercut the efforts of a Roman Catholic hospital to resist unionization of its employees (a sign that church people who want to build ties with labor will have to struggle first to set their own house in order). Support for labor can take many forms, but the main thing the church has to offer labor is access to the church's own sizeable constituency — a forum for unions and workers to present their case, which can be especially crucial in an organizing drive or strike. It is no accident that one of the earliest forms of church-labor cooperation on record is James Otis Sargent Huntington's reporting on the Knights of Labor for the Episcopal press of his day.

A church-labor alliance will not, of course, be of sole benefit to labor; socially conscious church people will gain a powerful ally for their concerns for peace and justice (of which justice for labor is naturally one). It is scarcely conceivable that any major social change will take place in the United States without the labor movement playing a leading role; and the changes are already taking place in the movement that will enable it to play that role.

For the Christian, however, this alliance is rooted in something deeper than the hope of mutual benefit. From the story of Moses, leader of the world's first recorded walk-out, through the labor laws of the Pentateuch and the pronouncements of the prophets, to the New Testament's revelation of the special role of the oppressed in the drama of redemption, the Bible reveals the partisanship of God for working people. Bringing this Biblically-based partisanship home to the people of our parishes, and concretizing this key aspect of the Gospel message in practical solidarity with labor, are cardinal tasks for all who seek to revitalize and empower the social mission of the Church. ■



Equating progress with profit is deficit morality.

Continued from page 2
honest humor.

Did anyone really expect the Presiding Bishop to acknowledge and reply to the intemperate (terribly adroit and well written but intemperate) attack of Bill Stringfellow? Would it have been appropriate behavior — or useful? Is there something new for Bishop Allin to add to that particular fire?

As the loving parent of one of the Philadelphia Eleven who believes Bishop Allin to be absolutely in error on the matter of women's ordination (and some else that Bill alludes to), I am wounded at the personal, unfair, vitriolic and unwarranted attacks your letters column reflects as an iceberg tip.

Come let us reason together; more, let us love one another. See the Presiding Bishop as one who deserves respect, appreciation, acknowledgement for his personal right of conviction and our daily prayers, never our daily curses.

Canon Rene Bozarth
Palm Desert, Cal.

Historical Reporting

We have been very pleased with the quality issues of THE WITNESS. You have raised important issues and concerns. The use of the historical method in going back to the origins or roots of things is very helpful. The February issue with articles, "Archaeology Supports Women's Ordination," "Standing Free," and "Another Kind of Vote" was particularly

outstanding.

The search for truth with understanding requires courage and is a blessing.

W. J. Kimble
Dorothy Joan Kimble
Golden Valley, Minn.

Women Speak to Bishops

First of all, let me tell you what a fine magazine I think THE WITNESS is. It reflects a real witness to Gospel values at all times. We thought that readers of THE WITNESS would like to know about availability of proceedings from the Latin American women's conference at Puebla, *Mujeres para el Dialogo*, during the Latin American bishops' meeting. Margaret Ellen Traxler, SSND of Institute for Women Today, has the following to say about the papers:

"This book is an authentic, spirit-filled account of the women's sharing at Puebla. Topics include: Indigenous women, women religious, women and family, theology of liberation and women, and sexuality. The papers of the Latin American women speak directly to the bishops. If the church listens and responds, we may see a redeeming history in the 21st century.

The book, printed by CCUM, is available from the National Assembly of Women Religious (NAWR), 1307 So. Wabash, #206, Chicago, IL 60605 at \$5 per copy.

Sister Mary O'Keefe
Co-director, NAWR

Classy Publication

I had requested that you initiate a one year subscription for me beginning with the June issue mainly because I needed an article in that issue for Review of the Literature on my dissertation.

Well, when subsequent issues arrived I was enormously delighted. What began as an academic exercise has brought me something that is of definite value and worth. I had been totally unfamiliar with the publication, but upon reading the issues which arrived, I would rate it with *Christianity and Crisis* and *The Christian Century*, both of which I regard as high class publications. Perhaps there is life in the Episcopal church yet.

Jane P. McNally
Lawrence, Kans.

Article Incisive

This is just a word of appreciation for the whole March issue, which was very fine indeed, but especially in my special field, for Richard Hawkins' "Jumping Through Hoops: Selective System for Ordination." It was very perceptive, full of common sense, and very incisive.

The Rev. James L. Lowery, Jr.
Enablement, Inc.
Boston, Mass.

CREDITS

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Continued from page 3

intended to "proclaim liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof," instead becomes an institution which betrays *itself* either as being coldly callous, or as having lost all hope for the human condition. The Jesuit Karl Rahner, that gray eminence of Roman Catholic theology, said recently, "In many things, even in matters of faith and devotion, the pope does not lead the people, he follows them."

Theology in the Americas is a current manifestation of the people leading the way. A grass-roots movement, ecumenical and interracial in character, it is attempting to relate the liberation theology of Latin

America, with its action/reflection method of doing theology, to the witness of Christians in North America. Its first forum was held in Detroit in 1975, and it is convening there again this month, culminating five years of work on the part of numerous task groups across the country. Its stress on liberation of all people from manifold oppressions is a significant contribution to the voice of the church. It is a demonstration of the fact that the awesome power of the human spirit will not be denied in its quest for legitimacy and justice. In society, as in the church, all seasons are the season of Pentecost. The Spirit will blow where It will. ■

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