

THE WITNESS

VOL. 63, NO. 8 AUGUST, 1980

The Tightening Noose
John Gessell
Iran: Paul Washington
Ramsey Clark



Aging Need More

Although practically every copy of THE WITNESS is provocative and engrossing, the May issue had two articles that addressed themselves to where I am now. Although like Peg Ferry I reached this "state" (as John L. McKnight's Old Grandma calls it) neither First Class nor Steerage, but Tourist, I too have reached the practical conclusion that what the aging need is *more*. Like all the poor—and a majority of the aging fall into that category—the more economically disadvantaged aging have to pay more (not proportionately, but absolutely) for the essentials, despite the ameliorative institutions of pensions, Social Security, Supplemental Security Income, Medicare, and Medicaid.

Lamentably, now the working poor are being pitted against the aging poor, and such a divided house cannot stand against a threatened system which becomes more merciless in its death throes. You do good work!

The Rev. Arthur C. Barnhart
Erle, Pa.

Helpful to Elderly

The Jamaica Service Program for Older Adults would like to obtain 10 copies of Margaret Ferry's article, "Retirement: First Class or Steerage?" JSPOA is a consortium of community agencies working with a Council of Senior Citizens to identify needs, coordinate existing services and to develop new programs as they are needed. The

efforts of all individuals and groups involved focus on addressing the needs of the whole person. This article would be helpful in our work with the elderly.

Ella Dash
Jamaica, N.Y.

Praises Washington

I am enclosing a copy of a letter I am sending to the Rev. Paul M. Washington regarding his recent participation at an international Conference in Teheran, Iran on the "Crimes in America." I urge you to explore, if possible, in one issue of your distinguished publication, the implications of the ministry and witness of Father Washington regarding biblical imperatives and American foreign policy particularly regarding Iran. I continue to delight in your publication and wish you and your staff persistence in conscience raising in the church.

Eugene D. Squillace
Bristol, Pa.

(Editor's Note: See interview with Paul Washington in this issue of THE WITNESS.)

Likes WITNESS Values

Thank you for the recent issues. I liked especially the May issue on the aged (I'll be 36 in June) and the February issue on women. I'm a part-time worker and a full time student and my Sociology of the Aging teacher liked the May issue too.

I became an Episcopalian in 1963 in Minnesota. I left a few years later, partly because of the all-white churches and all-black churches. And if a black man got ordained, I was told, he'd have to leave the state to find a job if there was no vacancy in one of the two black churches.

How ironic! Now many of my gripes as far as sex and race are no longer true about the Episcopal Church, but I've changed. Now I have a personal relationship with Jesus Christ. I still love your magazine as I do one with similar values, *Sojourners*.

Karen Walling
Salt Lake City, Utah

'Conscience' Abused

In the May Letters to the Editor, Wendy Williams of Sewanee, Tenn. has spoken to an issue that can no longer be ignored by the body of the church. The abuse of the conscience clause to oppress women instead of to take cognizance of their rights in the canonical system of the Episcopal Church has been going on since 1976. The statement of Oct. 5, 1977, in Port St. Lucie has given small comfort to people who believe in the democratic process in the Episcopal Church, because some bishops have allowed conscience a very wide interpretation; namely, "I have the right to my conscience," and this means in essence, "I also have a right to see that your conscience is not served." Those of us who have actually seen in practice what Wendy Williams suspects, know that her point is well taken. This is a problem for the whole church, and it must be addressed no later than the next General Convention.

The Rev. Arnold F. Moulton
Racine, Wisc.

God Against Isms

In the May WITNESS, George McClain writes on "The Idolatry and Promise of the Church." He beautifully debunks the author of the Moffatt Bible Commentary who "spiritualizes" Jesus' statement of his mission, "*the spirit of the Lord is upon me . . . to preach good news to the poor, release to the captives, recovering of sight to the blind . . . liberty to the oppressed.*"

He rightly, but not in Christian theological terms, speaks of the need for a "materialistic" approach to human needs. This could have been interpreted in incarnational and sacramental theological terms. He chooses, however, to speak of it in terms of a view of Marxism that was prevalent in the 1930s. Marx has a whale of a lot to teach us. We ignore him at our peril. He certainly cannot be the new "absolutism." He was speaking culturally conditioned by what he saw in 19th century England. Tragically his

Continued on page 19

THE WITNESS

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As the Earth Turns: Revolutions

Robert L. DeWitt

The Iranian crisis and the tragic holding of the hostages has occupied and preoccupied the minds of U.S. citizens for many months. There is at times a suggestion of simplism in all of us which resists and resents the intrusion of such untoward events into the life of human society.

Yet such events continue to occur with a stubborn tenacity. The pattern is not new. It often issues from political revolutions, as in Iran. So it was with the revolution in North Vietnam, which in the '60s so grievously wrenched the soul of America. So, earlier, the revolution which established the present regime in Cuba, and earlier still the revolution encompassing one fourth of the men, women and children of the world, which issued in the creation of the People's Republic of China. Few of us remember, but we know that an earlier event, the Russian Revolution, changed the political face of the world. Lest we focus our attention only on Marxist revolutions, there was the abortive, fratricidal secession of our own Southern States that caused one of the most tragic wars in history. And let us not forget the War of Independence, which set 13 struggling colonies on an unimaginable trajectory of growth in wealth and power to establish one of the greatest hegemonies history has ever seen.

What can we say to these soul-wrenching, heart-breaking events? Surely we regret the suffering, the bloodshed. Certainly we condemn the excesses committed in the process, and those which followed in their wake. But a deeper question is involved. In each instance there was some perceived injustice which the revolution sought, however imperfectly, to rectify. The exaggerated rhetoric produced by those social upheavals had its source, nevertheless, in a deep

reality. Consider:

"Workers of the world, unite; you have nothing to lose but your chains."

"This nation cannot continue half slave and half free."

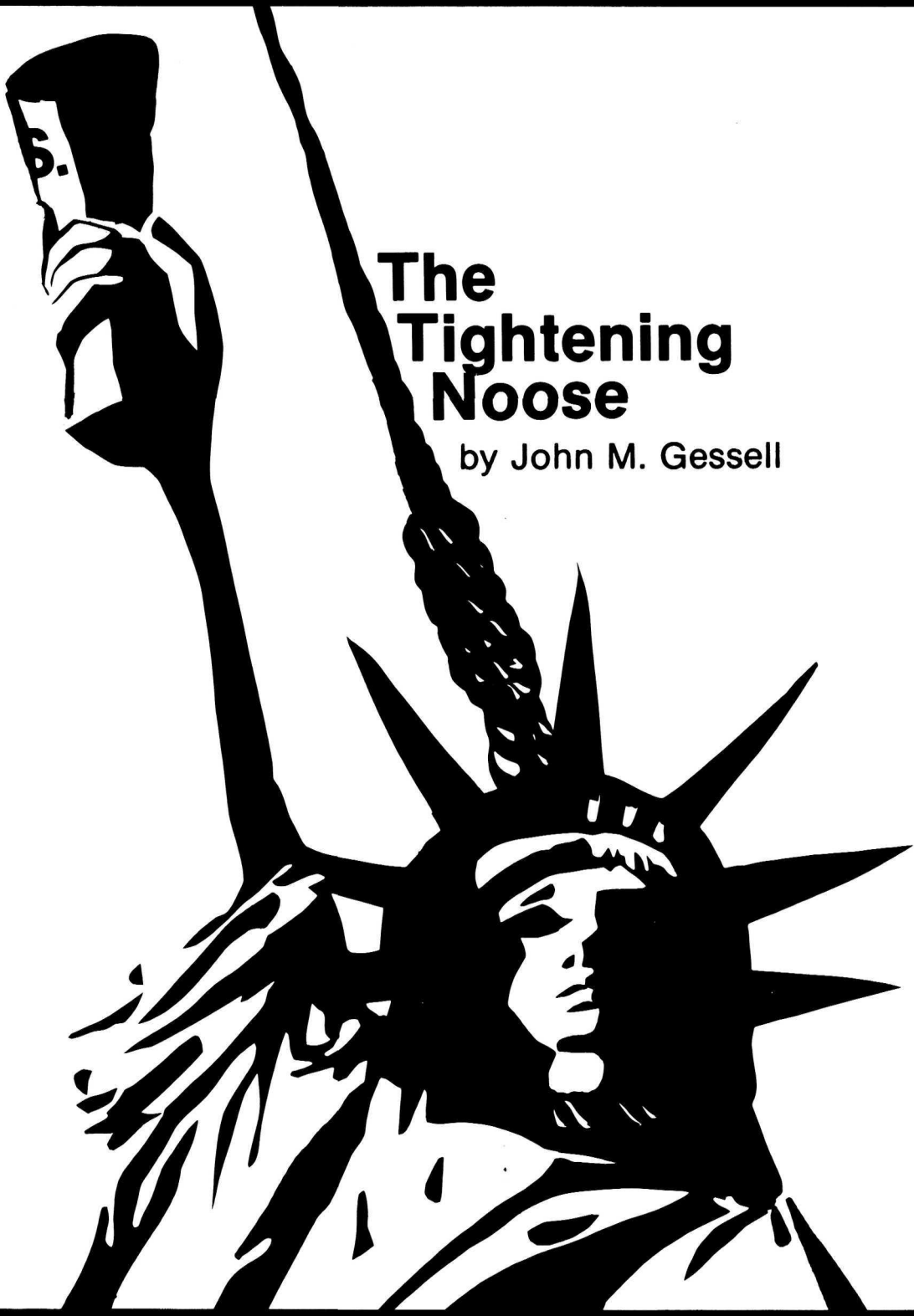
"Give me liberty or give me death."

These declarations were each uttered out of a deep and desperate social dilemma, and were reaching out, pointing toward a fairer earth, a saner and safer human society.

Consider the alternative. Would we want to live in a world in which injustice meets with no resistance, a world in which people supinely acquiesce to their own subjugation and abandon their sense of self-worth? Would we care, or dare, to live in a world in which the powerful hold undisputed sway, with no threat of revolt from those they oppress?

These questions lead us close to the heart of our religious heritage. God is just, and requires justice in human affairs. An unjust arrangement in human society offends God. History is God's rod, and with that rod, God will smite ever and again the unrighteous pretensions whereby unjust people build their life at others' expense. What God requires is repentance (the Greek root of which means "turning around"), and howsoever inadequately, that same thrust, that same motion, is seen in "revolution."

People who find their spiritual roots in the Bible will understand that peace is not to be found by itself. Peace is always gravitating toward the stronger field of justice. Let us not pray for peace alone, but for peace-with-righteousness. The Kingdom of the Prince of Peace is the Kingdom of Righteousness. Let us seek that kingdom first, and all the other blessings will be added. So speaks the Word of God. ■



The Tightening Noose

by John M. Gessell

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*"People of my parents' generation watched the loss of civic virtues under the pressure of the menace of imaginary foes, as good Germans became privatized and left to criminals the field of political action. People of my parents' generation said, 'It can't happen here.' But the cunning of history is such that it can . . ."*

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It is an alarming scenario when U.S. tax dollars are spent to convince U.S. citizens of an external threat so immediate and so menacing that only the most advanced state of military readiness, including forward bases and first-strike capability, will meet it. Rapidly climbing levels of federal spending of tax dollars are making the United States one of the most dangerous countries in the world today. This obsession with armaments is impoverishing the Republic and causing the neglect of human needs and deterioration of the industrial plant. Increasing numbers of tax dollars are spent further to spy on, harass, and imprison U.S. taxpayers who believe that good citizenship means calling this mania into question.

In short, we are being taxed to buy an extravagant military establishment (the largest in the world) which we neither need nor want nor can afford, and when we question these assumptions, that power is directed to compel our silence and pacification. Our tax dollars are turned on us.

To accomplish all of this a certain numbness is required on both sides. The

generals are separated from the real world by their military game plans. The rest of us are shielded from reality by positive reinforcement of our inferiority, of our privatism.

Perhaps the Spanish novelist, Juan Goytisolo, best captures what is happening to us by his reflection on Franco's Spain of "the impossibility of our realizing a free and mature life of action, influencing in any way the fate of our society outside of the ways laid down once and for all [by Franco] with the necessary consequence of reducing every individual's sphere of action to his private life, or forcing him into an egocentric struggle for his personal survival. . . . Besides the censorship sustained by him, his regime created something worse: the habit of *self-censorship and spiritual atrophy* (italics mine) which has condemned Spaniards to practice the elusive art of reading between the lines, of having always to present a censor with the monstrous power of wounding them."

People of my parents' generation watched this process, the loss of the civic virtues under the pressure of the menace of imaginary foes, as good Germans became privatized and left to criminals the field of political action. People of my parents' generation said "It can't happen here."

But the cunning of history is such that

it can happen here. Some of the same conditions which characterized life in the Weimar Republic are appearing worrisomely in the United States: The growing loss of confidence in government and other institutional structures of authority, unmanageable inflation, alleged communist threats, the secularization of the churches and the separation of Biblical and theological scholarship from the church community and its faith context. These economic, political, and ecclesiological erosions sap the vitality of the civic community and render it increasingly susceptible to the simplistic solutions of extremists from the right.

The continued outcry from the right for increased military expenditures and for the development of first-strike capability in Europe against the "communist threat" exhibits a mania which, if not checked, will so exacerbate the arms race as to make a nuclear war inevitable. Such a war could then become an excuse to set up a national security state, to give the Pentagon a free hand at home and around the world, to remove all restraints from the CIA and FBI, to stifle all criticism of government policy and of the nuclear energy industry — in other words, to abolish all civil liberties now protected by the Constitution.

Ted Kennedy in the Senate, and Robert Drinan in the House, both of whom have credentials as Democratic liberals, are pushing a new version of the criminal code reform act. This is a descendent of the infamous "S.1" introduced into Congress several years ago as a part of the massive Nixon assault on the civil liberties of Americans. The present bill, S.1437, would define laws of general applicability which, in the opinion of some observers, could permit prosecution without proving an underlying crime. It could effectively prevent citizens from seeking judicial redress of grievances and the disclosure

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of information. It would severely restrict First and Fourth amendment rights. It could be used as a legal base to inhibit criticism or dissent. In short, it would move us further toward a police state.

Even without some version of such restrictive legislation, some of the Supreme Court's 1978 decisions suggest that the present ominous drift to the right has already created basic constitutional changes in traditional American civil liberties. In *Gannett vs. DePasquale* the court's decision permits secret trials and shows insensitivity to the public's legitimate right to know what goes on. Under this ruling the Watergate burglars could have been tried in secret, and it would never have been disclosed that they were acting under higher orders.

Rakas vs. Illinois permits police search of passengers in an automobile without cause, further restricting the constitutional right of privacy. And in *Smith vs. Maryland* the Court held that the government can secure lists of telephone calls without a warrant and without demonstrating probable cause. It could also permit the government to read private first-class mail. This ruling would have permitted the monitoring of telephone calls made by Woodward and Bernstein in order to discover their sources of information for their work on the Watergate case.

And so the noose tightens. Public officials may increasingly be protected from public scrutiny and accountability under the cloak of secrecy for "national security" reasons. They are protected from criticism under restrictive and repressive legislation and novel Constitutional interpretation, with the consequent destruction of civil liberties. Earlier documentation of this systematic erosion was made by Richard Harris in his dramatic account, *Freedom Spent*. Recently Sidney Zion in an article on the Supreme Court (*New York Times Magazine*) wrote of

concerted and patterned attacks on First and Fourth Amendment guarantees. He detailed the Court's inconsistency in applying precedents, depending on the parties to a case, with the effect of dismantling the Warren Court's procedural protections both for criminal defendants and for press freedoms. As we all know, protection of the rights of the press and of the accused is the bedrock of the protections afforded to all citizens under our Constitution.

An attack on civil liberties is becoming apparent in the controversies surrounding the use of nuclear power. Since Three Mile Island, the industry has become more aggressive and less thoughtful. Instead of responding to important critical judgments on nuclear energy, it has chosen bluff and public tantrums. GE and Westinghouse, for example, have demanded additional government assistance for resolving the problems associated with nuclear waste disposal. This would require taxpayers to clean up after private industry. Questions concerning the future of nuclear power are fateful. But some industry spokesmen have treated them as trivial, since they greatly fear the loss of political and economic control. TMI and the resulting rising crescendo of criticism have badly shaken them.

Industry Counterattacks

The industry's counter-attack has taken two forms. The first is a clear threat by leaders of the industry, such as Westinghouse's Robert Kirby, that unless the country accedes to their demands they will create a situation of economic stagnation. The second is the implied and explicit assumption that the nuclear power industry and the national interest are synonymous. Thus, anyone who opposes the industry's policies acts contrary to the national interest and is, indeed, an enemy of national security. It is only a short step from there to the declaration

that such persons are security risks and should be deprived of their civil liberties. All of this is to say that private enterprise, which has almost no requirement for public accountability, has now assumed the right to make public policy.

Must we choose between a free society and the nuclear industry? If so, then we must teach ourselves to protect our freedoms by developing benign energy resources and a nuclear-free economy. Will loyalty to the nuclear industry be a test of employment and of loyalty to the nation? If so, U.S. taxes are supporting an industry which makes the weapons for the Defense Department, which in turn will use those weapons to protect itself and the industry from citizens who criticize them.

Liberties Inseparable

But, as the 17th century English Puritans knew, civil and religious liberties are inseparable. The rights of conscience in religious matters must be upheld by civil authority, and the rights of conscience must be freely exercised in both civil and religious matters since both are ultimately inextricable. The depressing erosion of our liberties, so hardly won by our parents, cannot continue without a struggle. The struggle ultimately will be carried on by Christians and Jews whose faith in the one God will not permit the violation of biblical teachings about the idolatry of power, and about the proper and restricted function of the state. Those who worship the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and of Jesus Christ will inevitably find themselves in the battle against the pretensions of the powerful and the inordinate, and against the no-Gods of our time who exercise power for a season. Be it noted, however, that religious integrity today requires unrelenting vigilance in these matters. The longer the God believers put off the struggle the harder it will be.

Equal Rights Amendment

The Time is NOW

by Joan Howarth



The only barrier to adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment is less than a dozen votes scattered between a handful of state legislatures. The ERA, which simply prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex, is near the end of the arduous Constitutional Amendment adoption process. It has been passed by both houses of Congress and ratified by 35 of the 50 states. It needs only ratification by three more state legislatures to achieve the required two-thirds of the states. But the deadline for ratification by those three states is June 30, 1982, just two years away.

Winning the last states has been slow and difficult, in large part because the organized right (including in particular the Mormon Church) has seized upon opposition to the ERA as a focus for conservative politics. In spite of the flood of money and misinformation generated by the right-wing opposition typified by Phyllis Schlafly who, like some misguided Paul Revere, issues dire warnings about uni-sex toilets, the ERA continues to have the support of the majority of Americans across the country. The local legislatures have been more vulnerable to pressure, however. The result has been a series of frustrating near-victories in key states such as Florida, North Carolina and Illinois. If those defeats are not turned

around in the next two years, ERA proponents will have to start all over again at the beginning of the long process. The ERA has become a back-burner issue for many, especially those lucky enough to live in ratified states; but now is the time to re-kindle excitement.

There are four distinct prongs to the ERA end-stretch strategy. The first is good old-fashioned electoral politics. Although media attention is focused on the Reagan-Carter-Anderson campaigns, the key to the ERA will be the elections for state legislatures in non-ratified states such as Illinois, North Carolina and Florida. Recent votes in those states have fallen just a few short of adoption. In Illinois for instance, a unique (and constitutionally questionable) state law requires a three-fifths super-majority for ratification. The recent vote was 102 in favor of ratification to 75 opposed, but it fell five votes short. So ERA supporters have decided that "If we can't change their votes, it's time to change the bodies." Money and volunteer time are needed for the pro-ERA candidates who are challenging opposition voters in all the key states. Those unglamorous state contests could be the most important November elections, and the most deserving of financial support.

The second focus is a Women's Equality Day campaign that is being organized in every city or region where there is a chapter of the National

Organization for Women (NOW). Each year Women's Equality Day is celebrated on Aug. 26, the anniversary of the day in 1920 that women's suffrage was passed. When the ERA was first introduced in 1923 by two Republican Senators from Kansas, it was the proposed 20th Amendment, a natural and just complement to the 19th Amendment, women's suffrage. If passed today, the ERA would be the 27th Amendment; seven others have been introduced and passed in the meantime! But the ERA remains a natural, just and unrealized complement to the right to vote.

This year NOW will celebrate Women's Equality Day with walkathons for the ERA on Saturday, Aug. 23, in every city where there is a NOW chapter. Any individual or group can participate either by walking and collecting pledges for each mile finished or by gathering pledges for other walkers. Religious banners in ERA marches are particularly significant as a counter to the incorrect but widely-held notion that churches are opposed to the ERA. An Episcopal Church Women, social responsibility, or youth group could participate in the walkathon with the support of pledges from other church members, aided perhaps by sermon references and announcements during August.

The third tactic is organized economic pressure. NOW has initiated a boycott of the 13 unratified states. Hundreds of organizations (including

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the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, publishers of THE WITNESS and the Church and Society Newsletter), have made a public commitment not to travel into unratified territory for any conferences or meetings. Unfortunately the Episcopal Church General Convention has chosen to ignore the boycott and is planning to hold the next Convention in Louisiana (New Orleans), an unratified state. Those of us who are outraged by that decision should remember that our anger does not help the ERA until we use it. Letters should be sent to the church leadership of the Episcopal Church as well as other church bodies, requesting that the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment be assigned a high priority, with funds apportioned, as an urgent social issue.

The fourth prong is the most predictable: the campaign needs money. Even if you've given money before (and especially if you haven't), it's needed



again. The best way to avoid having to make ERA donations for the next 10, 15, or 20 years is to make sure the amendment is adopted by 1982. The ERA is such a necessary, fundamental step that the United States will adopt it sometime. The only question is whether proponents will have to start all over

again in 1982 and finally win with the help of a generation of younger sisters and brothers, nieces and nephews, children, or grandchildren. Contact ERA groups in your area, or the NOW ERA Strike Force, 425 13th St., N.W., #1048, Washington, D.C., 20004. (202) 347-2279. ■

Witness at the Pentagon

by Kay Atwater

The Pentagon has 32 elevators and escalators, 685 drinking fountains and 85,000 light fixtures. But they go nowhere, quench no thirst, illuminate nothing. The miles of telephone wires, some 100,000 of them, convey no messages of caring. Nor do the huge pillars in the building symbolize a solid foundation. In fact, it has recently been discovered that the whole structure is slowly sinking into the mud upon which it rests. There are cracks in the floor filled in with wax and glossed over by several of the Pentagon's 26,000

employees, not noticed by the robot-like young guide who conducts the visitors' tour several times a day.

In the spring I had the opportunity to participate in the year-long witness for peace at the Pentagon. The Jonah House Community of Baltimore has signed up more than 50 peace and justice groups from all over the country to make their individual witnesses in the public areas of the huge building, with signs, leaflets and demonstrations of protest against the overwhelming proportions to which the military

establishment has grown.

Our small band represented the Colorado-based Center on Law and Pacifism, a legal support group for tax refusal and other forms of civil disobedience. Each group comes for the better part of a week, those who can. Hospitality is provided by the Episcopal Church of St. Stephen and the Incarnation, in Washington, D.C., with a member of the Jonah House Community present as host and coordinator.

Seven of us arrived in two cars on a

drizzly gray morning in April. Before walking to the Pentagon, we paused in the north parking lot, formed a close circle with our arms around each other and our heads bowed, silently gathering strength from each other and from the Lord of Life.

I wanted the whole experience to be behind me as soon as possible, so something other than my own will seemed to be moving my feet up the long curved ramp to the visitors' entrance. We signed up for the guided tour, along with a dozen or so tourists.

The tour was routed to show off the many collections of paintings and photographs, model ships and planes, weaponry and gear that most citizens seem to relate to. Generals and admirals were in oils or photos, and there were other pictures of battlefield scenes, edited to portray the heroism without the horror. Lastly, we passed through a hall where the state flags were hanging, along with the early versions of the stars and stripes. Lest the visitors get any seditious notions, I suppose, the 13-star flag of the American Revolution was either missing or carefully placed so it would seldom be noticed. People in the group, of course, were most interested in seeing their own state flags, thus falling into the obvious trap of identifying themselves and their states with the "total national effort."

To me, the most obscene and disturbing painting hung in a stair well, depicting a chapel altar, complete with cross and Bible. It is well known that established religion gives its blessing to the affairs of state. The military chapel, however, is so incomprehensible, so irrational and offensive. I wondered as I looked at that picture whether the Bibles in the chapel had been edited to suit the philosophy of nationalism and enmity, of violence and retaliation. I wondered whether they know what is really happening when the bread is

broken and held aloft. Imagine someone leaving a communion service in the Pentagon chapel and immediately going to a desk to work on orders for nuclear warheads.

Looking at that painting (for we were not allowed to visit the actual chapel), I was overcome with burning tears for the shame and outrage I felt. This seemed unpardonable idolatry, but I felt helpless to cry out against it. I was inhibited, however, by the presence of the other people on the guided tour, and also of the two armed guards that accompanied our group. Whether we were spotted as possible protesters at the time we signed up for the tour, or later on, it became quite obvious that they were watching our movements closely. Indeed, one of them stayed with us after the tour ended and watched our demonstration in the concourse. As we left the Pentagon we all shook his hand and some said, "See you tomorrow!"

Our demonstration in the Pentagon's concourse gave the guards nothing to be alarmed about. We handed out to passersby about 500 copies of a tax refuser's conscience statement. We took turns holding aloft a large homemade sign that read "Love Your Enemy." Whenever someone paused to engage us in conversation, we told them our story and found out where they stood with regard to supporting the military. Of course, they were overwhelmingly loyal to the Pentagon, because they worked there. Most said they didn't think much about the implications of their work. Some told us what a "nice" group we were compared to another group who had aroused some shouting and jeering the week before we were there. In every case, people responded to our sincerity and friendliness in positive, courteous ways.

Perhaps they didn't realize that we were warming them up for the next day's demonstration, which included the pouring of blood on dollar bills, symbolizing the blood money paid in

war taxes. Other groups have used blood also, or fire, these two elements being powerful symbols of death and violence. We believe that this continuing presence works at an unconscious level, just as do the huge pillars, the shiny hallways, and efficient-looking uniformed staff.

The Jonah House Community is planning to invite all participating groups back for a year's end roundup at the Pentagon during the week between Christmas and New Year's. On the Feast of the Innocents, children and the unborn will be remembered and celebrated, and as last year, many children will participate in that demonstration. ■

Images Of Intercommunion

It was a new time,
yet nothing was new.
Wayfarers,
we already shared
the earth, we shared a
second birth.
We shared our thoughts, and
we shared You, our Lord.

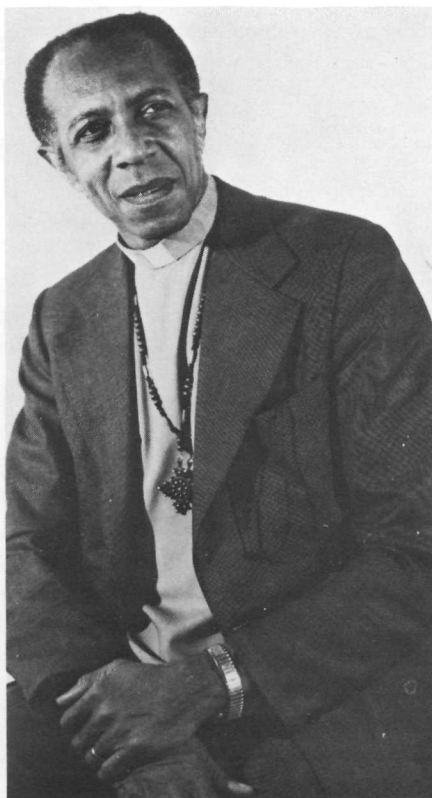
One day in one place
from one table, You
nourished us.
One congregation
that moment took your
given life.

The bread remembered
lies as a live coal
on my tongue.
Expecting pain, I
sense the cool suffusion
of a balm.

My eyes contemplate
a land where light leaves
no shadow.
That land is our home
in this new time when
images
are afterthoughts as
well as prophecies.

—Joanne Droppers

Iran: A View From the Ghetto



Paul Washington

Regardless of coming events in the unfolding fate of the American hostages in Iran — a fate no less precarious because this is a presidential election year in the United States — two perennial themes run through the tragedy. One is the relationship between superpowers and Third World nations — in this case the United States and Iran. The tensions between those nations rating high and those rating low in power and prestige is one of the most volatile and crucial issues confronting the world community in this century.

The second theme bears on the first. One of the dramatic novelties spawned by this tension between nations is civilian improvisation on the ancient art of international diplomacy. The failure of nation-to-nation negotiations is giving rise to people-to-people contacts and conversations. We saw this in Vietnam. Now we see it in Iran.

These two factors provided the setting when Paul Washington, the rector of a parish in the heart of North Philadelphia's black ghetto, went to Iran in June as part of a delegation of 10 Americans, headed by former Attorney General Ramsey Clark. The group attended an international conference on Iranian grievances against the United States. The Executive Council of the Episcopal Church, on which Washington served for some years, passed a resolution noting that he is known for his committed dedication to human rights and human welfare, and expressed its "appreciation and concern for his sincere efforts in the cause of justice and peace." The resolution further noted that such efforts "often require both individuals and groups to test existing regulations."

Robert L. DeWitt, editor of THE WITNESS, interviewed Paul Washington upon his return, as follows.

Paul, did you feel there was any special value in your being a part of that deputation to Iran?

Being an American of African descent, I was gratified at that international conference to hear others witnessing as nations to an evil which people of my race have suffered for more than three centuries. Within minutes after entering the hall where the convention was held, I was accosted by a reporter who expressed great surprise in discovering that we were present, despite warnings that for making the trip we might be prosecuted upon returning home. And the very next subject he brought up was Miami, where three weeks earlier there had been a human explosion by thousands of blacks because four white policemen had been found innocent in their trial for beating a black man to death. Blacks in America have recognized that the ghettos in which we and other ethnic minorities live are but a microcosm of a

macrocosm. We are a domestic colony being treated with equal brutality, equal exploitation, equal dehumanization, and with equal fatality, in the same way that neo-colonialism and imperialism have exercised on the people of Iran and other nations of Africa, South America, Southeast Asia and the Middle East.

What we hear, therefore, is that the oppressed and exploited people and nations of the world are finally realizing that slavery is incompatible with the life of freedom to which God has called us. Whenever we hear people saying, out of their soul and spirit:

"Before I'll be a slave

I'll be buried in my grave,

And go home to my Lord and be free,"

whenever we see a struggling people fighting with the determination that they shall overcome, it tells me that they

are rising to the fullness of stature to which God has called them.

Would that be a general perception on the part of the black community in the United States?

I don't think so. I find people with various levels of enlightenment in the ghetto. The sophisticated activists see a real relationship between what is happening in the black ghettos and what is happening in Third World nations. But I don't think there are a whole lot of people, even among blacks, who see the connection. With them it is more an unreflective reaction of sympathy. The kinds of things that are happening not only in Iran but throughout the Third World immediately strike a sympathetic note with blacks who feel oppression in their ghettos. They may not be sophisticated enough to explain it fully, but when reference is made to oppression being perpetrated by the United States on others, blacks feel at one with them.

How about the reactions of whites?

With whites it can be quite different. I was recently on a talk show on a station in Chicago. A young white woman called in, angry because Ramsey Clark said he understood why the hostages were taken. I responded that I could understand why black people exploded in Dade County, Florida. She said: "Now, Father Washington, don't mix apples and oranges!" I replied that they are not apples and oranges, only that one happens to be domestic and the other happens to be foreign. To me they are one and the same. But, no, I don't think many people see it as I do, including black people.

One of the questions asked of those who make a trip like yours is how one can become an instant expert on a very complicated situation. Four days in a land where you have never been, amongst people you have never seen before, who speak a language you don't understand—what makes you trust your impressions of those four days?

Some years ago my wife and I were going back and forth to Liberia where I served as a missionary for six and a half years. On our last trip home we landed at the airport in Madrid and were greeted by signs all over the place: *Americans, go home*. We expected to encounter a great deal of hostility. Yet on walks in the park in the city of Madrid we were overwhelmed with the affection shown us, and particularly to our children. I got the feeling that the people-to-people relationship can be quite different from the government-to-government relationship. In Iran we recognized from the beginning that this was to be, as far as possible, a people-to-people visit. Understanding a language was not so much the question. We felt we would be able to

comprehend a whole lot more than we were getting from the press. And also that the American people needed to know more than what the press was giving to the country.

What do you think the Iranians are trying to say by holding the hostages? What are they trying to communicate to the U.S. and to the world?

I heard the Iranian Foreign Minister, Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, say that perhaps the first expression of power and strength of any people — or of any person — is the power to say "no." I immediately thought of the baby who won't open its mouth when one is trying to feed it. Babies don't yet quite know how to say "yes" because they don't trust themselves — they don't know what to say "yes" to. But here is an opportunity to say "no" and to make the superpowers of the world mad. And this is the first expression of power of this exploited people who have just gone through a revolution.

But what of their feelings about the hostages, as people? Are they outraged at them, or do they feel sorry for them as innocent pawns?

From those to whom I spoke it was almost unanimous that they thought there should be trials. Some seemed to feel that perhaps only three could be found guilty on the basis of the evidence, and that the trials would probably lead to the release of most of them. But they felt the trials should be held.

The politicians — the President, the Foreign Minister — and some who are looking beyond this present crisis to future relations with the United States, do not feel it is in the best Iranian interests to hold the trials. They are politically sensitive. But the Ayatollah Khomeini — who doesn't care that much about how Americans feel — for him it is a part of their religion. And I think that represents the majority view.

What is there about the Islamic religion which predisposes them this way?

Essentially it is their concept of the process of justice. For Islam, this tends to be a retributive kind of justice, at times seeming like "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth" attitude. If one has committed a sin, one must suffer the penalty. And their point about justice cannot be lightly dismissed. A pro-Iranian demonstration at City Hall in Philadelphia recently displayed two signs. One said: "Why Americans are angry: 100 days held hostage by Iranians." The other said: "Why Iranians are angry: 25 years under torture by the Shah supported by the U.S.A."

But their religion has deep implications for their self-understanding as well. They are people ready to be martyred

for what they feel is justice. The Ayatollah is a man revered by Iranians as one who speaks for God. And he has told them: "We must not care about embargoes nor fighter planes nor tanks nor guns. We will be martyrs. We will accept as much death as America is ready to give, and we will overcome, and America and all who are imperialistic will fail." When one no longer fears death, one is finally free. Getting tough over the issue of freeing the hostages will be as successful as Rockefeller was in freeing the hostages at Attica. I feel that if Carter seriously entertained the idea of getting tough, and put more aircraft carriers in the Persian Gulf, that Iran would survive, and America would lose its soul. The whole issue of trying the hostages is therefore not finally a political question for them. It is a religious question.

Given both the delicacy and the complicated nature of the situation, what stance did your deputation take on the hostage question?

At every opportunity I pressed the feeling I have that the matter of the hostages has become a preoccupation for them. I told them that their revolution will not be able to move on because of this bottleneck which prevents their dealing with other pressing things which need to be done. Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh said to me in private, "You don't have to tell me we are preoccupied — I know we are!"

Ramsey Clark also came on strong on this issue in his remarks to the Conference. In fact, that is why he made that offer personally to take the place of one of the hostages if that would help resolve the crisis. In one of our strategy caucuses there, our whole group had said to him, "Ramsey, don't say you are going to offer yourself in place of one of the hostages." We felt it would be tactically unproductive. He listened carefully to our reasons, but as he was closing his address, he made that offer. And I think he was very sincere. (*See Ramsey Clark's statement elsewhere in this issue. — Ed.*)

What is your opinion of the extensive U.S. intervention in Iran over the past several years?

Probably all nations want allies strategically located in various parts of the world which can provide them with resources they need — and will take any measures necessary to get them. I suppose that intervention — covert as well as overt — has therefore always been a way of life in international affairs. I recall my early impressions of the TV series, "Mission Impossible." It was depicting the method of operation of C.I.A.-type efforts in international affairs — intrigue, murder, overthrowing governments, installing a new regime. I have come to realize there was more fact than fiction in those stories.

A woman who was recently in Iran told of sitting in President Bani-Sadr's office as he told how Iran was feeling the squeeze of economic pressures and of foreign agents still running free in his country. She said that as he was speaking she could almost hear the same words coming from Salvadore Allende of Chile, who was slain by a U.S. coup.

Yes, intervention has been a way of life in international relations; but it is now intensified by a new monster on the scene, the multinational corporations. When the Shah needed more money to buy sophisticated military planes, it is reported that Kissinger suggested he raise the price of oil. And that led to the gasoline lines a few years ago. This is how complicated it all gets.

In the light of such an unmanageable situation, and the governmental and corporate power behind it all, what do you see as the practical value of such a venture as you were part of?

The Iranian officials know international law, and the realities of international relations, better than you or I. They know they cannot bring the Shah to justice. Further, they know the chances are next to nothing of getting back the money with which he absconded. About all that leaves is an apology from the highest level possible, an apology for the U.S. role in the disasters which have been visited upon Iran.

But is it possible for a government to apologize? Isn't it something which in the official language of diplomacy is never done?

That is usually true, although Washington has a way of turning diplomatic phrases, like terming an utter failure "an incomplete success." And, as someone said recently, this country expressed regret to Russia in the early '60s after the U-2 incident, to Cambodia after the Mayaguez incident, and to Israel just a few months ago after that highly publicized U.N. vote. An apology on an official level would not be entirely new.

But, failing that, I do think there is real possibility in a people-to-people communication. I heard Iranians draw a distinction between governments and people. An idea in its infancy, but which is being discussed and might prove possible, would be the issuance of a letter from the U.S. people, and, with the massive support of groups across the country getting signatures, to make this a significant response to the need for an apology. Particularly if the support is strong from religious groups.

Why religious groups?

Someone was saying recently that because of the strong religious dimension of Iranian life there is a peculiarly

appropriate dynamic in initiatives by religious groups. In a measure church groups were a vanguard in the Vietnamese situation, as well as in the civil rights movement. It might be equally or more so in the Iranian context.

True, there are those in this country who see that kind of initiative as “meddling in politics.” People have raised the question with the deputation of 10 of which I was a part —

and particularly of the three clergy — “What are you doing, going over there interfering in something that the State Department ought to be dealing with?” Yet, to me, God’s intervention in the oppression of the Children of Israel was a political intervention. God intervened in the affairs of an oppressed people to deliver them from bondage. And if God did that, then that is where we ought to be, and that is what we ought to be doing. ■

Statement in Tehran:

‘Dialogue Makes Everything Possible’

by Ramsey Clark

First I would like to thank Imam Khomeini for his vision in calling this conference together, and next to thank President Bani-Sadr for the excellent leadership he has provided in bringing such splendid delegations from so many parts of the earth to Tehran at this difficult time. Most of all I would like to thank all of the people of Iran for their openness, their generosity and their compassion in inviting 10 private American citizens to this conference. It shows that the people understand the difference between the people and the government. If we ever fail to understand that, we must abandon our hope.

Ours is a good delegation; it’s a cross-section from coast to coast, it represents our religious faiths, our men and women, our blacks and our whites, our academics, our lawyers. We’re here to learn, to grow, to talk with as many of you as time allows, to carry home the messages that you can give us, to carry home the searing truth that has been presented of U.S. transgressions in Iran.

We’re here because we believe a new beginning is imperative and that people to people conferences like this make dialogue possible, and dialogue makes everything possible.

The Iranian Revolution against dictatorship, against imperialism, against intervention has prevailed. It is a miracle that an unarmed people could overthrow a dictator with such staggeringly huge armies, fully equipped with more tanks than the British army, with more American-made jet aircraft, F-14’s, F-16’s, F-18’s, F-111’s in possession or on order than any nation on earth except the United States itself. They struggled against a Shah that from 1972 till 1978 purchased more than \$19 billion worth of material to kill people and to control their own, and against all of the force and the cruelty and the cunning of the SAVAK, as violent and unscrupulous a secret police as ever existed. The people, by human will, by unity, overcame.

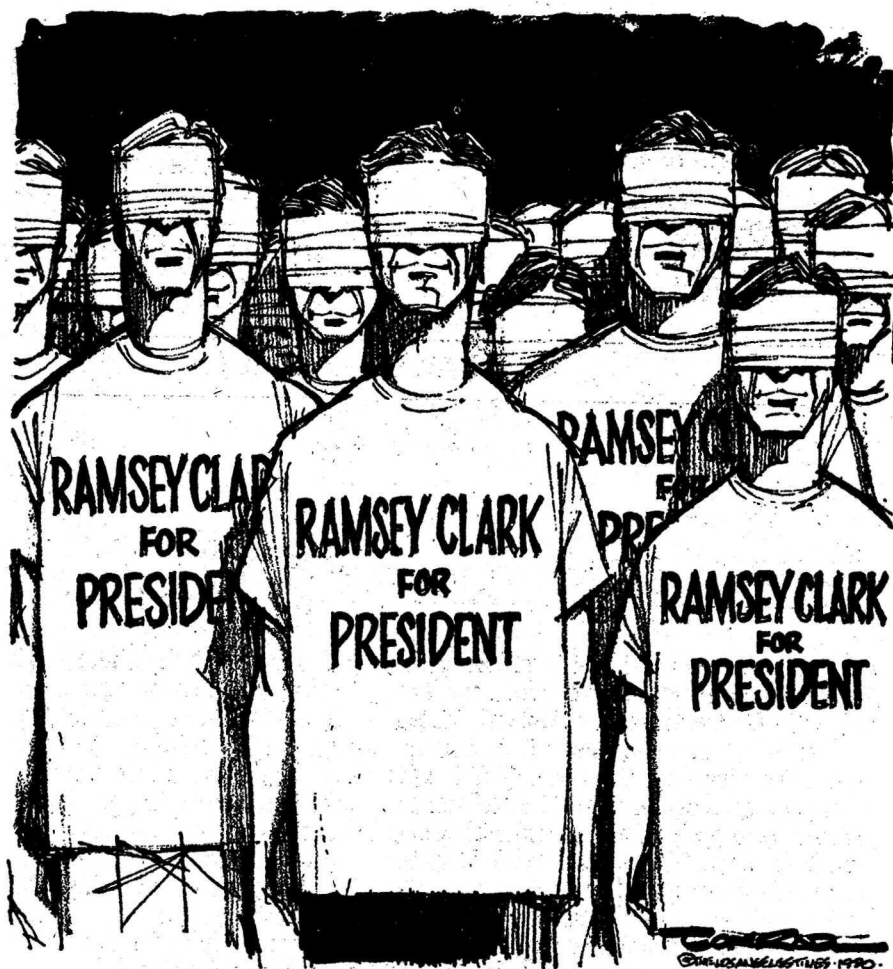
The U.S. role in Iran is for me terribly painful. I’m sure as fellow human beings

you can understand that special anguish. But I must confirm several items of the U.S. intervention. Of course the United States of America helped return the Shah to the throne. Of course President Carter phoned the Shah of Iran from the U.S. in September of 1978 on the Saturday following Black Friday with the blood of martyrs still covering Jaleh Square here in Tehran and said, “We support you.” Of course the U.S. staged a military expedition and assault on the sovereign territory of Iran in April of 1980, and of course that raid would have killed the very hostages that it claimed it was intended to save had it reached Tehran. Of course the U.S. leadership still clings to the idea that it can control the governments and the destinies of other people; read the words of President Carter from Washington this week on the possibility of military interventions. Of course the Shah should have been tried for his crimes. Is there to be a man above the law? And of course the hundreds of millions and

billions of dollars in wealth ripped from the bodies and the backs and the sweat and the broken bones of the people of Iran should be returned to Iran for the benefit of families of the martyrs and the poor and the elderly and all those that need.

I must say something about lessons of all this for the people of the United States. There are two main lessons. The United States has violated every principle for which the U.S. government claims to have been created by its own people. Our constitution stands for freedom, yet our government has supported dictatorship of the most oppressive types. Our government and constitution stand for democracy, for the self-determination of people, yet we supported through our government a police state in Iran that stripped the freedoms and the rights of millions of people and left 70,000 martyrs. Our government, our constitution purports to stand for human dignity, yet we supported a police state and a SAVAK that killed, maimed and tortured. God help us. But the second lesson to be learned is that this policy of the United States that violated every principle on which its own government was founded is doomed to failure, and you must help show the American people that that policy can not prevail. It is impossible to subjugate a people, as brave Iran has shown.

Now, all that I say here I have said all over the United States many times for many years, and I hope you will understand that I would not travel half way around the world to criticize my government in any way that I have not on its own soil, in far more vigorous terms, with far more extensive facts than what I have put forth here today. Like Albert Camus, I would like to be able to love my country and still love my government, so perhaps this is only my small way of struggling for justice in and by my country so that I can love it. But now the official need is to look to the



Tehran Caucus

future. We must stop intervention. We cannot go on like this. Look at the U.S. record: Vietnam — I cry about Vietnam, that beautiful land and those beautiful people and a million casualties and the rolling thunder of bombings and the burnings of forests and villages; Cuba and our policies toward Cuba; Nicaragua and how we finally supported Somoza, a Shah in that country; armed interventions in Lebanon; Salvador Allende of Chile and those who plotted his murder, and the fear and the death among the people under the Pinochet government; the Philippines under Marcos.

As a citizen of the United States I should remind you that we did not invent intervention. Before Columbus sailed the Atlantic there was intervention. We heard Said Sanjabi, the brilliant young Iranian, describe British intervention here in Iran in the '20s and '30s. You need only think of the neighboring country of Afghanistan and the lives of the people in Afghanistan today to know that intervention is not unique to the United States and that all interventions must be stopped.

What can we do? Dare we create a court of international justice? An

international court of criminal justice is essential to the survival of our species. We can become the first in history to destroy ourselves. If there were an international court of criminal justice today, the Shah would be tried. Is this so impossible that we can't think of it? Many men have dreamed of it for years. I feel that we have to act, we have to believe, we have to stretch our imaginations and create an international court of criminal justice. We need to create an international court of *habeus corpus* that can have a long, long arm that can reach prisons anywhere and liberate prisoners of continents who live in tyranny. Let's dare to do it.

We also need desperately to address the superpowers and all nuclear powers on immediately dismantling nuclear arms. It must be done now. As St. Thomas Aquinas, in my Christian faith, told us many centuries ago: "War is inevitable among nations not governed by sovereign law." As it was then so it is now, and that's why these people-to-people conferences are essential, because governments will be afraid to act. Only the people can save themselves.

We must address quickly the new imperialism, the vast imperialism, the cruel imperialism of the multinational corporations that love money, wealth and power, and care nothing for children who are suffering, nor for humanity. Their power is immense. Single corporations with budgets exceeding the budgets of most nations on earth, dominating our lives as though we were players on a chess board. We'll be the masters of change or the victims of change. We must come to grips with this terrible problem of the imperialism of corporate wealth quickly. Further the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and insist upon its fulfillment. Be outraged by transgression of any human right of any human being in any nation on earth.

But finally, I want to talk as a citizen of the United States, as a human being, to each of you about the hostages. I was in Iran three times last year after the Shah left before the hostages were taken. I would have come and will come many more times to see the fulfillment of this revolution, so I ask you to hear me. The hostage issue measures perhaps, what is possible in the future. Iran has shown us what power its moral force holds, how through its people it overthrew this army of the Shah, this SAVAK of the Shah. We need courageous and visionary leadership



now to create a new world of peace and freedom and dignity, and again the people of Iran and the government of Iran can lead. Taking hostages uninvolved in specific offenses for which you are concerned cannot be justified in a country that wants to live in peace.

The seizure of the hostages here is understandable in human terms. God knows it is understandable, but it is not right. Of course it is not right, for where is Alan Dulles, where is Kermit Roosevelt, where is Richard Helms,

Henry Kissinger, and Richard Nixon? Who are these 53 little people? The effect of holding these 53 little people is to provide an excuse for the powers of intervention. What is the excuse for those fleets in the Persian Gulf, and how long would they remain if this issue of hostages were removed? The holding of the hostages provides an excuse to the real enemies of Iran, to the real imperialists.

The effect of holding the hostages is to increase the arms race. The total defense budget of the United States is going up 7% to 8% this year. That is a tragedy not just to the poor people of the United States. Yes, we have poor people, millions living in urban poverty—minorities, overwhelming numbers of Chicanos, and beautiful Mexican people, the blacks, and all that money going into arms so that the multinationals can dominate countries. We shouldn't act to encourage that sort of thing. This holding of hostages impairs diplomacy among nations. We need diplomacy among nations until we have the things that can prevent intervention and imperialism for all times, for all people. The hostages are the wrong people. I agree with several speakers of this morning and afternoon before me who urged a prompt resolution of the hostage crisis because there are these real risks to it. The risk of intervention and violence with terrible cost to Iran in the fulfillment of its revolution and finally the question of morality.

As an individual human being I am so sure that I am right in this, so sure that it is imperative that the hostages be released now. It is so important to the fulfillment of the Iranian revolution which it is damaging in a hundred ways. It is so important to the individual justice and right of the hostages, and it is so important to peace on earth, that I offer today to take the place of any hostage if that would help resolve this tragic crisis. ■

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**That no one has taken responsibility for the accident is one of the most important lessons to be learned from TMI, since the majority of U.S. citizens now lives less than 50 miles from a nuclear power plant.**  
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TMI: Who Is Responsible?

by Lockwood Hoehl

The nuclear power industry claims no one died as a result of the accident at Three Mile Island's Nuclear Generating Station on March 28, 1979. Yet Karen Kestetter, a resident of nearby Middletown, Pa., knows differently.

Her neighbor, a young mother, had evacuated Middletown with her two children. On the road between Middletown and the Maryland border they were involved in a car crash. The mother was badly injured, and one of her children escaped unharmed. But her 2-year-old son was killed.

That little boy's death reveals more

than the nuclear industry's insensitivity. It shows that the accident set off a chain of events that deeply affected lives in ways we will never know. And frequently those effects occurred so far from the accident itself that no one will ever have to bear moral or economic responsibility for them.

Before the accident at TMI, the nuclear industry proclaimed proudly that there had not been a major accident in 400 reactor years (the total amount of time all U.S. commercial reactors had been in operation). By implication, can we expect another TMI-like accident in the next 400 reactor years, or about six calendar years? Many nuclear critics believe, in fact, that the question is not *will* there be another accident, but *when* will it occur?

It is not too soon, then, to be thinking about the next time. Nuclear proponents say the accident taught lessons that will make nuclear power safer. But, we can also learn where responsibility for the accident lies—just to understand and be ready for the next time.

The nuclear power industry and the Federal government were way ahead of the public in anticipating an accident and economic responsibility for it. In 1957, Congress enacted the Price-Anderson Act to limit an operating utility's liability for damages from any one nuclear plant accident to a \$560 million ceiling.

The Act also provides that costs for investigating and settling claims, and for settling lawsuits would come *off the*

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

top. Therefore, if damages exceeded the limit, the victims would receive only a proportionate share of their actual losses. By today's standards, (and probably by 1957's also) \$560 million is grossly insufficient. On the other hand, incidentally, the Price-Anderson Act plainly belies industry claims of nuclear power's safety.

But even if there were not this ceiling, how far does a utility company's liability for damages extend? It seems likely it would be liable if, during an accident, a chunk of its building struck a passing car and killed the driver. But is a utility liable for death or injuries resulting from an automobile crash involving citizens escaping a nuclear accident? A similar case is less tragic, but raises the same question.

Mrs. Paul Grieger says she knew about the atom when she "was 16 and in school, and I feared it then." Now she is 65 and her fear has not changed.

Mrs. Grieger and her husband own and operate the Regal Motel between Middletown and Harrisburg, about six miles north of TMI. The TMI accident legitimated her fear of the atom: it has

sent the motel's business plummeting.

"No one wants to stay in the Central Pennsylvania area now," Mrs. Grieger says.

And the accident has cost her more than business. When the Griegers evacuated on March 30, 1979, the police told them to turn off all utilities. When they turned off their heating boiler—installed less than two years before at a cost of \$4800—it was irreparably damaged. The Griegers and the boiler manufacturer split the replacement cost. The Griegers' share was \$1500.

Where should responsibility be placed? Was the boiler improperly constructed or installed? Did the Griegers fail to follow operating instructions? Was it necessary to turn off utilities, as the police said? Or does responsibility fall on Metropolitan Edison, operator of TMI, whose errant Unit 2 reactor initiated the unlikely sequence of events?

Possibly, the Griegers could clear the confusion and seek compensation by going to court. But is it worth it? Probably not. They will just keep paying their high electricity bills to Met

Ed, which lately include an additional \$3.70 per month—their share of Met Ed's recent \$56.4 million annual rate increase needed to pay for replacement power purchased from other utilities.

On a much larger scale, the accident also had an impact on the Bethlehem Steel mill, north of TMI in Steelton. Because the mill is just outside the "critical" five-mile radius from TMI, it continued operating during the accident and did not have a general evacuation of its 3500 workers.

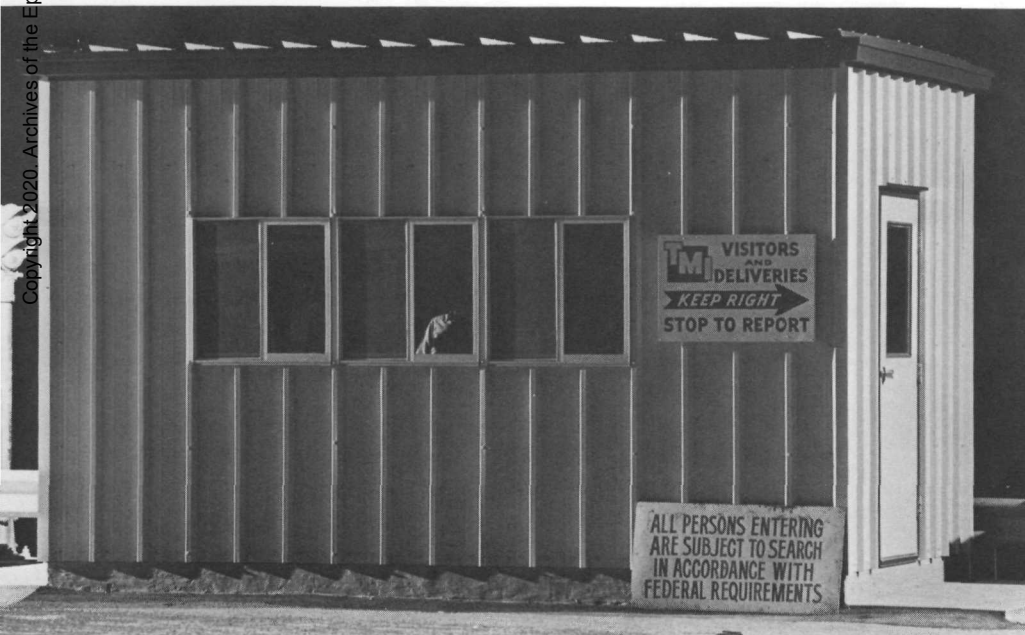
Instead, Bethlehem permitted workers to take off as much time as they felt they needed, either without pay or using vacation time. Some took just enough time to evacuate their families and then returned. Some left the area for several days until the danger subsided. Many took no time off at all.

A Bethlehem Steel spokesperson could not give a precise figure for absenteeism, but called it "considerable for some days, probably 20 to 30% for any specific shift. We were running three shifts a day." Operations were "maintained," but output was not up to capacity.

Calculating the mill's losses due to the accident would be an enormous task, and most likely impossible. Not so for the workers, whose lost work and vacation time, plus expenses for evacuating, can be calculated in each uncompensated pocketbook.

Fortunately, the TMI accident did not release enough radiation to contaminate Bethlehem's Steelton mill. Had it been forced to close, it would have left—at the very minimum—3500 unemployed workers and millions of dollars in capital losses.

Workers who own homes and property in the TMI area would have been hit triply hard by a large release of radiation. Not only would they have lost their jobs and have had to leave their homes, but they also would have been unable to recover property losses from their insurance companies.



Homeowner's insurance does not cover radiation damage. As Ralph Nader pointed out in a recent newsletter, "Not a single firm from Lloyd's of London to the great rock of Prudential will issue any private property insurance protection due to nuclear accidents. And they told the nuclear power industry as early as the fifties that they were unwilling at any price to provide coverage for full losses due to a radiation accident."

A lot of attention has been paid to speculation about the physical, genetic, and ecological effects of TMI's released radiation, and not enough attention to these other tangible and identifiable effects. The public does not seem to grasp the idea of genetic mutation in some unknown future as well as it does the reality of damaged boilers, lost work and vacation time, and dead little boys.

It is also easier to think about responsibility for an effect of the accident that is experienced here and now, and to understand the hard fact that no one has taken responsibility and probably never will. That is one of the most important lessons to learn from TMI, because the majority of U.S. citizens now live less than 50 miles from a nuclear power plant.

In thinking about the effects of a nuclear plant accident, each caring person is called upon to consider also her or his moral responsibility to the community. Again, Three Mile Island can inform these considerations.

Bad as the accident was, it could have been much worse. It occurred slowly over a period of days, rather than suddenly; but next time it may not. In a warped sense, it can be seen as a dry run.

Does a caring, moral person evacuate, or stay behind to help others escape?

Marge Clement lives less than 10 miles north of TMI in Lemoyne. She is an active critic of nuclear power and a member of the Social Justice Committee of St. Theresa's Roman

Catholic church. How deeply did she consider leaving the area?

"I didn't question that I should evacuate until after it was over," she says. "Then, two people said things to me like 'You, who are a Christian, should have stayed to help the poor and elderly.' But, I don't feel guilty about leaving. My three kids were my first responsibility."

Marge Clement was not alone in her decision. One clergyperson told how his friends and parishioners who are doctors, nurses, clergy colleagues and other professionals, evacuated during the accident. He was so angry that they neglected what *he* thought were their responsibilities that it took him months to make peace with them.

Many immobile and helpless people were left behind. Care for those in institutions—hospitals, nursing homes, prisons—deteriorated as frightened and mobile citizens evacuated.

William C. Mielke, pastor of Olivet Presbyterian Church in Harrisburg, opened and managed for the Red Cross an emergency shelter in nearby Hershey. He believes the slow exodus of evacuees created an unexpected difficulty.

"Probably as people dribbled out of the area," Mielke wrote in *The Christian Century*, "the potential evacuation problem for the rest of the community increased rather than decreased." As each person left, at least one less body and one less vehicle were on hand to help those remaining. Had the condition of TMI worsened, there would have been more hard decisions to make.

Marge Clement thinks a call for quick evacuation would have created a triage situation—which ones are not to be saved. "There was a transportation problem," she says, "because there weren't enough buses available. So who was going to get out first—the elderly, prisoners, kids, the handicapped, the sick?"

Often overlooked are the workers at Three Mile Island, who stayed to bring the plant under control. Many of them say they were just doing their jobs, and that they did not think they were in danger. Regardless of motive, they fulfilled their responsibilities to their community.

During the evacuation, as in everyday life, the burden of responsibility fell on a few shoulders, and there it remained. The Rev. Howard B. Kishpaugh, pastor of All Saints Episcopal Church in Hershey, says he was the "resident pastor" to 50 evacuees at the Red Cross shelter in the Hershey Sports Arena.

"I was the only member of the clergy who was there," he says. "Generally, I arrived at 5 or 6 A.M. and I put them to bed around 12 o'clock at night. That went on for about eight days."

Why did the responsibility for ministering to so many become the work of only one?

Pastor Mielke suggests, in his article mentioned above, that citizens in the rest of the country should at least have taken the responsibility of sending reinforcements for the community leaders and volunteers who were burnt out from the pressure of conducting the evacuation.

"So far as I can figure out, the rest of the nation was also transfixed by this nuclear terror god," he writes. "Did anyone consider that even under the threat of evacuation, human resources in addition to nuclear automatons (i.e., officials and experts sent to TMI) might be needed in Harrisburg? No one thought, no one suggested, no one asked, no one came."

But should people who live outside the Central Pennsylvania region be expected to respond in that way? To say "no" puts the weight of responsibility for TMI's effects on the victims of the accident—something the nuclear power industry is already doing quite adequately. To say "yes" points toward how Christians should respond next

time. And it implies that our responsibility continues even now, just as the accident continues and will continue for up to 10 more years.

Typically, our image of a disaster-torn community is one of cooperation, neighbor helping neighbor, everyone pitching in for the survival of all. The accident at Three Mile Island did not elicit that reaction. In a nutshell, community responsibility collapsed, and the majority ran—60%, in fact, of those living within a five-mile radius of TMI.

Troubling as that is, it needs to be understood objectively and without judging the residents. Then we can also ponder the fact that nuclear power in our midst has distorted an important, traditional image of community, and has created the potential for what Pastor Mielke calls “mass urban terror.”

And to view nuclear power in that light is a far cry from the way it is described by the nuclear industry—a benign generator of safe, cheap, clean, necessary energy. ■

Continued from page 2

theories for a just industrial society were first tried in rural agrarian Russia where from a human point of view it has certainly been a disaster and not even followed.

Any society must have capital, including a Communist society. There the state is the capitalist. Mr. McClain does not seem to see that the Communist rulers are the ruling class which control through a dominant economic system.

It seems to me that the Gospel message is, not that the will of God is opposed to capitalism (he is opposed to any such ism) but that he is opposed to the *use* made of capital in many areas of life.

A lot deeper thinking is going to have to be done by Christians on the insights of Marxism and its relationship to our faith and the analysis of economic systems if we are not to sound like stereotyped, worn out records of the 1930s. With all our terrible failings as citizens in the West and in the United States, just compare and contrast with those countries of the world where the state holds all the capital and see how

much more human liberty and justice there is.

John Balz
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Responsible Capitalism

To the good, George McClain's article makes me uneasy. But what is less good is that it makes me wonder what the article contributes to the mutual up-building of the church.

To me, the article reads like a religious talking about the early church using terms offhandedly of the various heresies, not saying what aspect of each he is concerned about. From the article I'm not certain what is meant by the terms capitalism and socialism.

I wonder if the church might not contribute more by speaking of responsible capitalism rather than muddying the water with the term socialism. Can there be no responsible capitalism? When all is said and done, can there be socialism without capitalism?

The Wall Street Journal, I think, should be complimented for advocating responsible capitalism. It does balance its editorial pages with intelligent socialist replies.

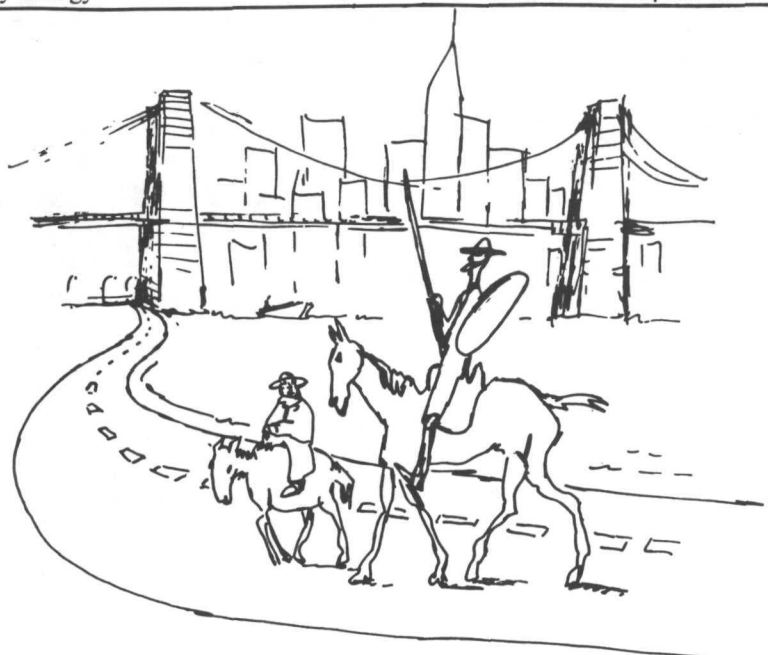
For a good introductory survey into the complexities of socialism I would ask Christians to consider Michael Harrington's book. With today's complex trade arrangements, national and international, and the strong unions controlling employee wages, does anyone think that America truly has capitalism?

THE WITNESS is a valuable voice in the Episcopal Church. But would this voice be less effective if it spoke in more clearly defined limits on the subjects taken on?

Douglas Schewe
Madison, Wisc.

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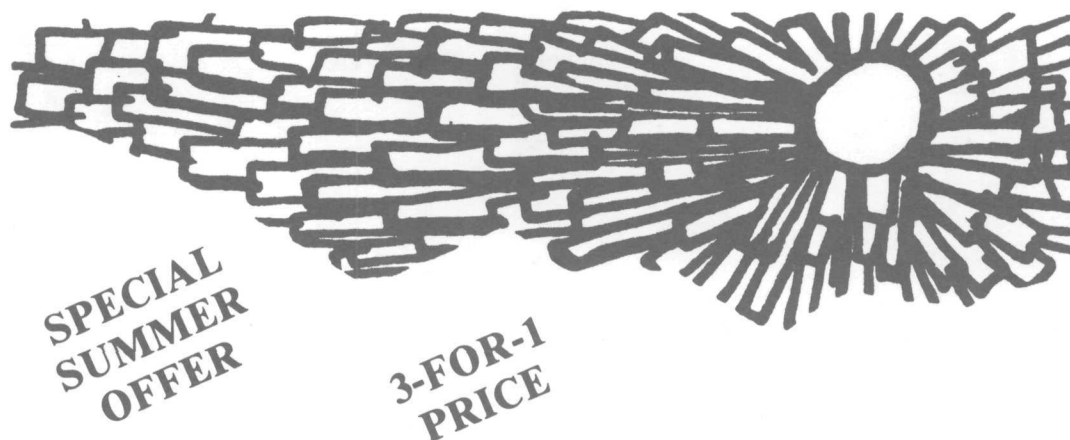


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