

THE WITNESS

VOL. 64, NO. 11 NOVEMBER, 1981

Capital and Labor
In the Silicon Age
Barbara Ehrenreich
Robert Appleyard
A. Sivanandan
David Snider

**“What does labor want?...
We want more school
houses and less jails, more
books and less guns, more
learning and
less vice, more
leisure and less
greed, more justice
and less revenge.”**



Samuel Gompers-1893

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

Voice of Reason

I think that the posture of THE WITNESS is edifying, and aware, and necessary — exactly like a breath of fresh air in a musty, hot room. In these days of media hype and public relations machinations, and with an administration that is fully expected to be more interested in profits than people, in autocratic power than in democratic participation, and in frightening with la bete rouge than in encouraging planetary fraternalization, THE WITNESS can be a voice of reason, of love, of requisite variety, of change, and an example and encouragement to all in this nation who yearn for a community bonded in love rather than in fear.

I suspect, in the criminal justice area, we will witness a return to clarion calls for stricter laws, unleashed police, tougher judges, longer sentences, and similar familiar panaceas. We need voices that will point out that crime and disorder form a barometer of national health; that perhaps, in the big picture, a community or a nation would be better served if the national posture were one of love and sharing and concern for neighborhood organization, education, nutrition, housing, and a healthy environment for everyone.

If this nation could isolate and neutralize and ostracize the violent and predatory people — whether they be in ghetto, Bel Air, police department, barrio, penthouse, pentagon, or city hall — and if this nation could honor and reward and set forth as representatives the peace keepers, the Good Samaritans, the people of heart and compassion, it would be a different planet indeed. And this society could be recognizable as Judeo-Christian.

Sooner than we like, we may have to choose — like those four Christian women in El Salvador — to cast our lot with the “least brethren.” I hope that the Spirit will give us courage; I believe that

it will be a dandy affair — “them that holds four aces and the Joker seldom throws in their hand!”

Prof. A. C. Germann
Dept. of Criminal Justice
California State University
Long Beach, Cal.

Special to the Family

The Senior Contributing Editor spoiled us by signing his editorials. The unsigned editorials may be good journalism, but it leaves a sense of loss, and may be shaky theology. The Word comes incarnate in flesh and blood, in a person — named, known, loved. In a journalistic sense, a magazine certainly can have unsigned editorials. But THE WITNESS is not just another journal. It is special to the family. I hope I can get you to rethink unsigned editorials.

W. Benjamin Holmes
Philadelphia, Pa.

(As we indicated in the September issue, all WITNESS editors collaborate on editorial topics and content, although only one takes responsibility for the actual writing. Our compromise solution to the problem above is to list the latter's initials at the end, “and the editors,” in the future. This month's editorial was a joint effort of all the editors. — Eds.)

‘Remove My Name’

Please remove my name from your mailing list. I believe that we receive guidance from our Sunday services and weekly prayers. I believe that Democrats, Republicans, Socialists etc. can become active in our society as their prayers for guidance tell them. But I do not believe in using our Episcopal Church publications to tell us who to support or what to boycott. Separation of church and state is a sound policy. Politics and religion should not be mixed on Sundays — or weekdays. Our parish has lost members because those on the vestry disagree about welfare, nuclear power, El Salvador, Iran, ERA, abortion etc. etc. etc.

Mrs. Frank A. Janes
Edina, Minn.

Sustaining Influence

Just a note along with my renewal to thank you for your helpful magazine. It is one of the things I use to sustain myself month after month, along with supportive friends and colleagues. It is a source of useful information, innovative ideas, and basic religion all of which adds strength on an ongoing basis. It helps make what might have been impossible, possible, in my own life and in the lives of those I touch within my family, my community and my place of employment. Please keep it coming!

Ellen S. Zimmermann
Pleasant Ridge, Mich.

Churches Fail Disabled

I was heartened to learn from Connie Myer that the problems of the disabled in this country are “different, and due to greater wealth, more easily handled” than is the case in Third World countries. (See “Power to the Disabled,” August WITNESS.) Utilizing the criterion for discerning authentic Spirit from pseudo-spirit, as suggested by the editorial in that issue (that is, looking for evidence of justice and solidarity), I would like to raise the following questions for the churches’ consideration.

The National Council of Churches declares that the mainline churches have been “busier with this than with the International Year of the Child.” Spirit or pseudo-spirit? The Lutheran Church in America (of which I am a member) voted last year at its National Convention to exclude from medical insurance coverage those clergy and church workers who have adopted, or foster, handicapped children. The philosophy and praxis of cost-effectiveness evidenced by the LCA reflects an example of non-inclusion and lack of access that is not easily mitigated by evasive preoccupation with church ramps, elevators and sound systems.

Authentic Spirit or pseudo-spirit? Over 500,000 children in this country reside in foster care. Of these,

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THE WITNESS EDITORIAL

Solidarity Day

Where Stands the Church?

The majority of people in the United States and across the world are in a scramble to decide where their basic interests are best served economically, politically and religiously. That almost desperate search has to do with the essentials for sustaining life in a human way: Food, housing, jobs, health care, education, energy, and peace.

The frightening fact is that for increasing numbers the choices are limited and many have *no* alternatives. A vivid manifestation of this was the recent demonstration of organized labor and its allies — Solidarity Day in Washington, D.C. on Sept. 19. The turnout and mix of people was a surprise to the organizers, media and public-at-large: A quarter of a million people marched — more than in Martin Luther King's great 1963 March on Washington.

National Park Service estimates of the crowd considered the following: 4,200 buses were on the scene (including every available charter bus east of the Mississippi); seven trains had carried a total of 8,750; 50,000 came by car or local transport from the Greater Washington area, and most unions had brought delegations from coast to coast. State, County and Municipal Workers (AFSCME) sent the largest delegation — 60,000 — almost a third of them from New York City alone. The AFL-CIO and affiliates also picked up a \$65,000 tab so *all riders* could travel free on Washington's subway system that day, not only to make it easier to get to the rally, but to cushion the impact of the throng on citizens of the city.

To ranks of organized labor were joined leaders and members of groups representing women, blacks, Hispanics, gays, and various community organizations, as well as youth, the elderly, and the disabled. Some, heretofore antagonistic, were reconciled: "We were marching next to gays and women and peace activists and we found it an enjoyable experience, not a turnoff," said a hard hat from Madison, Wisc.

Another feature of the march was that a significant

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MNCs Exploit Women On Global Assembly Line

by Barbara Ehrenreich

*In Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, Anna M. rises at 5 a.m. to make tortillas for her three children before taking a two-hour bus trip to work at the new U.S.-owned **maquiladora**. Her children will spend the day in a neighbor's one-room home, along with four of her neighbor's children. Her husband, frustrated at being unable to find work, left for the United States six months ago. At the factory, Anna makes \$48 a week — stitching brassieres to be sold in the United States.*

* * *

In Penang, Malaysia, Julie V. rubs her eyes and looks up from the microscope through which she bonds tiny gold wires to a silicon chip destined to end up inside a pocket calculator. At 21, she cannot see as well as she could when she first came to work at Motorola, two years ago. If she ends up having to wear glasses, as most of the "older" girls do, she knows that no one from her own village will want to marry her.

As Americans, we are unlikely ever to meet women like Anna or Julie. We may wonder about them, in the back of our minds, when we glance at the labels on our clothes — Made in Korea (or Taiwan, Hong Kong, Mexico). But more and more of the products we use — from sun glasses to semiconductors, prescription drugs to wind-up toys — are made in the Third World, by women like these.

The emergence of a massive, Third

Barbara Ehrenreich, a feminist journalist, is co-author of *For Her Own Good* (Anchor, 1979). She also co-authored, with Annette Fuentes, a more extensive treatment of the above in an article entitled "Life on the Global Assembly Line" in *Ms.* magazine, January, 1981. Ms. Ehrenreich serves on the Board of the Nationwide Women's Program of the American Friends Service Committee.

World, female industrial workforce is something which has happened only in the last 15 or 20 years. Traditionally, the industrialized countries specialized in manufacturing, drawing on the less developed countries only for raw materials and agricultural products. But in the 1960s, U.S. corporations began to spin off fragments of the manufacturing process to previously non-industrial, Third World countries. The new semiconductor technology helped make this possible: Executives in New York can now maintain daily communications with their "off shore" factory in, say, Bangkok. And economic considerations made it seem almost necessary: In a highly competitive industry (such as electronics) a company can't afford to pay workers in Massachusetts \$5 an hour for work that can be done in the

Philippines for as little as \$5 a day.

The result, according to analysts of world economic trends, is a new international division of labor: A global assembly line stretching from New York (or Chicago or Palo Alto) down from the border to Central America and along the long coastline of Southeast Asia. Corporate control and high technology processes remain in the home country: Labor intensive assembly processes are spun off to the Southern hemisphere.

What is happening at the remote ends of the global assembly line goes much deeper than phrases like "new international division of labor" can convey. The cultures which American multinational firms are turning to for cheap labor are, for the most part, tradition-oriented and patriarchal. They are Roman Catholic or, more

often, Moslem. Yet it is the women of these cultures who are drawn into the new factories, with their intimidating technology and links to the glamorous urban centers of the world. As a Malaysian government bulletin, directed at foreign investors, says:

The manual dexterity of the Oriental female is famous the world over. Her hands are small and she works fast with extreme care . . . Who, therefore, could be better qualified by nature and inheritance to contribute to the efficiency of a bench-assembly production line than the Oriental girl?

Some 90% of the assembly workers in the global assembly line are women, mostly young and unmarried, often the first in generations to be, in any sense, on their own.

These women in the global workforce are living out conflicts every bit as intense as those experienced by women workers in the "first world's" industrial revolution. On the one hand, employment can mean independence from authoritarian family structures and a glimpse of "liberated" Western lifestyles. In American-owned Southeast Asian electronics plants, management even encourages Western-style sexual objectification by sponsoring beauty contests and cosmetics classes. Not surprisingly, local men are frequently resentful of the factories and the women who work in them. In some areas of Asia, the mere fact of having worked in a factory is enough to brand a woman as "bad" and unmarriageable.

But in return for a wage and whatever measure of independence it offers, women in the multinational corporations' off-shore plants face hazardous and repressive working conditions. In some cases, they are required to live in rigidly supervised, barrack-like company housing. Organized protest is risky and

"Multinational Corporations (MNCs) have deliberately targeted women for exploitation. If feminism is going to mean anything to women all over the world, it's going to have to find new ways to resist corporate power internationally."

sometimes even illegal, yet there have been frequent strikes (for example, in the Korean textile industry) and even a factory take-over. In Malaysia, women electronics workers have a unique and acceptably "feminine" way of protesting speed-ups — outbreaks of mass hysteria.

Another problem for women employed overseas is that management actually encourages a high turnover of workers. A management consultant to U.S. multinationals states why: "When seniority rises, wages rise," he said. He explained that it is cheaper to train a fresh supply of teenagers than to pay

experienced women higher wages. "Older" women, aged 23 or 24, are likely to be laid off and not rehired.

Based on fragmentary data from several sources, the multinational corporations may already have used up (cast off) as many as 6 million Third World workers — women who are too ill, too old (30 is over the hill in most industries), or too exhausted to be useful. The lucky ones find husbands; others find themselves at the margins of society — as bar girls, "hostesses," or prostitutes.

Ironically, Third World countries benefit little from multinational investment. "The multinationals come into our countries for one thing — cheap labor," a Third World woman in the UN said. If the labor stops being cheap, they move on. How can you call that development? It depends on the people staying poor."

The groups that gain most when the multinationals set up shop are the local entrepreneurs who subcontract to them, the Harvard or Berkeley-educated "technocrats" who become local



"After you've caused inflation and unemployment, it's hard to think of what to cook for dinner."

management, and government officials who cut red tape for an "agent's fee."

Saralee Hamilton, an AFSC staff organizer of the Women in Global Corporations Conference in Des Moines, believes that "the multinational corporations have deliberately targeted women for exploitation. If feminism is going to mean anything to women all over the world, it's going to have to find new ways to resist corporate power internationally."

So far there has been little feminist awareness of the emerging Third World female industrial workforce. Yet in an increasingly integrated world economic system our lives are linked with theirs in many ways. First, the off-shore factories they work in are often the run-away factories American women (and men) once worked in. The other side of low wages and dangerous conditions in Singapore or Tijuana is unemployment here, and jobs will continue to run away as long as extreme poverty guarantees a

low-paid, docile workforce in the Third World. Second, the kinds of conditions faced by women in multinational corporations' off-shore plants are not too different from what some women workers face *within* the United States. In New York's Chinatown or East Los Angeles, thousands of undocumented women workers do light assembly work or sew garments in illegal sweatshops. If the economy continues to stagnate, more and more American women — already underpaid and un-unionized — can expect to work under conditions approaching those in the Third World's off-shore factories.

But in a larger, political sense, too, our lives are linked. Issues like coercive population control, contraceptive dumping and the infant formula scandal have underscored the need for a truly international women's movement — and one which will not be confined to elite contacts or government-defined agendas. The growing Third World female workforce — thrown together into their first collective experience as women and workers — may be a vanguard group in the global women's movement of the '80s. If "first world" feminism is going to have anything to offer these women's struggles for dignity and identity, we are going to have to do a little consciousness-raising of our own.

As a contribution to that process, I believe the need exists for a comprehensive project addressed to the

issue of women and multinational corporations. It should be geographically comprehensive, because the subject by its nature is global, and it should combine both support work and U.S.-directed educational aspects. Such a project could include:

- Resource development: Amassing the presently scattered information on women and MNCs, and the preparation of pamphlets or fact sheets on particular issues.

- Preparation of an educational "program" (speakers, films) for use with women's groups, church groups etc.

- Networking: Bringing together, physically or otherwise, activists or researchers around the world. Ultimately, one goal would be to bring together working women who are affected by MNCs in different parts of the world, e.g., Motorola employees from California and Malaysia.

- Providing information to Third World women, for example, on hazardous products being sold in their countries, or on workplace hazards they face. As emphasized by a Filippina participant at the recent conference in Des Moines, people in the United States have the advantage of access to information which is totally unavailable in many Third World countries.

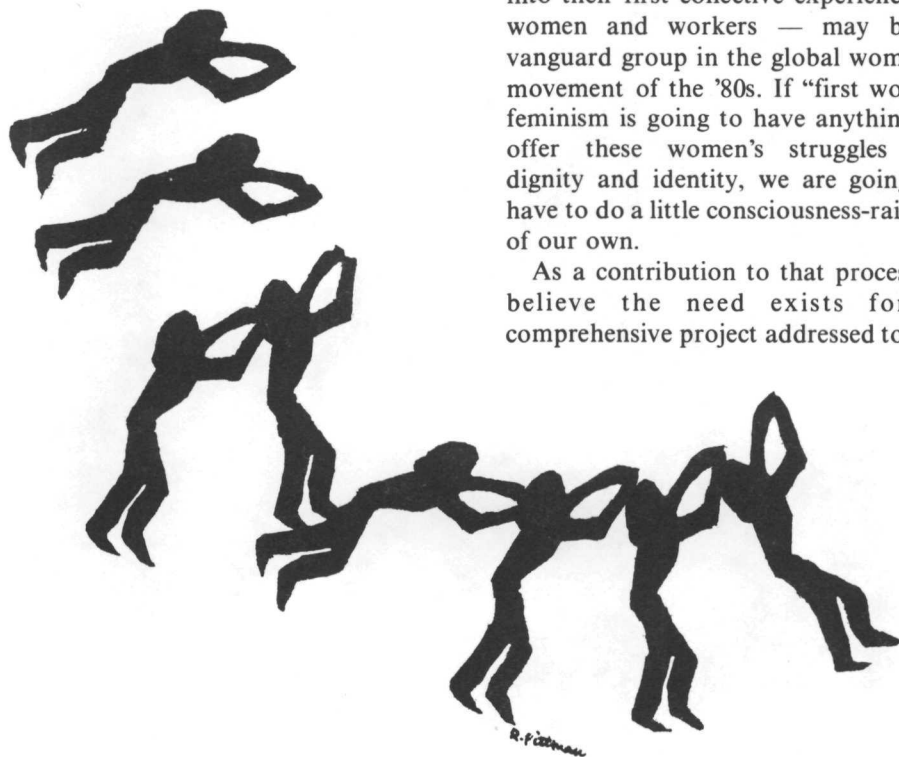
- Providing support to Third World women who are adversely affected by MNCs, through boycotts, stockholders' pressure, or other tactics.

- Working with U.S. unions to push for global enforcement of health and safety standards.

One way or another, it is important that a U.S.-based project on women and MNCs happen soon! ■

Resource

AFSC Women's Newsletter. This Newsletter contains a Women and Global Corporations Section in each issue. Suggested contribution a sliding scale of \$5 to \$10, depending on donor's finances. Write to Nationwide Women's Program, American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19102.



Imperialism In the Silicon Age

by A. Sivanandan

One epoch does not lead tidily into another. Each epoch carries with it a burden of the past — an idea perhaps, a set of values, even bits and pieces of an outmoded economic and political system. And the longer and more durable the previous epoch the more halting is the emergence of the new.

What has caused the new industrial revolution and brought about a qualitative leap in the level of the productive forces is the silicon chip or, more accurately, the computer-on-a-chip, known as the microprocessor. (You have already seen them at work in your digital watch and your pocket calculator.)

The ancestry of the microprocessor need not concern us here, except to note that it derives from the electronic transistor, invented by American scientists in 1947 — which in turn led to the semi-conductor industry in 1952-53, and in 1963 to the integrated circuit industry. Integrated circuits meant that

various electronic elements such as transistors, resistors, diodes, etc., could all be combined on a tiny chip of semiconductor silicon, which in the form of sand is the world's most common element next to oxygen. But if industrially the new technology has been in existence for a short time, it is only in the last seven that it has really taken off. The period of its development is important because it is not unconnected with the postwar changes in the international division of production and of labor and the corresponding movements and operations of the multinational corporations.

The microprocessor is to the new industrial revolution what steam and electricity were to the old — except that where steam and electric power replaced human muscle, microelectronics replaces the brain. That, quite simply, is the measure of its achievement. Consequently, there is virtually no field in manufacturing, the utilities, the service industries, or commerce that is not affected by the new technology. Microprocessors are already in use in the control of power stations, textile mills, telephone-switching systems, office-heating, and typesetting, as well as in repetitive and

mechanical tasks such as spraying, welding, etc., in the car industry. Fiat, for instance, has a television commercial which boasts that its cars are “designed by computers, silenced by lasers, and hand-built by robots” — to the strains of Figaro's aria (from Rossini). Volkswagen designs and sells its own robots for spot welding and handling body panels between presses.

Robots, besides, can be re-programmed for different tasks more easily than personnel can be re-trained. And because microprocessors can be re-programmed, automated assembly techniques could be introduced into areas hitherto immune to automation, such as batch production (which incidentally constitutes 70% of the production in British manufacturing). From this has grown the idea of linking together a group of machines to form an unmanned manufacturing system, which could produce anything from diesel engines to machine tools and even aeroengines. And once the design of the unmanned factory has been standardized, entire factories could be produced on a production line based on a standard design. The Japanese are close to achieving the “universal factory.”

A. Sivanandan is Director of the Institute of Race Relations in London. This article is excerpted with permission from *Race and Class* magazine (Autumn '79), London.

A few examples from other areas of life will give some idea of the pervasiveness of microelectronics. In retail trade, for instance, the electronic cash register, in addition to performing its normal chores, monitors the stock level by keeping tabs on what has been sold at all the terminals and relays that information to computers in the warehouse, which then automatically move the necessary stocks to the shop. A further lineup between computerized checkouts at stores and computerized bank accounts will soon do away with cash transactions, directly debiting the customer's account and crediting the store's. Other refinements such as keeping a check on the speed and efficiency of employees have also grown out of such computerization — in Denmark, for instance (but it has been resisted by the workers).

There are chips in everything you buy — cookers, washing machines, toasters, vacuum cleaners, clocks, toys, sewing machines, motor vehicles — replacing standard parts and facilitating repair: you take out one chip and put in another. One silicon chip in an electronic sewing machine, for example, replaces 350 standard parts.

But it is in the service sector, particularly in the matter of producing, handling, storing, and transmitting information, that silicon technology has had its greatest impact. Up to now automation has not seriously affected office work which, while accounting for 75% of the costs in this sector (and about half the operating costs of corporations), is also the least productive, thereby depressing the overall rate of productivity. One of the chief reasons for this is that office work is divided into several tasks (typing, filing, processing, retrieving, transmitting, and so forth) which are really interconnected.

The new technology not only automates these tasks but integrates

them. For example, the word processor — consisting of a keyboard, a visual display unit, a storage memory unit, and a print-out — enables one typist to do the work of four while at the same time reducing the skill he or she needs. Different visual display units (VDUs) can then be linked to the company's mainframe computer, to other computers within the country (via computer network systems), and even to those in other countries through satellite communication — all of which makes possible the electronic mail and the electronic funds transfer (EFT) which would dispense with cash completely.

What this link-up between the office, the computer, and telecommunications means is the "convergence" of previously separate industries. "Convergence" is defined by the Butler Cox Foundation as "the process by which these three industries are coming to depend on a single technology. They are becoming, to all intents and purposes, three branches of a single industry." But "convergence" to you and me spells the convergence of corporations, horizontal (and vertical) integration, monopoly. A "convergence" of Bell telephones and IBM

computers would take over the world's communication facilities. (Whether the anti-trust laws in America have already been bent to enable such a development I do not know, but it is only a matter of time.)

Underscoring the attributes and applications of the microprocessor is the speed of its advance and the continuing reduction in its costs. Sir Ieuan Maddock, Secretary of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, estimates that "in terms of the gates it can contain, the performance of a single chip has increased ten thousandfold in a period of 15 years." And of its falling cost, he says, "the price of each unit of performance has reduced one hundred-thousandfold since the early 1960s."

"These are not just marginal effects," continues Sir Ieuan, "to be absorbed in a few percent change in the economic indicators — they are deep and widespread and collectively signal a fundamental and irreversible change in the way the industrialized societies will live. . . . Changes of such magnitude and speed have never been experienced before."

The scope of these changes has been dealt with in the growing literature on the subject. But it has mostly been concerned with the prospects of increasing and permanent unemployment, particularly in the service industries and in the field of unskilled manual employment — in both of which blacks and women predominate. A study estimates that 40% of all office work in Germany is suitable for automation — which, viewed from the other side, means a 40% layoff of office workers in the next ten years. The Nora report warns that French banking and insurance industries, which are particularly labor intensive, will lose 30% of their work force by 1990. Unemployment in Britain is expected to rise by about 3 million in that time. Other writers have pointed to a

Reclaiming the Cross

I simply argue that the cross be raised again at the center of the marketplace as well as on the steeple of the church. I am recovering the claim that Jesus was not crucified in a cathedral between two candles, but on a cross between two thieves on the town garbage heap at a crossroad so cosmopolitan that they had to write his title in Hebrew, Latin and Greek . . . at the kind of place where cynics talk smut and thieves curse, and soldiers gamble. That is where he died, and that is what he died about. And that is where church people ought to be, and what church people ought to be about.

— George F. MacLeod
Network, PCUM Newsletter

polarization in the work force itself — as between a small technological elite on the one hand and a large number of unskilled, unemployable workers, counting among their number those whose craft has become outmoded. Or, as the chairman of the British Oil Corporation, Lord Kearton, puts it: “We have an elite now of a very special kind at the top on which most of mankind depends for its future development and the rest of us are more or less taken along in the direct stream of these elite personnel.”

All the remedies that the British Trades Union Congress has been able to suggest are “new technology agreements” between government and union, “continuing payments to redundant workers related to their past earnings,” and “opportunities for linking technological change with a reduction in the working week, working year, and working lifetime.” The Association of Scientific Technical and Managerial Staffs (ASTMS), whose members are more immediately affected by automation, elevates these remedies into a philosophy which encompasses a changed attitude towards work that would “promote a better balance between working life and personal life,” “recurrent education throughout adult life,” and a new system of income distribution which in effect will “pay people not to work.”

But, in the performance, these are precisely the palliatives that enlightened capitalism offers the working class in the silicon age. Translated into the system’s terms, “new technology agreements” mean a continuing social contract between the unions and the government wherein the workers abjure their only power, collective bargaining (and thereby take the politics out of the struggle), and a new culture which divorces work from income (under the guise of life-long education, part-time work, early retirement, etc.) and provides the *raison d’être* for

unemployment. Already the protagonists of the establishment have declared that the Protestant work ethic is outdated (what has work got to do with income?), that leisure should become a major occupation (university departments are already investigating its “potential”), that schooling is not for now but forever.

I am not arguing here against technology or a life of creative leisure. Anything that improves the lot of humanity is to be welcomed. But in capitalist society such improvement redounds to the few at cost to the many. That cost has been heavy for the working class in the center and heavier for the masses in the periphery. What the new industrial revolution predicates is the further degradation of work where, as Harry Braverman so brilliantly predicted, thought is eliminated from the labor process, there is centralized ownership of the means of production, a culture of reified leisure to mediate discontent, and a political system incorporating the state, the multinationals, the trade unions, the bureaucracy, and the media, backed by the forces of “law and order” with microelectronic surveillance at their command. For inasmuch as liberal democracy was the political expression of the old industrial revolution, the corporate state is the necessary expression of the new. The qualitative leap in the productive forces ensnared in capitalist economics demands such an expression.

But nowhere in all the chip literature is there a suggestion of any of this. Nor is there any hint of a suggestion that the new industrial revolution, like the old, has taken off on the backs of the workers in the peripheries — that it is they who will provide the living dole for the unemployed of the West. For the chip produced in the pleasant environs of “Silicon Valley” in California has its circuitry assembled in the toxic factories in Asia.

Initially the industry went to Mexico, but Asia was soon considered cheaper. (Besides, “Santa Clara was only a telex away.”) And even within Asia the moves were to cheaper and cheaper areas: from Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore in the 1960s, to Malaysia in 1972, Thailand in 1973, the Philippines and Indonesia in 1974, and soon to Sri Lanka. The manager of a plant in Malaysia explained how profitable these moves had been: One worker working one hour produces enough to pay the wages of 10 workers working one shift plus all the costs of materials and transport.

But the moves the industry makes are not just from country to country but from one batch of workers to another within the country itself. For the nature of the work — the bonding under a microscope of tiny hair-thin wires to circuit boards on wafers of silicon chip half the size of a fingernail — shortens working life. “After three or four years of peering through a microscope,” reports Rachael Grossman, “a worker’s vision begins to blur so that she can no longer meet the production quota.” But if the microscope does not get her the bonding chemicals do. And why “her”? Because they are invariably women.

A global culture, then goes with a global economy, serviced by a global office the size of a walkie-talkie held in your hand — a global assembly line run by global corporations that move from one pool of labor to another, discarding them when done, high technology in the center, low technology in the peripheries — and a polarization of the work force within the center itself (as between the highly skilled and unskilled or deskilled) and as between the center and the peripheries, with qualitatively different rates of exploitation that allow the one to feed off the other: a corporate state maintained by surveillance for the developed countries, authoritarian regimes and gun law for the developing. That is the size of the new world order.

A Bishop Ponders His Role in Plant Closings

by Robert B. Appleyard

"Shut down." These were the first words I heard on TV as I unpacked my bags during the Episcopal Bishops' Interim Meeting. Then followed a news documentary about a one-industry city in Tennessee. The Anaconda plant was about to be shut down by management to move to another location hundreds of miles away. Two weeks notice was given to the employees, and virtually an entire city was about to be unemployed, with no future.

If this were happening only in one place it would be bad enough. But in some way it is taking place in every single diocese in this church of ours. In the steel industry alone there is a possibility of the destruction of the backbone of Gary, Indiana; South Chicago, Illinois; Birmingham, Alabama; Youngstown, Ohio; Torrance, California, and I can go on and on. By *destruction* I mean the impact on homes, schools, hospitals, families, marriages, jobs, churches, the entire fabric of what you and I accept as Christian society. And I mean at every single level of employment, from top management right down to the most recent and youngest employee.

Shut down. Destroyed. Why? The name of the game I am talking about is productivity, profits. Essentially this means producing a larger volume of goods with minimum expenditure of

time, labor, material and energy. And in this process certain plants and jobs become obsolete and wiped out. But there is another side of the coin. Industry today has a great moral obligation — it is to provide jobs, to increase the bottom line of the earnings statement and use some of that money to be poured back into existing plants in terms of research for the future. Industry has an obligation to be an instrument of social progress today. Industry needs to be told that in no uncertain terms and with no apology.

There of course is where lay ministry comes in, in a dynamic way. But this is scary business. One doesn't know all the answers. In fact, I know very few answers in the business world. I have pulled boner after boner. I am still making errors and there is no more demonic temptation than to hear from some Christians, "Stay out of it, bishop. It is absolutely none of your business."

So I had to ask myself why did I get involved in this area of urban crisis? And I can only reply that it grew out of Venture in Mission: "Let the church be involved." That means to study and know the city, the people, and help, do not destroy. Let the church be an educator today. Teach the Gospel imperative for human relations, not cutting off one human being from another. Let the church be advocate, speaking out for those who are the poor, those who are the oppressed. And let not the church be the tool of any economic power, no matter how strong or how large that power. Let the church be friend. Reaffirm the loving Christian

values — not selfishness, which leads to death. Let the church be the champion for God's justice and God's mercy, which means freedom, peace and salvation for people who are poor and who are in desperate need.

Now, let's talk about some errors. Let me describe being invited into corporate headquarters. It is a real thrill, especially when the president is a churchman. I thought it was going to be a very personal conversation, and I went all alone. I was greeted by the president of the corporation who had on each side two corporate officers. Not bishop and Christian alone, as I had naively thought. For one hour I was cut up, chewed up, and devoured, and I went out virtually destroyed. From then on I learned that when one meets on these matters with corporate heads, no matter how well one knows them, one goes with someone else. The next time I was invited I went with the finest lawyer in labor matters that I have ever known, and beside him, a Christian ethics professor from one of our universities. The invitations have decreased. But believe me, the respect has increased and the discussions have been on a profound level.

My second error was to try to get my diocese to become involved alone — in isolation. I failed completely here. One needs to work with others. Since, we have formed the Tri-State Conference. John Burt (Bishop of Ohio) was our right arm; Charles Rawlings, a Presbyterian activist was at the very heart of everything. Our Roman Catholic brothers and sisters in Christ joined us, and there was no jealousy in

The Rt. Rev. Robert B. Appleyard is Bishop of Pittsburgh. The above was edited by Robert L. DeWitt from remarks made by Bishop Appleyard at the 1980 Interim Meeting of the House of Bishops.

the ranks. I found quite the opposite. People gathered, we shared. Community leaders came into the Conference, management has come into it, labor was always there. And now state and federal government representatives, and environmentalists have joined us. Yes, there are those who carry different identity cards, and some of the cards are sort of red, but the bearers come with only one goal: to make the cities once again a habitation for peace and love and justice.

Let me cite three quotations from those who have been involved. The first from a member of my Standing Committee after I received a letter

requesting me either to resign or cease my involvement in the industrial labor crisis. A member of U.S. Steel is on the Standing Committee. When the letter was read by the President of the Standing Committee, the steel man simply stood up and said, "I move that we dismiss the matter immediately. I want a bishop who will dare to speak out on economic and political and social issues, even though I may differ with him." The vote to dismiss the matter was unanimous.

And next from a labor leader, who simply wrote: "In the conflicts of government, labor and management, Bishop, God's church is the only one

whom we can actually trust today. Don't desert us."

The last quote comes from a member of the Ways and Means Committee of the U.S. Congress that some of us met with: "The church alone has alerted us to the real facts of the steel crisis."

So I conclude that in this darkening world, perhaps more than at any time before in our long odyssey, the darkness is born of our pretenses of power, our stubborn equation of self-interest with the interests of God. And when God is served by us as bishops, we need to glorify God's Creation, fulfill God's vision for the people, and do it because we know God gives us the strength. ■

Editorial . . . Continued from page 3

proportion of marchers were conservative working people who voted for Ronald Reagan hoping to preserve what they already had. Their taxes, utility and food bills continue to escalate. They no longer have job security and fear what is coming.

"We will not sit idly by while the bare necessities of life are taken from the needy and given to the greedy," thundered Benjamin L. Hooks, executive director of the NAACP and a speaker for the event. "We're saying to those who have \$1,000 boots while our children have no shoes, 'No! We won't take that!'" The crowd roared back, "Right on!"

Joyce Miller, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, asked the President to restore not only budget cuts, "but our faith in America. We cannot be proud of a Congress that chisels the poor, the handicapped, the old; we cannot be proud of a nation that says a little bit of cancer in the workplace is all right if it's cost effective. We cannot be proud of a nation that plunges the families of 12,000 PATCO strikers into bankruptcy and despair."

Black participation was formidable, especially on the speakers' platform and in the streets. Interestingly, politicians — congressional representatives, mayors, governors — were not invited to speak.

Another feature of the march was that it gave union leadership the opportunity to eyeball its membership while marching alongside, not merely viewing it from posh offices in skyscrapers. Labor had not rallied in this way since the years of the great depression, reflecting George Meany's aversion to this type of demonstration.

It can be said that a similar opportunity, that is, to become familiar with the economic needs of its people and to join their struggle on the streets — was bypassed by the institutional church. Mainline religious communities were absent in the march, except for small delegations representing Clergy and Laity Concerned, the Unitarian Universalists, and Religion and Labor. To be sure, *the Church* was there — Christians marching in great numbers with their locals, their civil rights groups, etc. But the institutional church has not seen labor's struggle as a place of convergence with its own concerns, in the same way, for example, that it inserted itself into the 1969 anti-war moratorium.

In these critical times, the churches in the United States have opted for the status quo, quite obviously so in the case of the Moral Majority. Frequently religious communities are dependent on the status quo for maintaining their institutions in a contracting economy.

But we have clearly moved into a new period — a period where masses of people are changing their minds and taking sides. The broad, middle, permissive way is increasingly less viable. The status quo, economically, politically and religiously, has become the enemy. It is a time for new direction and new leadership in the churches and in the society. Many obstacles remain to be surmounted, but Solidarity Day, 1981, could be the beginning of a new alliance in the United States, not only to maintain, but to advance human and civil rights in the body politic.

— The Editors

To My Wife — A Moral Majority Reject

by Bob Askew

(This is an open letter to the person I have been married to for 23 years. I have chosen to make it open because I am angry and tired of hearing such groups as the Moral Majority and the Praise The Lord (PTL) Club put her down because she is a woman. I want them to know there are great and loving women, Christian women, who do not fit their theological and philosophical position.)

Dear Betsy:

Sentimental tradition says I should begin this letter with: *My Dear Loving Wife*. The “dear” and the “loving” and the “wife” are true, but the “my” reduces you to something I own, an object, a piece of chattel. So I’ve simply used “Betsy” as it expresses your personhood and separateness. You are a partner, an equal.

When I listen to the philosophy of the Moral Majority and other such groups and measure you against their standards, I must admit I married a failure. When I look at the standards of Jesus Our Lord, standards of being loving, being merciful, of being forgiving, of self-sacrifice, I made a wise choice when I asked you to marry me.

No, you have never been a home-

bound wife and mother, minding the house and the kids. According to the Moral Majority philosophy you have been most ungodly and unscriptural. But from the depths of my soul I thank you for helping meet the mortgage payments, contributing to putting food on the table, for helping me make sure the kids had shoes and clothes. I’ve seen you exhausted, but you never stopped loving. You know, the kids over the years have accused you of being a lot of things, but they never have said you didn’t love them.

You have never been submissive, subservient and obedient to me. St. Paul’s teachings on women has always unleashed your irritation. According to the Moral Majority teachings you are un-Christian and condemned. But for me, thank you for reading me the riot act and telling me what a stupid ass I was being when others were afraid to confront me. You loved me enough to be assertive, to be defensive, to conjoin and threaten in order to get me to do what was best for myself.

As the kids grew and things did not go the way of our dreams and plans, and we had to do some things that ripped our soul to shreds — oh, those were the moments, when we clung desperately to each other, with tears eroding our faces, and from the center of our existence we screamed to Christ Jesus to help us and to direct us. Those were the moments of real love, the moments full of expression of our personhood. Not as male. Not as female. But as persons, standing naked before God in our humanness.

Many times I’ve seen you put the kids and me in second place and teach us that others had needs greater than our own. According to the Moral Majority philosophy you were a disobedient wife, a neglectful mother, and contributed to the mess the world is in today. But what they can never experience was the joy and pride that engulfed me the night 280 teenagers, all drug users and delinquents (some were also homosexuals) stood and sang to you “What I Did For Love.” As I held you in

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my arms and felt your body shake with sobs of joy for the tribute being paid to you, I held Christ and knew that by our love, our love for each other, our love for all those hard-headed, stubborn kids standing before us, that people would know we were His disciples. No, you haven't contributed to the mess of the world. The world is richer for your being there.

At times our marriage has been pure hell. At times it has been absolute heaven. But no matter what the extreme or the routine humdrum there has always been love. Even when you have

been so angry with me my death would have been my just reward, I never doubted that you loved me.

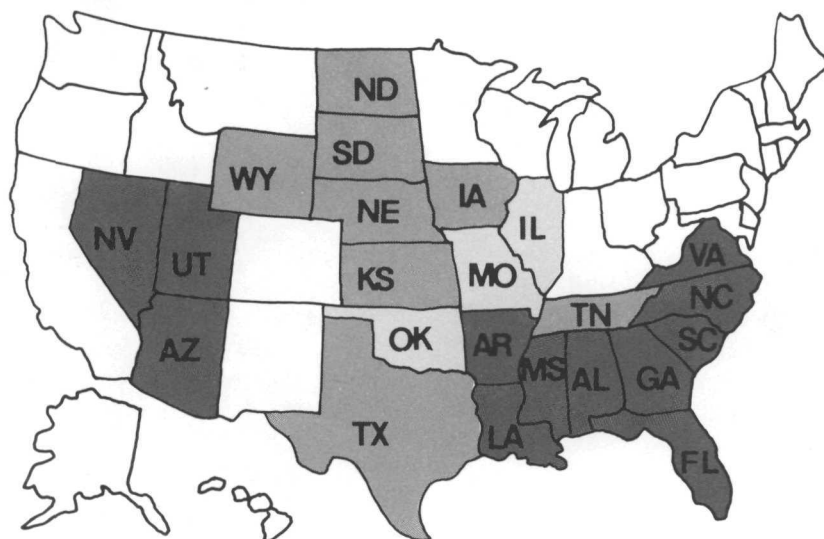
No, you've never been the ideal Moral Majority definition of a wife. But you have been the person that Jesus set you free to be. You have loved as He loved you. You have been human, very human. Often times radically human.

There is much more I could say, but you know the whole story of our lives together. We have lived that story. So here I sit on this hill. Alone! I'm hungry and I have to go fix my own supper. You should have been here to greet me when

I came home from the office. You should have had my supper fixed and ready to sit adoringly at my feet and tell me what a great, swell and wonderful person I am. But where are you? Sitting at the piano with one of those kids you think you might influence and saying "Start over from the beginning. Let the music touch your soul. Feel the music. Feel its beauty. And one, and two, and three. And one, and two, and three."

And one: I see the Christ in your life. And two: Never stop trying to be totally human. And three: I love you dearly.

Bob



Legend

DARK — Unratified ERA states, and states with Right-to-Work Laws.

MEDIUM — States which have ratified the ERA but also have Right-to-Work Laws.

LIGHT — Unratified ERA states, without Right-to-Work Laws.

The opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment is the opposition to labor, civil rights, a decent environment, and social progress. And for the same reason. Money. Have you ever looked at a map of the unratified ERA states and the so-called right-to-work states and realize that they are just about one and the same? And it is *no coincidence*.

As we are united for common goals of collective bargaining (remember union women make 30% more than unorganized women); pay equity (I salute the lawsuit and strike of AFSCME who is proving labors' goals are women's goals); extension of the Voting Rights Act; stopping of Reagan economics which would cut Social Security (remember women are two thirds of the Social Security recipients and 85% of those are at the minimum benefit); cut public education; cut food stamps, AFDC, school lunch — Do I need to say more?

— Ellie Smeal, NOW President
at Solidarity Day 1981

Eurocommunism Puzzles U.S. Leadership

by David Snider

Another place that I never heard of just went communist!" This expression came from a puzzled little white man, Ziggy, sitting in front of his TV in a 1980 cartoon by Tom Wilson. But in May, 1981, France voted in a socialist, Francois Mitterand, as president for seven years. *The Economist* reported that 90% of those who voted communist in the first round of the presidential elections voted for Mitterand in the final election.

If Ziggy was still watching his TV, he might have a new cry: "People we thought were our friends just elected a socialist president, and the communists voted for him too!" Had Ziggy read *Le Monde*, he may have been shocked that it celebrated Mitterand's election in an editorial titled "Victory for

Democracy." It called Mitterand's election a triumph "of the entire Left," and also a triumph of all those who, fed up with a government bankrupt of ideas, yearned for a change. The election was "the defeat of a social and economic policy which people had felt to be both unfair and ineffective."

U.S. President Ronald Reagan's response was less enthusiastic. He congratulated Mitterand and then expressed concern that members of the French Communist Party might be invited to join Mitterand's cabinet.

One week after the French election, President Reagan, speaking at Notre Dame University, contrasted his vision of the truths that make up U.S. civilization with those he sees in communism: "The years ahead will be great ones for our country, for the cause of freedom and for the spread of civilization. The West will not contain communism, it will transcend

communism. We will not bother to denounce it, we'll dismiss it as a sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages are even now being written." A month later President Reagan said in his news conference that "communism is an aberration. It's not a normal way of living for human beings, and I think we are seeing the first beginning cracks, the beginning of the end."

It is illuminating to set these words of President Reagan alongside a paragraph from President Francois Mitterand's inaugural address: "It is natural for a great nation to have great ambitions. In today's world, can there be a loftier duty for our country than to achieve a new alliance between socialism and liberty, a more noble ambition than to offer it to tomorrow's world?"

How can we make sense of these two presidential positions? More pointedly, how could the President of the United States insist that the "last pages" of

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communist history were “even now being written” in the same week that he had expressed concern that the French President would appoint communists in his cabinet?

And if communism is on its way out, how does one interpret the fact that 30% of the members of Italy’s parliament are communists? Or that in 1978 the mayor and 36 of 60 members of Bologna’s city council were Communist Party members? These realities of French and Italian politics suggest that some European voters believe communism offers “a normal way of living for human beings.”

President Reagan’s view of the nature and future of communism is significant, not only because of the power of his office, but also because so many other U.S. voters share his views. But missing from the President’s view is any reference to *Eurocommunism*, a type of communism different from Soviet, Chinese, and Cuban models of communism.

“Eurocommunism stakes its future on the double assertion that it is Marxist *and* it is democratic, arguing that this is the original position of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.” So declares Carl Marzani in his new book, *The Promise of Eurocommunism*. Much of Marzani’s account of Eurocommunism is based on his interviews with opponents and advocates of Eurocommunism in major European cities from 1977 to 1979. A U.S. citizen and an independent Marxist, Marzani points out that when the communist parties in France, Italy, and Spain decided that both economic *and* political democracy were essential to socialism, conflict with Soviet leadership was inevitable. According to Marzani, their challenge to Soviet authority covered three decades and is marked by four major events:

- The first took place in 1948 when Joseph Stalin expelled Josip Tito from the Cominform over the issue of

Yugoslavia’s national independence from Russia. That Tito survived and that Yugoslavia survived as an independent communist nation were crucial developments.

- A second major event was initiated by Nikita Khrushchev’s ’56 report to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union documenting the ruthlessness and terrorism of Stalin. On the way home from the Moscow meeting Italian delegate Vittorio Vidali wrote in his diary: “Here and now we see passing out of history the concept of a leading nation, a model party, and guiding individuals. It is well that all this should end. At least this much will be of use: we shall begin to think with our own heads, to say what we really believe, to learn to say no.” “To think with our own heads,” says Marzani, became a cornerstone of Eurocommunism.

- The third independence event came

when Mao Tse-tung asserted China’s national authority and rejected Soviet claims to complete authority in the communist world. By February, 1964, the USSR and the Chinese were split irreparably. In the struggle between the USSR and the Chinese, Italy joined the Yugoslavs in open defiance of the Soviet Union.

- The fourth independence event, the July, 1976, Berlin Conference of the Pan-European Communist Parties, was shaped decisively by occurrences years ahead of its opening. In August, 1968, the Soviet army invaded Czechoslovakia. In unprecedented action the Italian, French, and Spanish Communist Parties condemned the invasion and were joined by several other parties. In 1969 the parties of China, Yugoslavia, Vietnam, North Korea, Albania, and the Netherlands refused to attend a Soviet-led international conference of communist parties. At the conference the Italian Communist Party led the opposition to the Soviet Union and refused to sign the final conference declaration because the Soviet Union rejected a statement allowing alternate models of socialism.

The Italian, French, and Spanish Communist Parties grew closer. In 1971 they denounced Moscow’s trial of Jews who wanted to leave Russia, and in 1973 they criticized the USSR’s refusal to publish Alexander Solzhenitsyn’s works.

The July, 1976, Berlin Conference of the Pan-European Communist Parties marked the end of Soviet dominance of Western European communism. The degree to which the Soviets capitulated, says Marzani, is indicated in that the conference’s final document did not contain four tenets of Marxist orthodoxy which the USSR once had been able to impose: it did not affirm Marxism-Leninism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, proletarian internationalism, or struggle against anti-Sovietism.

Coming Up . . . in **THE WITNESS**

- A group of church women in Los Angeles have been attracting national attention by being arrested in demonstrations around Immigration and Naturalization Service headquarters, seeking political asylum for Salvadoran refugees. Read about them in the next WITNESS.

- Jack Woodard, longtime peace activist, says that symbolic demonstrations are losing their power to affect public policy. He suggests that social activists must pay more attention to strategies in the future to achieve goals, and outlines some suggestions . . . in THE WITNESS.

- Hospital chaplain Chuck Meyer tells why he believes the church is failing — practically, theologically and sacramentally — to help people plan for their own deaths and the deaths of relatives, and suggests a way out of the dilemma.


Decisive in the conference were speeches of Spanish communist leader Santiago Carrillo, Italian Party leader Enrico Berlinguer, and the French Party's Georges Marchais. They insisted that socialism, freedom, and democracy are interdependent and clearly rejected Soviet orthodoxy. Carillo declared, "Once Moscow was our Rome, but no more." It is necessary "to accept once and for all the diversity of our movement, and to renounce any attempt to intrigue against it." Central to Eurocommunism's rejection of Soviet authority is the conviction that each nation must move toward socialism in relation to its own history and needs. This affirmation of nationalism is at the heart of Eurocommunism.

With their assertion of independence at this conference, Western European communist parties established Eurocommunism "as a major current in Marxist development, on a par with Leninism and Maoism."

I was surprised to find in Marzani's book the story of the Catholic Church's contributions to the development of Eurocommunism.

In June, 1979, Pope John Paul II flew to Poland just before the Italian national elections. On the plane he told a reporter, "Catholics who vote communist are still Catholics and their choice may be coherent with the principles of faith and morals." Marzani interprets this comment as a sign that John Paul II, though anti-communist and theologically conservative, is open to change, fiercely committed to social justice, and a realist.

In Poland the huge crowds greeting the pope testified to the church's power, and, according to Marzani, the pope "behaved amiably and, on departing, kissed the Polish prime minister. The televised kiss conferred a much-needed legitimacy to a grateful government."

RECOGNIZE THAT
EVERYONE WHO
 ✕ **DOES**
JUSTICE 
 IS GOD'S CHILD.
 -I JAY 2:29-

Within a year the Polish Church obtained important concessions from the communist government.

John Paul II bestowed a similar legitimacy on French and Italian communist leaders. The *New York Times* of June 1, 1980, carried a front-page picture of the pope in Paris shaking hands with Communist Party leader Georges Marchais. When the pope returned to Rome, Italian television showed him shaking hands with the communist deputy mayor — a week before municipal elections. Marzani regards these media events as having a powerful message: "His holiness does not shake hands with the Devil's disciples or kiss the Antichrist, so the message was clear: Communists are acceptable people."

Pope John Paul II's public embrace of communists as people expresses the spirit of the Second Vatican Council, called by Pope John XXIII in 1961, and his encyclical *Pacem in Terris*. That encyclical helped defuse the Cold War and opened the door for Catholic dialogue with Marxists. Pope Paul VI's encyclical *Gaudium et Spes* reaffirmed the commitment to dialogue. Pope John Paul II's recent encyclical, *Laborem Exercens*, "On Human

Work," moved the Catholic Church's relations with Marxism to a strikingly new foundation by introducing "into Papal discourse a framework of concepts and logic strikingly akin to Marxism," according to Paul G. Schervish's *In These Times* analysis. This sort of openness to Marxism is a significant departure from the Vatican stance at the end of World War II.

The Italian Communist Party had publicly sought a common action program with the Vatican since 1945, but it was rebuffed by anticommunist Pope Pius XII. Long-time Party leader Palmiro Togliatti initiated a resolution at the 10th Congress of the Party in 1962 that marked a substantial advance in the communists' understanding of religion: "We must understand that deep desire for a socialist society not only can exist in those of religious faith, but may be stimulated by a tormented religious conscience confronting the stark problems of the contemporary world." For the first time a communist party had abandoned the claim that religion can be only the "opium of the people" and recovered another dimension of Marx's position. This new evaluation of religion by communists made it easier for many Catholics and

Italian Communist Party members to relate to each other.

The openness of Popes John XXIII, Paul VI, and John Paul II is a sign that the Catholic Church hierarchy is distancing itself from capitalism, Marzani argues. He says the church is not becoming socialist or even anticapitalist. However, he believes "the church has decided that the capitalist system is slowly sinking and the church has no intention of going down with it." And he regards the church's openness to communism as a major contribution to the development of Eurocommunism.

If Marzani is correct in his assessment of the Catholic Church's responses to communism, it appears that many Catholics would not agree with President Reagan that the West "will transcend communism" and "dismiss it as a sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages are even now being written."

The hope of President Reagan and others that the "last pages" of communist history "are even now being written" can be supported by one interpretation of how the French voted. In the first round of the Presidential election the French Communist Party (PCF) suffered its worst electoral defeat in 50 years. PCF Party leader and presidential candidate Georges Marchais received only 15.3 % of the vote. Until then the PCF regularly had received from 20 to 25% of the electoral vote since 1945. Diana Johnstone, French correspondent for the Chicago-based newspaper *In These Times*, called the PCF's loss of a quarter of its electorate "a grave historic setback."

One way to interpret these communist losses is to regard them as a sign that the French people have turned from former capitalist President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, against the communists, and for the socialists. Since U.S. foreign policy often has been designed to separate socialists from communists in France and Italy, the French electoral shift might be taken by

some U.S. policy-makers as a sign that their policy is succeeding. President Reagan's congratulations to socialist President-elect Mitterand and his expression of "concern" that Mitterand might include communists in his government were consistent with such a policy.

But a different interpretation of the election comes from Diana Johnstone. Many PCF members have decided that the Marchais leadership's pro-Soviet stance and resistance to democracy within the PCF are unacceptable. The new norms of Eurocommunism call for a new type of leadership, and many party members are determined to use the April electoral disaster to throw out the Marchais line and Marchais with it, according to Johnstone.

If President Reagan was referring to the French Communist Party's electoral loss when he announced that the "last pages" of the history of communism are now being written, his analysis is open to question. Diana Johnstone's analysis provides a persuasive alternative interpretation: The last pages of Georges Marchais' type of leadership of the PCF are now being written; however, the PCF still has power to apply significant pressure if Mitterand begins to veer to the political right. It seems likely, too, that a post-Marchais PCF leadership will again enter into coalitions with popular movements that are for socialism but unbound to any party. Some of them left the PCF for the Socialist Party. Their option of returning to the PCF — if it does move to a more Eurocommunist leadership and style — will enable these popular movements to exercise substantial power in relation to each party. The PCF losses may come to be regarded as the occasion for a leadership change that makes it more powerful during the Mitterand Presidency than it was in the 1981 elections.

It appears that France will oppose President Reagan's policies on arms escalation, relations with Russia, and

economic aid or military actions supporting right-wing, pro-Western and anti-communist dictatorial regimes in Africa, the Middle East, and Southwest Asia. Diana Johnstone says, "the socialist victory in France deprives the Reagan administration of its number one imperial sidekick for third-world police operations and confronts it instead with a major rival pole of attraction inside the Western World." The recent El Salvador policy adopted by France and Mexico is the type of challenge to Reagan policies that is likely to be repeated by other U.S. allies.

Many of us in the United States are likely to find ourselves opposing Reagan foreign policies and supporting those of French socialists and communists. How the government and other sectors of the United States relate to France's new left government and to us is among the future's unknowns — a bit scary but promising and hopeful, too.

I fantasize myself sitting before the TV news in a new cartoon with Ziggy. We watch reports of new French international and domestic policies for the 1980s. We wonder what will be the U.S. government's response. And we wonder how these events will affect us personally and politically. Will we face a new era of McCarthyism? Or will the French people's action contribute to a more critical examination of U.S. policies that will help us to be part of a movement that sets limits on U.S. oppression abroad? Will the new left government in France offer a new image of socialism that we may find helpful in our struggle to build a base for socialism in the United States?

When I return from my fantasy to the summer of 1981, one of my conclusions is that the French people appear to have elected a president whose policies will limit President Reagan's oppressive international policy. What a nice surprise in an era of bad gifts born of the Reagan victory! ■

White Candles at the Ramrod

by John Preston



In Memoriam

The events described in this article took place one year ago this month when Ronald Crumpley fired "about 10 or 11" shots at three men on a street in Greenwich Village. Two were wounded. Crumpley proceeded to the nearby Ramrod, a gay bar, and spewed bullets into men standing outside. Joig Wenz, 21, and Vernon Kroenig, 32, were killed, and four were wounded. Crumpley was judged to be suffering from a dangerous mental disorder and is currently being treated at Mid-Hudson Psychiatric Center in New Hampton. John Preston wrote this piece shortly after the shootings.

I had thought about calling Richard and asking him for a date after he got off work. If I had, it would have been easy for him to talk me into walking down to Christopher Street to get a slice of pizza. If I had, I would be in the hospital with multiple gunshot wounds. Richard is.

Instead I went to dinner with some other friends. If the conversation hadn't gone on for so long I probably would have gone to the *Ramrod* for a beer. If I had, I would have stood and talked to Little Dutch. If I had, I would be dead now. Little Dutch is.

On November 19, 1980 Ronald Crumpley, a 38-year-old ex-Transit

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Police Officer, shot eight people in New York's Greenwich Village. Two of them died. One of the two remained unidentified for quite a while. Crumpley did it, he told police and reporters, because he hates homosexuals. There's some lack of clarity about his motivations. What we do know is that he hates us — enough to kill us. And we know he is not the only one.

A group of us stood waiting for Richard to return from the X-ray room. We were to be his first visitors. When they wheeled him back to his bed he smiled at us. It was the first of many times that I wanted to cry.

I didn't, not out of some misplaced macho self-image, but because we were trying to put on a good show for him. We didn't know whether or not the unnamed dead man was his friend.

For 24 hours the spectre of the unidentified body hung over gay New York. Everyone had anxiously read the first editions of the *Post* to discover the names of the victims. But one murdered man remained unidentified. He became the Unknown Soldier of the day.

Telephones rang all over Manhattan as friends and lovers called one another and sighed with relief to hear the voice on the other end of the wire. "Thank God it wasn't you."

We stood in the hospital room and hid the newspaper from Richard. We kept the conversation focused on him and his wounds and his pain. We

weren't sure of his condition and didn't want to bring in any emotional turmoil. Finally, someone located his friend in the next ward. The relief was immense. We arranged for the two men to be in beds side by side and set up the beginning of a flood of flowers.

Through all the mundanities of making someone who is in great pain as comfortable as possible, I watched Richard and I knew that it could have been me in that bed. Anger raged inside me.

Richard had been shot on the street two blocks from the *Ramrod*. While Richard was walking from work to get his pizza, Crumpley stopped his own mission and got out of his father's late model Cadillac. He drew a pistol and shot Richard and his friend with a burst of the automatic weapon. He would later tell police that he did it because they looked "so faggoty."

Richard was not allowed to eat solid food. I sat on the bed and fed him a cup of gelatin with a wooden stick, the only utensil the underbudgeted medical center could provide. As I slipped little portions of jello into his mouth I thought about his wounded body on the bed. I wanted to cry with rage at the thought that some bigot who hated faggots would violate it.

Because he was on the street and not in a gay bar Richard hadn't understood why he was shot. At first he thought it was the random act of an insane person — the kind of nightmare New Yorkers live with after every scare headline of the *Post*. I tried to explain to him that it wasn't so. There had been a reason. He was a faggot. He couldn't comprehend it.

After Crumpley had shot Richard, he drove the Cadillac to the front of the *Ramrod*, one of the most popular gay bars in the city. Its location on the main west side thoroughfare had evidently led him to pick it for his purposes. It enraged him, according to one police

officer, to have to watch all those faggots on the street when he drove by with his wife and child.

The people in the *Ramrod* paid no attention to the black man in a three piece suit walking up to the bar. He had shot two people on the street. It looked as though the three of them were playing a game. Since gunfire isn't at all like the audio effects we've grown accustomed to on television, no one recognized the sound.

Then, he walked back to the Cadillac and took out a Uzi machine gun. The Uzi is one of the most deadly weapons in any modern arsenal. It was designed by the Israelis as the ultimate close combat automatic rifle. It looks like a toy. It doesn't have the wooden stock that we associate with a deadly weapon — only a small metal frame. To those patrons in the bar who noticed him it was just a continuation of the game.

He crouched on the sidewalk and took careful aim at Little Dutch, the doorman who sat in the window, his usual spot. In a matter of seconds more than 75 rounds of bullets crashed through the windows of the bar, killing two men and wounding two more. That the list of victims wasn't longer is a miracle.

For some unknown reason there were two FBI agents working undercover in the neighborhood. They led the chase that would eventually capture Crumpley across town. In the police station he posed for photographs that would appear on the cover of a late edition of the *Post*. At a press conference he told reporters how much he hated faggots.

* * * * *

When someone close to you is seriously wounded and you stand by the hospital bed and know there is utterly nothing you can do about the pain, the sense of impotence is enraging. I kept asking Richard what I could do. "My lips are chapped," he finally admitted. I went to the nursing station and got a

cup of mineral oil. St. Vincent's Hospital is so short on funds they no longer stock Chap Stick.

I rubbed the oil on Richard's lips with my fingers, relieved that I had found something I could do to comfort him.

Other people came to see him. After hours waiting and hours visiting I left. I went home and talked on the telephone. "No, I wasn't one of the ones shot." "No, I don't know who the other dead man is."

Then I took my camera and went over to Sheridan Square for the first of two rallies. The unnamed man had finalized the recognition that we had all been shot. The only reason it wasn't us was an ironic accident of timing.

The crowd marched the length of Christopher Street. The Village had been turned into an armed camp by scores of police cars. They knew they were dealing with something intense and could sense the anger. I overheard one cop tell a marshall: "Where do you want to go? Just tell us. You want City Hall? You got it. You want the precinct house? You got it. Just tell us. We'll make way for you."

But everyone wanted to go to the *Ramrod*. The sides of the streets were lit by rows of candles. Almost every store had placed some memorial in their windows. The bars were closed. The crowd sang "We Shall Overcome."

At the *Ramrod*, bullet wounds showed through the cracks in the plate glass. A wreath was on the door. Blood was on the sidewalk. Speeches. Shouts of anger and cries for revenge filled the night air. I was deadened by the fatigue that follows tension and dread.

A second demonstration was forming at Sheridan Square. Another, larger march down Christopher. The pain of the moment intensified. The Gay Community Marching Band led the way. A solitary drum beating a muffled half step funeral march.

I went through the whole thing again. The songs, a sea of white candles for the

innocent dead and wounded. Back to the *Ramrod*. And now the crowd, over 2,000, sang "Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory." The bugler intensified the pain with "Taps." Candles were left, one by one, at the door of the *Ramrod*.

Theoretical discussion about the existence of a gay community became irrelevant that day. The Gay Nurses Alliance provided special care for the wounded. The Metropolitan Community Church worked with the Red Cross to find the families of the dead and wounded. People just appeared on the street and were there to mourn. A moment of solidarity in the midst of the unfriendly city.

There are too many parallels to San Francisco and Harvey Milk's assassination. Richard and Little Dutch are not public figures, but to gay New York they are important. And the insanity of another ex-police officer has been turned on us. And we know, as San Franciscans knew, it was not a single man's insanity. It was a city's insanity. We are the hated.

That night of the shooting and the night of the mourning have produced a cohesive sense to gay New York that never existed before. It includes a fierce determination for justice. We wait with the same intense, solid knowledge that San Franciscans had that the murder of a faggot will not be a grave enough offense to the community to bring a murder sentence. We anticipate the utter ridiculousness of the insanity clause in our laws. If a man is capable of firing a Uzi machine gun into the window of a packed bar and feels no remorse, he must be insane. He is not responsible for his acts. That is what they are getting ready to tell us.

And when they do say that, we will finally have a politically organized gay community in New York. We will become the radicals that some have wanted us to be. We will take care of our own. And we will be ready to carry new white candles if we must. ■

Letters . . . Continued from page 2

approximately 40% are disabled. Hopefully, their foster parents are not LCA clergy or church workers.

The Reagan administration has *already* made severe cuts to programs that have effectively and efficiently empowered a traditionally powerless minority group, disabled persons. Block grant funding pits one group of disabled persons against another, as each scrambles for a crumb from the table. The more able are forced to disassociate themselves from the less able in order to maintain a modicum of dignity and self-respect as self-sufficient individuals. And the churches' response? More discussion of ramps.

Authentic Spirit or pseudo-spirit? The Myer article assures us that social security benefits in this country make disability less economically disastrous. May we have a show of hands from the disabled persons in this country who lost their *absolutely essential* S.S.I. benefits the day they went to work?

Authentic Spirit or pseudo-spirit? Our churches are very much caught up with a superficial sociology of access. One third of a page is devoted to transportation. We are told, nevertheless, to be of good cheer: the churches have run conferences "which include disabled adults and youth," AND — for the children, puppet shows for Sunday School in order to teach children about disabilities.

We are not addressing the deeper issues of lack of access. We are not evidencing authentic Spirit in terms of justice and solidarity. Lack of access to human intimacy, lack of access to live in human dignity, lack of access to one's own sexuality, to community, the lack of access to existing legal recourse, the lack of access to serious advocacy which will insure that the hard-won

Christmas Features

- Theologian William Stringfellow will present a Christmas meditation in the December WITNESS . . . and Robert L. DeWitt will produce the Christmas editorial.

rights to education and treatment will not be repealed by the "no entitlements" policies of David Stockman, et al., — *these* are the true issues with respect to access.

Can we re-examine the existence of church-owned segregated homes/schools for disabled persons and begin to envision intentional communities where disabled and non-disabled persons live together? Can we engage in substantive theological reflection on our mutual brokenness? Can we reflect on the churches' relationship to disabled persons from the perspective of a liberation theology, one which understands salvation as something that occurs in the midst of oppression? Can we admit that even now, in this Year, the churches often perpetrate some of that oppression? Can we embody justice and solidarity in actions that reflect an incarnational theology — learning from disabled persons to overcome the fear of our own bodies, a fear that we skillfully repress and deny? Can we allow ourselves to be truly *touched* by disabled persons?

The special issue of THE WITNESS has come and gone. Disabled persons do not disappear. When we have finished being "busy" with this Year, some of them may wonder what the churches really did for disabled persons. But, thankfully, they can be wheeled up the ramps of churches to hear the Good News of salvation, of social justice and solidarity. If, by that time, they have the right to appear in public.

Jane P. McNally, Ph.D.
Dept. of Special Education
Boston University
Boston, Mass.

Myer Responds

Jane McNally scores some good points, but I still maintain that industrialized nations' social security and welfare systems, even with inequities, make the lives of their disabled citizens far easier than people in those nations which have no benefits at all.

Connie Myer
New York, N.Y.

Five Months Before IRS

I understand that most WITNESS readers will be getting the current issue on the 15th of the month. That's just five months before April 15, 1982, when 100,000 of us taxpayers can refuse to pay \$300 million into the war-making machine.

Get ready for that day, folks. Psych yourselves up and join us for this new and scary venture. Contact other resisters whom you can support and who will support you by writing to Conscience and Military Tax Campaign, 44 Bellhaven Road, Bellport, N.Y. 11713. (516-286-8825).

Dan Lawrence
South Lancaster, Mass.

Dancing In The Gay Bars

What if a parishoner saw me enter?
What if the gossip should start?
Bad enough to be in any bar,
let alone that bar.
Could they understand when I said
that a friend invited me,
and so I came,
not to condemn or condone,
not with collar or lapel cross,
but as a friend.

And what if he should want to dance —
and I do like to dance —
and have danced with men:
with a friend a la Zorba
but not there
folk dances with men
but not there
at parties with the safely straight
but not there.

What would you do, Lord?
If Zaccheus ran a gay disco,
would you visit his place?
You, who ate with all,
would you dance?

Lord, I do not understand them,
but some are friends.
In a place of laughter,
talk, and touching,
loneliness and pain,
may your grace and peace abound.
May I, not understanding,
still go there.
Lord of all our lives,
grant me the grace to dance.

— Tom Goodhue

Great Disappointment

THE WITNESS is a great disappointment and completely out of line and should be discontinued.

Harold A. Wood
San Francisco, Cal.

Sing Praises

You continue to inspire, with your strength, and your courage, and your consistent concern for the truth and for those who are deprived. We sing your praises to all who dare listen!

Virginia S. Meloney
Claremont, N.H.

Racial Justice Shelved

"What is *your* congregation doing in behalf of racial justice and opportunity in our neighborhood?" For the past few weeks I have been visiting clergy of various denominations, asking this question. It has been a revealing experience.

The Northwest Area Council is an organization founded upon concern for equality, justice, and opportunity for minority groups in this 99% white area of greater Columbus (Ohio.) As the only retired (Episcopal) clergyman on the Board of Directors I was asked to interview the clergy of this area to discover what each congregation is

doing in behalf of racial justice, and to discuss how we might work together for this concern.

To date I have seen 19 pastors of the following churches; Roman Catholic, Episcopal, Community, Methodist, Lutheran, Christian, Church of Christ, Church of God, Presbyterian, Baptist, Congregational, and Pentecostal. First of all, every one of these fellows gave me a concerned hearing. They agreed that there is an urgent theological imperative here and that our attitude toward blacks is the crucial litmus test of our Christianity in this community.

All admitted that they were doing very little in the way of an aggressive pro-

Prison Worker's Plea for Native American

Every issue of THE WITNESS leaves me feeling joyful, happy that there are people doing political work from a place of a strong awareness of love, community, and grace. Your August issue on power to the disabled was especially inspiring. The article on Bishop Myers reminded me that my own political organizing began in the Episcopal Church in California, where James Pike and Kilmer Myers were my bishops. Pretty lucky, huh?

I have been working on a defense committee for over two years. I chose this particular case because it included so many important issues: the death penalty, Native American religious freedom, our treatment of prisoners, our treatment of poor people in the courts. The man for whom the defense committee is working, James Simmons, is a man of incredible faith. His faith has made it possible for him to remain whole and strong in the face of torture, of spending over two years in a boxcar cell, of not being allowed to celebrate his religion, of having a noose hang over him.

Jimi's brother George hung himself in his cell last winter, when he finally could not maintain his humanness under prison conditions. He decided that suicide was his only road to freedom. George

had tried to kill himself the day before he died, and had requested psychiatric help, which was refused. The prison did not put a suicide watch on him. Jimi was a few cells down from George when he died. His first knowledge of his brother's death was during the morning count when he heard a guard yell, "We got one hanging in here." Jimi wasn't allowed to participate in the Native American religious ceremonies inside the prison in honor of his brother. I think of the citizen outrage if Episcopal prisoners weren't allowed to participate in Holy Communion.

There is a long history of desecration and destruction of Native American religious objects by the guards. Jimi isn't allowed to have his medicine stick with him, which is similar to a Christian being refused the comfort of having a cross. During his trial George Simmons was prevented from seeing a Native American religious counselor despite the fact that we have a court order authorizing such visits. Can you imagine being on trial for your life, and not being allowed to see a priest?

I am proud that it was a Catholic chaplain at the prison who finally blew the whistle on the brutality and beatings that the guards were practicing on the prisoners.

What I am not proud of is the silence of Christians when the religious freedom of Native Americans in prison is violated. Many Christians seem to feel that Native American religion isn't really religion, that Sweat Lodges, eagle feathers, sage are not religious objects and do not deserve the same respect we demand of those things that are holy to us.

I have come to believe that when Christ told us to visit prisoners, he wasn't just saying this because the prisoners needed our assistance, but because knowing prisoners makes us more whole. If Christ were alive today, being tortured in prison, Christians would do anything to be able to visit Him. Well, as the Bible says, Christ is in prison today, and He is being tortured. I think that your readers would be benefited by visiting Jimi Simmons through your magazine, and through knowing something about Native American religion.

Karen Rudolph
Seattle, Wash.

THE WITNESS plans an issue on Native Americans in the future; meanwhile those interested in the case of James Simmons, a Muckleshoot/Rogue Indian, can write Karen Rudolph at the Simmons Brothers Defense Committee, 1818 20th, #105, Seattle, WA 98122.

gram. They all preach on the subject occasionally and all asserted that black persons would be welcome in their churches. Few had built a discussion of the Christian attitude toward racism into their educational curriculum. Most claimed that they don't see what practical, progressive steps they can take at present.

Most were vaguely aware of the existence of the Northwest Area Council but were not personally involved. They thought its existence was valuable if for nothing more than a symbol of racial concern in our community. I informed them that NWAC decided to concentrate on Equal Opportunity Housing as the best strategy for the present. They accepted this move and promised to publish our periodic messages in their parish bulletins and to use our Board members as resource persons.

I went forth on this project with some anxiety — unsure as to what reception I would get. My general conclusion? Racial justice and racial opportunity is a theological imperative recognized by the great majority of pastors as valid — but it has been shelved because of its difficult ramifications and its dangerous implications.

The Rev. Eldred Johnston
Columbus, Ohio

Controversial, Offensive

Kindly remove my name from your mailing list as I do not wish to be receiving any additional issues of THE WITNESS. You said it would be controversial, and it *is*. As a matter of fact it offends me greatly. I do *not* subscribe to your choice of editorial content nor *any* of your writers. In my mind, your publication does not deserve association with our Anglican Church.

Richard H. Steinmetz
Camp Hill, Pa.

CREDITS

Cover, map p. 13, and back cover, Beth Seka; p. 5, from *TransNational Brief*, Sydney, Australia; p. 6, *Off Our Backs*.

Reason to Hope

Enclosed is \$6.95 for *Which Side Are We On?* I received *Must We Choose Sides?* as a bonus for subscribing to THE WITNESS and it looks fantastic! Keep up the good work — you give me reason to hope!

Beth Bastasch
Aptos, Cal.

Wants Inclusion

While the Episcopal Church Publishing Company's Board was meeting in Pittsburgh in June, I was attending an ancient ceremony, the crowning of a prince of the church. There was stirring music, brass, organ and choir, all well-trained, glorious color, scarlet stoles, scarlet carnations highlighted for television coverage. The very air throbbed with anticipation and emotion and excitement.

I wanted to cry. In the crowd I felt very alone and I wondered if God were laughing.

At the altar there was one woman; there were a few girl acolytes. The only black was there because he is the Deputy Registrar of the Episcopal Church. In the congregation there was one woman presenter. A black man read the Old Testament lesson. There was a woman litanist and a woman read the consents of the Standing Committee. I had the feeling that token outreach had been made. The blacks were conspicuous by their absence. The only ray of hope was the number of female postulants in the procession.

Because the Presbyterian Church next door was also used to house the large crowd, it became symbolic of the divisions of our hierarchical church: the recognized, spouses of clergy, and those in power were seated at the Cathedral. The lesser folk, deputies, alternates, vestry people of lesser parishes, watched the medieval pageantry on closed circuit TV at the Presbyterian church.

The choreographer snapped his fingers and gestured like a drill sargent of inexperienced troops to move the procession out in correct order.

The congregation looked, to me, like 2/3 women, 1/3 men on their knees at the feet of the colorfully clad men on stage. The new bishop in his scarlet and gold looked the very image of a bishop, straight, tall, white-haired, strong voiced.

The women in the new bishop's family were the bearers of the elements and they wore white gloves, presumably to keep fingerprints off the silver vessels. The male priests at the altar did not have to wear white gloves as they handled the vessels.

It was a stirring, colorful pageant. However, when I, a laywoman, am dragged to my surprise to be ordained priest and then bishop, I want my cathedral to be a football stadium. Then all the people can be invited. I want only two bishops to put their hands on my head until there can be a goodly mix of male and female. I want my black friends to be there to celebrate with me, to take full part with me. I want my women friends to be full participants. I want color, good music, enthusiastic singing. I want no heralding of the great high priest. I want inclusion because Christ is in us all.

Portia Johnson
University and City Ministries
Pittsburgh, Pa.

Patience

I am not a child to be told
Shh, quiet, listen
Let your Elders speak for you.
They know what's best . . . these Men of God.
Stand in their shadows
lest you be caught in the warming sun.
Patience is your better virtue.
Wait for centuries . . . your time will come.
Do not raise up warrior daughters
to do battle with the system.
Men desire cuddly women . . .
warm and simple creatures
who will always know their place.
Patience is your better virtue.
Men grow strong, churches stronger
standing on the breasts of women,
Reaching toward a male-faced God.
Raging angels sweep from heaven
proclaiming in a sweet-toned song
Patience is your better virtue.

— Marianne Kelly

Seeks Assistance

A sub-group of the Worship Commission of Christ Episcopal Church, including the rector, has been exploring what can be done to make the language of liturgy and Scriptures more inclusive for all those who use and hear it in public worship.

We have most consistently worked with the weekly lectionary readings, and have made the main focus of our work the references to humanity, so that, where it is impossible to widen the meaning of the words "men," "sons," and "brothers" by changing them to include all people, we have done so.

We would like to know of other Episcopal parish groups working along these lines and would welcome hearing from you.

Kay Ruckman
Christ Episcopal Church
Oberlin, Ohio 44074

Magazine Disruptive

You have a fan at Twenty-Third Publications! Congratulations on the courage you show in the feature articles. Please tell Robert DeWitt that I find the magazine very disruptive — because I have to stop whatever I'm doing when it comes in order to be sure to read all of it each time. Keep up the good work. We are grateful for your presence.

Pat Kluepfel, Editor
Future Focus
Mystic, Conn.

Stimulating Reading

I have found THE WITNESS stimulating reading. I am particularly impressed by your editorial policy in favor of human rights, anti-militarism and forthright Christian commitments in global affairs. Yours is a challenging and spiritually inspiring review that carries to readers the Gospel message that we need to light the way of Christians today.

Bro. Armand E. Guillet, S.C.
Woonsocket, R.I.

Essential to Being

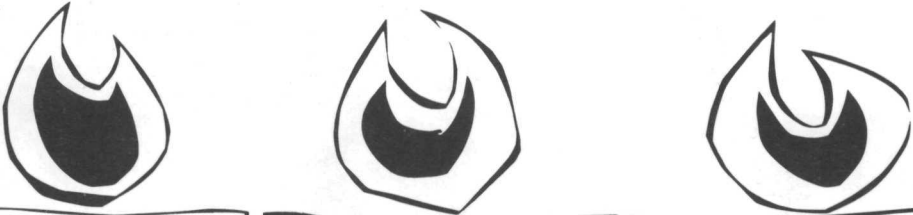
I have had to cut back on many worthwhile magazines, but THE WITNESS is too essential to my very being. It constantly affirms my priorities and gives me strength for my convictions and sets me right when I become subjective.

The Rev. J. L. F. Slee
Seattle, Wash.

Never Got Around

I've been meaning to subscribe to THE WITNESS since it was first published, but never got around to it. Now I know what I've been missing. Check enclosed.

Georgia V. Kirkpatrick
Busy, Ky.



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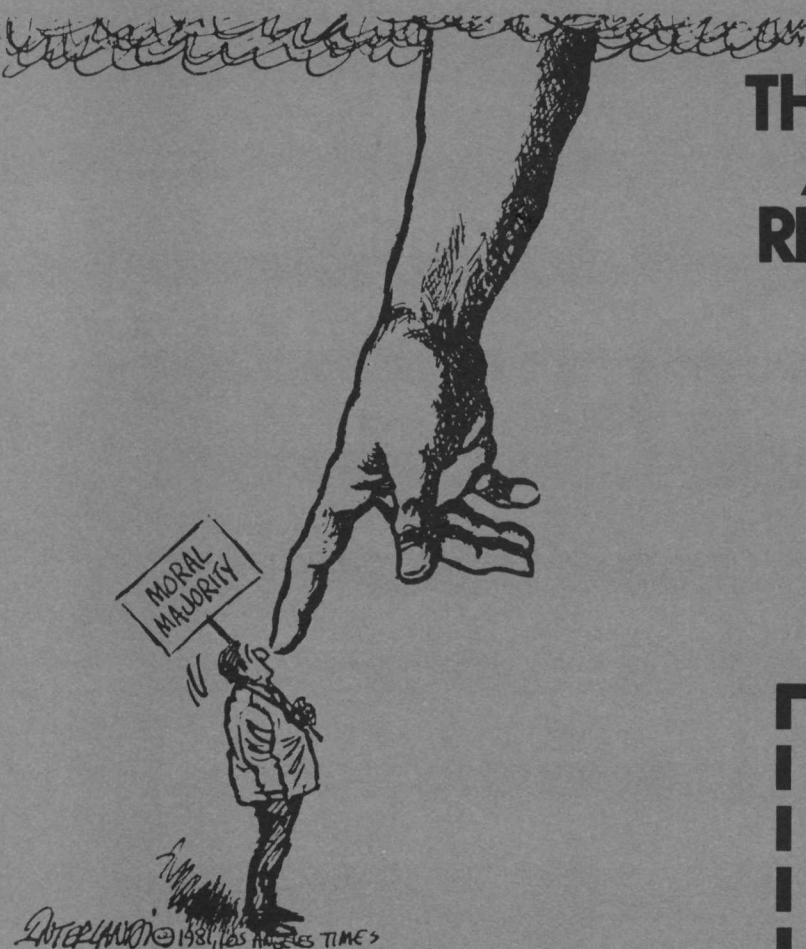
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