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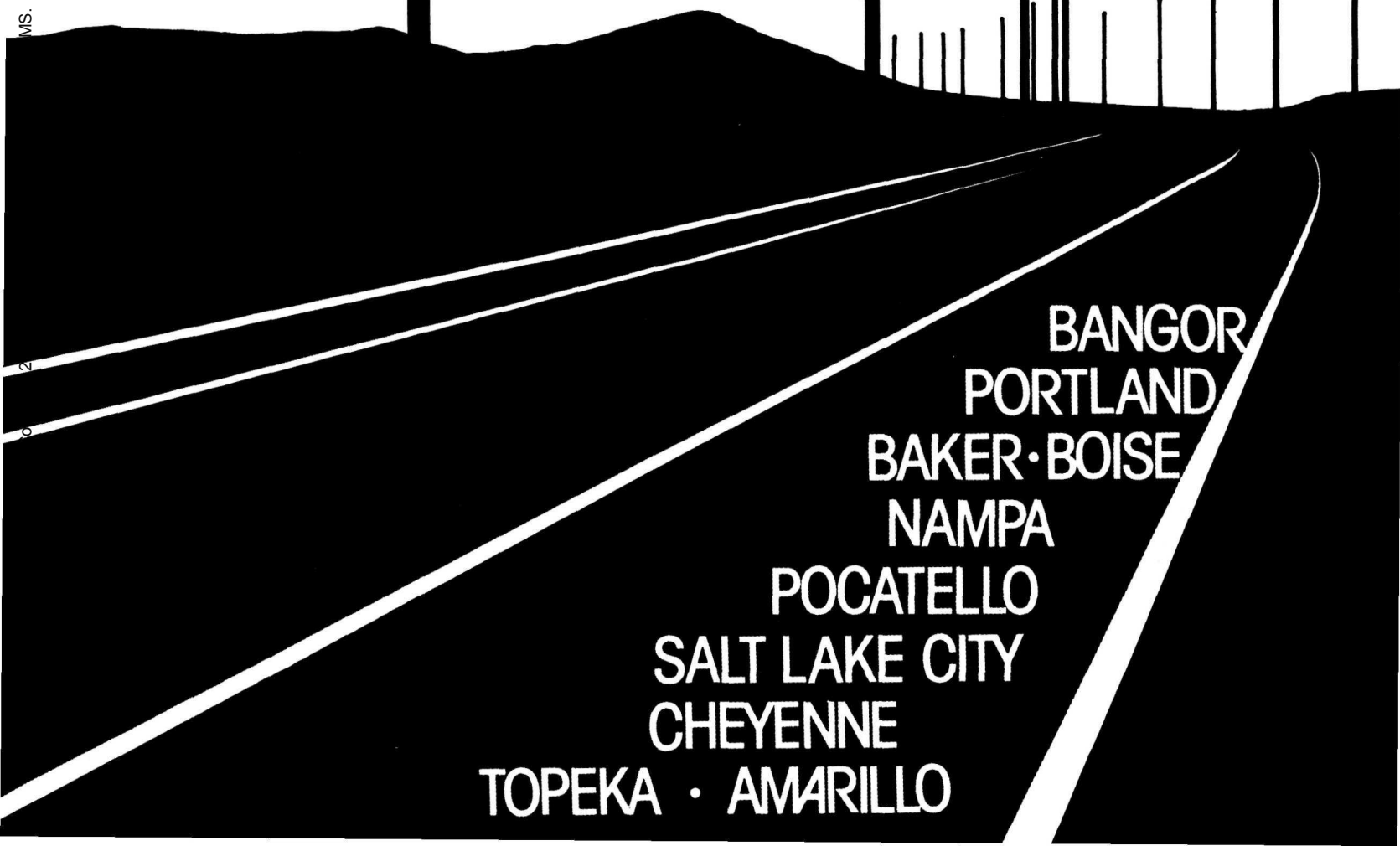
**Death Train Route:
Litany of Love or Holocaust?**

Jim Douglass

**New Hope
For Peace
Movement**

Sam Day

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LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

Cults Destructive

If the Rev. Joseph H. Fichter really wants to know where the danger to freedom of religion lies, he should look to the conversion and control practices of the destructive cults and try to understand the "snapping" process, which he dismisses. (See "Hammering the Heretics: Religion vs. Cults," January WITNESS.) My son's experience was typical. In less than a week, in the environment of the Moonie indoctrination camp and in a highly charged emotional state, he gave up his religious beliefs and turned his mind over to the Unification Church. They were the ones who were destroying his freedom of religion. Thomas Jefferson put it very well when he said, "There can be no freedom of religion without freedom of the mind." Brainwashing removes that freedom of the mind.

Most important is the point that the central issue is *not* religious beliefs. Nobody really cares what the Moonies believe, nor do we really care if Moon wants to claim to be the new Messiah. If he does so openly without deception or without the use of mind manipulation to get followers, no one could care less about his claim that he talked to Jesus. (Moon said in court that he recognized Jesus from his picture.) All we want them to do is stop deceiving people and separating the members from their families. We know of at least four families whose children have never returned home since joining the Unification Church even though they have been members for three or four years, or longer. They will not even come home for weddings or funerals. Do you know of any other religion which generates

such a degree of estrangement? This type of manipulation is intolerable.

Robert W. Lenz
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, Mass.

Fichter Responds

Professor Lenz's inability to comprehend the meaning of religious conversion and commitment is expressed in his spiritually insensitive declaration that "nobody cares what the Moonies believe." It is indeed Moonie belief that leads to Moonie behavior. In our day of enlightened ecumenism one has to be either a secularist or a bigot to sneer at a person's sacred religious faith that demands complete dedication.

From earliest Christian times there have been believers who left "brothers or sisters or father or mother or children" (Matt. 9:29) "for the Gospel" (Mark 10:29), "for the sake of the Kingdom of God" (Luke 18:29). From earliest Christian times there have also been parents who opposed their child entering God's service, going to the convent, the seminary, the monastery, or foreign missions far away from home and family.

To interfere with this religious calling, especially by forcible kidnapping and ruthless brainwashing, is clearly a criminal act, and probably an act of sacrilege.

Joseph H. Fichter, S.J.
Loyola University
New Orleans, La.

'Cults' to Family Journal

The American Family Foundation, a tax-exempt, educational and research organization, would appreciate your permission to reprint in our journal, *The Advisor*, "Why Our Children Join the Cults" by Owen C. Thomas (January issue).

The Advisor, which reports on the legal, medical and social issues raised by destructive cultism, is read by members of congress, state legislators and attorneys-general, officials of government agencies, helping professionals, church and community groups, and

many other concerned individuals in North America and Western Europe.

We think the story in question is an important one for our readers.

R.E. Schechter
Weston, Mass.

Reagan vs. Hitler, Stalin

When I see Ronald Reagan or his administration criticized in *THE WITNESS*, I'm motivated to share this reflection:

President Reagan seems honest and sincere in his foreign and defense policies. He is also consistent.

A true conservative such as President Reagan, after all, is not one who is against everything. A true conservative is the one who brings up the rear of the line. He shows up at a party after everyone else has gone home.

A glaring fault of Reagan's foreign and defense policies is that he is 30 to 40 years too late. His policies might have been correct for World War II or Korea. But World War II has now been over for 38 years. Korea ended 30 years ago. Stalin died March 3, 1953. Yet Reagan is pushing and amplifying policies necessary to stop Hitler and Stalin.

Our European allies seem increasingly disenchanted with Reagan's policies. They are probably more upset over them than are the Russians.

One can understand their feelings and objections, especially to Pershing missiles. Look at how residents of Montana and Wyoming protested Densepack. Equally, since World War II has been over for 38 years, our allies must be as tired of us as the Poles are of their overlords.

To continue our present policies 38 years after the end of World War II seems like "Unreconstructed Rebels" shouting "The South Will Rise Again!" 118 years after the end of the Civil War. It is most like the "Procrastinators' Society" in the 1960s which picketed the White House with signs reading "Dolly-Bird, Stop The War Of 1812" and "Bring Our Boys Home — From New Orleans."

William Wingfield
Pasadena, Calif.

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THE WITNESS

Editorial

Colliding With Power

by William Howard

In view of the sentencing of Maria Cueto to three years in prison (see back cover) THE WITNESS deems it especially appropriate that a guest editorial this month was written by the Rev. William Howard, former president of the National Council of Churches, who is well acquainted with Ms. Cueto's encounters with the FBI and Grand Juries.

The American Civil Liberties Union has called the new guidelines allowing the FBI more freedom in domestic surveillance "a benchmark test of our society for people who are concerned about First Amendment Rights."

In reflecting on the possibility of escalated government surveillance of the churches, I refer to *Matthew 16:24* — where Jesus told his disciples that those who would come after him should deny themselves, take up the cross, and follow him.

To be sure, I don't know the latest about what the government or government agents may be doing to keep track of church activities, and I don't know whether we're doing much to warrant surveillance. But I do know that if we stand with those for whom Jesus' ministry had particular focus and meaning, that is, the poor, the powerless, the alone, then we will collide with the principalities and powers. Somehow we will be at odds with the status quo. Not because we seek conflict, but because the needs of the marginalized and the victimized will not be met without destabilizing the status

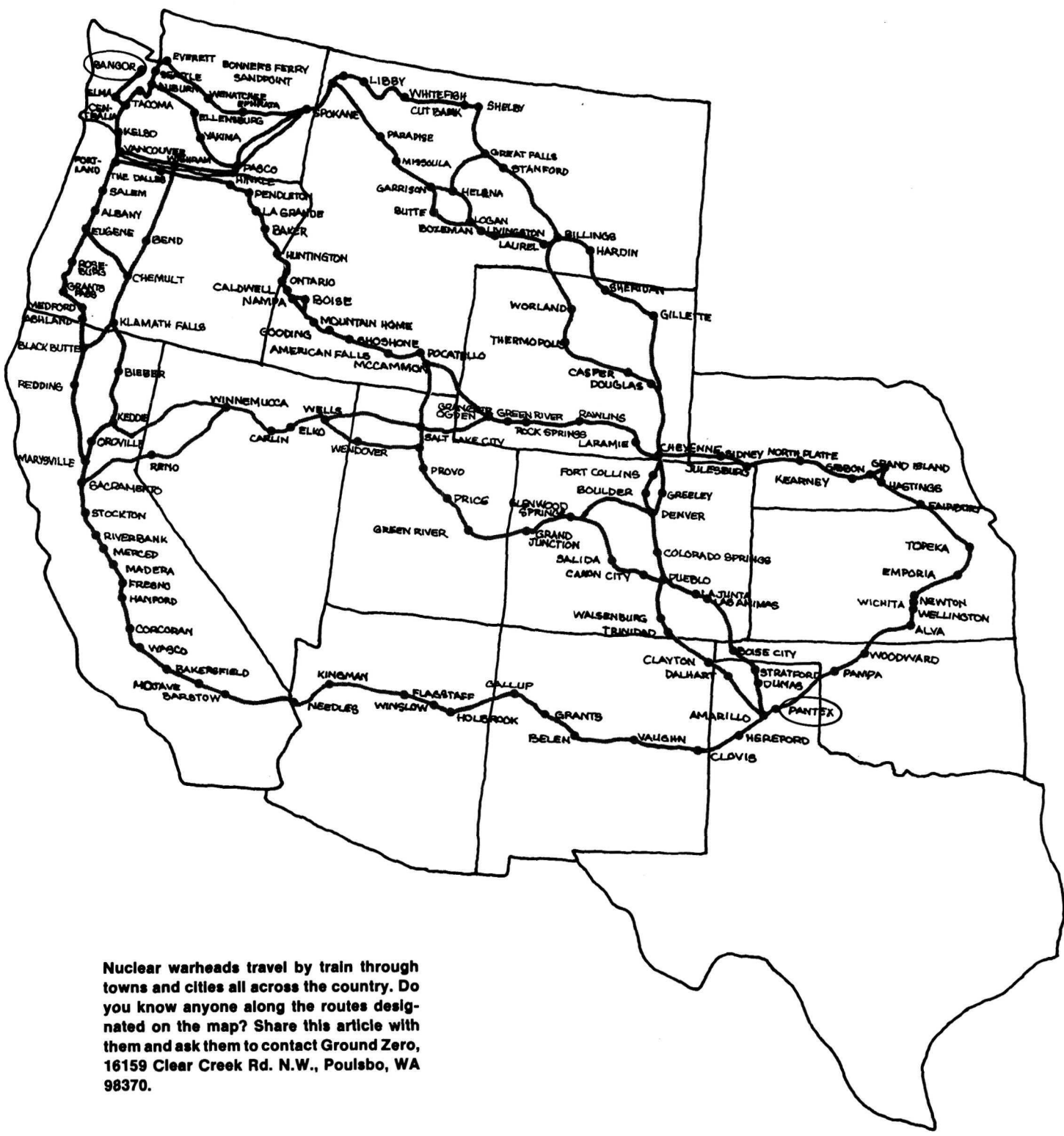
quo and the "powers-that-be" will concede nothing meaningful and fundamental, voluntarily.

This is not true because you or I want it to be true, but it is important for us not to delude ourselves and deny the way things are. I hope that whatever our mission requires of us along these lines, we will take up the task with full intelligence and maturity about the nature of the business we're in.

If the church does find itself at odds with those who have the power and facility to spy on us, let me say we will be in territory that is still relatively virgin. I say this while having some appreciation for what the National Council of Churches has experienced, especially during the McCarthy era. The fact is, though, that the church as an institution — and I speak here of the churches that are members of the NCC — traditionally has not found itself on the opposite side from the government on those issues that could result in open conflict, say in a court of law.

We found this out a few years ago when Maria Cueto and Raisa Nemikin were found in contempt

Continued on page 19



Nuclear warheads travel by train through towns and cities all across the country. Do you know anyone along the routes designated on the map? Share this article with them and ask them to contact Ground Zero, 16159 Clear Creek Rd. N.W., Poulsbo, WA 98370.

Each of the towns named on the railway map at left, located on train routes traveled by Trident missile and warhead shipments, has the same capacity for good or evil as towns in Europe in the '40s through which boxcars of Jews passed unnoticed. In that case people were brought to an extermination system. In this case an extermination system is being brought to the people.

Hercules Incorporated near Salt Lake City, working with the Thickol Corporation, produces the three-stage, solid-fuel propulsion system of the Trident missile, which is shipped about three times a month to the Trident submarine base at Bangor, Wash.

The Pantex plant near Amarillo, Tex., assembles all U.S. nuclear warheads; including those which are carried to Bangor two or three times a year in heavily guarded, armored trains.

Once these two systems have been transported to the center of the Naval Submarine Base in Bangor, they are combined in what Trident's former missile-designer, Robert Aldridge, calls "the ultimate first strike weapon." The 336 (or more) warheads on one Trident submarine will be accurate to within a few feet of targets 4,200 nautical miles away, destroying each with a blast 7.5 times that of the Hiroshima bomb.

In this context, the towns named on the railway routes running from Hercules and Pantex to Bangor are a litany of love or of holocaust. Will Pocatello . . . Nampa . . . Portland . . . become part of a litany celebrating nonviolent resistance? Or will they signify to the few survivors of nuclear war the most terrible silence in history?

Death Train Challenge: Litany of Love or Holocaust?

by Jim Douglass

It was a meditation like the above that gave birth to the Agape Community in July, 1981. We had been holding a workshop on "Christian Roots of Non-violence" at Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action, next to the Trident base. On a pilgrimage around the fence of the base, we stopped at the railroad tracks entering Bangor and reflected on

Jim Douglass is a co-founder (with his wife, Shelley) of Ground Zero, and a writer on the theology of nonviolence. He is the author of *The Nonviolent Cross*, and his new book, *Lightning East to West: Jesus, Gandhi and the Nuclear Age*, will be published in August (Crossroad Publishers, New York).

their parallel meaning to the tracks entering Auschwitz and Buchenwald. As part of the meditation, we named some of the towns and cities along the tracks — and realized that most of the workshop participants lived along these same tracks.

We all recognized that this workshop's members could bond by becoming an extended nonviolent community in various locations along the Trident tracks. We decided to become the Agape Community, and adopted a statement which said in part: "*We believe the spiritual force capable of both changing us and stopping the arms race is that of*

agape: the love of God operating in the human heart."

The Agape Community began to meet monthly, each time in a different town. The first year of our growth saw two walks from one end of the missile motor tracks to the other (Salt Lake City to Bangor), spreading the word of nonviolence and information about Trident missile shipments, and linking our various communities by the tracks. On Peace Sabbath, May 30, 1983, simultaneous vigils were held in 16 cities and towns along the Salt Lake City to Bangor tracks, including 200 vigilers in Portland and 150 at Bangor.

From March 18 to 22, 1983, while a Department of Energy (DOE) train brought nuclear warheads from the Pantex assembly plant to the Bangor base, the Agape Community alerted people along the route. Vigils were held in 35 towns throughout Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, and Washington. While hundreds participated, two people were jailed for obstructing the Nuclear Train in Denver, eight more while kneeling on the tracks in Fort Collins, Col., and six were arrested for sitting in front of the train outside the Bangor gate.

As a result of this continuous five-day presence and contacting people on alternate routes, the Agape Community's network has now grown to over 90 towns and cities along the missile motor and Nuclear Train tracks.

Much of the work of the Agape Community is what any "railroad buff" does. We monitor trains. In our case the trains carry cargo critical to an extermination system. The more we understand each step of the movement toward destruction, the more capable we are of turning it around. Thus our initial focus was to bring that process to visibility, then try to overcome it through non-violent action.

On my one trip to Hercules, a half hour's drive from Salt Lake City, I was struck by its similarity to the Strategic Weapons Facility Pacific (SWFPAC), the storage area for nuclear weapons at the center of the Trident base. Hercules is a series of bunkers laid out in a desolate landscape behind barbed wire fences hung with warning signs. Inside, the solid fuel propellant for the Trident missile is prepared. The spread-out bunkers testify to the danger involved. At a Hercules plant in West Virginia, on Aug. 10, 1981, an accidental explosion from a missile propellant left no trace of two workers.

From Hercules, the Trident missile motors with their volatile fuel pro-

pellant are trucked to a Salt Lake City rail yard. There they are loaded on railway flatcars and shipped north. Along the route Agape members watch for them, and send word up the line.

At the end of the line, at top-secret SWFPAC deep inside the Trident base, the missile motors and fuel propellant are unloaded from their rail cars and stored in huge concrete bunkers not far from those lodging the nuclear warheads. Missile propellant and warheads eventually undergo a deadly marriage in SWFPAC. Then the assembled missiles, heavily guarded by Marines, are driven at a snail's pace down to Bangor's Explosives Handling Wharf, where a giant crane lowers each missile gingerly into a waiting Trident submarine. From that point on, as Navy slang puts it, "the birds are ready to fly."

The critical link in this process, and the hope of the Agape Community, are the towns of Utah, Idaho, Oregon, and Washington through which the Hercules-Trident shipments must pass. These shipments travel in silver container cars and trailers mounted on railway flatcars. They pass unseen except to the extent that the container and trailer cars are recognized from three characteristics:

- 1) *Explosives A*, or less often *Explosives B*, placards posted on the cars (a Class A Explosive is one that requires a one-mile evacuation from an explosion);

- 2) Built-in refrigeration units necessary to maintain a 65°-95° temperature for their volatile contents;

- 3) *Rio Grande* lettering across the sides of the container cars that carry the first and second-stage missile motors. (The third-stage motors are in piggy-back trailers with smaller *RGTZ* lettering at one end.)

Agape members watch for these cars. They have spotted them in their towns, followed them from town to town driving on highways parallel to the tracks,

and have warned Agape folks up the line that a missile motor shipment is on its way. The monitoring of these shipments has raised both public consciousness and new opportunities for nonviolent action.

We became aware more recently of the DOE train delivering warheads from the Pantex plant in Amarillo, and began monitoring those shipments also.

The Nuclear Train consists of 10 to 14 all white, heavily armored cars, pulled by two locomotives and followed by a caboose. Two of the armored cars are security cars and have turrets, like a tank. According to the Department of Energy, they are occupied by "courier guards" armed with rifles, shotguns, machine guns, and hand grenades. The 8 to 12 armored cars between the security cars are lower in height and have *ATMI* lettering on their sides. The Nuclear Train is accompanied by additional security guards in an escort vehicle driven along highways.

Washington Utilities and Transportation Commission documents state that nuclear warheads will be shipped by rail from Texas to the Trident base on "ATMI cars grossing 263,000 lb." two to three times per year. The WUTC documents say that the speed of such trains will be restricted to 35 miles per hour, a safety rule confirmed in shipments to Bangor.

Trident submarines are being deployed at the Bangor base at a rate slightly faster than one per year. Assuming that two Nuclear Trains in one year carry enough warheads for one Trident submarine (192 Trident-1 warheads), one such train would hold 96 hydrogen bombs, each bomb having a destructive capacity of 100 kilotons, five times that of the Hiroshima bomb. This is its present capacity. (The introduction lists its future capabilities when it will carry Trident-2 warheads.) The entire train would have the explosive equivalent of 480 Hiroshima bombs.

The Agape Community opposes Trident missile shipments, first of all, because of Trident's being "the ultimate first strike weapon," as the missile-designer calls it. As a key step in making possible a first strike weapons system, the Hercules and Nuclear Train shipments to Bangor violate the norms of international behavior.

A second reason for opposing these shipments is the safety hazard which they raise in the communities through which they pass. The government claims there is no danger of explosion but classifies Trident missile motors among the most hazardous materials carried by rail — *Explosives A*, requiring a one-mile evacuation from an accidental blast.

Rich Huggins, the emergency services director in Union County, Ore. through which the shipments pass, has said that if a derailment or the like occurs, the missile motors "are very likely to explode" and form a "gigantic crater." He said the fuel propellant is so flammable that no fire suppression is recommended, as "there's no known way to put it out. But it will burn out in less than 20 minutes."

Another indicator of the explosive capacity of Trident missile motors is a statement by former Bangor public affairs officer, Lt. John Woodhouse Jr., in a March 15, 1981 interview. Woodhouse said then that the Navy owns 800 acres of land on the shore of the Hood Canal opposite the Bangor base as an "explosive buffer zone," in case there were to be a missile-propellant explosion. The site of such a possible accident, the Explosives Handling Wharf where Trident missiles are lowered by a giant crane into their submarines, stands 1¼ miles across the water from the heavily wooded 800-acre buffer zone — only beyond which could people be considered safe from a missile-propellant explosion.

Union Station

The story of our lives
is written here,
on the shining tracks converging
in the unexplored distance;
it is recorded in the whistles
of so many trains
arriving and departing —

to Berkeley, where
in the midst of the Great Depression,
I went at age 3
to spend a memorable Christmas
with a favorite aunt and uncle;

to Seaside, at age 5,
as from my vantage point
in the rear-end observation car,
I watched the fir-coated hills
slide by to the rhythmic click
of the wheels;

to Phoenix at age 10,
as the ominous rumblings
which were soon to explode
into World War II
began in Europe,
I went to visit my much loved,
only living grandfather;

to Chicago at age 20,
during the short-lived reign
of the Un-American Activities Committee
and McCarthy's witchhunters,
I traveled on my first venture
alone into the world
beyond family and home;

to Phoenix again after 40 years,
with my 10-year-old daughter
to visit for one last time
the remaining members
of my once-large family.

And now, I come once more
to Union Station,
to join those who would seek peace
by protesting the use
of our historic tracks
to transport the components
of horrible death
for millions of our fellow humans —

our sisters and brothers who,
whatever their governments and lifestyles,
are like us children
of the living God
and fellow citizens
of Planet Earth.

May our blind race to oblivion cease,
so that our children
may live to enjoy the landmarks
of their lives —
their memorable journeys
on the trains
from Union Station.

— Mary Jane Brewster

The dangers involved in transporting missile motors by rail are suggested by their bill of lading instructions: "Due to nature of load, susceptibility to impact damage, and high value, must not be switched with, bumped, or allowed to run free. Must be given best possible handling over the road and in terminals."

Other bill of lading stipulations are that missile motor cars "should not be entrained nearer than six cars from engine or occupied caboose and must not be placed next to other placarded

cars." The speed of these trains is "not to exceed 50 miles per hour."

Agape Community members, while driving alongside missile motor trains between Portland and Centralia, have clocked them at over 60 miles per hour for long stretches. Handling of these volatile shipments has been observed which was not the "best possible."

So far as the nuclear warhead shipments go, Dave Jackson, public affairs director of the DOE's Albuquerque, N.M. regional office says they are made in a "special transportation configur-

ation" with the devices not capable of accidental firing.

For obvious reasons the government has exempted itself from calculating any "buffer zones" for nuclear warhead accidents. Were such zones required for the warheads, there would be few if any places on earth where they could be stored.

The lengths to which language has to be pushed to obscure the danger of a nuclear accident is demonstrated by one of the few paragraphs on this topic in the Navy's Environmental Impact Statement on Bangor: "The design of missile components, incorporation of safety features in the design to cover assembly, test, transportation, handling and deployment of the missiles, and the removal at the Trident Support Site of certain explosive devices required in the ignition chain is based upon a pre-

sumption that the consequences of an accident resulting in nuclear warhead material dispersal in the population in close proximity to Bangor would be unacceptable."

Knowledge is important to the Agape Community's nonviolent resistance to the Trident shipments. Equally important is an attitude of respect toward railway employees. We distinguish sharply between the train workers, who are people and friends, and the nuclear evil traveling the tracks, for which we are just as responsible as they. The inner reality which can deepen both resistance to the evil on the tracks and a relationship of respect with the train workers is *agape*, the love of God operating in the human heart. The basis for nonviolent resistance is love.

Nonviolent action must affirm the lives of all people, especially the immedi-

ate lives of rail workers who are caught economically in transporting materials which many of them question. Respect for railway employees is one reason why any form of sabotage to trains would be totally contrary to the Agape Community. Such violent opposition would in fact justify and strengthen the evil of missile shipments.

The way these holocaust shipments can be stopped is through education, reflection, and nonviolent direct action: vigils, walks, sit-ins, until there are more people on the tracks prepared to go to jail for peace than there are people to remove them or jails to contain them. What we seek through *agape* is the conversion of ourselves, that we might realize that vision of active peacemaking. At that point the naming of towns along the tracks will truly become a litany of love, not holocaust. ■

Religious Witness Pumps Hope Into Peace Movement

by Sam Day

The view that Jim and Shelley Douglass command from their home beside the Navy's nuclear submarine base on Puget Sound goes beyond the railroad tracks that bring the boxcars from the distant missile motor and H-bomb assembly plants. The view also encompasses a new world.

The world view of Ground Zero

Samuel H. Day, Jr., is a free-lance author, lecturer, and political activist based in Madison, Wisc. He is a consultant to THE WITNESS, a contributing editor to *The Progressive*, and an associate of Nukewatch, a public interest group dealing with nuclear issues.

Center for Nonviolent Action, which they helped found, is illuminated by an extraordinary force currently transforming the U.S. peace movement.

The force took more than three decades to kindle but now is beginning to shape American public opinion. It is the simple idea that nuclear weapons are evil.

Not just wrong-headed, not just self-defeating, not just economically ruinous, not just environmentally hazardous, not just suicidal, as atomic scientists and political liberals have warned since the dawn of the nuclear era. But *evil*.

Until quite recently that awesome

judgment was more than most peace activists could bring themselves to utter, no matter how deep their commitment to ending the nuclear arms race. But now it springs readily from the lips of a growing number.

The peace movement has begun to take root in religious faith.

For most of its life, the battle against the Bomb has been a secular struggle. It drew its inspiration from the warnings of distinguished scientists — Albert Einstein, Bertrand Russell — and the organizations and publications dedicated to carrying their Olympian messages to the world. Its sinew came from the ranks of various political organizations formed to cope with one

new weapon after another — the H-bomb. ABM, B-1 bomber, neutron bomb, MX missile. For scientists and liberals the struggle has been a losing one. Their forces were no match for the vested interests — weapons laboratories, military services, corporations — that benefit from the endless creations of the military industrial complex.

It is still a losing struggle — the recent Congressional vote to develop and flight test the \$20 billion MX missile is another reminder of that. But the infusion of religiously based opposition to nuclear weapons has begun to stiffen the resistance, bolster the numbers and give it renewed hope.

The Ground Zero Center outside the Puget Sound submarine base and the Agape Community along the railroad tracks into Utah and Texas are just the tip of the religious revival. Growing numbers of "peace communities," sharing the goals of Ground Zero and Agape, are challenging the nuclear weapons program all across the country.

For these peace communities, nonviolent resistance to nuclear weapons policies has become a way of life. Some of the most active groups are Jonah House in Baltimore; Brandywine in Media, Pa.; Covenant in New Haven; Mustard Seed in Worcester, Mass; Strategies & Actions for Conversion, Omaha; Species Life House, Missoula, Mont.; Sojourners in Washington, D.C.; and Catholic Worker Houses in such places as New York City, Des Moines, Denver, Los Angeles and Sacramento. Scarcely a week passes without some member of these groups going to jail for breaking the law at a nuclear weapons facility.

Organizing prayer vigils, blockades, invasions and other forms of direct action, Christian groups have confronted the Navy's Trident submarine not just at its base in Bangor, Wash., but at its construction site in Connecticut, its communications headquarters in upper Michigan,

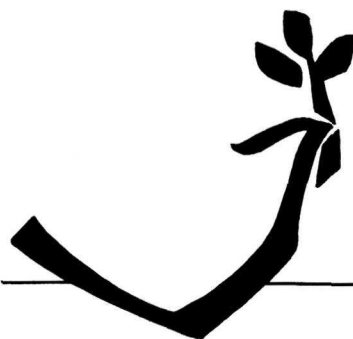
and at a host of support facilities across the nation. "Trident Nein" is the name of a nine-member group that poured blood on a new Trident sub under construction in Groton, Conn.

Shelley Douglass has been arrested five times at the Bangor submarine base and her husband Jim has served two six-month jail terms. These are typical of the penalties hundreds of others are paying for bearing witness against the Bomb. They have chained themselves to the doors of the Air Force Academy chapel at Colorado Springs, conducted Easter vigils inside the security fences of intercontinental ballistic missile silos in Missouri and Montana, "beaten swords into plowshares" by hammering dents into missile nosecones under construction at a General Electric assembly plant in King of Prussia, Pa.

Such actions, often accompanied by religious symbolism (the shedding of blood, the carrying of a cross) and timed to coincide with Christian holidays (Good Friday, Easter, Christmas) are carried out more for purposes of religious witness than political persuasion. But they are having a powerful effect on the body politic.

Jim Douglass is a case in point. His resistance, as a Christian, to the Trident submarine program persuaded Seattle Roman Catholic Archbishop

if
you wish
for peace,



+ work for justice.

POPE PAUL VI

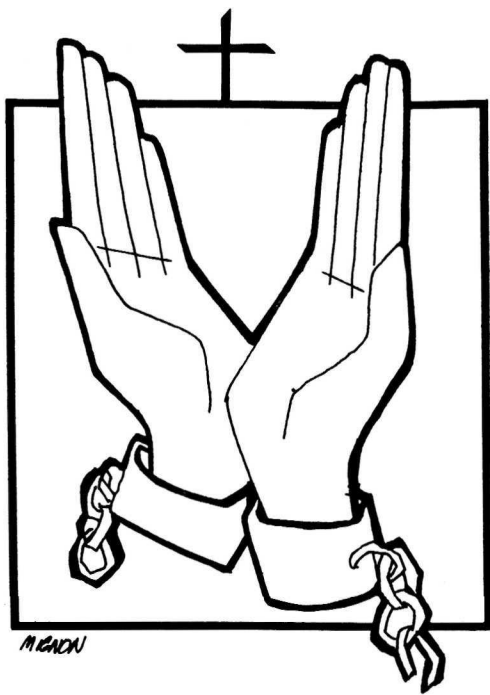
MIGNON

Raymond Hunthausen to withhold a portion of his federal taxes that help pay for it. Similarly, the anti-nuclear conversion of another celebrated Catholic bishop, Leroy T. Matthiesen of Amarillo, Tex., is said to have begun with his jailhouse visit to a young priest who climbed the fence at the nearby Pantex nuclear weapons assembly plant.

The historic pastoral letter approved recently by the Roman Catholic Bishops has moved anti-nuclear weapons activism from the farthest fringe to the mainstream of Catholic dogma in the United States. A similar current is evident in mainstream Protestantism, too, including the Episcopal Church, where clerical and lay leaders are increasingly outspoken on the issue. For this, the Christian activists who have led the way can take much credit.

The rising influence of religiously based resistance to the nuclear arms race has also brought increased resort to nonviolent civil disobedience, following the examples of Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr. Nonviolent civil disobedience at nuclear installations, introduced on a small scale by religious groups a few years ago, has served to re-energize secular anti-nuclear organizations and to harmonize them with the means

Continued on page 19



"The idea of a police state, where people are terrorized, tortured, and 'disappear' with sickening regularity, should be so morally repugnant to us that we would never collaborate."

Poverty, Surveillance Haiti's Daily Lot

by Walter D. Dennis

Just a few weeks ago, several representative bishops of the Second Province and I made a five-day fact-finding tour of our church's work in Haiti, a member diocese of our province. Upon their return, the bishops issued a joint statement reflecting their collective impressions of their stay in this deeply troubled and tiny country. They described the trip as "both enlightening and exhausting" and noted a strong impression of the "lack of total freedom" that is apparent everywhere; but with a sense of real joy and thankfulness they noted too that the work being done by our church in Haiti is "no less than thrilling."

I concur wholeheartedly with all of these statements — particularly the last. However, I wish to record some of my own personal impressions since the overwhelming majority of Haitian immigrants (or, if you will, refugees) live in the Diocese of New York.

Immediately upon our arrival in Port-au-Prince we were confronted with a telling example of what is every Haitian's daily lot: scrutiny and surveillance. Our bags were literally torn

apart by the customs people. Clearly, even though we were foreign "dignitaries" with legitimate business in this country (we were not coming to investigate the government but only to visit the church there), our presence and intentions were suspect, and we were not welcome. Indeed, throughout our journey our van was regularly stopped by the police and our identity and purpose questioned. The sense that we were being carefully watched hung like a cloud over us. Coupled with the constant picture of unimaginable, grinding poverty and privation, this feeling would have made our trip unrelievedly depressing, were it not for the beauty and sweetness of the people and the inspiring witness of the Haitian Church which is, as we bishops noted, "so vigorous, so intentional, and so dedicated."

Wherever we went we saw signs that the church was ministering to the total person. The work of the United Thank Offering was particularly impressive, with churches, schools and clinics built with the help of the women of the church in the United States. The Episcopal Church runs vocational programs, educates village people as midwives and medical aids, and contributes greatly to

the uplifting of the nation's life.

I was delighted to see in action a program involving Episcopal Church-run medical and dental clinics. Doctors from our country volunteer to come and work intensively for two-week periods, while the assigning and scheduling of patients is performed by the local doctors.

My impressions of the country itself are vivid. The sight of endemic, pervasive poverty is truly oppressive, a poverty so profound that few of us can really comprehend it or imagine how the people survive, let alone keep up their spirits. To be sure, mere survival is the most that the overwhelming majority of Haitians can hope for. I recall talking with Antoine Petion, 22, the sole support of his widowed mother, a brother and a sister. He worked for the grand sum of 32 cents a day moving concrete in a wheelbarrow from the mixer to a construction site, a new extension of the hotel where we were staying. We are accustomed to seeing such projects replete with powerful machines, but in Haiti, where labor is literally dirt-cheap, human muscle is the chief power source. When I asked Antoine (through an interpreter) what his fondest wish was, he said, "What-

The Rt. Rev. Walter D. Dennis is Suffragan Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of New York.

ever God wants for me.”

Simple faith, worthy of our emulation? At first thought it might seem so, but a moment's further thought, taken with such poverty and desperation in plain view, reveals that a deep fatalism is what underlies such a statement. It was really an expression of psychic numbing, with responsibility referred to God, but with no realization that God's will for Antoine is wholeness, dignity, freedom, and sufficiency. In a way, no other single experience made such an impression on me. *This* was Haiti.

To travel across Haiti, from Port-au-Prince to Cap Haitien, is to see a country that in some areas resembles the rice paddies of Southeast Asia, and in others, a parched wasteland. This latter phenomenon, by the way, is the result of progressive deforestation and erosion brought on by a relentlessly expanding population in search of space and cooking fuel. Not surprisingly, Haiti is an ecologic disaster as well as an economic and political one.

Yet, there is real tropical loveliness too, although the more exquisite the setting the more certainly the place is reserved for the numerically miniscule ruling stratum or for vacationing North Americans and Europeans. This is particularly true along the coastline where the finest beaches are reserved for the elite. Two of the most beautiful ones I saw belonged respectively to the President of Haiti and to Club Med.

Second only to the notoriety of the awful human conditions in Haiti is the repressive political situation under the Duvalier dynasty — which successive U.S. administrations have considered to be a “stabilizing, counter-balancing” force in the region, and therefore worthy of our material and moral support. Unless one were staying at some luxury resort and never stirred beyond the bounds of the enclave, it would be hard to escape noticing that one is in a police state. I was privileged to talk with many



Bishop Dennis

people in all walks of life. At first, almost everyone was chary of talking freely, but when pressed almost all would admit to unhappiness, desperation, and fear.

Where does the church stand in this situation? At firsthand I experienced a newer feature of the institutional church in Latin America: the sizable number of Roman Catholic clergy who show little hesitation in supporting non-Marxist — and even Marxist — political programs that offer a chance for meaningful change in their societies.

The Episcopal Church in Haiti is ably led by Bishop Luc Garnier, whose relationship with the regime can best be described as one of distance rather than of truce. It is certainly not a confrontational one, but it is important to remember that the bishop's *modus vivendi* makes possible the wide spectrum of desperately needed work which the church does, unhindered by the state but also without any sponsorship or (co-opting) support. One could well liken this important aspect of the bishop's work to walking on eggs, and I was often reminded of our Lord's admonition to be wise as serpents and as

harmless as doves. “Msgr. Luc” is a tough and courageous man, and one of the greatest signs of his strength is his delicate and disciplined restraint.

I left Haiti even more aware of and troubled by the “American” connection. Not for the first time I asked myself what our policy and role should be vis-a-vis Haiti — and indeed toward the Caribbean nations and Central and South America as well. We desperately need a credible, non-hypocritical policy of real consistency, so that there would be no room for doubt that we support genuinely democratic governments, reflective of their peoples' will and supportive of their human needs, material and spiritual. In short, we should lend our support only consistent with our own noblest traditions and only to the degree that other governments' and ours coincide. We need — and should — not demand identity of their and our political and economic systems. Let them be capitalist or socialist.

The idea of a police state — of the left or right — where people are terrorized, tortured, and “disappear” with sickening regularity, should be so morally repugnant to us that we would *never* collaborate. I do not speak of coercion; the days of gunboat diplomacy are over. But we would do well to look again at what Jimmy Carter was about with his much-maligned human rights thrust in diplomacy. Maybe it is not really Quixotic to try to act consistently with the ideals we proclaim. If, as Christians (if we are honest), we must behave this way or face judgment for moral failure and hypocrisy, then should we not demand the same of our government in *its* sphere of action?

As for Haiti, I thank God for the opportunity to see for myself what her people are up against, and I rejoice to see the church there unashamedly being about the Lord's work. I earnestly invite your prayers for this brave and patient people. ■

Have We Forgotten The Lessons of Vietnam?

An Interview
with Noam Chomsky
by Paul Shannon

When the Indochina war ended in 1975 you wrote that our nation's opinion makers would engage in distortion of the lessons to be drawn from the war so that the same basic foreign policy goals could be pursued after the war. You felt then that in order to keep the real meaning of the war from penetrating the general public they faced two major tasks: First, they would have to disguise the fact that the war "was basically an American attack on South Vietnam — a war of annihilation that spilled over to the rest of Indochina." And secondly, they would have to obscure the fact that the military effort in Vietnam "was restrained by a mass movement of protest and resistance here at home which engaged in effective direct action outside the bounds of propriety long before established spokesmen proclaimed themselves to be its leaders." Where do we stand now on these two issues?

Chomsky: As far as the opinion makers are concerned, they have been doing exactly what it was obvious they would do. Every book that comes out, every article that comes out, talks about how the United States was defending South Vietnam from North Vietnamese aggression. That's standard to say.

Dr. Noam Chomsky is the author of a number of books on Vietnam war policy and a professor of Linguistics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The purpose is obvious: to obscure the fact that the United States did attack South Vietnam and the major war was fought against South Vietnam. The real invasion of South Vietnam which was directed largely against the rural society began *directly* in 1962 after many years of working through mercenaries and client groups. And that fact simply does not exist in official American history. There is no such event in American history as the attack on South Vietnam. That's gone. Of course, it is a part of *real* history. But it's not a part of official history.

And most of us who were opposed to the war, especially in the early '60s — were opposed to the war on South Vietnam which destroyed South Vietnam's rural society. The South was devastated. But now anyone who was against this atrocity is regarded as having defended North Vietnam. And that's part of the effort to present the war as if it were a war between South Vietnam and North Vietnam with the United States helping the South. Of course, it's fabrication. But it's official "truth" by now.

This question of *who* the United States was fighting in Vietnam is pretty basic in terms of coming to any understanding of the war. But why would the U.S. attack South Vietnam?

Chomsky: First of all, let's make absolutely certain that *was* the fact: that the U.S. directed the war against South Vietnam.

There was a political settlement in 1954. But in the late

Vietnam War

Human Cost

2,221,000 Indochinese killed (Includes both military and civilians of North and South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos)

3,200,000 wounded

14,305,000 refugees

* * *

56,231 Americans killed

303,616 wounded

13,167 100% disabled

55,000 have died since returning home (suicides, addictions, accidents, etc.)

500,000 have attempted suicide since returning home

* * *

5,000 U.S. Allies killed

* * *

Firepower

The total firepower expended by the U.S. and its allies in Indochina probably exceeds the total firepower expended by humanity in all wars, before and after the Indochina War, combined.

15,500,000 tons of firepower used by U.S. forces (This firepower is the equivalent in destructive force of about 600 Hiroshima type atomic bombs.)

Of this total, 12,000,000 tons were used by the U.S. in South Vietnam alone.

In comparison, the U.S. used 6,000,000 tons of air and ground munitions in all of World War II.

'50s the United States organized an internal repression in South Vietnam, not using its troops, but using the local apparatus it was constructing. This was a very significant and very effective campaign of violence and terrorism against the Vietminh — which was the communist-led nationalist force that fought the French. And the Vietminh at that time was adhering to the Geneva Accords, hoping that the political settlement would work out in South Vietnam. [The Geneva Accords of 1954 temporarily divided Northern and Southern Vietnam with the ultimate aim of reunification through elections. — Ed.]

So, not only were they not conducting any terrorism, but in fact, they were not even responding to the violence against them. It reached the point where by 1959 the Vietminh leadership — the communist party leadership — was being decimated. Cadres were being murdered extensively. Finally in May of 1959 there was an authorization to use violence in self-defense, after years of murder, with thousands of people killed in this campaign organized by the United States. As soon as they began to use violence in self-defense, the whole Saigon government apparatus fell apart at once because it was an apparatus based on nothing but a monopoly of violence. And once it lost that monopoly of violence it was finished. That's what led the United States to move in. There were no North Vietnamese around.

Then the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam was formed. Its founding program called for the neutralization of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. And it's very striking that the National Liberation Front was the only group that ever called for the independence of South Vietnam. The so-called South Vietnamese government (GVN) did not, but rather, claimed to be the government of all Vietnam. The National Liberation Front was the only South Vietnamese group that ever talked about South Vietnamese independence. They called for the neutralization of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia as a kind of neutral block, working toward some type of integration of the South with North Vietnam ultimately.

Now that proposal in 1962 caused panic in American ruling circles. From 1962 to 1964 the U.S. was dedicated to try to prevent the independence of South Vietnam. The reason was of course that Kennedy and Johnson knew that if any political solution was permitted in the South, the National Liberation Front would effectively come to power, so strong was its political support in comparison with the political support of the so-called South Vietnamese government.

And in fact Kennedy and later Johnson tried to block every attempt at neutralization, every attempt at political

settlement. This is all documented. It's wiped out of history, but the documentation is just unquestionable — in the internal government sources and everywhere else.

So there's just no question that the United States was trying desperately to prevent the independence of South Vietnam and to prevent a political settlement *inside* South Vietnam. And in fact it went to war precisely to prevent that. It finally bombed the North in 1965 with the purpose of trying to get the North to use its influence to call off the insurgency in the South. There were no North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam then as far as anybody knew. And they anticipated of course when they began bombing the North from South Vietnamese bases that it would bring North Vietnamese troops into the South. Then it became possible to pretend it was aggression from the North. It was ludicrous, but that's what they claimed.

Why did the U.S. do this?

Chomsky: Why was the United States so afraid of an independent South Vietnam? I think the reason again is pretty clear from the internal government documents. Precisely what they were afraid of was that the "takeover" of South Vietnam by nationalist forces would not be brutal. They feared it would be conciliatory and that there would be successful social and economic development — and that the whole region might work!

This was clearly a nationalist movement — and in fact a radical nationalist movement which would separate Vietnam from the American orbit. It would not allow Vietnam to become another Philippines. It would trade with the United States but it would not be an American semi-colony.

But suppose it worked. Suppose the country could separate itself from the American dominated global system and carry out a successful social and economic development. That would be dangerous because it could be a model to other movements and groups in neighboring countries. Gradually there could be an erosion from the region. This was no small thing. It was assumed that the key to the problem was preventing any successful national movement from carrying out serious social and economic development inside Indochina. So the United States had to destroy it through a process which would become the war against South Vietnam. And, it should be pointed out that on a lower level we were doing the same things in Laos and Cambodia.

So the very reason given in the United States for fighting the war — the independence of South Vietnam — is exactly what had to be destroyed?

Chomsky: Exactly.

Do you think this distortion of the war is successful?

Chomsky: It's hard to say. Younger people who are being indoctrinated into the contemporary system really have to do some research to find out what is the truth. In the general population, people forget or don't care that much. And gradually what you hear drilled into your head everyday comes to be believed. People don't understand what you're talking about if you discuss the American war on South Vietnam.

And the role of the anti-war movement?

Chomsky: The main effort has been to show that the opposition to the war was of two types: One was the serious responsible type that involved Eugene McCarthy and some senators — who turned the tide because we realized it wasn't worthwhile, or was too expensive or something. And then there were these sort of violent and irrational groups, teenagers and so on, whose behavior had little to do with the war really, and whose activity was a form of lunacy. Now, anyone who lived through the period would have to laugh.

But my impression is that the effort to portray the peace movement this way is not working very well. For example at the beginning of his administration, Reagan tried to set the basis for American military intervention in El Salvador — which is about what Kennedy did when he came into office in regard to Vietnam. Well, when Kennedy tried it in Vietnam, it worked like a dream. Virtually nobody opposed American bombing of South Vietnam in 1962. It was not an issue. But when Reagan began to talk of involving American forces in El Salvador there was a huge popular uproar. And he had to choose a much more indirect way of support. He had to back off.

And what that must indicate is a tremendous shift in public opinion over the past 20 years as a result of the participation in the real opposition to the war in Indochina — which has lasted and was resurrected when a similar circumstance began to arise.

So you see the inability of the government to maneuver as it would like in El Salvador as directly related to the anti-war movement?

Chomsky: Oh yes. They even have a name for it: "Vietnam Syndrome." See, they make it sound like some kind of disease, a malady that has to be overcome. And the "malady" in this case is that the population is still unwilling to tolerate aggression and violence. And that's a change that took place as a result of the popular struggle against the war in Vietnam.

So you feel it was the group officially defined as the "riff-raff, lunatic fringe" who really was the peace movement?

Chomsky: Oh, there's no question. You can see what happened. There were very extensive grass roots efforts beginning in the mid '60s, developing quite gradually against

tremendous opposition. In Boston it was impossible to have outdoor public meetings against the war until about the fall of 1966. Until then they would be broken up. And the media more or less applauded the violence and disruption that prevented people from speaking. But gradually that changed. In fact, it reached such a point that by 1967 it was impossible for the President to declare a national mobilization for war. He was restricted and forced to pretend he was conducting a small war. There were constraints. Because of public opinion which by then was considerably aroused by demonstrations and teach-ins and other types of resistance, Johnson had to fight the war with deficit spending, he had to fight a "guns and butter" war to show it was no big war.

And this policy collapsed. It collapsed totally with the Tet Offensive in 1968 [the National Liberation Front's surprise temporary takeover of virtually all of South Vietnam's cities overnight. — *Ed.*] which led major sectors of American power — corporate power and other centers of power — to realize we could not carry it off at this level. Either we go to war like in the Second World War, or we pull out. And that was a direct effect of the activities of the peace movement. After this decision was made, then politicians like Eugene McCarthy came to announce themselves as the leaders of the peace movement.

But by then the basic decision to put a limit to direct American troop involvement had been made. You had to fight for a long time to get the U.S. out, but the basic decision had been made at the Tet Offensive. That's when the programs related to Vietnamization were put in place, and we began to fight a more capital intensive war with less direct participation of American ground troops.

Incidentally, another reason for this was that the American army began to deteriorate internally because, after all, the United States was fighting a very unusual type of war. It's very rare for a country to try to fight a colonial war with a conscript army. Usually wars like the Vietnam war are fought with mercenaries — like the French Foreign Legion. The U.S. tried to fight what amounts to a colonial war with a conscript army. And a colonial war is a very dirty kind of war. You're not fighting armed forces. You're fighting mostly unarmed people. And to fight that kind of war requires professional killers, which means mercenaries. The 50,000 Korean mercenaries we had in Vietnam were professional killers and just massacred people outright. The American army did plenty of that too, but it couldn't take it after awhile. It's not the kind of job you can give to conscripts who are not trained to be murderers.

And they had also heard of the anti-war movement's ideas against the war back home.

Chomsky: Exactly. It was a citizen's army, not separated

from what's happening in American society in general. And the effect was that, very much to its credit, the American army began to deteriorate. It became harder and harder to keep an army in the field.

Are you aware of any other time in history when soldiers came home from the war organized against their government as many Vietnam veterans did through the Vietnam Veterans Against the War?

Chomsky: It's rare. For example, it's happening now to a certain extent in Israel with reservists who are also fighting a war against a civilian population in Lebanon. And it's the same kind of phenomenon. If they just kept professional military men involved they could probably carry it off. But reservists are connected with the civilian population. That's why countries like France and England used mercenary forces to carry out these kinds of wars.

Let me make one final point about the peace movement which is often forgotten. When you look back at the internal documents that we have now you can see that when the big decision was made around the Tet Offensive in 1968 — about whether or not to send a couple hundred thousand more troops — one of the factors was that the Joint Chiefs of Staff were concerned that they would not have enough troops for internal control of the domestic American population. They feared tremendous protest and disruption at home if they sent more troops to Vietnam. This means that they understood the level of internal resistance to be virtually at the level of civil war. And I think they were probably right about that. That's a good indication from inside as to how seriously they took the peace movement.

There are indications that the huge demonstrations of October and November of 1969 severely limited Nixon's ability to carry out some of the plans he had for escalating the war. The domestic population was not under control. A country has to have a passive population if it is going to carry out an aggressive foreign policy. It was clear by October and November of 1969, by the scale of opposition, that the population was not passive.

Those are important events to remember. Again, they're written out of history. But the record is there, the documentation is there, and that's what happened. ■

Resource

Indochina Newsletter — The above article and statistics are excerpted from a special double issue (#18) of the *Indochina Newsletter*, available from P.O. Box 129, Dorchester, MA 02122 for \$1. Subscription, \$10 per year.

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"If the price of eradicating terrorism  
is curtailment of the constitutional liberties  
which are at the heart of this nation's existence,  
then the price is too high."  
~~~~~

Church Leaders Seek Clemency for Hispanics

(Robert C. Potter, prominent Wall Street lawyer and Episcopal lay leader, sent the following letter to Judge Charles P. Sifton to argue for clemency in the sentencing of Maria Cueto, Steven Guerra and three others convicted of criminal contempt for refusing to testify before a Grand Jury in Brooklyn. The defendants received three year prison terms on June 7. (See back cover.) Potter's letter summarizes the raison d'etre for the advocacy role taken on behalf of the five by the church leaders he represented in the judicial proceedings. — Eds.)

I am sure Your Honor is aware of the church's continuing concern about and interest in the seemingly endless series of judicial proceedings which has culminated in the convictions of these defendants. As you will recall, the Episcopal Church first became involved in these proceedings in January 1977 when Maria Cueto, then Executive Director of the Episcopal Church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs was subpoenaed to testify before a Federal Grand Jury sitting in the Southern District of New York.

Although the Grand Jury was investigating terrorist violence in Manhattan, it sought to question Maria Cueto about her relationships with persons within the church and to elicit information which, if she possessed it at all, she had acquired in the course of her ministry within the church. Her refusal to testify,

grounded in her rights under the First Amendment, was supported and applauded by my clients. For this act of heroism committed for the sake of religious freedom, Maria Cueto served 11 months in prison.

Just prior to the service of the subpoena upon Maria, the FBI conducted a sweeping search of the Hispanic Commission's offices and files. That shocking invasion of the church's religious domain was followed by what now has become years of unsubstantiated public accusations in the press that the church has been harboring terrorists. This campaign by the Government has caused repeated and irreparable harm to the reputation of the church and, more important, has threatened the existence of several church ministries devoted to serving minority groups. Indeed, it can be said without any qualification that the Government's public defamation campaign destroyed the church's Hispanic programs altogether.

My clients continue to support the indisputably sincere efforts of these five defendants to preserve their religious values and defend their conscientiously held beliefs. We believe that such acts of religious courage, in the face of the Government's repeated efforts to force them to abandon their convictions, should be honored, not condemned.

If condemnation is appropriate in this case, it is of the United States Government. I was in attendance

throughout the criminal trial, as were several representatives of the Episcopal Church, some of whom testified for the defense. We were very distressed by the Government's repeated accusations, both in and out of the presence of the jury, that the church was involved in alleged terrorist activities. Even more distressing, however, was what we are forced to conclude was the Government's calculated effort to associate the defendants with the FALN.

By implying that the defendants were members of a terrorist organization, the Government apparently pursued — it clearly attained — two improper objectives. First, the jurors were poisoned. The jury hardly could return a verdict of not guilty after inferring, as they must have from the Government's innuendo, that the reason the defendants had refused to testify was to protect themselves and their terrorist colleagues from prosecution. Second, and more disturbing, it appears quite clear that, although the Government tried the defendants on a charge of contempt, that charge was simply a surrogate for a substantive charge that the defendants had committed seditious conspiracy or other crimes of terrorism which the Government is unable to prove.

Unable to prove that the defendants had committed or conspired to commit any acts of terrorist violence, the Government invoked the Grand Jury process to create a criminal act for which the defendants could be con-

victed. The Government knew in advance that the defendants would decline to testify; the only conceivable purpose to be served by calling them before a new Grand Jury was to set them up for a criminal contempt indictment. This tactic goes far beyond entrapment, a device which itself has attracted significant condemnation; it is the creation out of whole cloth of a criminal act which otherwise would not have occurred.

In our view, this calculated decision by the Government was an abuse of the Grand Jury process which cheapens the administration of justice in this country. Our system is based on the noble proposition that all accused persons are innocent until the Government proves them guilty. To permit the Government to create a criminal act in order to obtain a conviction of a person whom the Government thinks, but cannot prove, committed a different crime makes a mockery of an honored and just system.

The church parties condemn all acts of terrorist violence, regardless of any political, social, or religious objectives which such acts are designed to further. In addition, the church supports the Government's commitment to combating terrorism and apprehending those responsible for the terrible bombings that have ravaged New York since 1974. But any efforts to accomplish these goals must carefully safeguard the rights of citizens under the First, Fourth, and Fifth Amendments. If the price of eradicating terrorism is curtailment of the constitutional liberties which are at the heart of this nation's existence, then the price is too high.

In this case, or series of cases, the price has been much too high. The lives of five committed, religious, sincere human beings have been thrown into chaos. Their ability to speak to and lead their people has been curbed severely by the repeated disruptions of court appear-

ances, FBI surveillance, and cross-country plane rides. Yet, what has the Government purchased at the cost of five productive lives? Sadly, the answer is very little.

Perhaps the only thing the Government has accomplished is the creation of a public perception that it is making progress in the war on terrorism. That is the only conceivable reason that the FBI issued its now famous press release of Sept. 27, 1983. Ironically, I myself was greatly relieved when I heard a news report on the radio that the FBI had captured the remaining unincarcerated leadership of the FALN . . . until, of course, I heard the names of the alleged terrorists.

"Unable to prove that the defendants had committed any acts of terrorist violence, the Government invoked the Grand Jury process to create a criminal act for which the defendants could be convicted."

If the Government had evidence to convict the five defendants before Your Honor of anything but criminal contempt, it would have undertaken to do so by presenting that evidence to a Grand Jury and obtaining an indictment charging seditious conspiracy. It has not done so. Instead, it has disingenuously sought to avoid the procedural safeguards and heavy burden of proof of a criminal trial by offering to prove only in a sentencing hearing that the defendants were members of the FALN. Indeed, at the April 8, 1983 hearing on defendants' motion for a new trial, Mr. James Harmon, to my astonishment, again asserted that the Government was prepared to prove that the defendants belonged to the FALN. Your Honor wisely and correctly declined to permit this. If using the Grand Jury to charge them with a surrogate

crime were not sufficient evidence in itself to establish that the Government has abused the Grand Jury process, the subsequent attempt to try them for terrorism in a mere sentencing hearing is conclusive.

A long, unpleasant journey that began on Jan. 4, 1977, is about to come to an end. As you consider your sentencing decision, I urge Your Honor to keep in mind several of the characteristics of this case which rarely are present in criminal cases. First, for all practical purposes, the criminal convictions in this case followed an extended proceeding, which for most of the defendants, lasted as long as six years. Second, the defendants committed no affirmative criminal act; the Government conjured up their "crime" by requiring them to test the strength of their beliefs in the crucible of a criminal trial. Third, four of the five defendants already have served sentences for civil contempt.

Fourth, the defendants find themselves awaiting sentencing after a criminal conviction for one reason only: their consciences and beliefs required them to refuse to testify before the Grand Jury. They never displayed nor intended any disrespect for Your Honor or any other court. They have attended every hearing and have conducted themselves honorably. In short, they have never shown contempt, in its usual sense, for the judicial system.

And finally, whatever the legality of the Government's procedures throughout this series of proceedings, its performance has not been one to inspire faith, at least in me or more clients, in the justness of our constitutional system. To the contrary, the spectre of the abuse of power and the infringement of First Amendment political and religious liberties has arisen repeatedly in these proceedings. This performance is not one of which Americans can be proud. We submit that a repetition of this sorry affair ought not to be encouraged by

long prison sentences for these defendants.

In light of the foregoing, we implore the Court to be merciful in imposing sentence. No purpose whatever would be served by incarcerating the defendants. Their attendance and decorum before Your Honor established beyond doubt the authority and dignity of the Court. Further vindication is unnecessary. Please consider their prior incarceration, their religious beliefs, their faithfulness to their consciences, and the passive nature of their offense. We urge Your Honor to credit the defendants for time already served, both in jail and while awaiting the convictions which

finally came. Suspend their sentences and let them return to their families, their jobs, and their communities. These five defendants will do society more good out of prison than in prison.

The fact that the attached letters relate only to defendants Maria Cueto and Steven Guerra should not be construed as a sign that the church parties do not support the other defendants. To the contrary, this letter is submitted by the church parties on behalf of all five defendants equally. Unfortunately, my clients simply are not as intimately acquainted with Julio Rosado, Andres Rosado, and Ricardo Romero as they are with Maria Cueto and Steven

Guerra. We know these three to be men of good character, however, and equally deserving of this Court's mercy.

Robert S. Potter
Counsel for the National Council
of the Churches of Christ
in the United States of America,
Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Jr.,
Episcopal Bishop of New York,
Rt. Rev. Robert L. DeWitt,
retired Episcopal Bishop of
Pennsylvania, Rt. Rev. Coleman
McGehee, Jr., Episcopal Bishop
of Michigan, Rt. Rev. Francisco
Reus-Froylan, Episcopal Bishop
of Puerto Rico, and the
Episcopal Church Publishing
Company, Inc.

Questions That Might Be Asked When Joining a Church

by Michael Dwinell

- Does this community acknowledge and embrace as its divine vocation the radical transformation of each member within the community, the deep and ongoing change of itself, and the working toward peace with justice in the world?
- Is the desert there, dry enough? Is the wilderness there, wild enough? Is the darkness there, dark enough?
- Is it a community where the integrity of soul is more important than the illusion of safety of the ego?
- Is it a community that knows when it would be appropriate for it to die? Is it a community that will assist me in the dyings I need to do?
- Will it hold me accountable enough? Will it love me enough to tell me the truth?
- Is it a place where I can hold others accountable?

Is it a place where I can tell others the truth as I see it? Is it a place where I can give my gifts? Is it a place where I can really love other people?

- Is it a place that is willing to explore options of dance, symbol, image, music, sound, movement, and silence in corporate liturgy?
- Is it a community that dares to tell the truth about itself in relationship to the rest of the world? Is it a community that dares to act in the world? Is it a community which will make no peace with oppression?
- Is it a place to:
be in utter silence for a long time
bleed and be helpless and fail
be on fire with passion
be overflowing with joy
scream in pain
bounce and play
be ordinary and magnificent?
- Is it a place that knows all human energies are divine delight, a place that celebrates knowing God as an erotic experience?

The Rev. Michael Dwinell is a pastoral counselor and freelance writer who resides in Cape Elizabeth, Me.

Peace . . . Continued from page 9
and ends of feminism, which is assuming a growing role in the peace movement.

Women from various religious orders have joined demonstrations and have been arrested in increasing numbers. Also, Church Women United has lobbied against the MX missile, is among sponsors of the women's peace encampment at Seneca Falls, N.Y. (July 4 through Labor Day); and members serve alongside and frequently join their sisters in Peace Links, Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Women Strike for Peace in organizing efforts.

Individual acts of civil disobedience are snowballing into mass actions. Last year more than 4,000 people — religious and secular — were arrested for demonstrating against nuclear weapons. Already this year there are close to that number.

Some 1,600 anti-nuclear resisters

were arrested for civil disobedience at the United Nations in one day last June. Another 1,400 were jailed a week later for blockading the Livermore nuclear weapons laboratory in California. As THE WITNESS goes to press, it is likely that several times that number will be arrested on a single day, June 20, which has been designated a day of international protest against the nuclear arms race.

The emergence of the Gospel as a central tenet of the peace movement is creating "born-again" peace activists in America. The goal, writes Jim Douglass, "is not to stop the Trident submarine and missile system. Its

CREDITS

Cover, Beth Seka adapted from a graphic by Ground Zero; map p. 4, Tom Rawson and Beth Seka; graphics pp. 9-10, Margaret Longdon.

purpose is to change ourselves — all of us — so that there will no longer be anyone left to run the submarine or fire the missile."

Will the crusade succeed? Will enough of us be born again — in time? The fate of the Earth may well depend upon it. ■

Resource

Gods of Metal — A 27-minute documentary about the nuclear arms race and what individuals and groups are doing to halt the arms buildup. The arms race is analyzed from a Christian perspective, showing the economic and social effects on people in the United States and the Third World. The film offers practical suggestions on what people can do to help create a world of peace and understanding. Rental: \$25, order five weeks in advance. Includes discussion guide. Phone orders (914) 941-7590 Ext. 354; mail orders Maryknoll, Maryknoll, N.Y. 10545.

Editorial . . . Continued from page 3
for their refusal to cooperate with a Federal Grand Jury by surrendering church records and testifying. They took their stand because such cooperation would have, in their view, jeopardized the ministry they had been called to perform by the Episcopal Church.

As you may know, the court ruled that what they were doing was not ministry, but mere social work. To my knowledge there was no precedent at that time on which to challenge the court's ruling. What was quite revealing was to see how the church had understood its ministry, particularly in the social justice area. It had not fallen outside the law before 1974 or 1975, at least. There is much to be learned from this case.

As we dare to move toward what

the authorities consider the limits of the law, but what is more likely the edge of what the prevailing political climate can stand, let us not be too shocked when the wrath of the state comes down on us with the same weight as that visited upon those whom we would aid. We must assert our legal rights, to be sure, but in so doing, let us not miss the lessons about the nature of the society that will come from this experience.

And I plead with you not to use your position and status as church workers as if they were a shield of protection. Given the influence of the far right in the halls of government and the shifting rightward of some of our own churches' constituencies, things may get worse before they get better. It is my simple hope that should conditions

deteriorate toward more spying, even more persecution, more paranoia, we will understand this in terms of *Matthew 16:24*.

This is the cross we must bear for standing with those who are without conventional power. And the intimidation we may feel in our bureaucracies on occasion is but a slight example of what the poor and unpopular feel as a matter of course.

Seen in this way, and understood in this way, we can confront whatever the future may hold with the resilience and determination that the journey requires; we can walk and not get weary, we can run and not get tired.

The Rev. William Howard is currently Executive Director of the Black Council, Reformed Churches in America.

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Three Year Prison Sentence For Maria Cueto, Steve Guerra

by Mary Lou Suhor

Maria Cueto, former executive secretary of the National Commission for Hispanic Affairs, Steven Guerra of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, and three other Hispanics received three year prison terms on June 7 for refusing to testify before a Federal Grand Jury investigating the FALN.

The five are free on personal recognizance pending appeal. Filing of papers for the appellate court is expected to take at least six months.

Judge Charles P. Sifton pronounced sentence after eight court appearances by the five in almost as many months. Many Episcopal Church leaders supported the Hispanics, charged with criminal contempt, until the very end. Five church representatives, including four bishops, testified as character

witnesses and 13, including the Rt. Rev. John Hines, former Presiding Bishop, submitted letters to Judge Sifton on behalf of Ms. Cueto and Mr. Guerra, recommending clemency in sentencing. (See article p. 16.)

The government had requested a 15-year sentence, charging in many court interventions that the five were members of the FALN, which has claimed responsibility for a number of bombings in Manhattan. U.S. attorneys were rebuked by Judge Sifton on numerous occasions when they put such allegations into the record, since the government had not indicted the defendants on these charges.

Robert C. Potter, attorney for the religious organizations and churchpersons supporting the five, claimed that the government, unable to prove the

five had committed terrorist acts, had invoked the Grand Jury process to create a crime for which the defendants could be convicted. Since four of the five had been incarcerated previously for refusing to testify in a previous incarnation of the Grand Jury, the new charge amounted to entrapment, he said.

In the courtroom for the sentencing were the Rt. Rev. Paul Moore, Bishop of New York; the Rev. William Persell, rector of St. Ann's, Brooklyn; Carman St. J. Hunter, prominent Episcopal laywoman and Ms. Cueto's former supervisor at the Episcopal Church Center; the Rev. William Melish of Brooklyn, and Hugh White of the Church and Society Network.

THE WITNESS will present a summary article of the case in the August issue. ■