

THE WITNESS

VOL. 66 NO. 9 SEPTEMBER 1983

MEXICO

BELIZE

GUATEMALA

HONDURAS

EL SALVADOR

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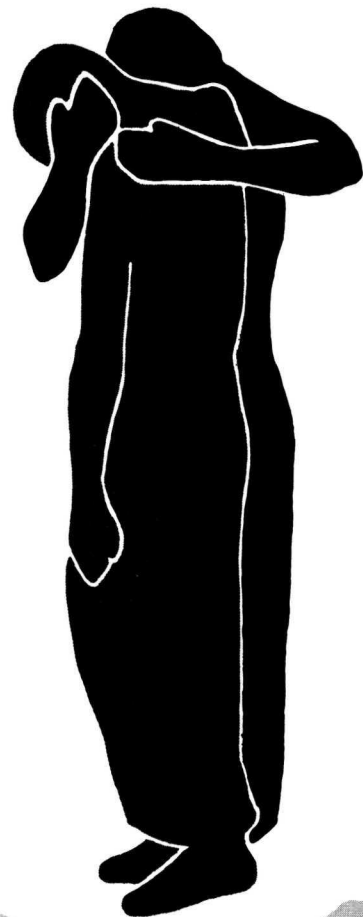
COSTA RICA

PANAMA

Ronald Reagan: Missionary to Central America?

- David Ross
- Gary MacEoin
- Richard Gillett

Alice in Blunderland Judith Myrick



LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

Ground Zero Misguided

The "Death Train" article in the July WITNESS is well-written, and misguided.

Its facts are unquestionable. Military shipments in bulk extend back at least as far as World War II in the U.S. What happens when war materials explode is also certain. In one Michigan incident in 1943, when a time bomb was suspected inside a boxcar full of unfused bombs, eight city blocks were cleared and cordoned off while this false alarm was checked.

The sad thing about such shipments is that when the decision is made to build weapons, and when the money is found to make them, these shipments will go on despite trouble in one medium or another. For example, the majority of the uranium which made the first U.S. atomic bombs was mined far inside Canada, taken by rail on "The A-Bomb Express" to an obscure Pacific port, flown to the state of Washington, and there conjoined with raw materials rail-borne and airlifted from such places as Oak Ridge and the heavy water plant at Pt. Hope, Ontario. Ultimately, Los Alamos received its material by rail and truck. Had there been any block in the transport network, the Roosevelt administrators would unhesitatingly switch routes and/or the medium.

I do not wish to demean the intent of Ground Zero, but when push comes to shove the surest and most lasting way to end the "Death Train," Trident, and all it represents is to choke it down through grass-roots action. That is, state-by-state political opposition, and Congressional pressures, be these by manipulation of your present legislators or by

election of those who will justly represent you. While I know such action will not be easily attained, there is still hope.

David Jones
Okemos, Mich.

Douglass Responds

Some of the people who do the legislative organizing against nuclear weapons which David Jones cites as his hope engage also in nonviolent direct action along the tracks on which the weapons are shipped. As long as legislators continue to vote for nuclear weapons appropriations, we have a personal responsibility to noncooperate with the evil of mass murder as it is carried out through the complicity of our local communities.

While David Jones' approach and the Agape Community's tracks campaign can be seen as complementary rather than mutually exclusive, I believe the evil in our spiritual crisis goes deeper than electoral politics — and may be encouraged by any "manipulation" of our present legislators. What President Eisenhower identified as the military-industrial complex has the same tena-

cious characteristic in each of us and in our society as St. Paul's principalities and powers.

Standing in witness along the railroad tracks on which the embodiment of our evil is transported or kneeling on those tracks as an acceptance of the cross is a beginning expression of faith in the liberating power of Agape.

Since the July issue of WITNESS was published, we have learned that the Nuclear Train travels also to the Charleston Naval Weapons Station (taking Trident I nuclear warheads to be backfitted on Poseidon submarines) on tracks leading through Springfield, Mo.; Jonesboro, Ark.; Amory, Miss.; Memphis, Birmingham, and Atlanta. We invite WITNESS readers in these communities and in those identified in the July issue's map to join in the work of the Agape Community by contacting us at Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action, 16159 Clear Creek Rd. N.W., Paulsbo, WA 98370.

Jim Douglass
Silverdale, Wash.

(More letters p. 19)

ECPC Seeks Applicants For New Executive Post

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company is initiating a search for the newly created post of Executive Director, according to the Rt. Rev. H. Coleman McGehee, Jr., Episcopal Bishop of Michigan and ECPC Chair.

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company publishes THE WITNESS magazine, a monthly journal addressing the social justice issues of racism, sexism, classism and imperialism. Church and Society, a project of ECPC, undertakes to engage the church ecumenically in theological reflection and action around these issues.

THE WITNESS, in existence since 1917, has functioned in a role that some call "the social conscience" of

the Episcopal Church. In 1974, the Church and Society program was added. Over the past decade, ECPC has also published three study/action guides on contemporary Christian social issues, totalling press runs of 25,000.

Names of possible candidates for the new executive post are being sought through Episcopal and ecumenical organizations and publications. Ms. Mattie Hopkins, chair of the search committee, reported.

Details concerning application procedures and job description are available from Ms. Hopkins at 700 Scranton National Bank Building, Scranton, PA 18503.

THE WITNESS

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THE WITNESS

Editorial

U.S. Policy Bankrupt In Central America

With each passing month, the bankruptcy of U.S. policy in Central America is becoming progressively more visible to the American public. President Reagan's appointment of former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to head a bipartisan national commission to recommend policy options is an indirect admission of that failure. As well, it is a re-elect strategy to make the President look as if he is serious about peace in Central America.

Church people should not be fooled by the latest Reagan move. Dr. Kissinger is hardly an advocate of the rights of Third World peoples in general, much less those of Latin Americans. As Joseph Eldridge of the Washington Office on Latin America put it, Kissinger "humbled himself only twice to visit Latin America for any reason," while Secretary of State. His major initiative toward Latin America was the destabilization of Chile in 1973 by the use of the CIA.

This appointment was topped a week later by the deployment of

4000 troops and a 20-ship naval task force off Central America for war exercises, thus drawing an even more excruciating parallel with the Vietnam experience of escalation.

As in the disarmament issue, the presence, power and voice of Christian leadership has been evident in Central America, supporting life, dignity, and the masses of people for a future free from violence and death. In Central America this Christian witness had much of its roots in the "comunidades de base" (base communities) which began to form in the late 1960s and early '70s. Out of this germination of the Spirit came the persuasive voice which ultimately convinced the martyred Archbishop Oscar Romero to become an advocate for the poor of his country.

Christians of conscience should not forget this history nor cease to give thanks for the extraordinary witness provided by the church in Central America. It has begun to persuade a segment of public

Continued on page 7

Ronald Reagan: Missionary to the Caribbean?

by David F. Ross

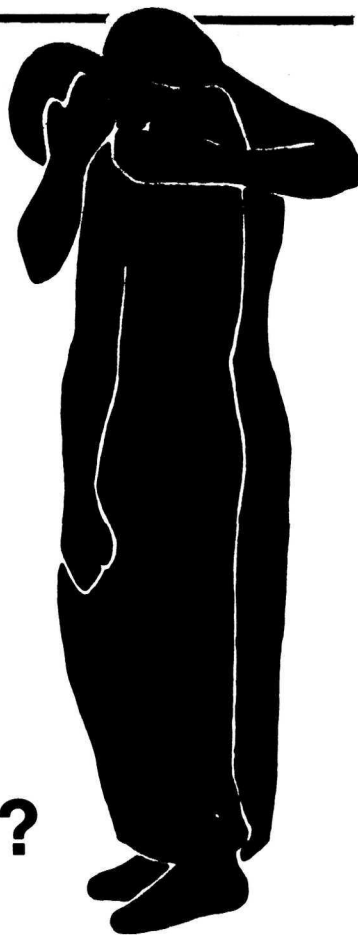
Ever since U.S. missionaries began to undertake the evangelization of “the heathen” in foreign lands early in the 19th century, most have demonstrated an inability to distinguish between the Gospel of Jesus and the American way of life. Baptism in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost was commonly reserved for those who were willing to abandon not only their traditional

beliefs but also their traditional dress, diet, names, form of marriage, and means of subsistence. Even in the earliest colonial times, when native Americans constituted the only “foreign” mission field for Christian outreach, converted Indians were required to live in villages as settled agriculturists rather than being allowed to find in the lifestyle of their new-found savior, a confirmation of their own nomadic way of life.

The image of America as the new Israel, populated by God’s chosen people — rescued from the repression of the old world — was too tempting not to be incorporated into the mythology of the new nation; it served well the needs of those who coveted lands still held by

the Canaanite Indians or the Philistine Mexicans. By the mid-19th century, the myth had become Manifest Destiny: America was God’s country, anointed to proselytize the world. Since God was on our side, it followed (*Isaiah 55:8* to the contrary notwithstanding) that our ways were God’s ways. If the Bible did not specifically condemn eating with the fingers, going about with breasts exposed, or recognizing communal property rights, such matters were adequately provided for in the natural revelation that had been made to the elect.

Increasing numbers of Christian missionaries in the modern age reject this identification of American values with divine truth. Powerful concepts tend to take on lives of their own,



The Rev. David Ross is associate professor of economics at the University of Kentucky. An Episcopalian priest, he is author of the newly published book, *Gandhian Economics: Sources, Substances and Legacy* (Prasad Publications, Bangalore).

however, and to outlive their rationales. But even in the McKinley era, few were as explicit as Ronald Reagan in identifying things American and non-American as respectively good and evil; few since that era have been as zealous to spread the Gospel of Americanism to Central America and the Caribbean Islands.

Reagan's Caribbean Basin initiative (C.B.I.), has been referred to with gross inaccuracy as a "mini-Marshall Plan." The Marshall Plan was the first of a long series of efforts by the United States to limit the spread of communism by alleviating the economic distress which American policymakers have perceived as providing a favorable culture for the propagation of Marxist doctrine. It was also by far the most successful of this large family of foreign economic aid programs, and radically different from the rest in its approach.

What George Marshall offered to the devastated nations of Europe in 1948 has never been offered to the nations of Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, or any other region of the world, and is not now being offered to the nations of the Caribbean Basin. Marshall told Europe, first, to get together — to forget the animosities, grudges, language barriers, religious conflicts, boundary disputes, and dynastic squabbles that had kept them at each other's throats for centuries. We will not, he said in effect, enter into separate agreements with the Danes, the Dutch, the French, the Germans, the Belgians, and so on, but we will deal generously with a united Europe. He then advised this united Europe to devise a plan for its recovery: what needs to be done, what it will cost to do it, and what European resources are available to meet that cost.

He did not tell the Europeans what the plan should contain, what sort of economic system they should seek to build upon the rubble of the old, or what economic means they should

employ in the pursuit of that end. The plan was to be a European plan — the U.S. contribution would be only to fill the gap between its projected cost and the locally available resources.

Far-sighted Central Americans and Caribbean islanders have long dreamed of combining their resources and markets to achieve greater economic potential. Central American federations, West Indian federations, common markets, and other devices to bring together groups of these miniature nations into economic units of viable size have been

"Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative has been referred to with gross inaccuracy as a 'mini-Marshall Plan.' What George Marshall offered to the devastated nations of Europe in 1948 has never been offered to the nations of Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, or any other region of the world, and is not now being offered to the nations of the Caribbean basin."

proposed with monotonous regularity and even occasionally attempted. These movements have never received any material encouragement from the United States.

We sought the formation of a European community in 1948 because it was feared that a divided Europe would be subject to the domination of the Soviet Union; we have opposed unification movements in the Americas for the same reason — because divided nations are more readily dominated by the nearest major power, in this case, ourselves.

This time-honored principle of *divide*

et impera has never been more openly expressed than in Reagan's C.B.I. proposal. Direct economic assistance in the form of grants and loans are to be negotiated and administered bilaterally, as has been true of all U.S. economic aid since the Marshall Plan except for what we have grudgingly provided through the World Bank and regional development banks. The tariff concessions and tax incentives for investment would also be awarded on a country-by-country basis. Even more than at present, Jamaica would be compelled to compete against Trinidad, Haiti against the Dominican Republic, and Honduras against Guatemala, for the privilege of drawing from the copious but jealously guarded yanqui coffers.

That people in less-developed countries might have sensible ideas of their own about how their economies should be developed, much less the competence to implement them, may never have occurred to the architects of post-Marshall Plan assistance programs. Europe was another case altogether. Europe was the fount of Western wisdom — our teacher in these matters, now fallen on hard times, perhaps, but still worthy of respect. It would have been presumptuous of Marshall to tell Europe what was good for her.

To be eligible for Reagan's C.B.I. assistance, nations must, on the other hand, have the intent to pursue goals in particular ways. This is a program strictly for those willing to commit themselves to what Reagan considers an American development pattern, and ingenuously believes to be a part of the common heritage of the Western Hemisphere. It is a pattern predicated on "the magic of the marketplace," "vigorous participation in the international economy," "private entrepreneurship," and "the active participation of the [U.S.] business community."

Private capital — local if possible,

but particularly from the United States — would develop industries to produce goods for export to the United States. In this way, Reagan says, we “can develop what is undeveloped, can eliminate want and poverty, can show the world that our many nations can live in peace, each with its own customs and language and culture but sharing a love for freedom and a determination to resist outside ideologies that would take us back to colonialism.”

The development of export industries depends upon comparative advantage — some element of production cost must be lower, compared to other costs, in the exporting than in the importing country. Apart from those natural products which have long been exploited by foreign capital for export without bringing prosperity to the Caribbean nations, the area's only comparative advantage vis-a-vis the United States is in labor-intensive industries. Some of these have already been developed in portions of the region — Haiti is a grim case — but this kind of development has been restricted by U.S. trade barriers and by the competition of other low-wage areas, especially in the Orient. The most novel feature of the C.B.I. proposal is that it would remove those barriers, not generally, but only for those specific Caribbean countries which passed the Reagan test of purity. Thus Belize and St. Lucia, for example, would be able to compete more effectively in stitching baseballs, winding electrical coils, and killing and stuffing baby chicks for the Easter trade.

But can a nation achieve “economic health” and “self-sustaining growth” on the basis of cheap-labor industries? England sparked its economic growth by exporting textiles to lower-wage India. In the United States, the North achieved phenomenal growth with the highest wage rates in the world by producing for the domestic market,

while the South, with its slave economy, accounted for most of the nation's exports and failed to develop. History apart, pure logic tells us that low wages cannot produce high incomes except for the few who employ the labor — and under the Reagan plan, those few would be mainly foreigners.

No doubt, labor-intensive export industries can transform an economy. They transform it, however, not into a healthy, self-sustaining, growing economy, but into a dependency. Once the urban labor force to develop the new industries has come into existence, the nation cannot survive economically without the continuation of those industries. It cannot afford to allow the labor force to develop power to bargain effectively for higher earnings or more favorable, hence more costly, working conditions. If the industries depend upon special arrangements in the importing country, such as tax and tariff concessions, which can be withdrawn as easily as they were granted, the developing country cannot afford to adopt policies which would antagonize the importing country. This is precisely the way to perpetuate want and poverty, to make it impossible to resist outside ideologies, and to take us on to the new colonialism, which confers upon the imperialist all of the power and privilege and none of the responsibility of the old.

The Caribbean Basin Initiative is in essence a proposal to make available to the rest of the Caribbean area all the special arrangements that have previously applied only to Puerto Rico, with the exceptions of unlimited legal migration to the United States and a share of the domestic expenditures of the federal government. This has raised the question in Puerto Rico of whether the island's economy can survive if it is obliged to share its special access to U.S. product and capital markets with the rest (or much of the rest) of the

Caribbean region.

Reagan has anticipated this question by taking pains to include in the C.B.I. proposal “special measures to insure that [Puerto Rico and the U.S. Virgin Islands] also will benefit and prosper from the program.” There is a still more basic question, however, which must be asked by the rest of the Caribbean peoples: Do they want for themselves what has happened to Puerto Rico under this kind of arrangement?

Puerto Rico has the highest per capita GNP in the Caribbean, the highest literacy rate, the greatest life expectancy, the lowest infant mortality rate. It has, on a per capita basis and perhaps in the aggregate as well, the most automobiles, TV sets, telephones, flush toilets, electric refrigerators, and miles of paved highway. There is no doubt that by the measures usually employed in a materialistic, capitalistic society, Puerto Rico has obtained certain advantages through her special relationship to the United States. Nevertheless, the unemployment rate continues to range from a reported 20% to a more realistic figure of 40%.

What the unemployment rate might be if Puerto Ricans were not free to move to the U.S. mainland in search of greater economic opportunity defies calculation — the island's population would be 50% larger if all Puerto Ricans lived there. This safety valve of emigration is not part of the package that Reagan is offering to the rest of the Caribbean area. Indeed, both he and Secretary of State George Shultz have made it clear that one of the purposes of the program is to reduce the present trickle of illegal immigration. Participation in domestic social programs of the federal government has also been a crucial element in Puerto Rico's survival — a majority of the island's population, for example, are dependent upon food stamps. Puerto Rican

workers have also received some protection against the most extreme forms of exploitation through their coming at least partially under the provisions of such federal legislation as the Fair Labor Standards Act and the National Labor Relations Act. None of this would be included in the Caribbean Basin Initiative.

Yet despite these advantages, almost 40 years of unprecedented success in attracting U.S. investment through C.B.I.-type incentives has emphatically not given Puerto Rico a self-sufficient economy, much less one displaying the characteristic of self-sustaining growth. On the contrary, it is difficult today to find anything that can be identified as a Puerto Rican economy at all. Virtually every enterprise on the island, apart from those producing services, is linked, not to other elements in the Puerto Rican economy, but to some productive chain beginning and ending on the U.S. mainland.

Puerto Rico is like a total organ donor, all of whose parts are still functioning somewhere, but whose life as a distinct individual no longer exists.

There are those in Puerto Rico who want nothing more than to be absorbed into the mainland economy, although a militant minority of nationalists is unalterably opposed. What Barbados, Panama, and the other objects of this missionary effort must ask themselves, however, is not whether they wish to become parts of the U.S. economy like Puerto Rico, but whether they wish to become parts of the U.S. economy without the more-or-less equal protection of the law that is constitutionally guaranteed to Puerto Ricans as U.S. citizens — second class U.S. citizens at present. There are precedents for this condition which they might ponder.

The economic history of the United States can be viewed as the history of an

effort to find a source of cheap labor in a sparsely populated land. Various groups have passed across the stage, filling this role for a time: indentured servants, African slaves, New England farm girls, Chinese railroad workers, refugees from the Irish famine, and many others. Each in turn has eventually won enough rights to be disqualified, and has been replaced by someone else. Undocumented immigrants, mainly from Mexico, are now going through this process, gaining entitlement to public school enrollment and collective bargaining contracts. It is time to look for their successor, preferably one that will not so soon outgrow the part.

An offer has now been issued to Central America and the Caribbean islands, which appear ideal for the role. They are, as Reagan is fond of pointing out, on our doorstep; yet they are not over the threshold. They are small enough and numerous enough to be easily manipulated. If one or another is so foolish as to assert its independence, it can be left out in the cold — there are plenty of others. The bilateral incentives of the C.B.I. should ensure against their perceiving a common interest.

Another of the less attractive features of the American missionary effort has often been that the converts tend to become the servants rather than the brothers and sisters of the missionaries. Reagan's missionary enterprise in the Caribbean Basin is entirely faithful to this tradition. Whatever the ultimate scenario may be, Reagan's solution ought not to be confused with economic progress — or, from a Christian perspective, with social justice. ■

CREDITS

Cover, Beth Seka; p. 10 photo Ardon Alger, courtesy *The Catholic Agitator*; photos pp. 16, 17 "Alice in Blunderland" courtesy LEGACY, Inc.

Editorial . . . Continued from page 3

opinion that the struggles there are not "great power" struggles between East and West but struggles of people to gain control over their own lives: to produce their own crops, educate their children and direct their own affairs.

The best witness American Christians can make to this struggle at the moment is three-fold. First: an increase in the "sanctuary" movement, to declare churches as sanctuaries for Salvadoran refugees. This historic Christian hospitality dramatizes the danger of death that such refugees subject themselves to if deported. It also highlights the living lie that the Reagan Administration engages in by deporting such refugees back to El Salvador, in the assertion that such danger to their lives has not been proven.

Second, there is still no substitute for letters and telegrams to congresspersons and senators. The House and Senate Foreign Affairs committees are currently debating fiscal year 1984-85 foreign and military aid bills for Central America. Members of congress need to be told you wish a total military aid ban to all Central American nations and are in favor of a negotiated settlement.

Third, educational efforts, both in study groups, and in carefully organized public demonstrations, need to be redoubled. We recommend particularly as a new study tool "What's Wrong in Central America" by Philip Berryman, produced by the American Friends Service Committee (1501 Cherry Street, Phila., PA 19102), for \$3.

(R.W.G. and the editors)



Central America in Agony

The following statement, sharply calling the United States to task for its aggressive role in Central America, was adopted by the World Council of Churches at its sixth assembly in Vancouver in August. Future WITNESS issues will cover other aspects of the WCC assembly, which drew 900 delegates representing 400 million people from all over the world.

Central America is caught up in an agonizing struggle to recast the foundations of its peoples' life. The struggle of life confronting death is a daily one. The depth of this struggle — political, economic, ideological, social, cultural, spiritual — is of historic proportions. Grounded in a common history of harsh colonialism, of exploitation of the poor and of the concentration of power and wealth, countries in the region are in different ways, under siege.

The current United States administration, acting on its perception of the nation's security, has adopted a policy of military, economic, financial and political initiatives designed to destabilize the Nicaraguan government, redeem the international image of Guatemala's violent dictatorship, resist the forces of historic change in El Salvador, and militarize Honduras in order to insure a base from which to contain the aspirations of the Central American peoples. This policy is publicly articulated as a framework within which objectives of peace, reform, economic development and democracy can be achieved and communism and "export of revolution" prevented.

Indeed the opposite prevails: fear and tensions are heightened; scarce resources needed to meet basic human needs are diverted; the chances of war, potentially devastating to Central America and the Caribbean, escalate; and, in the long term, the legitimate interests and security of the nations and peoples of the American hemisphere are threatened. There can be no security in the region without fidelity to the persistent, yearning struggle of the Central American peoples for peace with justice.

International price declines in the region's key export crops have severely strained the region's economies, further exacerbating political, economic and social tensions. Adding to these economic problems, the United States administration has successfully harnessed international financial institutions to its Central American strategy.

In this context, the churches, endeavoring to respond to the needs of the region's suffering population, are also having to face the divisive effects of an aggressive new wave of mainly U.S.-based and financed religious groups. They are a source of great concern to the churches, which report that these groups appear to be used for political

purposes in legitimizing policies of repression.

Guatemala in the past year has witnessed massacres against civilian non-combatant populations, a large number of extra-judicial executions and the extermination of thousands of people among the Indian population in ways which defy belief. Despite the magnitude of economic, political and military resources provided to the regime by the United States, the El Salvadoran government has demonstrated an inability to curb human rights violations and implement needed reform. The Legal Aid Christian Service, of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of San Salvador, reports that over 2,000 civilians and noncombatants have been executed outside the law during the period running from January to April of this year, by members of the armed forces, by paramilitary organizations and by death squads for political reasons. The policies of the Honduran government threaten the territorial sovereignty of Nicaragua and cause considerable harassment to refugees from El Salvador. Churches report severe human rights violations committed by intelligence and security

forces. Other countries — such as Belize, Costa Rica and Panama — have been the object of pressures brought to bear upon them so as to affect events within Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras and Nicaragua.

Refugees, displaced persons and divided families are a powerful testimony to the bloodshed and terror perpetrated on the poorest of the region's people. Approximately 500,000 human beings have been forced to flee their country and one million more have been displaced from their homes in Guatemala alone. El Salvadoran refugees in Honduras and Guatemalan refugees in southern Mexico continue to be vulnerable to incursions by military forces into camps.

In the context of the theme of the Sixth World Council of Churches Assembly, "Jesus Christ, the Life of the world," and given the escalation of aggressive acts against Nicaragua, we lift up our concern for the people of the entire region by drawing attention to the life-affirming achievements of the Nicaraguan peoples and its leadership since 1979. Noteworthy was the decision of the government to abolish the death penalty and to release several thousand members of Somoza's National Guard. In addition, an internationally-acclaimed literacy program, the eradication of poliomyelitis and reduction of malaria, an effective land reform scheme and significant progress in constitutional development preparatory to holding elections in 1985 have helped to give concrete expression to the region's aspirations. The government has demonstrated its openness in acknowledging the inappropriateness of some policies related to the Miskito Indian and other ethnic groups of the Atlantic Coast, and is moving towards reconciliation. It is also important to note that the Nicaraguan process has involved the full participation of Christians, both Roman

Catholic and Protestant, at every level of reconstruction and nation-building.

This life-affirming process is having to confront death on a daily basis. The United States-financed former National Guard, now based in Honduras, have thus far claimed 700 lives, mainly Nicaraguan young people who are members of the volunteer militia. Tensions with Honduras have escalated dangerously. Nicaragua's call for bilateral talks with Honduras have failed. In the interests of peace, Nicaragua has now indicated its willingness to enter multi-lateral talks. However, United States support for the former National Guardsmen continues and the Reagan administration, pleading peace and dialogue, takes steps to assemble weaponry and support troops in Honduras and to deploy naval vessels off both Nicaraguan coasts.

Nicaragua's destabilization is an affront to life and is fully capable of plunging not only the countries of Central America but also those of the Caribbean into deeper suffering and widespread loss of life. It undercuts the legitimate call and struggle of the poor throughout the region for an end to exploitation and for an opportunity to determine their own path on the difficult pilgrimage of those who seek to enjoy life in all its fullness.

The Sixth WCC Assembly affirms the right of Central American peoples to seek and to nourish life in all its dimensions. It therefore:

- Expresses to the Central American churches the profound concern and solidarity of the worldwide ecumenical community, as Christian sisters and brothers experience and respond to the critical threats to life, reiterating its strong commitment to the churches' witness, ministries and presence. It commends the Nicaraguan Christian community for its active participation in the building up of national institutions and reconciliatory processes lead-

ing to peace with justice.

- Vigorously opposes any type of military intervention by the United States, covert or overt, or by any other government, in the Central American region. The Assembly commends the churches in the United States for their prophetic expressions of the condemnation of such intervention, and calls upon them to intensify their efforts to press for a radical change of U.S. policy in the region. It urges member churches in other countries to make strong representations to their governments so as to press the United States administration to reverse its military policies, as a positive step towards the building of peace in the region.

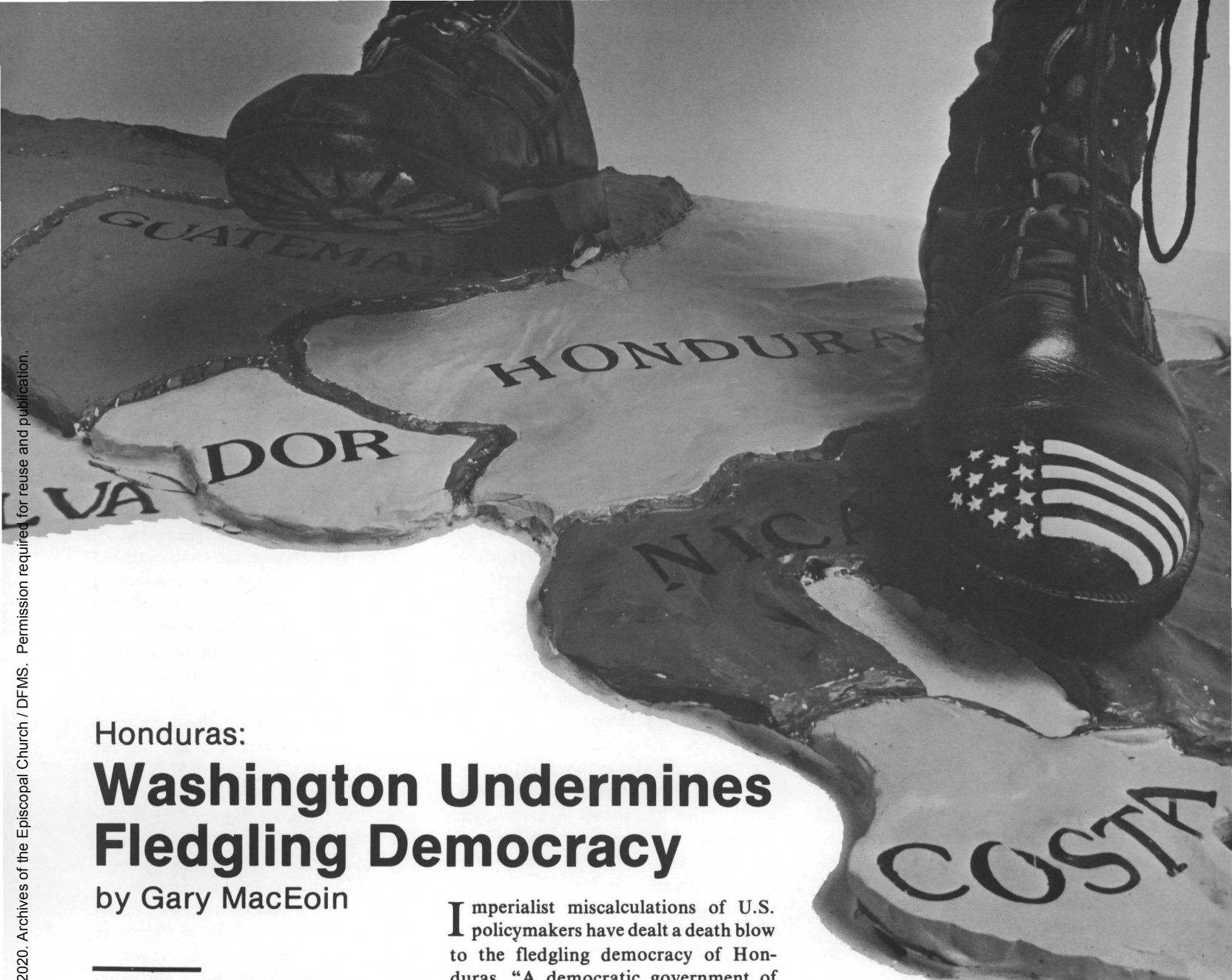
- Calls upon the government of Guatemala, in the name of the Lord of Life, to cease its policy of exterminating the lives of the men, women and children among its indigenous population.

- Urges the government of El Salvador to enter into a fruitful process of dialogue with representatives of its political and military opposition, so as to bring long lasting peace to the country.

- Calls upon the churches and the ecumenical community to throw their full weight into supporting peace initiatives, such as that of the "Contadora" group of Latin American states.

- Encourages the churches in Central America to redouble their efforts to gather and communicate, to the worldwide ecumenical community and other international constituencies, information on the developing critical situation affecting the region, as long as it be necessary.

- Affirms and encourages the process of reconciliation among Nicaraguan minorities and the Spanish speaking majority and urges the Nicaraguan government to maintain its openness and commitment to increasing the sensitivity of its policy and practice in this area. ■



Honduras:

Washington Undermines Fledgling Democracy

by Gary MacEoin

Gary MacEoin, a lawyer with advanced study in ancient and modern languages, political science and theology, has published several books on issues of world development and neocolonialism. As a foreign correspondent, he has reported from every country in the Americas, and from Asia, Africa and Europe. A consultant to the Washington Office on Latin America, he has visited Central America seven times since 1980.

Imperialist miscalculations of U.S. policymakers have dealt a death blow to the fledgling democracy of Honduras. "A democratic government of work and honesty" was promised Hondurans by Roberto Suazo Cordova when he replaced a 20-year military regime as elected civilian president last year. He also pledged to deal with unemployment and with military and government corruption. All these promises have gone unfilled. Now selection by Washington of Gen. Gustavo Alvarez Martinez to assume the mantle of proconsul, long worn by the Somoza dynasty in Central America, guarantees

an escalation of oppression, misery and bloodshed for the region's poorest country.

Honduras is the banana republic par excellence. From the beginning of the century, its decisions have been made in the boardrooms of United Fruit (now United Brands) and Standard Fruit (now a wholly owned subsidiary of Castle and Cooke). These companies have monopolized its most fertile land.

Second only to Haiti in per capita poverty, it has seen 150 governments in 160 years and spent the 1960s and '70s under military rule.

The career of Gen. Alvarez has sinister parallels with that of Anastasio Somoza who — as the U.S. marines withdrew in 1932 — intrigued his way to control of Nicaragua's armed forces, the power base he used to seize the presidency in 1937.

Alvarez received his military training in Peru, the United States and Argentina. His dominant influence was that of the Argentine generals who, having perfected the art of "disappearing" tens of thousands of political opponents, now seek amnesty for their crimes before turning the ravished country back to civilians. Part of the deal he made in Honduras in 1981 was that any civilian government emerging from the proposed elections would not probe into the misdeeds of the armed forces during the preceding 20 years, and that the military would have veto power over cabinet appointments.

Named chief of the armed forces and promoted to rank of general by President Cordova, Alvarez quickly consolidated his authority. His two major competitors for the top military post, Colonels Humberto Bodden and Leonidas Torres Arias, were assigned to diplomatic exile in Taiwan and Argentina. A constitutional amendment, approved by Congress with a single dissenting vote, substituted him for the president as Commander-in-Chief. Ultimate power was thus transferred, following the Salvadoran precedent, from the president to the armed forces chief.

Ever since the Rockefeller Report of 1969, Washington has been steadfast in its support of military dictators committed to restraining the enthusiasms of what they describe as "an excess of democracy" in Latin America. John D. Negroponte, President Reagan's ap-

pointee as ambassador to Honduras, understood this. He lost no time in identifying with Alvarez whom he recognized as a professional soldier, outspokenly anticommunist, ruthless in repressing advocates of social change, and a vocal opponent of the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua.

Already in the 1970s, the United States was giving considerable aid to the Honduran military. During the decade, for example, it trained 2,259 Honduran military personnel. With Negroponte, military aid was tripled in 1982 to \$31 million, plus a \$13 million runway extension fund as part of an agreement for access by U.S. military aircraft and upgrading of three Honduran airfields.

Although generally regarded as the most professional and least corrupt of Honduran army commanders, Alvarez had ample reason for insuring that there would be no civilian committees of inquiry into his career. Just when Alvarez was engineering the constitutional amendment to place himself above the president, ex-Col. Lesnidas Torres — in exile — released a tape recording of Alvarez giving orders for the "disappearance" of a troublesome student. Torres had packed the files accumulated during his 6-year tenure as G-2 Chief of Intelligence. Alvarez, he charged, suffered from an "extremist psychosis," and was committed to militarizing Honduras and provoking a war with Nicaragua.

Alvarez was no exception to the rule that cultivation of the U.S. banana companies is the key to succeeding in Honduras. During the 1960s the banana companies lowered their profile significantly, but their connections with power was demonstrated dramatically after United Brands chairman Eli Black jumped 44 floors to his death from his New York office in 1975. Subsequent investigations established that United Brands the previous year had reduced its tax liability in Honduras by \$7.5

million in return for a bribe to the Economy Minister of \$1.25 million.

At that time, Alvarez commanded the Fourth Army Battalion stationed in the center of the banana empire. He was also on the payroll of Castle and Cooke, which for 15 years gave him a slice of an \$80,000 annual slush fund maintained by the company. As Donald J. Kirchhoff of Castle and Cooke explained to the *Wall Street Journal*, they paid army personnel "much as you would hire an off-duty policeman."

There was, however, a difference. They expected and got services while the military were on duty. Alvarez, for example, earned his honorarium at Las Isletas. This was a collective operating on lands abandoned by Standard Fruit after Hurricane Fifi had destroyed the plantations in 1974. Standard had wanted the government to pay the cost of rehabilitation. The workers did the job without subsidy, producing 43,000 boxes of bananas in 1975, nearly a million in 1976, and four million in 1977.

The success of the collective did not disturb Standard, which actually preferred to leave production risks to others and make its profit as international marketer. It was a different matter, however, when the board of management of the collective not only refused to accept bribes when negotiating the selling price but began to explore export through the marketing structures of the Union of Banana Exporting Countries. Open competition was not Standard's capitalist understanding of the magic of the marketplace.

In February 1977, Alvarez sent in his troops to arrest 200 of the collective's members and to protect a rump group subservient to Standard. A new agreement that quickly followed gave the collective about half as much per box as the other organization would have paid. In addition, the funds of the collective

were milked to grant loans to families of military officers, build homes for them, and pay high salaries to their relatives. The group of peasants who for a moment entertained the illusion that they could break out of the circle of misery were thus taught by Standard and Alvarez the most persistent lesson of Latin American reality: Power yields only to superior power.

If, as is generally agreed, Alvarez is one of the least corrupt of the top echelon of the Honduran armed forces, it takes little imagination to see that the United States is building on sand when it selects this organization as protector of its interests in Central America. It is noteworthy that training by U.S. "advisers" has done nothing to reduce the endemic corruption.

The decision to upgrade the Honduran role has been a gradual one, taken in response to events elsewhere and with total unconcern for its impact on the country. After the overthrow of Somoza in neighboring Nicaragua, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Viron Vaky began to stress the geopolitical centrality of Honduras, running from the Caribbean to the Pacific and separating Nicaragua and Costa Rica to the south from El Salvador and Guatemala to the north.

William Bowdler, Vaky's successor, while proclaiming Honduras to be the keystone to the bridge-building process he envisaged, also introduced the specter of Cuba. Insisting that "Cuba is clearly not the cause of Central America's problems," he warned that it could become the beneficiary. The recognition by Bowdler just three years ago that Central America's conflicts have been triggered by domestic causes should not be forgotten when Reagan and Kirkpatrick scream hysterically about a Soviet-Cuban plot.

Although the level of violence in Honduras is still significantly lower than in El Salvador and Guatemala, the

underlying causes are similar and the progress toward all-out conflict has been observable for more than a decade. The U.S. policy of concentrating power in a technically trained and heavily armed military establishment, while intended to block this development, only accelerates its inevitable arrival and makes it more costly when it comes.

Objectively, living conditions for the overwhelming majority of Hondurans are not only lower than those for any of their neighbors, but they continue to decline as resources are diverted to the armed forces or intercepted by corrupt bureaucrats, politicians and military officers. The economic crisis, a secondary result of the world economic crisis because of the total dependence of Honduras on external trade, is comparable to that of the 1930s. Sixty-six percent of the economically active are without work, and land reform, which might ease somewhat the resulting social pressures, has practically ceased.

External debt is \$1.56 billion and growing each year. This debt is equivalent to \$420 per person in a country where the average per capita income is \$540. Harsh conditions for future borrowing imposed by the International Monetary Fund are making the social situation progressively worse.

Illiteracy is widespread. Infant malnutrition is common. Refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala probably number more than 100,000. International programs keep some of these refugees alive, but most survive because hungry Hondurans share with them, as the poor always share.

Especially in 1983, the repression that has characterized El Salvador and Guatemala is becoming more visible in Honduras: disappearances, torture, political murders, and the discovery of clandestine mass graves. Dr. Ramon Custodio, head of the Human Rights Committee, has recently protested the formation of an ultra-right anticom-

munist business group called APROH (Association for the Progress of Honduras), headed by none other than Commander-in-Chief Alvarez. APROH began two years ago as a secret group headed by Miguel Facusse, one of Honduras' richest businessmen, and Alvarez. It played a key role both in setting the conditions for transfer of the government from open military rule to elected civilians and in formulating the reactionary economic policies that characterize the regime. With an annual campaign fund of \$650,000 from Honduran businessmen, it recently ran a successful campaign to install a reactionary as rector of the National University. It openly supports the Somocistas in their campaign to overthrow the Sandinista government in Nicaragua. For Dr. Custodio it is a major threat to human rights. "It is an exact parallel to a group in Guatemala," he says, "a group that evolved into the *Mano Blanca* ('white hand') death squads."

Another Alvarez-led group operates under a religious umbrella. When Bo Hi Pak, president of CAUSA International, opened its first branch in Honduras in February 1983, Alvarez was chosen as president. CAUSA (Confederation of Associations for Unification of the Americas) is one of many fronts dedicated to the spread of the Unification Church, the Moonies. Its membership is drawn principally from big business and the top echelons of the military. Not surprisingly, its arrival coincides with growing tension between the Roman Catholic Church and the government. Several prominent priests have been exiled, and church workers with the Salvadoran refugees are continually threatened.

Further evidence of growing oppression in Honduras is the disappearance of two student organizations started in 1981 in sympathy with the Salvadoran revolutionary cause and with Salvadoran refugees. A committee of solidar-

Throughout Latin America, a new form of adult education is emerging that promotes active discussion and reflection whereby participants analyze their situation of oppression so that they themselves can change it. One such exercise is the "social tree." By visualizing society as a tree with roots, trunk and branches, participants discover that society is a structure composed of three interrelated levels that work together to maintain the status quo.

METHODOLOGY



First a tree is drawn and its functions delineated; roots provide food; the trunk, support; and the branches, respiration. The participants then relate these functions to society:

ROOTS: (economic infrastructure)

How is property distributed (land, factories, banks)? Who owns what? What are our natural resources? How are they exploited? What do we import and export? Who benefits? What are our economic relations with other countries?

TRUNK: (political structures that sustain economic structures) Who has political power? How did they get it? Who makes our laws? What sort of laws are made? How are they carried out? What role do other organizations play in society (political parties, trade unions, the church)?

BRANCHES: (ideology legitimizing political and economic structures) What values, prejudices, beliefs does our society foster? What do schools teach? Who benefits from our educational system? Who controls the mass media? What does it tell us about ourselves and the world? What are the relationships between men and women, parents and children? How did they come about? What forms of culture and art are available to us?

— *Latinamerica Press* 4/14/83

ity with the people of Nicaragua has similarly gone underground. A peaceful union demonstration in Tegucigalpa in support of social legislation before Congress was broken up by the military in October 1982, with 200 arrests. A statement by the Catholic bishops that same month, which insisted that "the causes of responses by the public security agencies promote a sense of uncertainty that "could end our democracy." And in March 1983 Dr. Custodio of the Human Rights Committee charged that the army was behind "disappearances," the number of which was increasing dramatically.

Following the example of the Argentine mothers of the missing who parade in the Plaza de Mayo in Buenos Aires, the families of the disappeared began in 1983 to demonstrate outside the National Palace in Tegucigalpa on the first Friday of every month. Those killed or "disappeared" are nearly all students, refugee workers, peasants, and union leaders. An Honduran military officer told the *London Daily Telegraph* that the groups of abductors are trained by Argentines at bases just outside Tegucigalpa and are controlled directly by Alvarez.

The announcement by Washington of its intention to set up a camp in Honduras in which 100 U.S. "advisers" will train 16,000 Salvadorans has caused consternation among the Hondurans who voted overwhelmingly two years ago to restore civilian rule. Leading lawyers say this constitutes a flagrant violation of the Constitution which prohibits the stationing, or even the transit, of foreign troops without congressional approval. Similar concern, also on constitutional grounds, is being expressed about the sophisticated radar installation in Honduras, 20 miles from the Nicaraguan border. With a range of 230 miles, it can monitor all air traffic over El Salvador, Honduras, and nearly all of Nicaragua. The U.S. Embassy

announcement said 40 to 50 U.S. air-force personnel will operate it for at least two years. This only raises further questions since the installation as described is relatively unsophisticated and required no such specialized team.

The Society of Honduran Economists has publicly protested that the radar and training base compromise Honduran neutrality. It interprets these moves and the rapidly expanding role of the military as moving Honduras toward the "dictator development model" of the Southern Cone (Argentina, Brazil, Chile). Six revolutionary organizations that hitherto had never succeeded in coordinating their activities have finally come together in a statement denouncing U.S. intervention.

Guerrilla activities in Honduras have so far been on a local level and arising out of local conflicts, seizures of land by peasants, and resistance by peasants to military actions instigated by the banana companies. It took years in El Salvador to move from such isolated incidents to the present sophisticated nationwide struggle. In Honduras, however, that process could be telescoped into very little time. Thanks to the banana economy, Honduran peasants have a higher level of technical skills and experience in the coordination of many operations than workers on a Detroit production line. These skills are quickly transferable to political and military organization. All they need is a catalyst, and the Reagan-Alvarez blueprint for Honduras may well be that catalyst.

If Alvarez continues as the country's real ruler, with President Suazo Cordova as his puppet; if the United States continues to escalate military aid; and if Washington refuses to take the Latin American approaches to solution of the region's problems seriously, the fledgling democracy of Honduras is destined for early death. ■

Mid-Land

by Pablo Neruda

The Americas shape their waist
where the two oceans marry,
from the Atlantic they gather foam,
from the Pacific torrents of stars,
vessels from the white poles come
filled with petroleum and orange blossoms:
the seagoing warehouses sucked in
our secret mineral blood
that builds the skyscrapers on the planet
in cruel and thorny cities.
And so the empire of the dollar
became rooted there with its attending demons:
the bloodied Caribbean cannibals
disguised as heroic generals:
a leadership of pitiless mice,
an inheritance of armed spit,
a stinking cavern of imperious orders,
a gutter of tropical mud,
a black chain of torments,
a rosary of unsurpassed misery
while the dollar steers immorality
with a white fleet over the seas,
extracting the aroma of the plantain,
the hard grain of the coffee fields,

perpetuating in our pure land
the bloodstained Trujillos.
Poor America up to her waist
in blood in her many slums,
crucified on a cross with thorns,
handcuffed and gnawed by dogs,
torn into pieces by the invaders,
wounded by aggression and calamity,
razed by false winds,
sacrilegious wholesale and gigantic plundering.
O lean chain of sorrows,
O gathering place for the tears of two oceans.

"Mid-Land" from *Song of Protest* by Pablo Neruda, translated by Miguel Algarin. English translation Copyright © 1976 by Miguel Algarin. By permission of William Morrow & Company.

Hispanics 'Took Stand for All'

by H. Coleman McGehee, Jr.

In the United States District Court for the Eastern District of New York, four men and a woman with Hispanic surnames, all avowed supporters of Puerto Rican independence are appealing three-year prison sentences (one year with good behavior) handed down June 7 by Judge Charles P. Sifton.

Their sole offense was their refusal to testify before a Federal Grand Jury, for which they were convicted of "criminal contempt." The case raises serious questions about the responsibilities of Grand Juries and prosecutors to private citizens in our society. The case should also prompt any fair-minded person to ask who, in this instance, was in contempt of what.

This curious and disturbing case goes back to January, 1977, when one of the defendants, Maria Cueto, then executive director of the Episcopal Church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs, was subpoenaed to testify before a Grand Jury investigating bombings and other acts of violence believed committed by Puerto Rican nationalists. She refused to do so, and spent 11 months in jail for "civil contempt."

Since then, the Grand Jury's investigation broadened to encompass other Hispanics, all of whom, like Ms. Cueto, had worked for a number of years with community groups. Among the five sentenced recently were Julio Rosado and Ricardo Romero, both former members of the National Commission

on Hispanic Affairs and Steven Guerra, a member of the board of directors of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. All but Guerra previously had been incarcerated and released for refusing to testify before the Grand Jury concerning the same matter. Subpoenaed in November, 1981, the five refused once more (as the government knew they would) to give Grand Jury testimony. However, they were never tried. Last September they were arrested and charged with criminal contempt, a more serious offense than civil contempt. In February a jury found them guilty of failure to comply with a court order to testify.

If one is innocent and has no knowledge of criminal activities of others, why should one fear to answer questions? That question may seem reasonable enough to those who have never been the object of an FBI investigation, but members of minority, dissident, and alienated groups know from grim experience that authorities are not above bullying, intimidation and harassment.

Grand Juries can lend themselves to abuse by prosecutors. Witnesses do not have the same protection afforded in an open trial. For example, they can be compelled to testify on any matter. The U.S. Supreme Court stated the problem in a 1957 First Amendment case (*Watkins vs. United States*):

"The mere summoning of witnesses and compelling them to testify against their will, about their beliefs, expressions and associations is a measure of governmental interference. And when those forced revelations concern matters that are unorthodox, unpopular, or even hateful to the general public, the

reaction in the life of the witness may be disastrous."

The five all refused to collaborate in what they regarded as an attempt to pry into their political beliefs and associations for the purpose of intimidating and crushing the Puerto Rican independence movement. In the case of those with church affiliations, there was an additional sound reason for refusing to testify: to do so would jeopardize the confidence established by them, as church lay ministers or representatives, with grass roots Hispanic groups across the country.

The point was well made in a brief filed with Judge Sifton by the National Council of Churches and other "friends of the court":

"It has been the experience of those assigned to this type of church work that trust — so hard to obtain and so easy to lose — is the necessary ingredient in permitting such work to go forward . . . Once the church workers are used by the government as an easy source of community information, those to whom such mission is directed — people in large part already disaffected from society — will inevitably come to distrust and shun them as they do others whom they believe to be part of the establishment."

Indeed, the government's six-year campaign linking church officials and church ministries with terrorism can be said to have damaged seriously the Episcopal Church's Hispanic programs and threatened several other church programs devoted to serving minority groups. It is not the defendants alone

The Rt. Rev. H. Coleman McGehee, Jr., is Episcopal Bishop of Michigan and President of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

Continued on page 19

Alice in Blunderland:

Peace Activists Stage Modern Morality Play

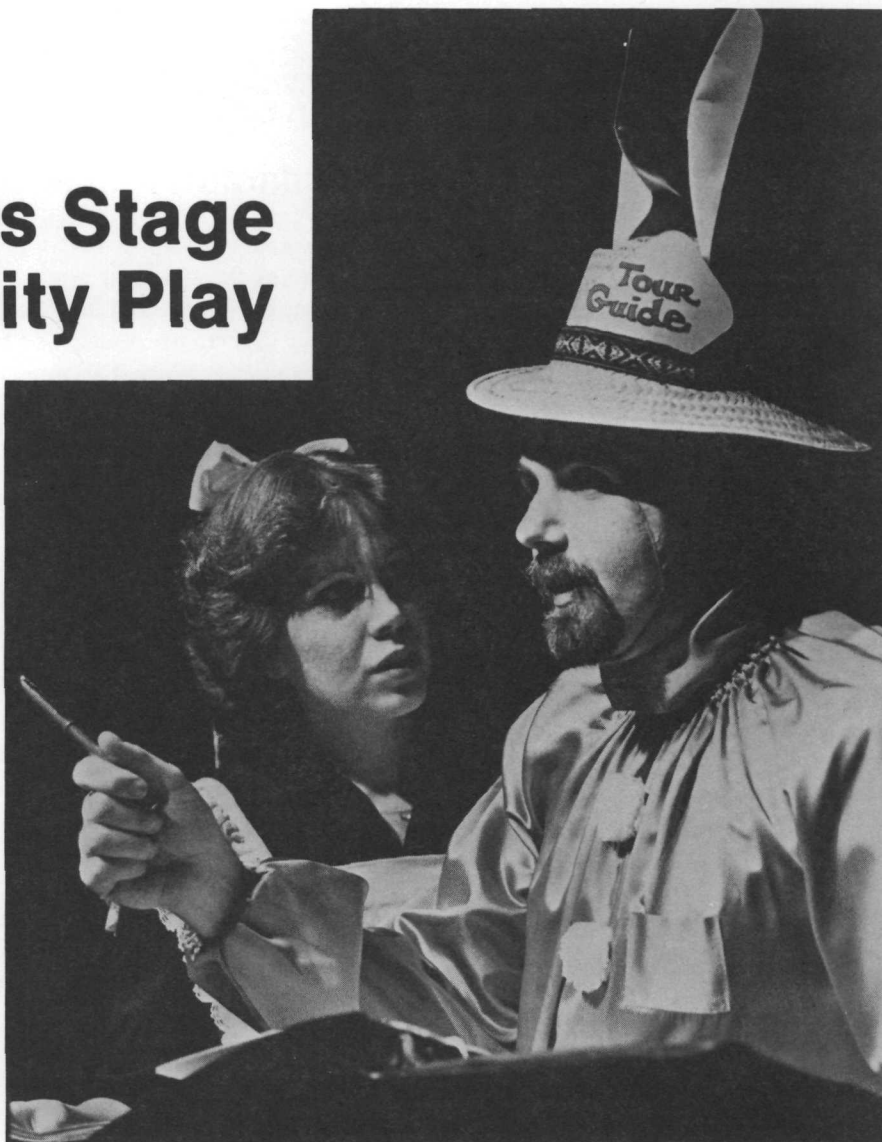
by Judy Myrick

Leslie Hudak of Stow, Ohio, ordinarily doesn't like demonstrations or confrontations — whatever the cause. So when she decided to attend the antinuclear rally in Washington, D.C., on Mother's Day of 1981, it was a big step for her.

She left the baby at home and took her other two girls with her. "All of my family were understanding and supportive. The 12 of us who went from the Akron area learned a lot. We lobbied at our congresspersons' offices. I came home and felt real proud at having taken such a personal step," she recalls.

"But no one wanted to hear what I had learned. It was about the time the neutron bomb was being talked about. I suddenly realized that all the babies in the world were going to die if we didn't do something. And I decided I couldn't just gripe anymore."

On March 6 and 7, 1983, Leslie Hudak returned to Capital Hill, this time with her family and friends, to perform a musical they had created. Several thousand sympathizers were in the audiences for three different performances — the largest for registered



Kathy Vair plays Alice, and Tim De Frange, the Rabbit, in *Legacy's* modern morality play about the absurdity of nuclear war. Tim and his brother, Tom, wrote the words and music.

delegates to the National Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign convocation. Another smaller audience watched in the Cannon Caucus Room, with several Ohio congressmen lending a sympathetic ear. It was the first major trip the group had made outside of its home state, where in the past year an estimated 20,000 people have offered stand-

ing ovations at the play's conclusion. The settings vary — from school auditoriums, ecumenical church gatherings, and civic meetings to nuclear freeze rallies. And the cast grows. It now boasts some 23 adults and 12 children, the ages ranging from a 2-year-old toddler to one of its stars, 12-year-old Lauren Hudak.

Judith C. Myrick is assistant professor of journalism at Kent State University in Ohio.



The Gnomes protest the damage to their DNA by "fairy dust."

Left to right, Bret and Kya Herring, Mary Flynn, Megan Hudak, Megan Cowperthwaite.



Mad Hatter (Mike Hudak) and Biggie Rat (Earl McFarland).

"Fairy dust? It's necessary, not to mention it means more profit!"

They come from all walks of life: factory worker, store manager, waitress, electrician, pharmaceutical salesperson, hospital administrator, students, teachers, and even a Vietnam veteran and an Army reservist.

They came together, according to the 37-year-old Ms. Hudak, because of a commitment: a goal to leave the planet

safe from the fear, and especially the reality, of nuclear disaster. A world for their children to inherit, hence their chosen name, LEGACY, Inc.

By late 1981 the group of friends, all of them from the Stow-Kent area near Akron, had decided that the influence they would try to exert upon local communities and organizations would

not take the form of a political statement or lobbying effort. Rather they would chose the vehicle of words and music, to be performed before any audience that would welcome them. Those audiences have been both secular and religious, ranging in size from several hundred to several thousand.

Since LEGACY's first performance of *Alice in Blunderland* in February 1982, "a lot of pieces have fallen into place," according to Hudak, instigator of the project and former high school teacher. "To our surprise, we got standing ovations right from the start and we could see that many of the men and women in the audience had tears in their eyes," recalls Hudak.

Writers of the songs and lyrics are brothers Tom and Tim DeFrance; both of them prolific amateur song writers who had worked together with the same group of friends on earlier musical projects.

According to Tom, he wanted a vehicle by which "the subject of the play could travel from one place to another and learn something in the process. I first thought of *The Wizard of Oz* in which Dorothy goes through a series of changes and arrives at a destination. Then I realized *Alice in Wonderland* does the same and the characters lend themselves better to our needs."

Tom had already written the strongly worded "Last Protest Song" and Tim had created a script full of everyday people and their problems when the group approved the idea of a parody on Lewis Carroll's whimsical *Alice*. Incongruous though it seemed to combine such a serious topic with the light-heartedness of the characters, costumes, and set from *Alice*, the approach won over even skeptical members of its audiences from the first. Both the young and not-so-young seem to find it appealing to the eye and ear and, gratifyingly, to the mind and heart as well.

One of their fans has been the group's

own congressional representative, Democrat John Seiberling, who helped sponsor their Hill appearance along with Republican Jim Leach. After seeing them the first time at a Guns-and-Butter conference in Akron, Seiberling read some of their lyrics (from "Last Protest Song") into the *Congressional Record* during a lengthy bipartisan debate on nuclear armaments:

*"For nuclear supremacy we stack
our weapons high.*

*In the name of our security we've
sentenced us to die.*

*And if not for those who follow,
then for generations past,*

*We leave but one consolation;
This war will be the last."*

Prior to another performance in Hudson, Ohio, Seiberling told the audience that the use of the allegory's title is "particularly appropriate to describe the foolishness of stockpiling nuclear arms. This planet is the only one that can sustain life and the only one our children can inherit. The matter is too important to leave to the experts or the technicians."

The lyrics would also suggest the matter is too crucial to leave to the politicians:

*"And we trust those men in govern-
ment to have greater minds than
ours.*

*And if we all play loud enough,
we won't hear the storm clouds
call."*

Seiberling has also said privately the play "does something all of the political statements cannot do. Its message is subtle but powerful. For the sake of the children, how do we avoid destroying the world?"

James Malone, Roman Catholic Bishop of Youngstown Diocese would agree. When he first saw them perform, "he told us he was praying someone like us would come along," Hudak recalls. He and others have given them contributions that have enabled them to buy

sound equipment and more recently produce albums and tapes that can be purchased at a performance. The Episcopal Diocese of Ohio also granted LEGACY \$5,000 to help defray growing travel costs. Since most of their performances are free, LEGACY depends on donations and freewill offerings where appropriate.

The cast is a close-knit group, making all decisions about scheduling by consensus. The children of the parents are also in the play, appearing both in major roles (12-year-old Lauren Hudak is sometimes Alice) and minor ones (the youngest are toddlers). The finale is sung by one and all with great fervor and impact:

*"Give them (the children) the
tradewinds,*

Give them the skies.

Let them breathe air all clean.

Let them have babies

Beautifully formed.

Let them see what we have seen."

How do a Vietnam veteran and an Army reservist fit into the picture? Ask Alice's Prime Minister, Tom Cowperthwaite, who first met Hudak some 14 years ago when she was his history teacher. Cowperthwaite served in Cambodia with a helicopter crew from 1970 to 1973.

Now he describes himself as a pacifist, "although I sometimes get very angry with frustration at the nations' governments for not getting along with each other better. Think of all the good uses the money in our military budgets could have been put to since the 1940s." As a kind of "personal protest" against the unheeding leaders of the world, Cowperthwaite plays the role of the stuffy and pretentious Prime Minister, singing:

*"And I've always respected tradi-
tion.*

*And I'm greatly respected for my
tact.*

*For the sign of a good politician
Depends on his ability to act."*

The Army reservist is 26-year-old Tim Steiner of Ravenna, who is also a fulltime nightshift factory machinist in Solon, Ohio. He describes himself as "a firm believer in a good defense system — that is, in using a conventional army and weapons."

Steiner believes, however, that nuclear war is "different — it is wrong that one or two persons have the power to destroy all the people and all nations." He claims that most of his Reserve buddies agree with him on this point, as does his unit which cooperates in rearranging some scheduled duties when they conflict with performances.

Although each member of LEGACY has had to make major adjustments in their lives to fit in the 25 hours of rehearsals, traveling, and performances each week, all of them agree they will persist "as long as there seems to be a need to raise awareness about this life-and-death issue," says Hudak. "None of us are in this because we're dying to act. We feel the issue is important. If the play doesn't work at some stage, we'll probably do something else."

LEGACY's most recent venture is to produce a mail-order kit which will enable any local group to hear and then present the play. It includes a sound tape or album, a complete script and staging directions.

"We want to 'give' our play away so every community can use it," says Leslie Hudak. Eventually they hope it will be translated into foreign languages, including Russian — "or perhaps we will get to Russia some day ourselves," she adds. And knowing how far the group has already come, it's almost a sure thing. ■

Resource

For information about the LEGACY mail order production kit, contact Leslie Hudak, 1275 Goldfinch Trail, Stow, Ohio 44224, (216) 688-1253.

Continued from page 15

who have paid a heavy penalty for Grand Jury abuse.

Unable to prove its unsubstantiated public assertions linking the defendants (and the Episcopal Church) with violence and terrorism, the government has resorted to grossly unfair tactics even beyond the setting of crude Grand Jury traps.

One tactic was trial by press headline. Upon arresting the defendants last September, the FBI characterized the five as "the remaining unincarcerated leadership of the F.A.L.N." — a Puerto Rican organization which is said to have claimed responsibility for many bombings. The five have denied F.A.L.N. membership and challenged the government to prove its accusation in court. The government has declined to do so, but the unproved allegation has had its effect.

Major newspapers, including the prestigious *New York Times*, tagged their articles as the "FALN Case." Even more damaging was a column in the *Chicago Sun Times* just before the five were to be sentenced, entitled, "How Church Funds Helped to Launch FALN," charging that "hundreds of thousands of dollars in funds from the Episcopal Church fell into the hands of FALN terrorists during the formative years of that organization." This article was concocted from a Federal affidavit slipped into court by the prosecution at the last minute, so that there was no way for the defendants to respond to charges therein.

Another tactic, was the government's insistence that jurors in the contempt trial last winter be identified by number rather than by name. This device (an anonymous jury) was wholly unwarranted by the circumstances and prejudiced the rights of the defendants by carrying implications that the jurors had ground for fearing retaliation.

Letters . . . Continued from page 2

In Praise of Malcolm

WITNESS author Malcolm Boyd turned 60 recently. I was at his birthday party. Malcolm is 60 going on "eternity." He is all that you describe in the vita that goes along with each piece you publish. (See June issue, "The Gospel According to Tennessee Williams.")

I know him as a deeply involved, caring, loving and completely self-giving human being, except for those times when in total exhaustion he, and those around him, remember he really is 60.

Malcolm Boyd writes very well. He sees clearly, through eyes that are often teared with the combination of his intense pain and joy of simply living. He is the most power-filled extemporaneous preacher I have heard in the 48 years of my life. (My father was a Christian Church, Disciples of Christ Evangelist.)

But we all know of Malcolm's writing and ministry. We know the pain his church caused him and he allegedly caused his church. We know of the powerful reconciliation of Our Lord in getting them back together.

Yet I want to share another perspective. I see Malcolm nearly every day. I see a priest who has transformed authority into service — a broken-healing human being who can judge and forgive. Malcolm Boyd is 60, but each day I see him he is brand new. That's why those of his community love him.

T. G. Macquarrie
Santa Monica, Cal.

Rather than being condemned, these five brave and deeply committed people deserve to be honored for their courage in the face of the government's repeated efforts to force them to abandon their convictions. In standing up for themselves, they have stood for us all.

If any party here has shown contempt for the court and for justice itself, it is not they but the government of the United States. ■

Article for Curriculum

The Christian Movement for Peace is preparing a social justice curriculum to be published in book form by William C. Brown Company Publishers. May we have your permission to use "Signs of Colonialism Jar Public Hearings in Puerto Rico" by James Lewis in the December '82 WITNESS in our curriculum and in future revisions and editions thereof, including nonexclusive world rights in all languages?

Alyson Huntly, Jim Morin, Marsha Sfeir
Christian Movement for Peace
Toronto, Canada

Dialogue Not Possible

The Gospel of Christ proclaims first the Kingdom of God as a kingdom of believers in Jesus. THE WITNESS seems to me to be bent badly towards humanism which is *not* Christianity. Jesus enters not into dialogue with Satan but rather *commands* him to be gone. Dialogue is not possible between Christ and Marxism unless it is to bring that "ism" to the feet of Almighty God. I feel Christ is betrayed by THE WITNESS.

The Rev. Stanley E. Manwaring
Andalusia, Pa.

Octogenarian Returns

I really welcome this opportunity to take THE WITNESS again. I'm in my 80s now and used to be a regular subscriber. Financially we couldn't continue our magazine subscriptions during one of the four depression periods in my lifetime.

I've been a pacifist since the end of World War I — worked for it, spoken publically in churches and groups and been ostracized for it in organizations — and I now wear a *large* anti-nuclear button on my coat lapel.

Now that I am housebound and no longer active in church work, I shall have the opportunity of keeping in touch with the current social as well as Christian thinking. Thank you for finding my name on some list and bless you!

Helen Stone
Petersburg, Mich.

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