

THE WITNESS

VOL. 66 NO. 11 NOVEMBER 1983

KAL 007 Revisited • C. G. Jacobsen

D.C. Arms Bazaar • Jack Woodard

And...Those First Women Deputies!



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LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

'Death Train' Misleading

The "Death Train Route" article in your July issue is potentially dangerous, inflammatory and misleading.

The Trident missile is not the "ultimate first strike weapon." Any ballistic missile is an ultimate first strike weapon because it doesn't have to survive someone else's first strike. The Trident system is instead the "ultimate retaliatory weapon" because it is survivable. In spite of your apparent distrust of the government and military of the United States, the democratic system under which they operate does not permit the United States to launch a surprise first strike attack on any foreign country, and I am sure that no responsible person in our government would contemplate illegal ways to circumvent the system in order to initiate such an attack.

Since the totalitarian regimes of the world are not constrained by the same legal and moral restraints, it is necessary for us to maintain a survivable retaliatory weapon system to prevent nuclear blackmail and to discourage outright attack by those nations. The thought of the potential for destruction by those nuclear warheads is awful, but it must be realized that nuclear weapons have been available since World War II and a nuclear weapon has never been used in an act of war since Aug. 9, 1945 at Nagasaki.

It is not provable that the only reason for this restraint by all parties is nuclear parity between the nuclear powers, but it is also difficult to argue otherwise. The Trident is therefore possibly one of the strongest forces for world peace in existence. Your misguided efforts to eliminate it are inadvertently working, not toward peace, but toward an imbalance of power which could lead to

war. With the present situation of nuclear parity between the developed nations of the world and the increasing development of the industry, capital and housing of these nations, the real danger that we should all fear is that of some irresponsible terrorist group, with nothing to lose, which somehow obtains the materials to build their own bomb. The odds are that the next nuclear bomb detonated in anger will be delivered to some unsuspecting population center in a semi-trailer van rather than by a sophisticated guided missile launched from a nuclear submarine. Think about that possibility for a while before you decide against whom you should direct your demonstrations.

Christopher W. Bolleau
Brigham City, Utah

Douglass Responds

Contrary to Mr. Bolleau who confuses the meaning of "first strike" with "first draw," a first strike missile is defined by its technical ability to home in precisely, with minimal warning time, on those hardened targets of the enemy which constitute its primary deterrent force: underground missiles and command posts.

Trident is the ultimate first strike weapon because, as its former missile designer Robert Aldridge has pointed out, it will combine extraordinary accuracy with the ability to fire its missiles in massive numbers from undetectable positions relatively close to the Soviet Union. The pinpoint accuracy of the Trident missile, together with a short flight time from a surprise underwater launch, will make it impossible for Soviet leaders to detect and react to a massive Trident attack before their retaliatory forces have been destroyed in underground silos. (Unlike U.S. forces, most Soviet missiles are land-based, and its fewer missile-launching submarines at sea are already targeted through markedly superior U.S. anti-submarine warfare.)

These points are all documented in Aldridge's *First Strike* (South End Press:

1983), a book which shatters our culpable ignorance of first strike programs which the Pentagon has been building up for years. The democratic system which Mr. Bolleau and I both believe in is being destroyed from within by a nuclearist mentality, which now threatens the whole world.

The teaching of Christ applied to our end-time situation is not to oppose totalitarian regimes and terrorist groups with the counter evil of nuclear weapons but to undergo a conversion of Agape in our hearts, to act for justice and peace through a nonviolent cross, and to realize that the kingdom of God is truly at hand.

Jim Douglass
Silverdale, Wash.

Kudos From Friends

I extend my congratulations to you for an outstanding July issue. The article by Jim Douglass is excellent and the accompanying graphic is very helpful. And Sam Day's article, as well as the poem by Mary Jane Brewster, help to broaden the focus. THE WITNESS continues to be one of my favorite publications.

Vinton Deming
Friends Journal
Philadelphia, Pa.

Correction

It has come to our attention that in assembling the map accompanying our "Death Train" story (July WITNESS), we misplaced a few towns and cities and the border between Idaho and Montana went the voyage. We apologize to the author, and to the residents of Pampa, Tex., and Woodward and Alva, Okla., should this temporary dislocation have caused them any embarrassment or inconvenience.

At the same time, we sadly note that given the context, should the train carrying missile components have an accident, these citizens might be moved to even greater distances. — Eds.

(More Letters on page 22)

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THE WITNESS is published monthly. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Phone (215) 643-7067. Subscription rates \$12 per year. \$1 per copy. Copyright 1983 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.

Challenging the Bullies

We have reason to be frightened. It is the fear that grips all living creatures when their survival is at stake. No one wishes to be drawn into a street fight that is initiated by bullies, drawing a chalk line on the pavement, daring their adversary to cross the line. Such a line of demarcation will be drawn once again when the Cruise and Pershing II missiles are deployed next month in Europe (assuming no agreement to the contrary in the Geneva arms talks). What must be done to stop this crazy and scary scenario?

Bullies are only deterred by strong, clear-headed dissent which insists that such a state of affairs will lead to annihilation and self-destruction. It is increasingly evident that both Yuri Andropov and Ronald Reagan are dominated by their respective military-industrial complexes. We agree with Stanley Hoffman, Chair of the Center for European Studies at Harvard University: "Despite denials, both sides seem to be working to make nuclear warfare possible, even though nobody knows how it could be waged rationally or kept controlled." Such conditions and pursuits, including the behavior of both superpowers following the South Korean Airline

tragedy, demand a reversal of gears in the arms race and in political relations. We must insist through every available channel that the present policy is intolerable and that a new policy is imperative.

We disagree with those who declare, again under the influence of the bully syndrome, that we cannot make an accommodation with the Soviet Union. We agree with Senator Charles Mathias of Maryland that habitual hatred is an unsound policy, and we should seek "to explore and maintain the widest variety of contacts, the broadest and most diffuse forms of engagement. Instead of restricting our discussions to the gravest and least tractable problems of arms control, we should be pushing our way down paths of least resistance, looking continually for limited openings, marginal advances, small opportunities to create a measure of understanding and shared interest."

We must not allow our fears to inhibit and silence us. Rather we must speak out and write demanding new behavior and new policy that will make the world safe for diversity both in Moscow and Washington.

(H.C.W. and the editors)

Legacy of KAL 007

THE WITNESS grieves with the families of the 269 innocent victims shot down in Korean Air Lines 007, in a merciless act, by the Soviet Union. "Trigger-happy" military, wherever they function, surely do not serve the cause of peace. Having said that up front, THE WITNESS also regrets that in U.S. reports of the incident, truth was frequently abandoned when facts suppressed had more propaganda value to the Administration.

Thus does mass media in time of crisis, more often than not, fall in lock-step to serve as the "national press." The article by Dr. C. G. Jacobsen which follows brings together the bits and pieces one had to look and listen for closely (if they were there at all), "In search of perspective."

Surely a bereaved peace movement views this incident as a tragic setback. But Christian hope pushes us further — to act in the conviction that the 269 deaths must move us away from the fear and paranoia that feed the arms race.

And the Gospel message motivates us once again to press firmly toward the work of reconciliation of nations to nations, peoples to peoples. — Eds.

Flight KAL 007: A Search for Perspective

by C. G. Jacobsen

Murder in the sky. Shock, revulsion, outrage. In Washington the Soviet action is compared to the worst Nazi atrocities. Moscow frantically counter-charges, claiming the plane was on an intelligence mission, sent by people whose disregard for the innocents was akin to the Stormtroopers' use of children as shield. But saner counsel prevailed. The vitriol became a tool of policy; policy was not allowed to become a tool of vitriol.

What happened? There were many questions. Some have been answered. Some never will be. The plane veered off its scheduled path, for a 2½-hour flight through the most crucially sensitive military-strategic region in the U.S.S.R. Its course took it over the ballistic missile submarine base at Petropavlovsk, on the Kamchatka peninsula,

and over adjacent ballistic missile defense test sites, then across the submarine deployment area, the Okhotsk Sea, over the Korsakov base on Sakhalin island, and towards the headquarters of the Soviet Pacific Fleet, Vladivostok. Towards the very end, with Soviet fighters near, the plane apparently changed course, southward, out of Soviet territory. Yet this maneuver may have looked as suspect as the original heading.

But the Boeing 747's silhouette was said to be too distinct to allow confusion. Tapes of intercepted Soviet pilot conversations acknowledged that the plane's navigation lights and one other light (interpreted as a strobe light) were visible, and this was presented as proof that they knew it was civilian. Finally, the 2½-hour time frame was said to have allowed for consultation with Moscow. Andropov was personally implicated.

The silhouette point appeared damning, although dawn had not yet broken. And the mention of lights was suggestive, though not conclusive. The time argument was more strained, since it was only towards the end that the plane's course took on real crisis proportions, and since it might earlier have

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been expected to respond routinely to command (to exit Soviet territory, or land).

The Washington intelligence community did in fact soon conclude that authorization to fire was given by General Govorov, the local commander, in accordance with standing orders. The tapes also quickly made it clear that, with the possible exception of the last few minutes, the fighter pilots did believe that the intruder was a military craft. They employed IFF ("Identification: Friend or Foe"), and reported that "the target isn't responding."

Four days after the incident Washington acknowledged that an RC-135 intelligence plane had been in the vicinity of the South Korean jet just before it penetrated Soviet air space. But although the blips nearly overlapped on radar screens, it was said that Moscow must have distinguished the 747's subsequent course from the standard elliptical flight path of the RC-135, which in any case returned to home base long before the downing. Unfortunately, the 747's course was equally abnormal for a civilian craft. Its charts, as those of all civilian planes, marked the area as one where it might "be fired on without warning." Furthermore, it is all too normal for an intelligence craft to accompany civilian planes for the specific purpose of testing hostile radar scanners, and their ability to discriminate.

Outrage was still sustained, through the belief that Soviet pilots must towards the end have seen that the intruder was a 747, and through continuing assertions that Moscow had not employed normal procedures to force the plane to land. The first belief may not have been warranted, in view of lingering darkness, and the tapes' evidence that the fighters never got closer than a mile; the missile was fired from a distance of two miles. On the other hand, if the plane was finally identified

as civilian, then it was also identified as South Korean.

Moscow's view of South Korea is similar to our view of North Korea. Just a few years ago a South Korean plane penetrated 1,000 miles over Moscow's Barents Sea-Murmansk base complexes. Western media then gave prominent play to the apparent inefficiencies that delayed and hampered Soviet responses. Former CIA Director Stansfield Turner and former National Security Agency Director Bobby Inman have both noted that the presumed Soviet response was to reinforce standing orders to border commands to shoot

"Moscow is not generally in the business of shooting unarmed planes from the sky. An analogy might hypothesize a North Korean plane intruding U.S. airspace, disregarding interceptor instructions for hours, and heading straight for Colorado Springs — NORAD, and Space Command Headquarters."

down an intruder who did not respond to instructions. To make matters worse, South Korean planes have since made a number of provocative, though brief, incursions into Soviet territory. And some have engaged in intelligence-related tasks.

The supersensitivity of the region cannot be overemphasized. Flight over an ICBM complex would be far less provocative, if only because ICBM sites are more numerous and more dispersed, and because ICBMs are intended for initial exchanges. The submarine force, however, constitutes Moscow's invulnerable second-strike force, its guaranteed

retaliatory capability, the very heart of its deterrent. And it is concentrated and deployed in just two areas, the Barents and the Okhotsk.

American tolerance of Soviet and Cuban mini-incursions along the Atlantic Seaboard, or of Aeroflot route deviations over less sensitive base areas, is irrelevant. The list of similarly minor violations of Soviet air space is equally lengthy. In both cases the response is standard. Fighters scramble, intercept, and escort the intruder out, or down. Moscow is not generally in the business of shooting unarmed civilian planes out of the sky. A truer analogy might hypothesize a North Korean plane intruding into U.S. air space, disregarding interceptor instructions to leave or land for 2½ hours, and heading straight for Cheyenne Mountain, Colorado Springs (NORAD, and now also Space Command headquarters).

But the question of interceptor instructions had of course not been resolved. In unprecedented press conferences, Marshal Ogarkov, other luminaries of the Soviet defense staff, local commanders and the pilots themselves all asserted that normal procedures had been followed, to no avail; only after the Korean pilot ignored multiple warning shots and tracer bullets was the order given to fire missiles. Washington found no supporting evidence, and exuded cynical scepticism.

Then, 10 days after the tragedy, Washington re-evaluated its tapes. As presented previously to the media and to the Security Council, they were privately acknowledged to have suffered gaps and audio problems; in a number of places the translation was open to question. Now came acknowledgement that the tapes did indeed contain references to gun bursts prior to the fatal missile launch. It had not come without warning.

The evidence of the revised tapes was politically convenient. It undercut rising

right wing pressure for further action against the Soviets. There was of course little that the administration could do. Preceding years of frosty U.S.-Soviet relations had seen cutbacks in high-technology trade, cultural ties and educational exchanges. The only cards left to play, short of Armageddon's mutual suicide, were cards that would harm American interests as much as they might harm Moscow's. America could withdraw from arms talks, but Reagan accepted that these were as vital to Washington as to Moscow. One might abrogate the recently-signed grain deal. But Reagan had castigated Carter for playing politics with grain. And there was the evidence of what had happened the last time: Argentina, Canada and the EEC had stepped in, leaving Moscow with more grain than she had originally sought. The same would clearly happen again. U.S. farmers would be the only losers.

Questions persisted. The Korean pilot's one acknowledged communica-

tion, claiming that he was over the Pacific, East of Japan's Hokkaido island, hardly makes sense. In one of his navigation systems the coordinates may have been punched in wrongly. But there are other, and back-up systems. The explanation does not suffice. The Kamchatka, and Sakhalin loom large.

A review of American reaction to Israel's downing of a Libyan passenger plane over the Sinai in February of 1973 brings up a more fundamental point. Horror was expressed, then, at the loss of civilian lives, as horror must be expressed, now, at the loss of civilian lives. But in the earlier case it was generally accepted that there were mitigating circumstances: the general tension of the region, the security-sensitivity of the area, the defense paranoia of the Israelis. Yet Russian historiography is as inductive of defense paranoia as Israel's. The Sakhalin/Okhotsk area is if anything more crucial to Soviet defenses than the Sinai to Israel. Moscow's view of South Korea

echoes Tel Aviv's view of Libya.

In 1973 Israel eventually conceded culpability, and paid compensation. But her initial reaction then was as evasive of responsibility as is Moscow's today. Israel had little time for "normal procedures;" the Boeing 727 was shot down just 11 minutes after crossing into Sinai airspace, five minutes after interception by Israeli fighters, and just as it was about to leave Israeli-controlled airspace on its way back towards Cairo. Israel and American media spoke of visual problems, due to a sandstorm. The subsequent formal report of the International Civil Aviation Organization demurred: the event "occurred in daylight in visual meteorological conditions." Similarly, Israel (and some American media) claimed the pilot had been an Arab, whose linguistic ignorance was partly responsible. But the pilot was French, and multi-lingual. One could go on.

The point is not to drag up a tragedy of the past. Rather, that then we gave every benefit of doubt, now we give none. If we were more generous, perhaps they would be, also.

Finally, a comment to those whose disgust now leads them to championing higher American defense budgets. We could transfer the whole Education budget to defense, we could add another 50 billion dollars, another million warheads, yet we would be no more able to react to a similar incident in the future. We could stir the rubble of Soviet civilization another 50 times, yet their survivable submarine forces would still be able to obliterate us in turn. With near 60,000 nuclear warheads of all types in the world today (60% American), most of which make Hiroshima look like the proverbial firecracker, the real need may not be for more. The real need may be for generosity, understanding and compassion, to alleviate the fear, in Moscow as in the Middle East, that devours the innocent. ■

Nijinsky's Diary

nijinsky, god said, jump off the cliff.
the snow made a clear path and
it was cold where the sound of things carried forever and
on past the trees where home was then and nijinsky
did not say no even as he put the cliff to his back
and concentrated on the water in his eyes.
nijinsky, god said, jump off the cliff.
the laughter in the trees called him to hurry away and pray later.
instead he laughed and god
laughed in the space below and he
watched himself jump as God caught him with dry wood limbs
just below the ledge.
nijinsky believed there in that dead tree above space
that he could tell his own voice
from the voice of God.
nijinsky climbed and stood still on the snow.
nijinsky, god said, dance.
and dance came as a hungry guest.
nijinsky, god said, marry.
and he did.
nijinsky, god said,
go mad.

— William Hodges

38-Day Fast for Life Ends With Communion

by Judith Moore

After 38 days without food, Dorothy Granada, one of 11 participants in the internationally-based anti-nuclear "Fast for Life," took doctors' advice and ended her fast with Holy Communion and a sip of brown rice water.

"I did not feel called to give my life at this time," Granada said at a news conference Sept. 13. The 52-year-old Eugene, Ore. Episcopalian began her water-only open-ended fast in Oakland on Aug. 6, Hiroshima Day, in company with three other fasters, including her husband, Charles Gray. Eleven men and women in France, West Spain, Canada, Japan, Germany and the U.S. participated in the fast.

The Fast for Life was endorsed by a worldwide list of anti-nuclear activists and pacifists including Daniel Ellsberg, Dan Berrigan, Coretta Scott King and several bishops of the Episcopal Church. The fasters' goal was to effect "a significant turnaround in the madness of the arms race," according to materials sent out to supporters. In a Jesuit retreat center in a Black Oakland neighborhood at the end of the fast's second week, the four U.S.-based fasters discussed their action. They called the fast "not entirely voluntary." The arms race, they said, was accelerating. This acceleration demanded immediate and drastic response. The quartet compared their action to that of a mother or father who rushes into a burning building to save a child. They hoped to raise worldwide popular, governmental and media response. They also wanted to initiate



Dorothy Granada

what Granada called "a disarming of the heart." She then described herself as "called to respond to the dual crises of the impending nuclear holocaust and the continuing holocaust of world starvation." The four Oakland fasters, looking gaunt after two weeks of water only, said that by being hungry they expressed their solidarity with the world's hungry people.

Granada, Joint Chairperson of the Third World Caucus of Clergy and Laity Concerned, talked about herself in an interview on Berkeley's KPFA during the first week of the fast. Granada explained that as the daughter of a Mexican mother and Filipino father, she is "a mestizo twice over." Raised in a Los Angeles barrio and baptized into the Roman Catholic Church, Granada became an Episcopalian when she turned 12. The Episcopal Church, she said, "spoke to me in a

deep spiritual way that the Roman Church did not."

Granada graduated from college, married a Harvard-educated physician and began to enjoy what she called "a sort of typically American dream." By 1972, the Vietnam War had broken into that dream. Granada began to simplify her life, living on \$110 per month, a sum she perceived as the average individual income of most world citizens. She wanted, she said, to take only her fair share of the world's resources.

In 1978 Granada met her present husband, Gray. He had begun to plan what became the Fast for Life. Long interested in political fasting, he was circulating a pamphlet on the subject among anti-nuclear leaders. In 1980 the couple began to seek endorsement for the fast. After attending the United Nations Special Session on Disarmament in August 1982, Gray and Granada were frustrated at the lack of progress toward disarmament and felt that the time had come for more than political action. Together with Solange Fernex, President of the Green Party in France, the couple announced the International Fast for Life would begin one year later on Hiroshima Day.

Although the fast sparked demonstrations around the world and received attention from media and various government officials, little seemed changed after 40 days. The 11 fasters suffered dehydration, extreme weariness and some, including Granada, lost as much as 40 pounds. On Sept. 15, all 11 resumed eating. They did not, according to statements made to the press, feel defeated. They believed that the fast had enhanced awareness of the perils of nuclear war. Granada, on the morning she ended her fast said that she felt the action had "contributed to a new awakening" and that she agreed with fast supporters who believe "it will take time for that awakening to produce political results." ■

Judith Moore is a free-lance journalist based in Berkeley, Cal.

Yahweh and Mars at the Arms Bazaar

by Jack Woodard

At the Air Force Association's Arms Bazaar in September, the Sojourners' Peace Ministry, the World Peacemakers, the D.C. Council of Churches, and others like me from individual churches tried to dialogue with participants in a rented room inside the Sheraton-Washington Hotel. We also staged peaceful demonstrations, fairs, and worship services outside.

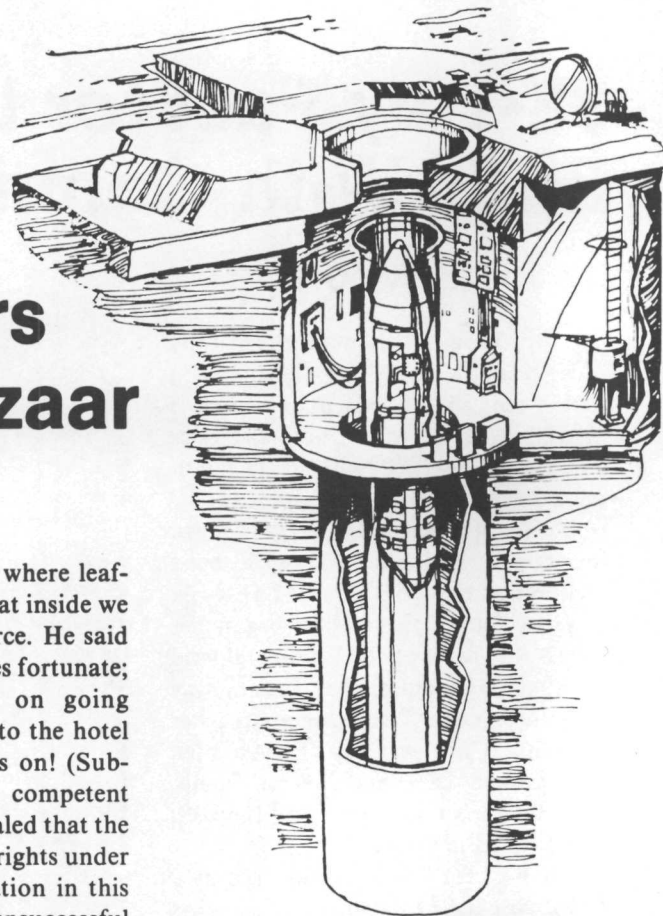
This was the sixth straight September of demonstrations against this major weapons sales convention. But "dialogue" didn't work because hardly anybody came to talk. Invitations were put under the doors of 1100 of the 1500 rooms before the Air Force became aware of what was going on and ordered the hotel to stop us. They forbade a placard in the lobby, invitations anywhere in the hotel, even a sign on the exterior of the door of our room. Our request to pay the going rate of \$40 per day for a notice on the hotel's closed circuit TV was refused. When we complained, the hotel manager said big conventions like this one "own the hotel" while they have it rented. He told us we couldn't be stopped from handing

out the invitations outside where leaf-letting was going on, but that inside we were subject to the Air Force. He said we should consider ourselves fortunate; the World Bank insists on going through *all* mail coming into the hotel while *their* convention goes on! (Subsequent consultation with competent constitutional lawyers revealed that the hotel is probably within its rights under current law and that litigation in this matter would probably be unsuccessful in the conservative climate which presently carries the day in the Supreme Court.)

But 1100 nicely printed invitations to come to Room 2008 for refreshments and friendly talk with "Ecumenical Christians for Dialogue" did get to rooms in the hotel before we were stopped. And many more were handed to people on their way into the hotel from outside. But only one person in three days came to our room in response to the invitations.

There being no conventioners in our room to talk with, I went downstairs to try to get into the weapons exhibit where Lutheran Pastor John Steinbruck was arrested four years ago and charged with criminal trespass. Wearing my clerical collar and accompanied by a friend with a convention badge, I asked for admittance.

After a short conference behind the



Peacekeeper Deployment
in Minuteman Silos

counter, I was asked, "Have you got a driver's license?"

Restraining the temptation to quip, "I don't want to *drive* a nuclear missile, just *look* at one," my license was produced and I was promptly given a badge labeled INDUSTRY, and admitted to the exhibit hall.

Some exhibit!

A few feet in, I was given a plastic bag for carrying literature and my first fancy folder contained a blueprint of the inside of an MX missile, including MIRV warhead. (They call it "Peacekeeper.")

A few feet further on, hanging overhead in a coat of brilliant orange, was a Cruise missile, all set to be nuclear tipped and to fly away on its mission of horror.

The Rev. Jack Woodard is rector of St. Stephen and the Incarnation Church, Washington, D.C.

Spread out in 88 elaborate exhibits were:

- complex, luxurious audiovisual viewing rooms showing various weapons in action;
- multiple-barrel cannon pods to hang on jet fighters;
- many, many exhibits of jet engines and the like for Cruise missiles;
- numerous missiles and fighters, all named for ancient weapons, poisonous snakes, predatory birds, vacations and vitamins, like "Tomahawk," "Side-winder," Falcon," "Cruise," and "B-1," anything but what they really are;
- electronic boxes of every imaginable size, shape and color;
- lasers;
- models of space gadgets.

And everywhere in the vast exhibit hall, the feel and taste and smell of

MONEY,
TREASURE,
GOLD,
TAXES,
HOUSES,
FOOD,
HOSPITALS,
LIBRARIES,
CLOTHING,
TRAVEL,
EDUCATION,
HUMANITIES,
ARTS,

EVERYTHING a huge nation possesses now and for a long time to come, transformed into phallic, macho instruments of massive death and destruction, poured out to fashion these sick things which are capable of nothing but making real a nightmare.

I was in
a strange cathedral
in which the soul
of America
has turned away
from its humanitarian dream
and kneels
in apostate trust
before the bastard god,
Mars,
whose bloody thirst
for human sacrifice
and treasure
is not to be satisfied
until no life,
no treasure
is left
anywhere.

And I was stunned with the realization that we've been using the wrong biblical texts. Yes, the issue is peace, all right. The related texts, like "swords into plowshares" are wonderful. But before we can get to peace, we have to deal with *apostasy*.

Behind the peace issue is a stark choice between Mars and Yahweh. Like Jonathan and his household, we have to preach and to decide ourselves that, "as for us, we will worship the *Lord*." America has to be confronted prophetically with that choice.

And as I looked at all those well-washed, well-dressed sales representatives and well-uniformed customers in that exhibit hall, it came to me that they don't even know they're worshipping Mars. In our hearts we must not condemn those who tend the altar of Mars, for they "know not what they do." The Shalom Kingdom is for them as well

and we must find ways to open them to the Spirit.

And then I went outside and stood in the long line of candlelight vigilers as dozens of limousines arrived, bearing tuxedoed and long-gowned guests for the big banquet. They rode past the small mountain of canned food we had collected from our churches to be given to starving people.

And for a moment there in the cool twilight, the power of Mars seemed invincible and my heart cried out for Yahweh to act — now!

And my candle flame flickered in the evening breeze, but it did not go out.

And my heart-prayer turned quiet and submissive.

And my faith in the power of Yahweh to overcome the power of Mars through loving even me and my brothers and sisters there with those silly little candles, returned within me.

And I gave thanks peacefully and went home to rest in preparation for a new day. ■

Salome's Song

The play's complete now, master.
You have got
that wild fierce prophet's head
served on a platter.
And will this morsel satisfy
your mortal appetite?
His tastes were stronger.
He consumed
wild honey, and who knows
what monstrous visions
those dead eyes still feast on
fixed, staring from the royal plate?
I am the extra called for in the script.
The music played. I danced.
But if, your majesty,
you will permit one question:
Is there an epilogue?
Or am I mistress of the dance of death?

— Anne C. Fowler

Women Deputies' Struggle Overshadowed by Ordination

by David E. Sumner

One part of Episcopal Church history that has been overshadowed by women's ordination issues in the past ten years has been the women's struggle for approval as deputies to the General Convention.

It is difficult to believe that the first women deputies were seated at the 1970 General Convention, only six years before the approval for women's ordination. It was at this same 1970 convention that the approval for women's ordination to the diaconate came, which

distracted attention from the seating of women deputies.

Nevertheless, the event remains an important part of Episcopal Church history, more deterred by tradition than the theological arguments that came with women's ordination. Without the efforts made during this 20-year period, the doors for ordination never would have opened.

Approval for women to serve as deputies did not come until the 1967 General Convention, after a struggle that formally began in 1946. The first woman ever elected and seated as a deputy was Mrs. Randolph H. Dyer from the Diocese of Missouri, in 1946. However, she was the only one for the next 20 years.

At the first meeting of the House of Deputies on September 10, 1946, Mrs. Dyer's seat was challenged. After considerable debate, she was seated with the understanding that the question would be settled for future cases by proper canonical procedure and authorities.

In 1949, four women were elected deputies to the San Francisco General Convention and the matter was brought up for official consideration. These women were Dr. Ruth Jenkins of the Diocese of Olympia, Mrs. Elizabeth D. Pittman of the Diocese of Nebraska, Mrs. E. V. Cowdry of the Diocese of Missouri, and Mrs. Domingo Villafane of the Diocese of Puerto Rico (who was not present at the convention).

David E. Sumner is Director of Communications for the Diocese of Southern Ohio and is writing a book on modern Episcopal Church history.

The Last Woman Not To Be Seated

As I boarded the plane for South Bend for our Special General Convention in 1969, a bishop jokingly pronounced, "That's the last seat you'll get!" His laughing dismissal of my elected status as deputy from the Diocese of Los Angeles proved to be reflective of the consensus among the all-male House of Deputies at that time. However, there were a precious few with vision and commitment to a fully representative convention. These had come prepared to fight. Presiding Bishop John Hines announced to me on arrival, "We will find a way!"

Though over a dozen women deputies were present, it was my deputation which moved that I be seated at opening session of the House. This effort failed and resulted in an unbelievable extension of injustice for one more year. Women deputies and advocate deputies met under a tree outside the cafeteria at noon to discuss strategy. Our deliberations were done in the light of the Black Manifesto presented the night before in Plenary Session. We concluded that the pressing needs of black and brown people and the mandate we had as a church to

address those needs must take precedence over our rights as women. We chose to wait for seating at General Convention, 1970, in Houston.

Being identified as "the last woman not to be seated in the House of Deputies," I became the object of abuse from those who opposed women as full participants in our Lord's service. On returning home, I confessed to my husband that only by God's grace was I able to endure the humiliation, sexist remarks and laughter. God's grace opened me to know that everything I had to bear

The accommodating resolution would have changed the word *laymen* in Article 1, Section 4 of the Constitution to *laypersons*. It was defeated 35½ to 28½ among the clerical deputies, and 46¼ to 24¾ by the lay deputies, with 7 divided.

On the following day, the House adopted a resolution providing for the seating of the women by courtesy, but without a voice or vote. The three attending deputies declined, pointing out it was "irrelevant" to the question.

A statement read on their behalf by Dean Sidney E. Sweet of Missouri declared:

"We, the three women who were elected members of the House of Deputies, and who were refused seats at the opening session, thank the House for its permission to be seated without voice or vote, which was accorded us yesterday. But we regretfully wish to inform the House that such action is irrelevant to the main issue. We were elected by our diocese, not as women, but as lay deputies. We feel the real issue has not been met by this Convention. The question

is not one of courtesy to women, but whether or not women may represent in its councils the church they are proud to serve. We, therefore, decline the courtesy offered to us."



Leaders in the struggle for women deputies and pioneers in mission: from left, Dr. Ruth Jenkins, of La Jolla, Cal.; Mrs. Mary Eunice Oliver of San Diego; and the Rev. Jean Dementi, priest-in-charge of the North Pole Congregation of St. Jude's and first woman to be a candidate for Diocesan Bishop in the Anglican Communion.

"Next time I hope we don't rebuff the women the same day they present their United Thank Offering" was a comment said to be made by many. As the *Christian Century* observed, "The money was welcomed in while the

by Mary Eunice Oliver

would make it easier for women who would follow.

The closing Eucharist in 1969 was held in the round. I went to the side and sat alone. Bishop Hines came and joined me. My prophet, Jack Pratt, said later, "He was the good shepherd coming for the lost sheep that had been shut out." I felt included.

And so it came to pass in Houston at the 63rd General Convention of the Episcopal Church, after 181 years, that women were seated as deputies. I was determined this moment would not be

betrayed as just another agenda item with a pound of the gavel and the proceeding of business as usual. I had written weeks before to Dr. John Coburn, President of the House, that we had to proceed penitently for all the years the church had excluded women.

As women deputies went forward to be welcomed for the first time, Dr. Coburn called the church to repent. I began to cry. It was as though all of the rejection, agony and frustration of women poured out from me. I was blessed to have been sustained by the women of Massachusetts, especially

Theresa Gillett, in that heavy moment of joy, relief, absolution and sister solidarity. I was at peace.

In 1981 the House of Bishops met in my neighborhood in my See during my 60th birthday octave. I attended opening Eucharist with the Rev. Thomas Steel from England. We sat in my usual place for worship near the front on the Gospel side. Immediately following the service, Presiding Bishop John Allin called the House of Bishops to order. And there I was! A vote was called for and I said, "Aye!" Why not? ■

women were being locked out."

The 1949 San Francisco Convention did, however, appoint a Commission on Women to study "the place of women in the church and report to the 1952 General Convention." The Commission presented a favorable report in Boston in 1952. It stated, "Because of the theological and historic positions stated above . . . this Commission believes there is no basis of distinction in principle between men and women in the church." But once again, the women were defeated in their bid for equality.

In spearheading the opposition, a physician from Pennsylvania told the House that Jesus Christ was a male and all the Apostles were men. "Men and women," he argued, "have divergent roles to play in life."

According to the physician, the "rank and file" of churchwomen did not seek or want representation. Those who did, he asserted, were "career women" in the "top echelons" of the Women's Auxiliary.

A deputy from Providence, Rhode Island, told the House that, "Women have their position and their power, God bless them, but we men must assume ours also . . . I think there are other ways in which the position and force of women can be integrated here without taking a place away from a man."

A bishop from Texas asserted there was a "practical angle." He said that giving the vote to women would tend to make busy laymen lax in their church interests, and inclined to turn the reins of the church over to the "distaff side."

The Rev. Theodore P. Ferris, the late renowned rector of Trinity Church, Boston, led the losing forces who sought to seat women. "We want the best brains and the deepest spiritual understanding," he said. "If these are present in a woman, I don't want the House to be deprived of them."

And two delegates chided their peers

for lagging behind secular society in women's rights. Gov. Elbert N. Carvel of Delaware said, "This is not the 19th century; it is the 20th century. Women have proven themselves in government and have made a contribution to the efficient and effective operation of our states before we are allowing them to prove themselves in our church." The Rev. Leland W. F. Stark of Washington, D.C. said, "Every argument against this resolution was urged long ago



Mrs. Randolph H. Dyer of St. Peter's Church, St. Louis, was the very first woman to be elected as deputy to General Convention (by the Diocese of Missouri) in 1946. (From an old photo.)

against suffrage. It bothers me that secular bodies move so much faster than the church."

Arguments for the seating of women were to no avail, however. Nor did they carry the day in 1955, at the Convention in Honolulu. The *Christian Century* reported of this 1955 effort:

"It was conducted at a humorous, almost ribald level, with hearty laughter at every occasion of discovering a double meaning in some innocent remark of a speaker. The possibility that the Convention might be a body that

made serious decisions affecting people's lives, that people ought to have a chance to speak and vote on serious discussions affecting their lives — all these never seemed to enter anybody's head. It was just whether we liked this group in our club, whether they might take over and squeeze us out. It was not the importance, intelligence, or competence of women that was on trial in the debate."

For the next three General Conventions, similar proposals were defeated. The culmination of the 21-year old battle came in 1967 in Seattle. The resolution passed in both houses to change the wording in Article I, Section 4, to read *lay persons* rather than *laymen*.

The *Convention Daily* stated, "At every Convention since 1949 which decided that the word *laymen* was not generic, attempts have been made to change the constitution to read *laypersons*. These attempts were defeated by increasingly narrow margins, and were crowned with success by yesterday's vote."

The action was ratified at the 1970 General Convention and 28 elected women deputies were seated Oct. 12. In all, 43 women served at various times during this Convention in Houston.

An interesting footnote to this history was that the Diocese of Los Angeles elected Mrs. Mary Eunice Oliver of San Diego as a deputy to the 1969 Special General Convention held at Notre Dame University. However, the House of Deputies refused to seat her because technically the resolution, though passed in 1967, had to be ratified at the 1970 Convention. A motion to have the House, for that Convention only, set aside the constitutional bar was ruled out of order. Mrs. Oliver was finally seated on the last day of the 1970 General Convention. ■

Memories of 1949:

'I Still Feel Indignant . . .'

by Ruth Jenkins

In 1949, at the convention of the Diocese of Olympia, I was asked by a group of delegates if I would allow my name to be put in nomination as lay deputy to General Convention. I asked them to consult with the bishop, to get his opinion on the matter. Very shortly they reported that Bishop Stephen Bayne had facetiously responded, "I don't know anyone I'd rather see thrown out of General Convention than Ruth Jenkins."

Knowing him well, I took that as a high compliment, and as his nod of approval.

At the diocesan convention, I received the highest number of votes of any elected lay deputy. I felt this reflected the desire of my diocese to recognize not only that a "layman" is any non-ordained person in the church, but also that women who contribute so much should be given a vote in its operation. Of course, under the episcopate of Stephen Bayne, our diocese was a very enlightened one!

However, when the General Convention of the Episcopal Church was called to order and the Credentials Committee made its report, the fight began in earnest. Long lines of clergy and lay deputies formed on both sides of the room awaiting their turn to speak.

The arguments against the seating of women seemed incredible to me. It was hard to believe that so many were so unenlightened. Perhaps I found the scenario particularly scandalous because I was born in Alaska to missionary parents and later lived in Nevada where my father was bishop. Both Alaska and Nevada were then Missionary Districts. I also had relatives who were missionaries in China, and I knew the great pioneer work done by women in the mission field. These pioneers were far more effective and also less expensive

(shame on the church) to the institution than men. Yet these women had no voice or vote in the governing body of the church.

But to return to Convention. Eventually, debate was cut off and the vote taken. Misogyny prevailed. Then a sop was offered the women deputies in the form of a "courtesy" resolution to allow them seats without voice or vote. I walked out, and into the arms of my bishop who was as disgusted as was I.

We women deputies later sent a formal reply saying we were not interested in courtesy but rather in the right of a diocese to select its own representatives to the church's councils. But it was for me both disgusting and heartbreaking to see our great church still failing to recognize what women had done and could do for the well-being of the church. It took 20 years for the General Convention to finally admit women.

It was my privilege following the Convention to be appointed by the

Presiding Bishop as a member of the commission to study the role of women. That was a great group of bishops, clergy, and lay persons, both men and women, who presented the report to the General Convention of 1952, but the vote was still NO!

At about the same time that women were admitted to General Convention, I had a call from my rector to say that I had been elected to fill a vacancy on the vestry, because they felt it important to have some minority representation. Since there were no Blacks. Orientals, Mexicans or other minorities in our congregation, it was suggested that a woman might fill that need. Well my pioneering started at my birth in an Indian village in Alaska, and perhaps that qualified me as a minority representative. But all together, my Black, Brown, and other sisters and I do constitute 51% of the earth's population!

When I think of the great work I have seen done in both foreign and domestic mission fields (I realize these are not current forms of usage) by *women* pioneering where the church could not afford to pay *men*, I still feel great indignation on many counts.

In 1963 I visited a friend on the faculty of Cambridge University who had just been appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury to serve on the first commission to study the role of women in the Church of England. Although women are still not allowed to be ordained in the Church of England, my friend wrote me recently that the group commissioned to nominate the Archbishop of York consisted of three *women* — the Queen, the Prime Minister and another church woman who, had she been a man, would long since have been an archbishop herself.

How slowly the wheels of progress move!



Mrs. E. V. Cowdry, of St. Louis, left, and Mrs. E. D. Pittman of Omaha were on the floor with Dr. Ruth Jenkins in 1949 when the House disallowed them to be seated. (From an old photo.)

Women's Project Gives 'Historical Corrective' To Church Ministry

by Cynthia McLean

It is difficult to imagine any change in the life of a church or a nation more revolutionary than one centering around women. When the 51% majority moves, so moves the entire body. The implications of such change can most clearly be understood when put in the context of what went before, what led to the transformation, and what can be used from the past to empower the future.

At the 1982 General Convention of the Episcopal Church, every congregating unit was asked to take the "Next Step in Mission" by examining its work in terms of Service, Worship, Evangelism, Education and Pastoral Care (SWEEP).

SWEEP is designed to ferret out answers to questions such as:

- Are our ministries adequately addressing current needs?
- Are our ministries as presently structured *capable* of responding to these needs?

It is unlikely that we will see much renewal or innovation in church ministries unless we add one critical component to the SWEEP process: An historical analysis of the activities in the church

that have been (and are) performed by women.

The Episcopal Church has tended to take its women for granted. Although women have always made up a good two-thirds of congregations and been responsible for the bulk of volunteer outreach ministries, their contributions in time and energy rarely have been formally acknowledged. Similarly, monies raised from church bazaars for specific purposes like new choir robes or the repair of a leaky roof, have often escaped notice in church budgets. If today belated attention is being paid to Episcopal women, might it be because their absence is beginning to affect parochial life?

Since the 1960s, increasing numbers of women have entered the work force as full-time wage earners. They are finding in colleagues and professional organizations the daily satisfactions of community and social intercourse that formerly were supplied by church work. They are enjoying the freedoms brought by a paycheck. They are developing a sense of identity based on personal achievement. And they are arriving home at the end of a week as exhausted as their fathers ever were, sometimes with briefcases full of weekend work.

This scenario of course does not apply to all women in all parts of the country. But it behooves the Episcopal Church to recognize these changes in attitude, life-

style and aspiration of women. Also, because Episcopalians tend to be liberal, highly educated and upwardly mobile, it is likely that Episcopal women will be amongst the first to leave behind the roles of full-time homemaker and volunteer. What it boils down to is that there are fewer hands and hearts able to carry out all the ministries entailed in the SWEEP formula. Who will do them now and on what terms?

In order to deal with the implications of these changes then, we need an historical accounting of those ministries that women carried out on all levels of the church—local, national and international. The Episcopal Church needs to examine those activities that formerly fell under the rubric of "women's work," and ask itself whether today some of these ministries belong to the *entire* laity—men as well as women. Further, women are almost as ignorant of this history as their brothers, and need to study the record to determine for themselves whether "women's ministries" has become an obsolete concept in a church that now technically allows them to rise to the bishopric.

At first glance, it would seem there is little to consider. One cannot go to the library and find books which will relate *The History of Women's Work in the Episcopal Church*. In many cases, neither our local nor national archives even con-

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tain the primary materials necessary to write it. As extensive as women's work has been throughout the life of the Episcopal Church, neither the church nor the women themselves counted it significant enough to write down. For this reason, some have questioned the assertion that women's ministries have been noteworthy. But the work initiated by the Episcopal Women's History Project (EWHP) over the past three years reveals an entire dimension of the mission of the church which is invisible to contemporary eyes. Countless deaconesses, missionaries, college workers, directors of religious education, altar guild members, women in religious orders and participants in the Episcopal Church Women and the United Thank Offering have served God in untold quiet ways. The problem is not that there is so little to consider, but so much!

A major challenge for the 1980s then, is to rediscover the ministries our foremothers so ably undertook, and to integrate this history into a more complete understanding of how the Episcopal Church has carried out its mission in the world in terms of Service, Worship, Evangelism, Education and Pastoral Care. The task is a large one and should easily occupy our attention for the remainder of the decade, which might appropriately be designated THE CELEBR-EIGHTIES.

The concept, THE CELEBR-EIGHTIES, derives from the realization that so many women's organizations are marking important anniversaries in the 1980s. Significantly, six of these are centennials: The Sisterhood of the Holy Nativity in 1982; the Companions of the Holy Cross in 1984; the Daughters of the King in 1985; the Church Periodical Club in 1988; and both the United Thank Offering and the Setting Apart of Deaconesses in 1989. What, we may ask, was occurring in the 1880s that warranted this proliferation of female activities?

The answer is *Missions*. Manifest Destiny, the idea that the young American

republic had a divine role to play in world affairs, was becoming increasingly prevalent in all quarters. In the churches, this translated itself as the imperative to go to the "perishing heathen" and to bring them the blessings of Christian civilization. And so they went: into the urban slums teeming with immigrants who lived in squalor and degradation; across the western plains with the settlers to ensure that the saloon would not dominate the new towns; out to the Native American encampments and remote Appalachian communities where ignorance and disease ran rampant; across the seas to India, Liberia and China, whose peoples had

"Episcopal women are almost as ignorant of their history as their brothers, and need to study the record to determine for themselves whether 'women's ministries' has become an obsolete concept in a church that now technically allows them to rise to the bishopric."

never heard the saving Word of Christ and whose women lived in unspeakable bondage.

The missionary movement was the major vehicle for bringing women out of their homes and into the structural life of the church. In 1820, when the General Convention first adopted a constitution for the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, it was assumed that its missionaries would be ordained men. But the needs of the "heathen" so overwhelmed those early missionaries that soon they were calling for new recruits—especially women who could reach the mothers, wives and sisters of the men the missionaries were trying so earnestly to convert. After the hiatus of the U.S. Civil War,

women's involvement in missions dramatically increased. And in 1871, the Episcopal Church sought to channel these female energies by establishing the Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions.

To understand the heritage of Episcopal women, it is crucial to remember it was this missionary fervor that spurred them on and knit their diverse activities into a seamless fabric which was called "women's work." For nearly a century, missions occupied the hearts, hands and souls of Episcopal women. And it needs to be added that women actually carried out the lion's share of concrete mission work for the *entire* Episcopal Church. It was the Sisters of St. Margaret who undertook the settlement work of Trinity Church, New York. The Sisters of the Transfiguration and the Sisters of St. Anne not only were engaged in teaching and nursing at home, but also established houses in China and the Philippines. By 1900, when wives are included in the totals, women outnumbered men in the foreign mission fields by nearly two to one—as missionaries, teachers, deaconesses and doctors. Moreover, it was women who packed and sent the missionary supply barrels; corresponded with and mailed reading materials to those in remote stations; raised vast sums of money; and were largely responsible for stirring up missionary enthusiasm at home through their writing and distribution of interpretive materials.

After World War II, the missionary movement declined. China expelled all foreign missionaries as "cultural imperialists," missions in other lands devolved into national churches able to direct their own affairs. The women's training schools in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago had been absorbed by seminaries who took over their curricula in religious education and social work. Only St. Margaret's House in Berkeley, Cal. and Windham House in N.Y. survived through the mid-1960s. In 1958 the

Woman's Auxiliary to the Board of Missions became Episcopal Church Women (ECW). In 1970 women canonically became part of the laity and in 1976 women were permitted to the priesthood. Meanwhile, the older women's organizations had dwindled in numbers, many disappearing entirely from parochial settings. Agencies in the national church, most staffed by men, had taken over many of the educational and interpretive functions once handled by women.

So what has this terribly simplistic sketch of women's work in the Episcopal Church to say to us today?

First, that there are countless stories of faith and daring to celebrate. We need to know who went where, to do what and for what end.

Second, women's work will lead us to a review of the entire missionary movement which has been neglected for too long. Our understanding of our Partners in Mission remains superficial until the stories of the church-planters are told. Moreover, we must honestly grapple with the charge that the missionaries were "cultural imperialists." Women particularly need to reflect on this.

Third, this history reveals a host of professional church ministries that have almost entirely disappeared. Women attend seminary today, but do so primarily to become priests. Has the Episcopal Church come to the point of recognizing, providing education for and employing *only* clerical vocations?

Fourth, there is much discussion now concerning the role of the laity and the revival of the permanent diaconate. Would it not be useful to draw the historical experience of women workers and deaconesses into these discussions?

Fifth, there are some ministries that are obviously inappropriate today. Do there not remain, however, some agencies which though rooted in the "missionary era" still have a role to play? For example, the Church Periodical Club began by sending used periodicals and books to

missionaries on the "far Wisconsin frontier" in 1888. For nearly 100 years now they have supplied the printed word free

EWHP Seeks Support

The Episcopal Women's History Project (EWHP) was begun in 1980 to research, write, publish and celebrate the contributions made by Episcopal women to both church and society. Independently incorporated, it is run by a volunteer Executive Board with the assistance of an Advisory Committee of historians and scholars. One part-time worker staffs the New York office which is supported by contributions, grants and membership fees that entitle one to receive the quarterly newsletter.

The major function of the EWHP is advisory. It is not a repository for primary materials except as a last resort. It does, however, want to know the location of these materials in order to eventually publish a research guide for scholars. A growing network is being developed of individuals willing to organize historical activities in their own parishes and dioceses. The EWHP also emphasizes the recording of oral histories of prominent women and Everyday Saints now in their 70s, 80s and 90s. Oral history guidelines can be procured from the N.Y. office.

In the spring of 1982, the EWHP hosted a major conference at the Seminary of the Southwest in Austin, Tex., the site of the National Archives of the Episcopal Church. "Living History" workshops on the work of Texas Women and Women of the Sioux Nation were presented, as well as formal historical papers. Many of the latter were published in the December 1982 issue of the *Historical Magazine*. Underway is a handbook, *Cultivating Our Roots*, which will include directions on setting up a local EWHP chapter, taping oral histories and putting on EWHP workshops.

Individual membership is \$15. Checks can be sent to EWHP, 175 Ninth Ave., New York, NY 10011.

to missions, prisons, hospitals, overseas seminaries and schools. Yet the Episcopal Church seems to have forgotten

the CPC. Even in our video age, is this not still a vital ministry that needs our support?

Six, is it not time to lift up anew the spirit of voluntary service evidenced in this history for both men and women? Many women have begun to identify with the work-and-success-ethic formerly prescribed for men. At the same time, computers have made redundant the jobs of many men who now must learn to find meaning and satisfaction in their lives outside of their work.

I have concentrated in this historical sketch on the missionary dimension of Episcopal women's history because of its dominant role in galvanizing and directing women's ministries. We should not forget, however, the consecrated work of the Everyday Saints in every parish who have quietly tended the altar, welcomed the visitors, visited the sick, hosted the potluck suppers and prayed together for the mission of the church. These, too, are significant ministries and ultimately are of a piece with those carried on outside the parish bounds. Nor should we forget the ministries Episcopal women have undertaken in such interdenominational organizations like the YWCA and Church Women United. And finally, we might ask what significance our faith has held in the lives of women who found their vocations elsewhere. Juliette Low, the founder of the American Girl Scouts; Margaret Mead, the anthropologist; Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor under Franklin Roosevelt; and Sandra Day O'Connor, the Supreme Court judge, were and are all Episcopalians. Has this mattered in their daily work?

We are called today to examine our ministries in terms of Service, Worship, Evangelism, Education and Pastoral Care. If combined with an historical analysis of women's work in the Episcopal Church, we may by 1990 be able to look back in thanksgiving on a decade of renewal and new life which indeed was THE CELEBR-EIGHTIES. ■



THE WITNESS last month presented Part 1 of its report on the World Council of Churches Sixth Assembly, which drew 3,500 people to Vancouver in August. The October issue carried a Third World view of the Assembly, a theological report, including Dorothee Solle's reflection on "Life in Its Fullness," and an analysis of sexism. Part 2 follows.

WCC Backgrounder

- The WCC currently counts 300 member churches in approximately 100 countries. They include denominations from the following church traditions or families: Eastern Orthodox, Oriental Orthodox, Old Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, Reformed (Presbyterian and Congregational), Methodist, Baptist, Disciples, Pentecostal, United, Independent, Moravian, Anabaptist (Mennonite, Brethren), Friends (Quakers).
- Geographically, they include 61 in Africa, 58 in Asia, 19 in Australasia/Pacific, 10 in the Caribbean, 30 in Eastern Europe, 56 in Western Europe, 19 in Latin America, 13 in Middle East, and 34 in North America.
- The total membership of the WCC members is estimated at between 400 and 500 million.
- Previous WCC assemblies were in Amsterdam, 1948; Evanston, Ill., 1954; New Delhi, 1961; Uppsala, 1968; Nairobi, 1975.

Option for Poor Shapes World Council's Ideology

by Mary Lou Suhor

THE WITNESS makes a transition from its report on sexism to ideology and racism via two theological observations made to the WCC Assembly by U.S. delegate Krister Stendahl: First, "The theology we have received is being chastened by a new awareness — that most of scripture and theology was written by men. What is needed is consciousness raising — a new awareness of the power configuration. So far Christians have not been very good about speaking of power." And second, "Jesus said, you don't live by bread alone, but he never said that to anyone who was hungry."

Stendahl is helpful to get at a theme debated hotly and frequently by WCC

delegates: that the Gospel does not come to Christians in the abstract, but in real life situations in which they work, struggle, and respond.

And since these Christian delegates live in *oikoumene* — the whole inhabited earth — they responded in Vancouver with varying degrees of courage, depending, more often than not, on the type of social systems and conditions to which they had to return. This prompted one foreign correspondent to comment, "The South Africans are the ones making the gutsy statements here; they have to go home to apartheid and a repressive government."

For many Africans, the primary issue

was sheer physical survival. Anglican Bishop Henry Okullu of Kenya drove the point home: "There will be no peace while millions in Africa die of hunger, and millions in North America die of overeating and tons of food are fed to dogs."

Through its concerns and programs, the World Council of Churches has sent forth the message that ecumenism means more than overcoming religious barriers (as is being attempted in the Baptist, Eucharist, Ministry document). Ecumenism means advocating human rights, and empowering the poor and marginalized. In these matters, the World Council's claim that ideology does not influence its theology is suspect, according to its critics. But who are these critics? Well, it depends.

In 1948, when the WCC was founded, The *Wall Street Journal* charged the first assembly in Amsterdam with Marxist tendencies. Thirteen years later, at New Delhi, the *Peking People's Daily* accused the WCC of following the U.S. State Department line under a "thin religious cloak." And *Pravda* and *Izvestia* attacked the Council for its stand on human rights. In 1982, *Reader's Digest* asked the question, does the WCC serve Karl Marx or Jesus Christ? (See John Bluck, *One World, Resource*.)

More recently there was the "60 Minutes" TV attack. And as was obvious in U.S. mass media reporting, the suspicion persists that ideology sneaks into WCC theology, in spite of General Secretary Philip Potter's denial: "We don't need ideologies. The ecumenical movement and the Council began with biblical renewal and found its base in the prophetic biblical faith."

Time magazine headed its Vancouver report, "The Curious Politics of Ecumenism: To the WCC, the Soviets Are Sinless;" and the *Wall Street Journal* opined, "The WCC has just descended from a mountain with a stone tablet

saying that the focus of evil in the world is the United States."

At the same time, the United States apparently did everything in its Star Spangled power to influence its delegates. Speaking in Vancouver, Bishop James Armstrong, president of the National Council of Churches, said that the State Department had called a meeting of the U.S. WCC delegates to brief them on issues coming up at the Assembly. "We have little participation in these meetings," he said. "They're just monologues." He noted that the U.S. Consul General in Vancouver would be interested in the effectiveness of the briefings, in view of the WCC's strong statement on U.S. intervention in Central America.

The Assembly was concerned about freedom of speech as a human right. Said one delegate, "No Dorothee Solle rises from the U.S.S.R. to tell us about the possible emptiness of life in the Second World."

Asked why the Russian Orthodox Church was so reluctant to criticize its government, Philip Potter said, "The

church is the one body in that country which has the possibility to attend a meeting such as this. We have to realize the sensitivities of people who do not enjoy the obvious kind of freedom of expression as others do, and who must answer for the statements they are associated with."

Well, sure, but what about those gutsy South Africans? Perhaps the Orthodox need to imbibe some of the courage of Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu and South African theologian Allan Boesak.

In the final analysis, WCC's ideology must be examined against its stated option for the poor. Konrad Raiser, WCC Deputy General Secretary, sees as most striking since the last Assembly in Nairobi (1975) the change in ecumenical perspective toward those without power: the victim, the marginalized. "This shift," he says, "expresses a theological conviction about God's bias for the poor, reinforced by the testimonies of Christians who experience that bias personally."

In the context of the conflict between



United Methodist Bishop James Armstrong, president of the National Council of Churches, addresses the media at the World Council of Churches Assembly in Vancouver.

the two superpowers, WCC's political and social positions sometimes resonate like those taken by the non-aligned movement or United Nations' agencies. As one African bishop observed, "For the Third World to perceive ecumenism only in terms of the superpowers is to be reduced to ecumenical blackmail."

In this regard, however, many key WCC ecumenical figures have chosen the economics of socialism over capitalism as more suited to attaining social justice. They do not believe the transnational corporations "will convert, like Zaccheus."

Vancouver was the first place that this reporter heard Bishop Desmond Tutu publicly proclaim that he was a socialist. The feisty and popular General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, who was originally denied an exit visa by his government, arrived for the last seven days of the WCC Assembly.

One might almost predict that his political statement will be met with "*Et tu, Tutu?*" by many in the West who heretofore applauded his anti-apartheid stand. But the deeply spiritual Tutu's sermons and addresses always credit the Bible as his source of strength and hope. He also sees it as a radical instrument for social change. "Perhaps the missionaries should not have introduced us to it, because we are taking it seriously," he laughs.

Another disarming statement came when he modestly turned aside congratulations for his Christian witness in South Africa, for which he may yet lose his life. "On the contrary," he said, "it's easy to be a Christian in South Africa. There is one main struggle — to be against apartheid. It is far more difficult to be a Christian in the United States or Canada where the issues are many and complex."

On the whole, the World Council's long involvement in the struggle against racism has made greater impact than its



Philip Potter leaves the post of General Secretary of the World Council of Churches in 1984 after serving that body in various capacities for 24 years. Timetable for his successor calls for a nominating committee to meet in early July to finalize nominations, interview candidates and bring their recommendations to the WCC Central Committee for decision.

struggle against sexism, where it is at an earlier stage. Racist issues which surfaced in Vancouver included the plight of the indigenous peoples of the Pacific rim in the wake of atomic testing; the land rights of Native Americans and Native Canadians, heightened by the very site of the WCC Assembly (The University of British Columbia occupies grounds formerly held by the Musqueam tribe.)

Native rites and worship highlighted the rich culture of the people. Native Canadians participated in the Assembly from early on when they erected a totem pole (later shipped to WCC headquarters in Geneva) carved by Indian inmates in Aggasiz prison, and lit ceremonial fires.

The future of the WCC will depend largely on how it shares its power — for openers, how it structures itself in the

Central Committee and in the choice of a new General Secretary to succeed Philip Potter, whose term expires at the end of 1984.

Youth, women and the disabled were among those who complained that the nominating committee had not met reasonable quotas for their representation on the Central Committee. On the other hand, Konrad Raiser has pointed out that the solution is not a simple matter of representation, nor of assigning protected quotas, because the grass roots does not function that way.

If the WCC alienates itself from the local level, then the Central Committee runs the risk of becoming a large head without a body. Change must take place at the bottom as well as the top.

From the point of view of many women delegates, liberation cannot proceed without the concomitant dismantling of the male elitist power structure. This could create a true community of women and men, as well as a whole new way of thinking about class, race and sex. But again, this must be backed by grass roots support.

The potential power of women is formidable. It has been noted that even in socialist countries, the assumption of equality between women and men in the historical process has also demanded a re-examination of the structure of Marxist thought.

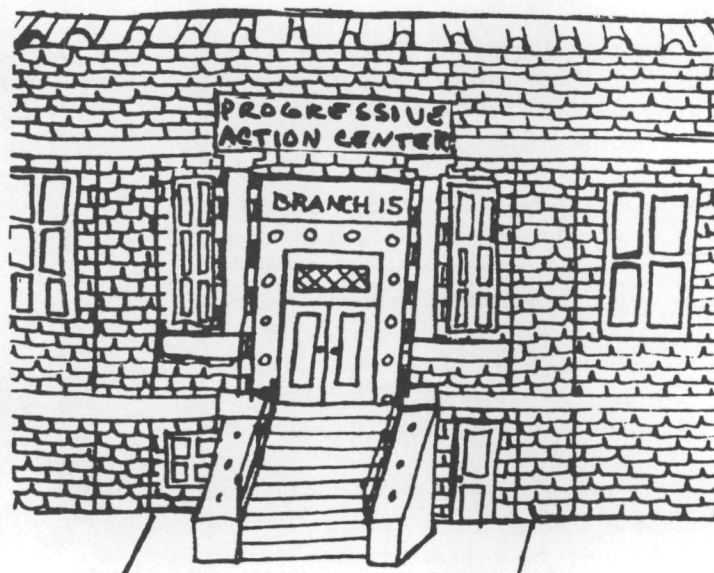
The strength of the World Council of Churches is that it brings all these concerns together under one roof — or tent — and the delegates, united in the Christ in whom they have believed — can return confidently to their countries knowing that in the end, "the gates of hell shall not prevail."

Resource

John Bluck's article, "Does Ideology Influence the Theology of the WCC?" analyzes this subject in depth. *One World*, July/August 1983, Published by the World Council of Churches, P.O. Box 66, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland, Single copy, \$1.50.

Common Center Serves Baltimore's Progressive Activists

by Kathleen Soppas



A child holds on to her mother's hand as she climbs the worn steps of an elegant, old dowager of a building in Waverly, a working-class, predominantly Black section of east Baltimore. A few minutes later a member of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador rushes up the same steps to arrange a meeting to discuss the need for real land reform in that beleaguered country. A little later a representative of the Federation for Progress, a consortium of community and activist groups, mounts the same stairs with a brochure for printing.

The steps are the steps to the Progressive Action Center, celebrating its first anniversary this month, in what was once Baltimore's Enoch Pratt Free Library Branch No. 15. Originally built in 1911, the old library has the high windows and ceilings which were popular for public buildings in that era. A year earlier the building had been empty and discarded, a historic relic that would have been turned into a boutique

or a fashionably restored home in one of the trendier neighborhoods down in Baltimore's reviving harbor area.

But Baltimore's economic problems are more than skin-deep, and the prosperity of Harbor Place does little by itself to deal with chronic unemployment, plant closings, or hunger and homelessness in the streets. The kind of renewal that is going on in Waverly is a renewal of progressive forces. And the methods that were used can be applicable to church and community groups in other cities. The Baltimore Progressive Action Center demonstrates that energy and innovation are more important than lavish funding.

Community activists in Baltimore had long felt the need for a low cost meeting place which would not discriminate against their political agendas. Social action groups are seldom the beneficiaries of donations from large corporations or political action committees. They rely on the meager resources of their members, supplemented by fund raising and occasional help from non-profit groups. Buying a spacious old building to serve as a center for progressive community groups

seemed like a fantasy. But a group of 37 activists found a way.

They formed a group called Research Associates and were able to buy the building from the city for \$1,000. Others had tried and failed, because in Baltimore, purchases of city property for renovation must be approved by the neighborhood organization where the property is located. Research Associates was the first group to get that approval. Neighborhood leaders saw the center and its social action orientation as an asset.

The old building needed extensive renovation to serve as a multi-functional center for the community, so Research Associates filed application for a low interest mortgage available for revival of neighborhoods from the Baltimore Housing and Community Development Agency. With the mortgage funds and vast input of volunteer labor, the "investors" renovated the building into a series of meeting rooms, an alternative day-care center called the Red Wagon, housing for an offset print shop, an Alternative Press Library and a residence for four people. The rent the residents pay, and what the center can

Kathleen Soppas is a free-lance writer based in Baltimore.

collect for rentals of space from other tenants and for meeting rooms, pay the mortgage and utilities. The Progressive Action Center took a \$1,000 initial investment and turned it into a self-supporting focal point for progressive forces in the city.

The activists had to confront another problem which renovators with less social conscience would have ignored. The library's old boiler was surrounded by asbestos insulation. While one of the contractors was willing to remove the insulation without any special protection to his workers or the neighborhood, Research Associates felt that their first priority was to protect human life. They budgeted the necessary additional cost of \$1,500 to have the asbestos removed using safe procedures.

Cliff DuRand, one of the original investors and also one of the residents, is a member of the educational committee for Baltimore Democratic Socialists of America, one of the progressive action groups which has found a home in the converted library. DSA has 7,000 members nationally. Its national chair is Michael Harrington, whose book, *The Other America*, began the War on Poverty. Its members include Harvey Cox, Rosemary Reuther, Gloria Steinem, Ed Asner and Congressman Ron Dellums.

"We have a strong feminist component in our group, and we were glad to take advantage of the sense of 'coziness' which the center offers," says DuRand, who teaches Social Philosophy at Morgan State University. "Activists sometimes think there's something wrong if there is a nurturing atmosphere around them. They make a false equation between asceticism and dedication which we have tried to avoid at the center."

The center's Alternative Press Library is simple but inviting. Boxes of periodicals including such diverse holdings as *The Guardian*, *The Progressive*,

and *Dissent*, line the plant-hung walls. Comfortable Good Will furniture is grouped in conversational patterns, and the fragrance of fresh brewed coffee combines with the sense of warmth which old buildings communicate.

The center's first anniversary also presents a new landmark — the official opening of an information processing center for the Baltimore social action community. Data processing services for community groups are now available at minimal cost, combined with the printing services which are already attainable through the Workers Action Press. The center now comes close to providing combined office services for the progressive community, as well as a training base for the unemployed.

The founders deliberately selected a predominantly Black neighborhood for the center. "We could have moved down around 25th St., where a number of non-profit and social action groups have headquarters," says DuRand. "But we wanted to try to bridge the gulf between the progressive groups, which are so often White-dominated, and the Black community. This still remains our principal challenge. While we were the first group that the neighborhood organization approved for the purchase of the library, Black groups have not used the center as much as we had hoped. We're in the process of trying to figure out why."

"People come to social action groups for a variety of reasons which form a covert agenda in most groups," says DuRand. "They want to work for their beliefs, but they are also looking for friends, lovers, mates, and social activities with people with whom they share concerns. We see this as healthy and inevitable, and we try to promote it by providing a place for parties, dances, book groups and other informal activities, as well as formal meetings."

The fact that the managers of the center actually live there helps to mend

the division between voluntary and personal responsibilities which eats at the fabric of many organizations. DuRand takes requests for room reservations on his home phone.

The center decided from the outset that it would make no effort to censor freedom by barring groups whose beliefs might be unpopular. It extends its meeting and printing facilities to all community groups on an equal basis. The groups that have met there include such disparate shades of political opinion as the mainstream Nuclear Freeze Campaign, the Citizens Party, and the Communist Workers Party.

The Red Wagon day-care center specializes in nutritious vegetarian food, and stimulation from a variety of games and play activity which stress concern for others, sex role freedom, and a multi-cultural view. The Red Wagon developed out of a concern among feminists in the community for role-free development for their children. "Even though we are feminists," says Kathy Moylan, a teacher at the Red Wagon, "we found ourselves using dolls which were sex stereotypes and unconsciously thrusting traditional boy-girl roles on the children. We've solved that now, we think, but the average day care center perpetuates sex role boxes for children. We're also providing quality day care in an area where 50% of our children come from welfare families."

The Workers Action Press, housed in the center, uses volunteer help to perform offset printing for progressive groups at cost.

Michael Harrington spoke at the opening of the center to a cheering group of founders. He talked about the creative responses which were needed to offset the war on workers and the poor which has displaced the War on Poverty. The Baltimore social activists of the Progressive Action Center did not need to be convinced. They had already taken a giant step toward the future. ■

Finds Hope in WITNESS

The poem "Hope" by Madeline Ligamare in your June issue was as bright and delicate as the firefly she described. I have enjoyed and benefitted from so many of the pieces in THE WITNESS. In October I joined hands with 20,000 others surrounding a nearby nuclear warhead plant in a peaceful demonstration — the direct result of being called to Christian witness by your magazine. Thank you.

Ann R. Blakeslee
Evergreen, Col.

Food for Thought

Louie Crew's article in the August WITNESS has provided me with more food for thought on the ministry of gays and lesbians than I have had for some years. His point that these individuals needed to have a ministry and not simply be clients is an interesting and exciting one. But then we reach the *sine qua non*, the expression of one's sexuality. Could one not argue better by saying that the homosexual individual is given an added temptation?

Despite many efforts by various theologians I have yet to find a valid defense of any lifestyle other than celibacy for the homosexual person. Why should we countenance his or her living in a relationship when someone else, who from his or her own perspective might feel equally called to live in a *menage a trois*, is universally condemned? This, of course, brings us to the cutting edge of the argument. Mr. Crew does himself and his reader a disservice by accusing the clergy of using "... gobbledygook if they speak at all about sexual matters." This is a specious argument.

A number of years ago I reviewed Tom Horner's *Jonathan Loved David* for the *Princeton Seminary Bulletin*. My conclusions then hold today. We need the talents of gay and lesbian Christians in our churches and they need us. But the gay or lesbian person is asking too much

if she or he seeks our approval of a "marriage." The church can grant that no more than we could approve of extramarital or premarital sex, alcoholism or drug abuse. We have all sinned and we all need forgiveness and to hear Jesus' words to the adulterous woman: "Go and sin no more."

The Rev. Peter R. Powell, Jr.
Accokeek, Md.

(Louie Crew is teaching in China this semester. In his absence THE WITNESS asked the Rev. Grant Gallup, editor of The Integer, to respond. The Integer is a newsletter for gay and lesbian Episcopalians and their friends. — Eds.)

Suggests Gay Buffet

I am glad that Peter R. Powell, Jr. got some food for thought from Louie Crew's article. I bid him return to the buffet which the gay Christian community is now constantly replenishing for the delectation of those who are truly hungry for justice.

The principal dish which he apparently missed in his first trip to the sideboard is this: The gay experience can no longer be privatized, individuated, minimalized, or dismissed as "an added temptation." We believe the gay community has been called into being for its own liberation, and the wholeness of the human experience. If Mr. Powell cannot find a "valid defense" for anything but celibacy for gays, the yet-to-be married, the formerly married, or the widowed, then perhaps he should stop looking and do what is nowadays called a paradigm shift. If, as he says, he holds the same conclusions today that he held a number of years ago, he should remember that the flat earth theory can be reinforced as well by looking around from the same spot and never traveling; always refusing the moonshot. He says "we need the talents of gay and lesbian Christians in our churches" as if the church were not already ours as a gay community. Who is "we"? Who is "our"?

Mr. Powell has my permission to have a second helping of food and drink at the

gay and lesbian theological banquet: I suggest he have a slice or two of John Boswell, several large spoonfuls of Carter Heyward, and a soupcon of John McNeill. Bon appetit!

The Rev. Grant M. Gallup
Chicago, Ill.

(For WITNESS readers interested in Integrity, the national organization for ministry to gays, the address is 158 Northview Estates, Indiana, PA 15701. For The Integer, write to the Rev. Grant Gallup, St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, 48 North Hoyne Ave., Chicago, IL 60612 — Eds.)

Jesus Feeds The Multitudes

Jesus looked around
and gazing upon the multitude
groaned within

for the hour was late
and the crowd having been
with him all that day
had had nothing with which
to feed themselves

so taking up five loaves
and two fishes
he commanded the people
to arrange themselves
into two groups
according to whether they

were of homosexual orientation
or heterosexually inclined

and taking up a machine gun
he opened fire on the former
in spite of much protest
and much lamentation

then laying aside the weapon
he fed the latter

and after the righteous
had taken their fill

he made command that
the remnants be gathered
lest they be wasted

— Jim Janda

Grateful For Service

I wouldn't think of letting my subscription to THE WITNESS be interrupted. How do I know what's going on in the world if I can't read THE WITNESS? You do a great service for all of us and I'm grateful.

Sallie H. Eckert
Berkeley, Cal.

Wants to Be Episcopalian

I am no longer interested in subscribing to the WITNESS. The Episcopal Church is forgetting its origin. The WITNESS should get back to the 1942 liturgy — no female priests — no more low church. I want to be Episcopalian.

Ted Summers
Kalamazoo, Mich.

CREDITS

Cover, Beth Seka, adapted from a graphic by Margaret Longdon; p. 7, Granada photo by Jane Scherr; photo p. 11 courtesy Mary Eunice Oliver; photos p. 17, 18, Mary Lou Suhor; graphic p. 20 courtesy Progressive Action Center.

Welcome, New Readers

During the past six months, THE WITNESS has had the opportunity to offer a complimentary trial subscription to the membership of three of our constituencies:

- Episcopal Women's Caucus
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- Episcopal Peace Fellowship

To the hundreds who have accepted, we extend a happy and warm welcome to our circle of readers.

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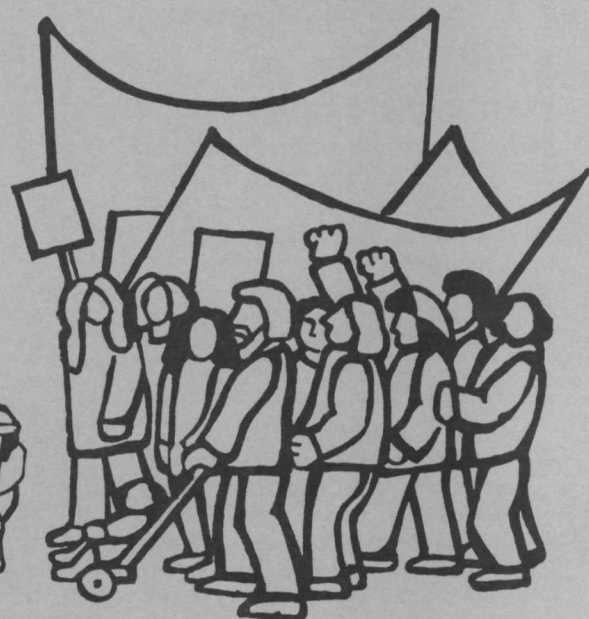
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