

the Peaceful Kingdom



Silkwood & After
William J. Davis

Peacemakers: Women of Seneca
Peter Fox • Franklin Jones

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THE WITNESS

LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS LETTERS

Critiques 'Black Colleges'

Manning Marable's "The Quiet Death of Black Colleges" (August WITNESS) addresses one of my greatest fears. I am convinced that the traditionally Black public institutions are on their way out. The only hope for preserving Black education lies in the private institutions — and these have their own sets of problems.

The author is highly critical of the prototypical Black college president, not without cause. But if one reads the publications of the American Association of University Professors one finds that the allegations made by the author may be made against the presidents of small private colleges as a class, rather than on a racial basis. Small colleges are often run as medieval fiefdoms.

I disagree with the implicit judgment that "clones of the corporate world" are necessarily a bad thing for a private school. One of the primary functions of the president of a private college is to raise money! The money is in the corporate world. The decision-makers of this world are most comfortable with and receptive to someone much like themselves.

The author, quite naturally I suppose, focuses on lawyers, physicians, etc., in describing the impact of the Black intellectuals at Fisk on the students passing through the school. I think errors in emphasis are made here.

First, the intellectuals referred to are either in the arts or social sciences. What makes for good doctors and dentists is a core of talented scientists on the faculty. The same may be said for biologists, chemists, physicists, etc. The intellectual output of artists and social scientists

is more readily accessible to the community at large, which perhaps explains the emphasis.

Second, the "leaders" are almost ancillary to the process. What these schools have done is to meet the needs of the Black community for doctors, lawyers, teachers, college professors, dentists, social workers, etc. — essentially a "silent majority" of the Black intellectual community. The "leaders" are a by-product of this process. A leader might arise out of the most improbable circumstances, but this steady flow of competent Blacks can only be produced in the intellectual environment alluded to by the author.

Finally, I suspect that the example of the firing of W.E.B. DuBois by Rufus Clement is ill-chosen. The reasons for this firing were never, I believe, publicly disclosed. President Clement and my father were friends, and Clement confided in him regarding some of the details of the situation. It is not clear that the course of action Clement chose was necessarily the best, but it is at least understandable.

Frederic A. Van-Catledge
Wilmington, Del.

Marable Responds

Frederick Van-Catledge raises some important points which merit a second article. In brief, however, I would like to respond to three of his concerns.

Most universities by design are semi-feudal institutions, with one foot in the 21st century and the other braced in the era of Thomas Aquinas. Brazilian educator Paulo Freire and others have noted the ingrained hierarchy in Western education, and the lack of respect for students' input in the process of their own education. These tendencies toward pedagogical authoritarianism and the absence of democratic discourse are found at many colleges. What makes Black colleges even worse at times is the additional factor of institutional racism and the legacy of Jim Crow. Black faculty and students are afraid to criticize their own institutions publicly,

because such criticism might be used by racists to undermine the existence of their colleges. Segregation perpetuated a dual system of learning wherein Black college presidents justified conservative and undemocratic methods in the name of maintaining their financially troubled schools.

Second, it should be noted that the sociological development of "leadership" within the Black community has been rooted in several basic vocational groups — ministers, lawyers, teachers, entrepreneurs, and physicians. By necessity, the majority of Blacks involved in public policy or electoral politics have been drawn directly from this strata, and until recently, educated and socialized within the Black college environment. The "leadership" of the future can be drawn from other social strata, depending upon the widespread availability of educational opportunities, the evolution of the political economy, and the political dynamics of the Freedom Movement over the next decades.

Since I am currently writing a biography of W.E.B. DuBois, I must note that Mr. Van-Catledge is in error in his last remarks. The original terms of DuBois' appointment waived any date for mandatory retirement. Even NAACP Secretary Walter White, no friend of DuBois, denounced Clement's action as "cavalier." DuBois was given no adequate provision for retirement. In his biography, DuBois explained that "as a young unknown president, perhaps he saw my reputation overshadowing him. Without a word of warning, my own life was thrown into confusion." There is a substantial body of published literature on the case — all of which confirms the dictatorial aspects of Black college life at Atlanta University.

Manning Marable
Hamilton, N.Y.

Honduran Memories

Gary Mac Eoin's article on Honduras in the September WITNESS was well-written and accurate. As one who lived

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THE WITNESS

Editorial

Blessed are the Peacemakers

The peace of Christmas rests uneasy against the apocalyptic potential of recent world events. The Good News that a savior, Jesus, has been born to Mary, a peasant woman, in a lowly manger in the Middle East must break through news reports of Beirut massacres and bloody airstrikes. Add to that the U.S. invasion of Grenada, and the more violent Biblical images come to mind: The slaughter of the Holy Innocents, and Rachel weeping for her children, because they are no more.

To the world, the United States must appear as the Herod of imperialism, cutting off new governments in this hemisphere before they have had a chance to develop. Our message is clear: No nation is free to establish a non-capitalist government. As one analyst put it, "Paint Marx on your mountain and we'll shoot it off."

Central America and the Caribbean are now asking, "Who is next?" Michael Manley, former Prime Minister of Jamaica, says, "Central America's relationship with the United States has a long and tragic history. Honduras, Nicaragua, Cuba and Mexico have

all had U.S. forces invade their soil, because Washington did not like some regime or turn of events. Since World War II, the United States has interfered in Guatemala and the Dominican Republic. But never had it done so in the English-speaking countries of the Caribbean. Because of the intemperate, hasty and entirely ideological decision to call in a foreign army to solve our problems, we have added our territories to the list of those that are fair game." (*The Nation* 11/12/83)

The Congressional Black Caucus has flagged the racist nature of the venture, Grenada being a Black Caribbean country. And the refusal of Margaret Thatcher and Francois Mitterand to endorse the invasion has added credence to the statement that Grenada is the U.S. Afghanistan.

Some political analysts believe that the Grenadian invasion was good for the U.S. psyche. A show of machismo was needed to offset the "impotence" demonstrated by the Vietnam War, the Iranian hostage crisis, and the massacre of

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Silkwood and After

by William J. Davis

Karen Silkwood lives. Her voice is still being heard, even though she was physically silenced on a lonely stretch of Oklahoma highway more than nine years ago. Silkwood died on Nov. 13, 1974 under suspicious circumstances as she was on the way to document nuclear plant safety violations with a union official and a *New York Times* reporter.

The previous week, while at work, high levels of radioactive plutonium

were found on her body, and even in her home. She has since become a symbol and heroine to a growing number of feminists, anti-nuclear activists, civil libertarians, and people everywhere who value the truth.

During the coming year she will be even more widely known after the December release of the film *Silkwood*, starring Meryl Streep. Already two major books and a number of TV shows have appeared and a successful drama is touring the country — all about this slight, ordinary woman from a small Texas town — a woman with her own frailties but with an uncommon determination to expose the truth.

Major litigation on behalf of her estate has produced extraordinary re-

sults, establishing some key precedents for the nuclear industry, and culminating in the recent Supreme Court hearing Oct. 4.

There are ironies in all of this. Some seven years ago at the height of the Patty Hearst episode, author Howard Kohn, speaking on the campus of the University of Oklahoma, suggested that in 10 years Karen Silkwood would be better known to the world than Patty Hearst. Skeptical students scoffed. But his prediction missed the mark only in its premature fulfillment.

Perhaps, as Christians, we should not be surprised at the paradox: A powerless but determined person is silenced on her way to meet with a *New York Times* reporter; yet she has managed, in

The Rev. William J. Davis is a Jesuit priest who is co-director of the Christic Institute in Washington, D.C. He was involved in investigative work and paralegal assistance around the Silkwood case.

death, to reach reporters by the hundreds and households by the millions. "Unless the grain of wheat . . ."

Karen Silkwood worked in her late 20s as a laboratory analyst for the Kerr-McGee Nuclear Corporation in its Cimmaron plant, just north of Oklahoma City. Concerned about health and safety violations in the handling of deadly plutonium, she agreed to work as agent for her Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers' Union to document and expose the company's malpractice. This included falsification of safety tests in its production of fuel rods for the Fast Flux Test Facility — the so-called breeder reactor — at Hanford, Wash. Karen learned that fuel rod quality control pictures were being doctored by Kerr-McGee employees, and she was afraid of the terrible consequences of using faulty rods in a nuclear reactor.

During Silkwood's investigation, which became known to company officials, she was mysteriously contaminated with plutonium on several occasions. On Nov. 7, 1974, not only was her body found to be contaminated but her whole apartment, as well. The highest readings of all came from a package of food in her refrigerator!

In spite of this, Karen persisted in her investigation and on Nov. 13, 1974, was seen leaving a union meeting with a folder of documents under her arm for her pre-arranged rendezvous in Oklahoma City with David Burnham of the *New York Times* and union officer Steve Wodka. She never arrived. Just seven miles from her point of departure, she ran off the road into a concrete culvert and was killed almost instantly. Her documents disappeared. Independent investigation found dent marks in the back of her car and concluded that another vehicle was involved in her leaving the road. In spite of this the Oklahoma highway department persists in its story that she must have fallen asleep at the wheel.

Some of us, who now comprise the Christic Institute — a public interest law firm and religious public policy center growing out of the Silkwood effort — brought suit on behalf of the family in 1976. After a three-year investigative, legal and public education campaign, and a lot of help from individuals, we won a jury verdict of \$10.5 million against the company. Kerr-McGee was found to be "absolutely liable" for reckless handling of radioactive material in Silkwood's contamination. And \$10 million of the judgment was in the form of punitive damages — those awarded for proven activities that

are particularly outrageous, "willful, wanton, and reckless negligence." This was the first time a jury ever awarded punitive damages to a victim of radiation.

The U.S. Court of Appeals for the 10th Circuit reversed the jury verdict in December 1981, declaring that the Federal Atomic Energy Act did not allow such state penalties to be levied against the nuclear industry. If allowed to stand, this decision would take away from the states the power to penalize outrageous conduct by industry, as long as it is *nuclear* industry.

We appealed this part of the case to



Bill Silkwood (with hat), Karen's father and administrator of her estate, and Arthur Angel, appellate lawyer from Oklahoma City, meet the media in front of the Supreme Court.

the Supreme Court, and it was heard in October of this year. A decision will probably not be forthcoming for a few more months. Twenty states joined our appeal, urging the Court to review this issue, 16 of them arguing that the Appeals Court decision, if allowed to stand, would seriously impair state efforts to protect citizens from reckless or willful mishandling of radioactive substances.

Nevertheless, the Reagan administration submitted a brief in support of the circuit court, advising the Supreme Court to deny the appeal brought by the Silkwood estate. The Administration also sent an Assistant Solicitor General to argue that the federal regulatory agency should preempt state law on this point. So much for the New Federalism.


Whichever way the Supreme Court decides this particular issue, other programs growing out of the Silkwood effort and public education are being organized. Energies are being directed into critical reforms both on the nuclear safety front and on the civil liberties front.

Finally, having personally traipsed through the dusty hills of Oklahoma for months as an investigator and paralegal aide on the Silkwood case, it seemed to me a bit odd to sit amid the massive marble pillars of the Supreme Court, the very symbols of power and respectability, and think of the broken body of Karen in the ditch. The court began, as usual, with the invocation: "God save the United States and this Court." It seemed half-prayer, half-premonition.

God save them, indeed. God save us all from a legal system which, as yet, has not allowed us to litigate the civil rights aspects of the case — the wiretap, the electronic surveillance, the coverup by the FBI, the wrongful death. God save us all from nuclear proliferation and pollution and genetic defects, from materials that remain lethal for 500,000 years (Karen discovered, correctly, that

there were some 40 pounds of plutonium unaccounted for from that plant alone!) God save us all from corporations that put profitability above even the most rudimentary rationality.

God save us, indeed, and give us more Karen Silkwoods. ■



What You Can Do

1. Publicize the Silkwood case among your friends and community.
2. Hold educational programs or panels on local issues (labor organizing, nuclear power and weapons, women's rights, civil liberties) dedicated to Karen Silkwood. (Speakers available through Christic Institute.)
3. Read and discuss the books, *Who Killed Karen Silkwood?*, by Howard Kohn and *The Killing of Karen Silkwood*, by Richard Rashke.
4. Help disseminate fliers and information outside local movie theatres when *Silkwood* is released.
5. Present Jehane Dyllan's play, *Silkwood*, an excellent labor/feminist/nuclear safety one-woman performance. The play was co-authored by Susan Holleran of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

(Assistance with the above, if needed, can be obtained through the Karen Silkwood Fund, Christic Institute, 1324 N. Capitol St., Washington, DC 20002.)

Bishops Pass Resolutions

Resolutions passed by the Episcopal House of Bishops at its meeting in Spokane recently, related to issues taken up in this month's WITNESS, appear below:

Deployment of Nuclear Missiles

Resolved that the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church declares its conviction that the installation of the new Pershing and Cruise nuclear weapons, the so-called Euromissiles, combined with the possibility of computer error, makes the danger of an atomic war by accident, miscalculation or intent greater than ever; and be it further

Resolved that the House of Bishops, concerned that such deployment may set off a further escalation of the arms race, calls on the President of the United States and the Congress to delay or to abandon altogether any plans to install these weapons and to intensify negotiations leading to mutually verifiable reduction of nuclear arms.

Nicaragua

Resolved that whereas we believe solutions to current conflicts in Central America are best achieved through negotiation rather than by resort to arms;

Therefore be it resolved, that the House of Bishops of the Episcopal Church voices its opposition to efforts by the United States Administration to support forces seeking the overthrow of the present Nicaraguan Government by use of arms, calls for the withdrawal of all foreign land and naval forces from the region, and urges the Administration to support the efforts of the Contadora Group seeking a way of peaceful negotiations for solving the human rights and justice issues, including those affecting the Miskito Indians; and be it further resolved that a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States and to the Secretary of State. ■

Para-dox-ology

by Carol Cole Flanagan

Some say the experience of women as women befits them for an understanding and appreciation of paradox that escapes others.

Certainly women have long recognized that parent/child relationships are often subject to paradox. Parental protection, restriction and discipline can drive away any self-respecting child, while equipping them with the competence for freedom, and the courage to risk, enables them to venture forth, and return eagerly again, and again, and again.

The paradox of power rarely escapes the notice of people long alienated from it. It's no secret that the more status and power acquired, the more one stands to lose. Such trappings often promise rigor mortis. Powerless people, free to act with little to risk, can be a pretty frightening prospect to those "in power." We are reminded of the recent disclaimer of an uneasy bishop who defended inaction with "God and prayer will fix it." Some of us thought God and prayer had fixed it. How else

do we have bishops?

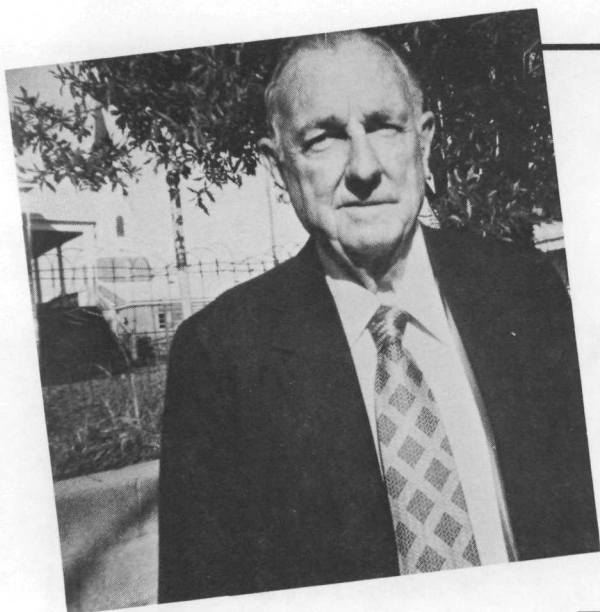
Less obvious to some is the paradox of pleasure. With performance anxiety bedeviling many men, it seems useful to note that pleasure in love-making is possible only when we can surrender ourselves to a process of being fully human with another, in a mutual exchange of selves. When pleasure is treated as an end in itself, then the conscious awareness of self, actions, object or performance make pleasure itself impossible. Much the same could be said for reading a book. Having to read a specified number of pages, outlining, highlighting, and organizing new material is qualitatively different from that of surrendering to a good novel.

With paradox in mind, we were not surprised to find The Rev. Canon John Chane of the Cathedral of St. Paul, Erie, Pa., holding forth on the subject recently. Bringing presentment against anyone, let alone clerical members of Standing Committees, is not likely to win friends and influence people. (See Nov. 1983 WITNESS.) Not infrequently, people ask why he has done that. Although the obvious is that he thinks they were wrong in closing

the ordination process to women, the following, lifted from John, may give some insight.

- People are illogical, unreasonable, and self-centered. Love them anyway.
- If you do good, people will accuse you of selfish ulterior motives. Do good anyway.
- If you are successful, you win false friends and true enemies. Succeed anyway.
- The good you do today will be forgotten tomorrow. Do good anyway.
- Honesty and frankness make you vulnerable. Be honest and frank anyway.
- The biggest people with the biggest ideas can be shot down by the smallest people with the smallest minds. Think big anyway.
- People favor underdogs but follow only top dogs. Fight for a few underdogs anyway.
- What you spend years building may be destroyed overnight. Build anyway.
- People really need help but may attack you if you do help them. Help them anyway.
- Give the world the best you have and you'll get kicked in the teeth. Give the world the best you have anyway. ■

Carol Cole Flanagan is president of the Episcopal Women's Caucus. Above reprinted from *Ruach*.



Franklin Jones

Profile of an Octogenarian

Marshall, Tex. is in many ways the epitome of east Texas towns, and so far east of Dallas that, in a high wind, it might easily become a part of Louisiana instead of the Lone Star State. Marshall's size is moderate by almost any standard (a little over 20,000 in population), but its politics are not. They are rock-ribbed conservative.

And in the middle of Marshall stands Franklin Jones.

For most of his 80 years, Franklin Jones has been practicing law, following in the footsteps of his father, who in his own day had taken more than a fair share of unpopular cases and causes in Marshall. Asked what dramatic occurrence had turned him so strongly in the direction he took, Jones simply concluded that he was "born and reared on a nurture of liberalism." There is more

than a little of H. L. Mencken in Franklin Jones. He was a charter subscriber ("lacking one month," he says) to the old *American Mercury*, the magazine founded by Mencken and George Jean Nathan. But his humor, though prickly, is never mean. When asked why he is an Episcopalian, he replies wryly: because it's a church "that doesn't get involved in politics or religion."

Marshall has had its problems with Franklin Jones over the years. His letters to a former editor of the *Marshall News Messenger* (which he often refers to as the "News Mess") were not printed for a long time. Later, with a change in editors, his opinions began to surface again in the local paper. Many bring about an exchange of views with other subscribers — the latest with a high school student on the subject of teacher qualification and pay. Someone asked him one time how he was able to think fast enough to make quick retorts; and another friend replied: "What makes you believe he always thinks first; if he did, he wouldn't say some of the things he does."

Marshall's main problem at present is Franklin Jones' headlong assault on the nuclear weapons build-up. At 80 years of age, Jones contrasts strangely with the stereotypical peacenik.

He has "fussed at" Congressman Jim Wright about "the President's famed window of vulnerability," and in a letter to Wright this past July, he said:

"Deployment of (MX Missiles) will but open a window of vulnerability for the Soviets that they will most certainly try to close by deploying nuclear weapons capable of retaliating against the MX's. And so . . . the merry nuclear arms race (will) go on and on and on."

He likes to summarize Eisenhower's opinion: that there comes a time in a nation's life when money spent for rockets and bombs, far from strengthening national security, will actually weaken it — when there are people who are hungry and not fed, people who are cold and not clothed. For, as he quotes Eisenhower, in the ultimate sense, that

Edward P. Ross, III, a Houston attorney and free-lance writer, has made over two dozen ecumenical talk-show appearances on TV with his wife, Janis. A member of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, he also served on the first Ecumenical Commission of the (R.C.) Diocese of Galveston-Houston.



Peacemaker

by Edward Ross

expenditure becomes a theft from those who are in need.

The local chapter of the League of Women Voters' recent program on national security featured Franklin Jones as a speaker ("Doubtless," he says, "because doves are scarce in this community"). The invitation was given and accepted before the Soviets shot down the Korean airliner. He pondered that and wondered whether he should ask the League for a bodyguard, since "I'm damn well going to plump for a nuclear freeze and other steps that will not be dear to the hawkish majority of our community."

In his letters he is most irreverent about the President, often referring to him as "old twinkle eyes"; but when he thinks the administration is right, he says so. The recent Soviet attack on a Korean airliner is a good example. In a letter this September to the "News Mess" he said: "In my opinion the harsh criticism of President Reagan by his Far Right supporters is unjustified. It is my belief that he did the right thing . . . President Carter learned through the wheat and Olympic games embargo

that sanctions are ineffective if invoked by only one nation. Later, President Reagan got the same lesson from his effort to embargo the sale of supplies and machinery for the construction of the Soviet pipeline."

To a friend he wrote: "I call your attention to the fact, which you will comprehend when you get your Thursday issue of 'News Mess,' that Mayor Lane Strahan has called for a boycott of Russian made products in Marshall. Just you wait until Ambassador Gromyko learns that the owner of Circle Y Cut-Rate Liquor Store took Russian Vodka off his shelves when he heard the Mayor's boycott proclamation on the radio. That'll send the Russian trotting to the microphone to apologize for the Soviet target practice on innocent civilian passengers."

His letters express concern about American involvement in Central America. In the striking parallels between that involvement and the experience in Viet Nam, he finds only one difference: In the beginning, he points out, the American people supported our

military efforts in Viet Nam; in the current case, they have been opposed to involvement in Central America from the outset. He predicts the parallels will continue. Referring to the carrier fleet off the coast of Nicaragua and the President's desire to send some 4,000 troops into Honduras, he says: "Reagan need only await the occurrence of a 'Tonkin Gulf Incident' to ask for a Congressional resolution giving him war powers in Central America, similar to those given President Johnson in Viet Nam."

Many might ask why Franklin Jones isn't in Congress, himself, or practicing law in some big city, instead of following in his father's footsteps in Marshall. He quotes his wife's Aunt Mag, when asked about that. Aunt Mag taught school in Brown County. "There was a village in her district consisting of a filling station, church and general store, along with a school house. The place had the incredible name of Turkey Peak, and Aunt Mag rose to new heights of oratory when she exhorted the graduating class in grammar school to 'dig your diamonds in Turkey Peak'." ■



Blessed are the
peacemakers

Resigns Commission Over U.S. Policy

Peter D. Fox resigned his commission as a captain in the U.S. Army Reserve this Fall because of the "catastrophic course" in which "my beloved country is headed in Latin America." An Episcopalian, he is city editor of the Billings Gazette. The statement below, explaining his motivation, appeared in the Sept. 25 issue of the paper, and is reprinted with permission.

'To Gain My Own Self Respect and

I cried for my country in Tegucigalpa, Honduras. I wept for the hurt and turmoil my country is creating for millions of Latin Americans.

Tears still fill my eyes as I struggle for a way to speak out against the injustice I feel — and see, and know exists.

I hurt for the hungry, the landless, the children. Particularly the children who look up with empty eyes to the *Norte Americano* for a peso or limpira to temporarily ease their hunger or burden — as their elders hold out their hands to my country's leaders, asking for the guns, power and influence to continue the burden they in turn put on *los pobres* — the poor ones — of their countries.

In Tegucigalpa I saw American soldiers being used as an instrument of a foreign policy which says "If it isn't in the U.S. model, then it is wrong."

I heard U.S. soldiers say they must

fight the Communist menace in Central America. Many innocents will die before those soldiers, who now carouse in the streets of Tegucigalpa, find the will-o'-the-wisp they seek.

More children will lose their parents and more Salvadorans, Hondurans, Nicaraguans and Guatemalans will become international refugees before the U.S. troops complete their mission.

I see the cruel extension of the arrogance of power, and I see how those in control of my government are abusing the trust given them; and how those abuses translate into death — and holocaust — for innocent peoples.

I now see how brute political and economic machinations mean the military I tried to serve so well will be sent out as hired guns. I see how men and women of honest intentions can find themselves wrapped in dishonorable deeds.

How can we begin speaking out against the abuses? How can we begin telling our government to employ a humanitarian foreign policy instead of one based on military intimidation?

For more than 10 years I have served my country as a soldier both on active duty and as a reservist, as a private, sergeant, lieutenant and captain.

My love for this country and my duty and responsibilities have steadily increased over the years. I have recruited and sworn in new soldiers. I have helped tell the good stories about the citizen-soldier, a person who serves his country in love and gratitude, for the common good.

Despite the emotional, patriotic and financial losses which I will incur, I cannot continue to serve as an officer in the Army of the United States while it is being used immorally, if not illegally.

Peter Fox joined the U.S. Army in 1967, serving four years in the Army Security Agency as a Russian linguist in Japan and Taiwan before being discharged as staff sergeant. In 1976, he joined the Wisconsin Army National Guard as a public affairs specialist and was commissioned a first lieutenant. Until September, 1983, he was staff intelligence officer, 163rd Armored Cavalry Regiment, Montana Army National Guard. He recently returned from an educational seminar in Mexico, Honduras and Nicaragua.



Alert Others . . . ' by Peter D. Fox

I am proud — and will continue to be so — of the decade of honorable and dedicated service I have rendered to my country, state and community as a member of the U.S. Army, Army Reserve and Army National Guard. Two Meritorious Service Medals, an Army Commendation Medal and direct appointment into the Officer Corps would seem to confirm my service.

But the message must be told of injustice, deprivation and domination that have continued for more than 100 years and now threaten to cause untold horrors for our Latin American neighbors:

- Through emphasis on economic development and neglect of human rights, the United States — my beloved country — has exacerbated and cemented decades of inequality between the “haves” and “have-nots” of Central

and South America.

- Through economic interests, we have helped widen and maintain the gulf between the obscenely rich — and the starving poor.

- Through military aid, we have maintained cruel and despotic governments in power, causing thousands upon thousands of people to be murdered for dissent — the very foundation upon which our own country was built and remains free.

- Through political muscle, we impose our will on Latin America so that the actions and directions of its countries will meet the approval of our nation — without consideration of what is best for our Southern neighbors, or even if the Latin Americans should have a voice in their governments.

I will be replaced by another officer,

and the system will remain intact — for now. My loss will include an annual part-time salary of \$5,000 — that's enough to support eight or nine Honduran families for a year — and I yield my rights to a substantial military pension.

And I will never be able to wear the gold oak leaves of a major which a dear retired brother officer wants to pin on my shoulders.

I give that up only to gain my own self respect and hopefully, to be able to alert others to the catastrophic course upon which my beloved country is headed in Latin America. This gesture may pass quickly in others' memory, but I shall not forget.

And I shall not allow this to be my only gesture or work to help my country awaken to the horrors it is creating.

And my tears won't stop until that is done. ■



Historical Connections

- 1590 — Women of the Hotinon Sionni Iroquois Confederacy gather at Seneca to demand an end to war among the nations.
- 1800 — Abolitionists make Seneca County a major stop on the underground railroad with Harriet Tubman's house near the present day depot.
- 1848 — Early feminists hold first women's rights convention at Seneca Falls to call for suffrage.
- 1983 — Women join together in Seneca County in solidarity with the European peace movement to challenge the nuclear threat to life and to prevent deployment of NATO missiles stored at the Seneca Army Depot.

Seneca Encampment: School for Peacemakers

by Anne Gilson, Sydney Howell and Laurie Rofinot

The Seneca Women's Peace Encampment in upstate New York was a place where one truly lived what she talked about. It began July 4, 1983, and ended officially on Labor Day, although some low-level activity persists. Second and third offenders who performed acts of civil disobedience on the site are still awaiting trials as of this writing.

Connections — that's what Seneca was about. It was the making of connections between our past histories and our present realities and future hopes. It was the making of connections between poverty — especially that of women — and militarism; between ecological exploitation and militarism; between racism, sexism, homophobia and militarism.

Anne Gilson, Sydney Howell and Laurie Rofinot are seminarians at Episcopal Divinity School, and political activists involved in peace and Central America issues.

To disconnect this military madness from other "isms" would be to see the symptoms and not the disease. It was, strangely, empowering to feel so in touch with the land and yet know that not far away were stored Cruise and Pershing II missiles headed for Europe — empowering, because it was evident that this encampment was more than a thorn in the side of the military. We knew that our *NO* to military madness had been heard because several times an hour a military helicopter flew around the border of the encampment. We knew we had been heard because there were bomb threats against the encampment. And we knew we had been heard because townspeople opposed to the encampment (there were, of course, townspeople who supported it) displayed flags and "I'm proud to be an American" signs on their property and jeered at us. (As though standing for peace and being a faithful American were mutually exclusive.)

The misunderstanding by local citizens was due in part to the deception in which the activities at the Army Depot are veiled. In order to communicate more effectively with the townspeople, the women at the encampment set up town meetings. These events were designed to show the links between Seneca and the rest of the world.

The encampment experience had a tremendous impact upon us. We arrived at two in the morning. We had the sense of being in the middle of nowhere, turning into a small farm, the driveway of which was barred with a couple of sawhorses. Clearly, this was no high-tech operation. Greeted by a friendly face and having passed visual inspection, we were offered sleeping bag space in the barn, rather than pitching our tent at so late an hour.

There was no wake up bell, no call to breakfast, no feeling of organized activity, but rather a sense of release from the tyranny of time. The atmosphere was

one of intense commitment and quiet conviction rather than flashy spectacle. Women had prepared for the long haul, as the work of daily chore groups (work webs) and administrative groups (anyone welcome to participate) bore out. The encampment was set up on feminist principles:

- Each woman spoke for herself; there was no single leader, and all respected everyone else's opinions.

- All decisions affecting the operation of the camp were made by consensus — admittedly a slower process than majority rule, but it enabled strong bonding. This was a crucial underpinning of life at the encampment: It made possible for women of varied philosophies and lifestyles to co-exist and work together in mutual support.

- Leadership was decentralized and work shared. Everyone took a 3-hour workshift in garbage collection, security (24-hour patrols), community outreach, healing, cooking, or child care. The land was respected, and waste conscientiously recycled.

We wandered through the two campgrounds, by the open pits where all the cooking was done, by the cool pits (lined with plastic and filled with ice and perishables), by the porta-janes, to the back of the property which is bordered by the army base and by an Amish farm. We sat for a while feeling the land, watching the helicopters above, and the Amish driving their small herd of cows to pasture.

Upon return from our rambling tour, we participated in a 5-hour training session on non-violent civil disobedience, particularized to the situation at Seneca. It helped us to discover the resources and strengths so necessary for our long-term confrontation with the keepers of nuclear weapons.

The civil disobedience training gave us a detailed picture of what had been going on. Women at the encampment included a group from the Women's

Peace Encampment in Greenham, England, and a group which had *walked* from North Carolina. Campers stayed for varying lengths of time and were responsible for planning their own "actions" at the base. Groups of women formed affinity groups to participate in

civil disobedience in which the process of decision making was, again, by consensus. Support people in the group were designated to observe arrests, hold IDs, check on where women had been jailed — in general, assuring that no one got lost in the system. Training sessions

Statement of the Waterloo 54

Marchers Harassed By Local Townspeople

We are a diverse group of 54 women from throughout America who on July 30, 1983, began a peace walk along with 75 of our sisters. We set out from Seneca Falls, N.Y., to the Women's Peace Encampment in Romulus. Our purpose was to honor the great, *defiant women in our past who have resisted oppression and to bring their courageous spirit to the encampment.*

In the small town of Waterloo, four miles into our walk, our way was blocked by several hundred townspeople brandishing American flags and chanting, "Commies, go home!" To diffuse the potential violence, many of us sat down in the classic tradition of nonviolence to discuss what to do. Others of us faced the mob, speaking calmly to individuals.

We had earlier taken great care to notify the authorities of the towns through which we had planned our walk; we had been assured of its legality. For the past week, however, Vietnam vets and local VFW members had been devising a plan to prevent us from passing by blockading the bridge. On July 28, the Seneca County Sheriff assured the women at the encampment that he had successfully dissuaded them from hindering us; that he had gotten them to agree to stand on the side and let us pass.

Although this trouble had been anticipated, when we were actually confronted, police protection proved grossly inadequate. The police did take care to protect us from the more violent members of the community, but certain of the sheriff's orders in fact served to

excite tensions. For example, while we were sitting, the Sheriff announced that if we did not disperse, we would be charged with inciting a riot. At these words, the crowd became truly menacing. The chanting swelled into a roar, and the crowd surged forward, thrusting their pointed 2-foot flag poles at us. People on the sidelines kept insisting that our actions would lead to conquest by the Russians and the denial of our freedoms as Americans. Ironically, they now were threatening our freedom with the flag that was to them the very symbol of freedom.

Aware of the danger of our situation, most of us sat down to help diffuse the violence and to discuss what to do. It was hard to do this, as we also had to cope with the fear for our lives. This was not hysteria on our part. The general police appraisal of the crowd was that women could try to pass through the crowd but they would surely "be massacred." Flowers were thrown into our midst and when we sniffed them we found they had been sprayed with mace. We prepared then for the possibility of teargas by holding moistened cloths over our noses. The announcement of our imminent arrest came more frequently over the bullhorn, and the sheriff pressured us to take an alternative route. We discussed this possibility, but realized that turning our backs to the crowd would put us in greater danger. Moreover, we wanted to stand firm in our constitutional right to pass through the town and complete our walk.

At one point, the police succeeded in mak-

ing the crowd retreat about 20 feet and some of them suggested we might be able to get through on the sidewalk. The instant we stood and tried to do so, the crowd moved back in and the police began arresting us, even hand-cuffing a few of us. During the arrest, as some police tried to carry women without hurting them, they were egged on to hurt the women by the crowd's shouts of "Drag her, drag her." In all, four truck loads of us were deposited at the Seneca County Jail by 3:30 that afternoon, including Millie, a respected local resident who had joined us when she saw the obvious injustice of our arrest. Other townspeople expressed support for us by sending fruit and beverages to us that evening.

Our intent was to walk, not to do civil disobedience. We sat to diffuse the violence, to decide our course, and to make the denial of our constitutional rights clear. One of the things we love most about our country is the Bill of Rights. These rights were denied when the police tried to disperse us and when they arrested us instead of the people threatening us. If we had retreated, we would have neglected to honor our country's most democratic mandate. That Saturday, everything was pushed to its most rapid, confusing and expensive conclusion.

The taunts from the crowd were "Nuke the Lezzies," "Go Home Commies," "Kill the Jews," "Throw them off the bridge, let's see some blood." Among us are many lesbians. There are Jewish women. Almost all of us would call ourselves feminists. Most of us have various beliefs in economic or social change that people label communist, socialist, anarchist.

All of us, whatever we are, deeply feel that our civil rights to be any of these — lesbian, Jewish, feminist, critical of our country — were violated. And further, our civil rights as citizens, to walk free of terror through any town in our own land and express our views and feelings, were trampled.

As women we know all too well the connection between militarism and the violence in our lives. The masculine ideal which the military perpetuates encourages force, dominance, power and violence. It is a concept of masculinity that victimizes women, children and nature.

We remain undaunted in our determination to stop the nuclear weapons and save life on our planet.

stressed how to respond to verbal and physical abuse, and how to remain calm in dangerous situations to defuse violence.

Civil disobedience against nuclear weapons deployment was an integral part of the women's encampment. More than 100 women engaged in non-violent civil disobedience at the Seneca Army Depot in July. Many of these actions resulted in over 100 detainments and arrests. In one action, 64 women from Minneapolis were arrested after they chained themselves to the depot fence. In another, eight women set up tents on the depot airfield. Other actions involved planting rose bushes inside the fence and leafletting at the depot living quarters.

On Aug. 1 the Women's Encampment organized a demonstration to protest the planned deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles. Women from West German, Italy, Britain, El Salvador, and Australia expressed their solidarity in statements to the press. Three thousand women from across the United States and around the world carried colorful banners, flags, and signs. They marched to the truck gate of the Seneca Army Depot. Some 100 counter-demonstrators also gathered at the gate and were separated from the women by a line of state troopers. During the peaceful demonstration, women expressed their feelings of grief, anger and commitment to peace — responses evoked by the arms race — and decorated the fence with symbols of life. Then 244 women climbed over the depot fence and were detained by military police. This act was intended to express the urgency of their opposition to the deployment of the missiles in Europe.

On Aug. 6, Hiroshima Day, women at the camp expressed their outrage at the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Ongoing prayer vigils took place at the main gate. Also, women from the encampment began a fast in solidarity

with the "Fast for Life" in which nine persons fasted to end the nuclear arms race.

On Aug. 13, six weeks after the official opening of the encampment, women and children took paper cranes (a Japanese symbol of peace) they had made to the gates of the army depot. There the children presented the cranes to the military police who accepted the offering and *with* the children hung the peace symbols on the windows of the sentry booth.

Being at Seneca felt good and right. The women's peace encampment made "real" a vision of a way of being which affirms life. And the facts remain: Nuclear weapons stored at the Seneca Army Depot are a reality; the Women's Peace Encampment was a reality. The issue remains a life and death issue and the women at the encampment remain committed to life.

The purpose of the encampment was so clear to us: It was a simple, massive protest against a system which is promoting world destruction; it was the living reality of an alternative to war and division among people, the earth and its resources; it was a land where one lived, breathed, celebrated, and worked for *connectedness* in our vision for peace. As the encampment's statement read:

"The existence of nuclear weapons is killing us. Their production contaminates our environment, destroys our natural resources, and depletes our human energy and creativity. But the most critical danger they represent is to life itself. Sickness, accidents, genetic damage and death, these are the real products of the nuclear arms race. We say no to the threat of global holocaust, no to the arms race, no to death. We say yes to a world where people, animals, plants and the earth itself are respected and valued." ■



A Mother Reflects On Seneca Experience

by Rebecca Cratin

Those of us who came to Seneca to stay for a few days also had a chance to make this land part of our lives. It offered us a place to be as women, to talk of our hopes and our fears as sisters, with no need to justify our anger or our fear. It taught me that there is a strength in the ability to weep in the face of evil. It gave me compassion for the men behind the barbed wire with the guns.

They are boys like my 18 year old son. I wonder if they would be there if they had a chance to get a better job. Mostly, I remember the women. On the march to the depot on Aug. 1, a mother and her little girl, who obviously lived in the area, walked hesitatingly along with us on the other side of the road. When the child asked to join the march the mother brought her out and joined us briefly but left the line when we neared the depot. They turned up a country road and stood watching us go by. I shall remember that woman and the courage it took for her to join briefly with us for her daughter's sake, knowing that her neighbors would be angry with

Rebecca Cratin is a member of Peacemakers and Educators for Social Responsibility in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. A resident of Ft. Washington, she belongs to Plymouth Meeting Friends.

her. They looked very alone as they walked away and I think of her now that I am gone and wonder what she had to put up with after we left.

I held another mother as she wept in fear for her son who must soon register for the draft, knowing well her pain. She came to the encampment alone and searching and left sustained and filled with purpose, feeling a deep connection to other women. I talked to women in their 70s who had been marching for years and felt like a novice beside them. I met a young woman from West Germany who was here for the summer because she is so afraid of the missiles destined for her homeland. I met militant feminists who are more angry with men than is comfortable for me and also gentle, faithfilled women who joined hands in prayer outside the depot gate. In the frightening days around Aug. 1, when we all faced the violent backlash of the townspeople, I came to know the wonderful women with whom I had traveled, as we shared our fears, angers and hopes. One of them was my own daughter and that sharing was precious.

My reflections of the encampment are most certainly mine alone. Each woman came from her own place and entered into as much as she chose. We came

to protest but we also came to grow. We were able to reach out and touch each other and take strength in the gentle power of women. We were also able to reach out and touch the ugly barbed wire of the fence, or climb over it, and to really sense the fearsome might that it conceals. We were able to weep upon the ground of the depot and let our tears touch the men behind the wire, as they looked into our eyes and saw gentle, angry women, singing and praying for their lives. They will remember us and we shall never forget them.

People will ask if it was worth the effort. Perhaps we will not have prevented the deployment of missiles. But thousands of women came to the encampment and they take away a sense of connection to the spirit of women who have suffered before them, to the spirits of the women suffering today in Central America, to welfare mothers unable to feed their children while money pours into the arms race, and to the other Seneca women who touched their lives while they were there. We will return to our lives, working harder for peace, feeling less alone, rejoicing when we meet another woman who spent some time there. We have been nourished and now we must feed those with whom we live, that we all might survive. ■

The Episcopal Church has pioneered in ministry to deaf persons — who now number more than 16 million — ever since the Rev. Thomas Gallaudet established the first church for the deaf in 1852. This history was probed, along with issues currently debated by teachers of the hearing-impaired, in an interview recently with the Rev. Robert H. Grindrod, vicar of St. Thomas Episcopal Church for the Deaf in St. Louis, father of two deaf children. He was interviewed by Olive M. Kite, a freelance writer who recently retired from a long career in education.



Left to right: The Rev. A. W. Mann, the Rev. Dr. John Chamberlain, the Rev. Job Turner, the Rev. Thomas Gallaudet, and the Rev. H. W. Syle met at St. Ann's in New York to establish the first American Conference on Church Work Among the Deaf in 1881.

Teachers Debate Signing, Lip Reading for Deafness

In the ministry for the deaf, what is the biggest concern?

Grindrod: Two schools of thought connected with communication and education of deaf people have created a heated controversy coloring the thought about deafness for more than three centuries. In brief, the opposing opinions state that: a) deaf people can and should be encouraged to read lips and produce intelligible speech, and b) sign language provides a communication modality which allows for deaf self-expression, and is, in fact, a separate and distinct language which should be treated and respected as such.

Both sides base their beliefs on "logic" and "common sense," and both sides naturally have "the best interest of 'the deaf'" at heart. Like so many problems in our society, this is not a simple clear-cut issue.

What are the issues involved?

Grindrod: For those who support the teaching of speech and speech reading (lip reading), referred to as "oralists," the issue is simply this: It is a hearing world. Spoken communication is the expected norm, and therefore, in order to cope with society, deaf people should read lips and speak to the best of

their ability.

The oralists contend that sign language is nothing more than complex mime. According to the more radical oralists, signing should be reserved for those deaf persons who are unable to speak or to read lips.

For years, the opposing opinion was championed by the "manualists," those who advocated the use of sign language alone. The manualists argued, with a degree of demonstrable accuracy, that those deafened at birth or early in life are likely never to develop clear speech. Furthermore, the assertion continued, since less than 50% of speech occurs on

or around the lips, most lip reading involves guessing at sounds. Sign language, they averred, is really a language by itself, and the real issue is communication, not speech.

Has there been any attempt to combine the two methods?

Grindrod: Yes, since the 1960s, the trend in education has been toward Total Communication. The advocates of Total Communication attempt to combine both methods (oral and manual) into an educational synthesis. Speech training is incorporated into an overall program based upon sign language as the basic communication mode. Pure manualism is dead. Oral education is still an issue. Total Communication primarily uses a sign language, but its program includes speech training and lip reading to synthesize the best of both schools.

Who promotes the oral method?

Grindrod: The Alexander Graham Bell Association, a national organization, promotes and defends the oral method in the United States today. *The Volta Review*, its official organ, publishes scholarly articles which generally support the oral viewpoint. The most commonly researched question concerns whether children learn and develop intellectually better in a signing or oral environment.

Is there any conclusive evidence to favor either one?

Grindrod: Deaf children of deaf parents tend to develop most normally in terms of language development. Daniel Ling, of McGill University, Toronto, is generally agreed to be the pre-eminent apologist of the oral method, and his works are some of the best on the subject of teaching speech to deaf children. Pragmatic survival and incorporation into the dominant hearing society

sum up the goals and results of a strict adherence to the oral philosophy.

To what extent are these goals achieved? And what are the disadvantages of the oral method?

Grindrod: Every oral institution has its success stories. Gifted individuals can succeed because they are exceptional to begin with. The major disadvantage is a denial of the deafness, a basic rejection of what the person is. I find myself counseling those who have no identity because of their education.

What stand do the advocates of Total Communication take?

Grindrod: Advocates of Total Communication see things somewhat differently. Research developed in a sociological vein, led largely by Dr. McCay Vernon of Western Maryland College, shows that deaf people in America form a *de facto* sub-culture, a minority group. As such, deaf people have the advantage and disadvantage of a cultured society of their own. Membership in this society is based primarily upon language, the American Sign Language or some derivative form thereof.

The work of Dr. William Stokoe of Gallaudet College in Washington, D.C., a linguist, demonstrates the existence of American Sign Language as a distinct and legitimate language. Stokoe's findings contradict the view that sign language is merely "poor English," a view commonly held by those who oppose the use of sign language.

Is communicating in a foreign language analogous? If I were to spend the rest of my life in France, for example, I would have to learn French. The fact that I cannot understand it does not mitigate against it as a form of communication.

Grindrod: Yes, and signing advocates admit that using sign language as a primary means of communication puts a burden on parents and family mem-

bers of a deaf individual. The family is forced to learn a new language in order to communicate. A further admission is that the majority of people in the world do not know and use sign language, and that signs are not iconographic enough to be clearly understood in and of themselves.

However, advocates of Total Communication and sign language, because of the work of Vernon and Stokoe, passionately believe that a denial of sign language to any deaf person, and especially to a deaf child, is tantamount to denial of their basic human rights and constitutes unusual cruelty.

What are the goals of the Total Communication advocates?

Grindrod: The goal is education, the best possible education, using whatever is available to allow the emotional and intellectual development of the child to be fulfilled. The compensations are a societal identity based upon language and the subsequent acceptance of an adjustment to one's deafness. In addition, families who sign find that healthier development, as well as more and better communication, takes place in a home where ideas and feelings are communicated with the emphasis on communication rather than on speech and pronunciation.

What are the disadvantages of this method?

Grindrod: It creates a minority group of deaf people. The oralists are correct. The dominant society is based on hearing and speech. But the resulting minority group is also an advantage because it provides an identity.

Are my deductions valid? — The child taught in the oral school conforms to the best of his or her ability to the expectations of the hearing society. As a result, he or she can survive and be

successful in the hearing world. The individual's self-identity depends on the level of success achieved.

Grindrod: Yes, that's fair enough.

The child in the Total Communication school accepts his or her handicap and achieves an identity in the world of those who sign.

Grindrod: Accepting deafness and receiving the group support, the child is better able to move forward, to strive to achieve. Because of support, he or she is able to tackle the realities of the working world more realistically.

If we knew something of the history of this struggle and its leaders, I think we would be in a better position to appreciate the progress that has been made.

Grindrod: Historically, the issues have been no less cloudy or less passionate. From earliest times until the Renaissance, deaf people were variously characterized as incompetent or unteachable and were included among those whom society either protected or ostracized. By the 16th century, attempts were made to teach the deaf, largely by Spanish monks using a sign system of their own creation. However, through the 17th and into the 18th century, real progress in understanding and teaching deaf persons was lacking.

The enlightenment arrived for deaf people, in Europe, at least, by 1760. Five years earlier, Samuel Heinicke, a German, established a school for the deaf. Heinicke's school was the first oral school in the world. Also in 1755, a Frenchman, Abbe Charles de l'Epee opened the first "free school" for the deaf in Paris. De l'Epee's school was dedicated to the use and teaching of sign language. As a result, the first educational controversy about deafness took on the added dimension of a nationalist feud as well. England joined the fray in 1760 when Thomas Braidwood opened his own oral school and used his own

methods. As a result of Braidwood, to this day England remains largely oral.

One of Braidwood's disciples attempted to bring the oral method to Virginia in 1812, but the school established there was short-lived.

The pivotal year in American education of the deaf is 1817. In that year, Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet opened the Connecticut Asylum for the Education and Instruction of Deaf and Dumb Persons. Our modern distaste at the choice of terminology notwithstanding, the event was significant for at least two reasons. First, The Connecticut Asylum became the American School for the Deaf, the first permanent school for the deaf in America. Of greater importance to the future of America's deaf community was the person and presence of Laurent Clerc. Clerc was deaf himself and established a precedent by which deaf people, themselves "native signers," were used as teachers and role models for deaf children.

By 1867, sufficient desire for schools using the oral method prompted the opening of two purely oral schools, Lexington School in New York City and Clarke School in Northampton, Mass. Each claims to be the oldest oral

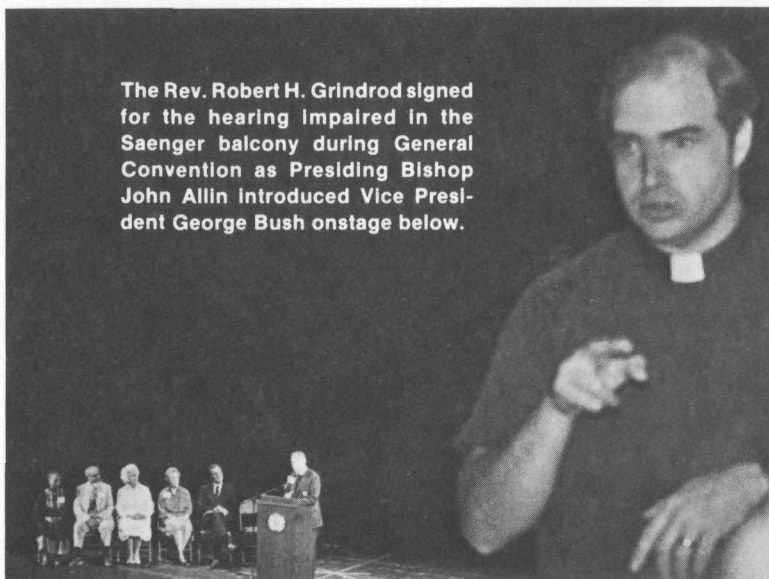
school. At this point, oralism began an ascendancy which remained in force for decades. The International Congress on Education of the Deaf met in Milan, Italy in 1880, and passed a resolution banning the use of sign language in teaching deaf children. The only dissenters were a handful of Americans, notably the Rev. Thomas and Edward Gallaudet, sons of Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet. Edward Gallaudet had established Gallaudet College in Washington, D.C. in 1864 as the only liberal arts college for the deaf in the world. It was and is a leader in the use of sign language to educate deaf persons.

And the Episcopal Church was a pioneer in its ministry to the deaf?

Grindrod: Yes, the Rev. Thomas Gallaudet was an Episcopal priest. He established the role that the church would play in the life of deaf Americans. A story, perhaps apocryphal, about Thomas Gallaudet may give us some insight into the importance of the church and sign language for deaf people.

Gallaudet established the first church for deaf persons in the world in 1852. His deaf mother and her friends were so

The Rev. Robert H. Grindrod signed for the hearing impaired in the Saenger balcony during General Convention as Presiding Bishop John Allin introduced Vice President George Bush onstage below.



overjoyed at the prospect of a church of their own, where sign language was used by priest and people alike, that Thomas was reminded of the joy of the prophetess Anna upon meeting the Christ Child. (Luke 2:36-38) Gallaudet named his church "St. Ann's Church for the Deaf," after Anna, and as a token of love for all the deaf who, like Anna, finally were able to experience the fulfillment of God's promise of a Messiah for all people.

Having established St. Ann's in New York City, Gallaudet proceeded to travel the country as the "Apostle to the Deaf," setting up missions of and for deaf worshippers. Gallaudet and his deaf proteges, the Rev. Henry Syle, the Rev. Austin Mann, and the Rev. Job Turner became the backbone of the Episcopal Church's ministry with deaf persons. Syle was the first deaf man in recorded history to be ordained to Holy orders, becoming a deacon in 1876. By 1881, the ministry was widespread enough to require further expansion. Gallaudet, the Rev. Dr. John Chamberlain, and Syle, Mann, and Turner met at St. Ann's in New York to establish the Conference of Church Workers Among the Deaf.

Today, the Episcopal Conference of the Deaf is a national organization which maintains some loose oversight. It works to raise the consciousness for the deaf, to offer scholarships, to provide liturgical and educational resources, and most important, fellowship among members.

What have been the results of this ministry?

Grindrod: The church has become a haven where deaf people can relax and socialize, where they use their own beloved sign language to worship and converse without fear of ostracism by the hearing. The role of the church in preserving the use of sign language cannot be overemphasized, an outstanding example of preaching the Gospel in

Editorial . . . Continued from page 3

U.S. Marines in Beirut. And so the hawks were appeased. Are we really that kind of people?

In the context of current events, the message of Christmas seems almost lost. But Christmas and bleak events belong together (witness Herod and the Holy Innocents). Christmas is strong medicine for a virulent disease.

Christmas and the Christ-story are not success stories in terms of this world. They are for those who hope against hope, who try to live this life in light of the life to come.

Christmas is Good News only to those who know themselves to be wounded healers, penitent and courageous participants. Such is the witness of those who appear in this month's magazine. Blessed, indeed, are the peacemakers.

(M.L.S. and the editors)

a language known by the people. This has been an extraordinary area of domestic missionary outreach. ■

Resources

For those interested in further information, the Rev. Robert H. Grindrod recommends:

Dancing Without Music by Beryl Lief Brenderly, published by Doubleday/Anchor Press, provides the most serious attempt to deal objectively with all the issues raised by the question of deafness.

The A.G. Bell Association, 3417 Volta Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007 is a source for information with an oral tint, and the National Association of the Deaf, 814 Thayer Ave., Silver Spring, Md. 20910, provides materials with a bias toward Total Communication.

For information about the Episcopal Church's ministry with deaf persons, contact the Ven. Camille Desmarais, President, Episcopal Conference of the Deaf, 2201 Cedar Crest Dr., Birmingham, Ala. 35214, or the Rev. Arthur Steldemann, Executive Secretary, Episcopal Conference of the Deaf, 429 Somerset Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 63119.

Letters . . . Continued from page 2

and worked in Honduras for a year before attending seminary I saw firsthand the sufferings of the Honduran people. I watched on more than one occasion the FUSEP (The National Police Squad) abduct young boys off the street to serve in the military. I saw how the large *fincas* controlled the farm economy, shipping most of their meat and produce to the U.S. while the *campesinos* survived on a diet of beans and rice.

My most vivid memory, however, was a day when a team of U.S. Ranger paratroopers put on a skydiving show at the local stadium. The look in my student's eyes scared me. It was a look of admiration and awe for the Rangers. I thought to myself that day that this was the example of power and success our country and the Honduran military were offering these young people. Most of my students were so captivated by the experience that they wrote later of their desire "to be like those men."

That captures for me the essence of sin our country is exporting to Honduras. Instead of sending teachers, doctors, and engineers we send in the Rangers as our example of the great technological society to the north. The recent stationing of U.S. military advisors only serves to exacerbate the sin of U.S. involvement in Honduras. My only hope is in Honduran people themselves. They are a strong, loving, and delightful people who desire only a decent wage and a safe place in which to live. My prayer is that their will may prevail and that those who seek to turn Honduras into a military base for the U.S. fail in their attempt.

The Rev. Scott A. Benhase
Indianapolis, Ind.

Hooked on WITNESS

If the September issue of THE WITNESS were the only one published this year, it would be worth the total price of the annual subscription. From the editorial by Richard W. Gillett to the last article,

Alice in Blunderland, it was well written and informative. The articles brought much of our national performance in Central America into an unpleasant, but realistic focus.

The WCC Statement on Central America clarified why much that happened in Vancouver never appeared in the daily press and news reports. It helped to explain the driving forces back of our machinations among our neighbors to the south.

I am forwarding the names and addresses of persons that I believe would be interested in seeing the September WITNESS, and I'm enclosing the cost of mailing.

I recently made an Episcopalian acquaintance at a Conference of Habitat for Humanity. In conversation, he commented that he felt the Episcopal Church should be more outspoken on social issues. I asked him if he had ever read THE WITNESS. He had not, so I told him I would get a sample copy to him.

I am not an Episcopalian, but I am "hooked" on THE WITNESS. Actually, I am a longtime Methodist, who frequently worships with some of my many Episcopal friends.

Donald L. Tarr
Salinas, Cal.

Exposes Dangerous Drift

Bravo! Your forthright and timely September issue focused in on what is really going on re: U.S. foreign policy in relation to Central America. A fresh new voice as far as I'm concerned, which needs to be heard in our church. I intend to share my issue with my priest: Who knows, perhaps some eyes may be opened to the current dangerous drift the government, in our name, is taking.

Carolyn W. Reynolds
Santa Rosa, Cal.

Dilutes Christianity

THE WITNESS dilutes what Christianity is all about. Unfortunately, many in the "organized church" today suffer from Jane Fonda/Jim Jones syndromes.

When will it be understood that most Christians much prefer the teachings of Christ rather than the hawking of syndromes?

Twelve years ago, as a deacon of the local United Church of Christ, I withdrew my monetary support because of the obvious (to some) excesses of the UCC and the National Council of Churches. It is refreshing to know that the revolt against certain negative and destructive concepts of the "established church" is widespread.

Thank God for choices. My full support goes to the Rev. Ed Robb and to the Institute on Religion and Democracy, and to the Salvation Army. After years of observing the disarray in the so-called ministry, I thank God I am a military man. I detest the hypocrisy in your ranks.

Lt. Col. Charles E. McLean (USMC Ret.)
Durham, N.H.

Close Call

I am very late sending in my subscription renewal. I had decided I could do without the WITNESS each month, but the prospect, now imminent, becomes too bleak to consider.

Gary Siemers
Minneapolis, Minn.

Seek Seminary Input

For a "jobs idea notebook" for seminary students in non-ordination programs, the Network of Seminarians With Lay Vocations seeks information from lay seminary graduates about their current work, and from lay seminary students about field placements they have done. This information will be presented at the Network of Seminarians With Lay Vocations national conference Jan. 13-15 at the College of Preachers in Washington, D.C.

If any WITNESS readers can help us with this information please contact: Anne Clift Boris, 1201 S. Courthouse Rd., #712, Arlington, Va. 22204.

Katherine Austin
Convenor, NSLV
New York, N.Y.

Trips With Lutherans?

At the last General Convention of the Episcopal Church in New Orleans a resolution bringing a closer relationship between the Episcopal and Lutheran Churches was adopted.

So far, the major implementation of this resolution has been "liturgical orgies" where bishops and other ecclesiastical bureaucrats of the two faiths (almost always exclusively white males) gather in "joint celebrations."

However, one section of the resolution called for joint activity in education and social action, and in conformity to that I used some of my vacation time to attend the annual meeting of the Lutheran Home Relations Association of America. I joined two other Episcopalians, a Presbyterian, and 23 Lutherans on a study tour to Mexico, Honduras, and Nicaragua, sponsored jointly by the Hunger Committee of the Lutheran Church and the Institute for Global Service and Education at Augsburg College.

Seventeen Lutheran bishops are planning a trip to Central America similar to the one I was on — a fantastic opportunity to discover in depth what is really happening south of our border. Three of our bishops did make a quick trip to Nicaragua, but there is no comparable program for bishops or other Episcopalians in our church.

Perhaps instead of debating the nature of Christ's Eucharistic presence and joining in occasional media event services, both churches could find effective joint ways to respond to what Matthew's Gospel describes as the ultimate real presence of Christ — this appearance in the poor, the hungry, the naked, and the prisoners.

The Rev. F. Sanford Cutler
Morristown, N.J.

CREDITS

Cover, Beth Seka; photo p. 5, Craig Callan; Peacemakers graphic pp. 9, 10, 14 Margaret Longdon; photo p. 16 courtesy the Rev. Robert H. Grindrod; photo p. 18, M. L. Suhor; graphic p. 22, courtesy Children's House.

The Churches and Day Care:

Who's Minding the Children?

by Connie Myer

A popular television announcement asks, "It's 10 p.m. Do you know where your children are?" A similar question should be asked, at 9 a.m., about pre-schoolers, says the Rev. Eileen Lindner of the National Council of Churches Child Advocacy Office.

"More and more of America's children are in day care outside their homes, but no one, especially the federal government, knows much about the kind and quality of care being provided," she declares.

In fact, a survey of church-related day care done by the Child Advocacy Working Group of the NCC Division of Church and Society may be one of the most representative studies ever done. Results of the first phase of the study, the working group says, show that America's churches are the largest single provider of child day care in centers in the U.S. About 14,600 programs were reported. More children are still cared for in private homes than in centers, but these "mom and pop" providers are not linked in any way and have not been surveyed.

Lindner, a United Presbyterian minister who has a master's degree in clinical psychology, believes the churches are going into child care more extensively because this kind of social service is in

great demand, with less public aid available.

Federal and state budget cuts are adversely affecting church related centers, too. With the ending of CETA, 10,000 child care workers receive no funding. Cuts in the child food program, which pays for cooks and some food, have been so critical that some centers are serving Kool-Aid rather than milk.

Welfare parents and working poor have received subsidies for child care, under amendments of the Social Security Act, including Title XX. But this administration has cut allocations for Title XX, which are in state block grants, and some states give less priority to day care. Eligibility standards also have been changed to cut out some of the working poor.

The other major way the federal government subsidizes child care is through tax credits. The percentage of expenses eligible for the credit, which now ranges from 20 to 30%, is determined by household income. Families with lower income are able to claim a higher percentage of eligible expenses than families with higher income.

Tax credits may help the middle-class employed person, but they do nothing for the unemployed or single parent whose job hours may have been cut back. Some parents, unable to pay fees, may resort to "tying a child in a crib" while they work part-time, or to leaving babies in the care of their 16 or 18-year-old sister or brother, Lindner says. "We

all hear about fires where children die, when there are no adults home. This is a reality today."

Because of public subsidy reductions and job cutbacks, "we're seeing a gentrification of child care," she adds. The NCC data reveal a higher portion of fee-paying children in church-related day care than non-paying children.

The churches, however, are trying to counter this trend. One third of those surveyed provide utilities, secretarial or janitorial services; 51% give space without a fee; 20% charge low rents from \$1 to \$100 a month, and 49% of the churches are major providers of scholarships to their day care programs.

While public funding is drying up for day care given by non-profit centers like those in churches, commercial profit-making chains of kiddy care are growing. Kindercare, a major chain, bought out three other chains and expects a 35% annual earnings growth over the next five years.

Whatever kind of care is provided — profit or non-profit or in private homes — experts predict more and more young children will spend at least some hours outside their homes each week. The 1980 U.S. Census says 47% of mothers with children under six were working. There are more single parents, due to the growing divorce rate, and due to mothers who choose to raise children alone. The high cost of living requires both parents to work. Women also want to work because they find satisfaction in

Connie Myer, a free lance writer who lives in Manhattan, taught English for the Church of Uganda (Anglican) in 1968-69.

their jobs.

"Many families cannot choose whether or not to use day care. They are forced to by economic necessity," declares Dr. Richard Ruopp, a United Church of Christ minister who is presi-

dent of Bank Street College of Education in New York City. The problems, he points out, are that day care "costs a lot, good costs more than mediocre and not enough good is available."

Eileen Lindner believes the centers in

churches, by some indications, are providing good quality care. "But no one agrees on a definition of quality care. Licensing standards vary from state to state. Some standards are very minimal. Some states exempt churches from licensing because of the church-state separation doctrine. About 60 to 70% of the programs we studied said they were licensed."

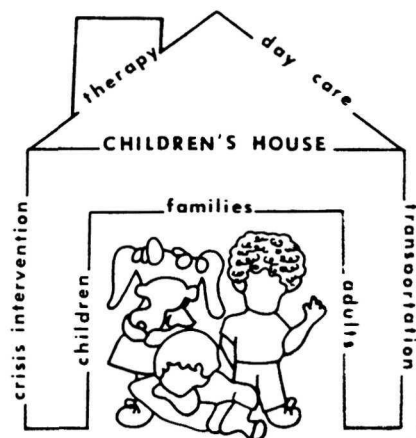
Despite licensing variability, the NCC working group reported a ratio of at least one staff person for each six infants in 90% of the programs. Eighty-five percent had one staff person for eight toddlers and pre-schoolers. Sixty-eight percent of the directors and 67% of the teachers held degrees in early childhood education.

The working group is developing a comprehensive child care policy statement that it's hoped can be the basis of advocacy for public policy.

The group has held four regional conferences of church-related centers to give grass roots input to the statement. A national conference also is planned before the policy goes to the NCC's Governing Board, probably next May. Twelve demonstration child care projects have been set up around the country; a newsletter is being published, and a how-to manual is planned.

One question that may concern some church-related centers is whether religious education should be given to youngsters. Some areas, including New York City, require anyone receiving government aided day care funds to sign a contract agreeing no religion will be taught. The NCC survey found only a small percent, 9.7, of the church centers are engaged in religious education. How this cross-tabulated with those programs receiving government aid was not shown.

The NCC survey didn't include other church providers of day care, such as the Southern Baptist Convention and the many independent churches. The



Episcopal Center Chosen as Model

Children's House, a crisis-oriented day care center housed at St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Fayetteville, Ark, was chosen as one of 12 model centers by the National Council of Churches recently.

Started in May, 1978, Children's House offers therapeutic day care to pre-school children who need protection and support in family crises. Approximately 150 children and their families have been served by the center since its inception.

The center provides ongoing support to families who seek help in overcoming crisis situations in the home, including child abuse and/or neglect, or domestic violence. It provides therapy through play, instruction, art, music, a secure environment, and love, according to Susan Lynch, director. Other services offered are psychological testing and speech therapy, medical referrals and transportation for children in need.

Volunteers are an integral part of the center's operation. They supervise children on the playground, help with cleaning and maintenance, and in the office.

Children's House has had to rely more on community and church support in recent years to offset cuts in Title XX funds and USDA reimbursements for food. Those wishing to support the center may contact Children's House, 224 North East St., Fayetteville, Ark. (501-443-5239).

SBC Sunday School Board reports at least 3,000 churches with day care. Lindner believes Roman Catholic churches, which already have parochial schools in many cases, are not too involved in day care, though more schools have been adding kindergartens.

While some people may lament the passing of a mother's fulltime direct care for her children, child psychologists so far have not reported any adverse effects from good day care, according to *Young Children*, a scholarly journal.

Dr. Ruopp says studies show no major difference in mother-child attachment between children reared in their home and those in day care for substantial periods. For children in low income families, day care appears to somewhat improve their later school test scores, but these are studies from high quality centers.

There have been no studies, he says, relating day care to lowered divorce rates, increased remarriage rates, reduction in child abuse, etc.

All this is why Eileen Lindner believes our nation needs "a diagnosis of child care." What needs to be done? Who should be involved? The federal government? Private corporations? We may need a plurality of styles.

"Remember, the first three years of a child's life are crucial to the rest of his or her development. We need to assure quality care for all our nation's children."

Resources

When Churches Mind the Children: Day Care in Local Parishes, Lindner, Mattis and Rogers. Published 1983 by High/Scope Press, 600 N. River Street, Ypsilanti, MI 48197. \$7.00

Day Care: Scientific and Social Policy Issues, Zigler and Gordon. Published 1982 by Auburn House, 131 Clarendon Street, Boston, MA 02116. Paperback \$12.95; hardback \$24.95.

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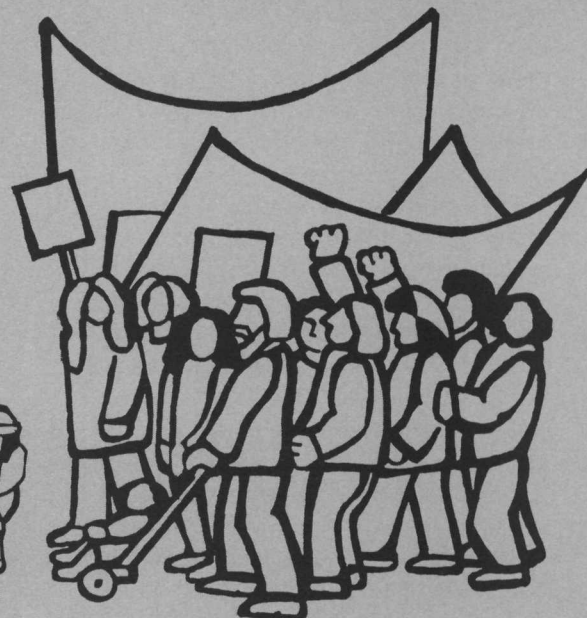


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