

THE an ecumenical journal of social concern WITNESS

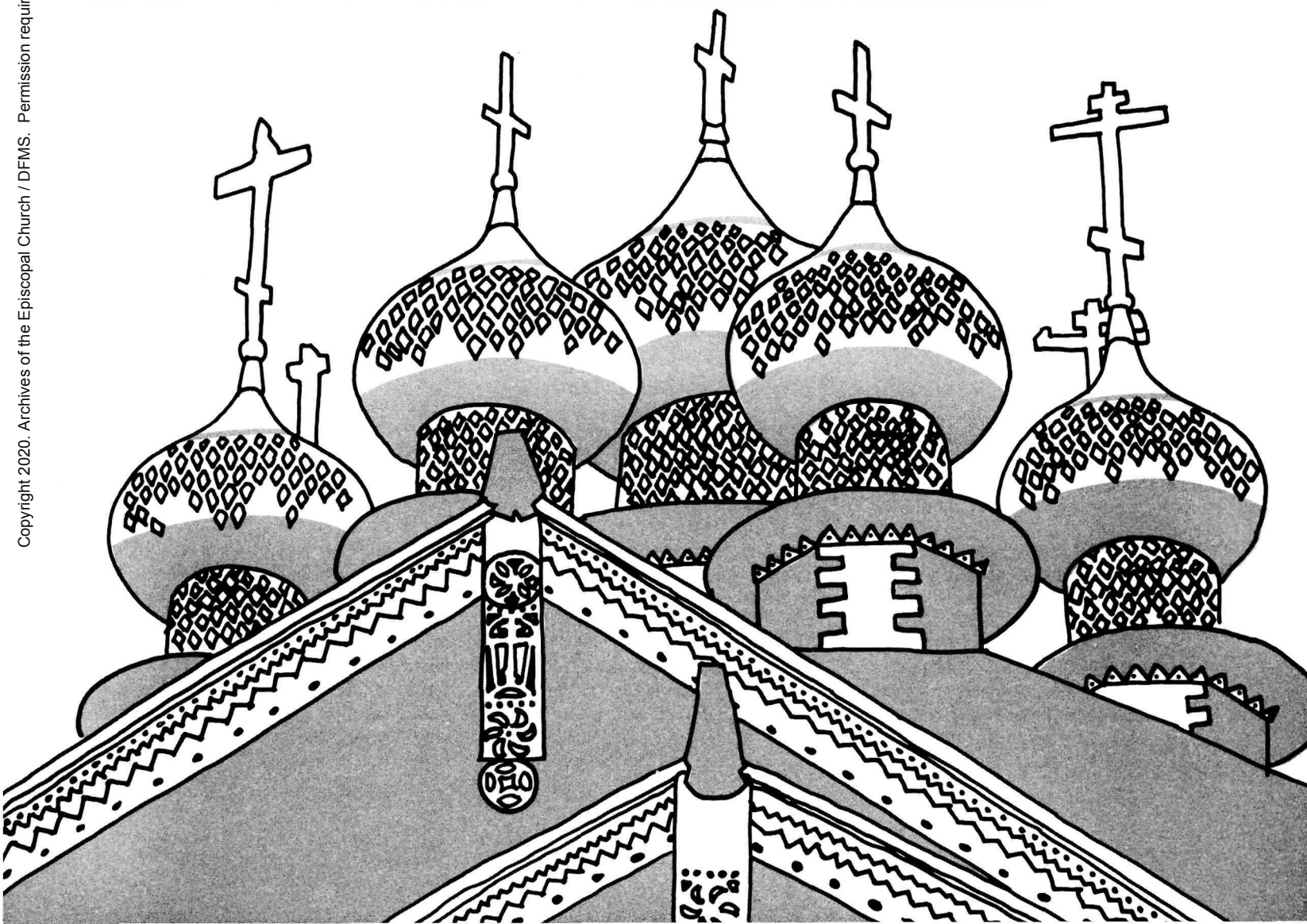
VOLUME • 67
NUMBER • 3
MARCH 1984

Demystifying the Soviet Threat • Richard W. Gillett

Whose Freedom of the Press? • Carter Heyward

Black Setbacks Under Reagan • Mary Anderson Cooper

Lenten Reflection • Nathan E. Williams



Letters

Offers Sanctuary

We have been overwhelmed by the implications of Renny Golden's article "Coyote" describing the work Jim Corbett and others are doing to help refugees in need of sanctuary. (January Issue)

If you will be adding other names to the list of those able to offer housing to people fleeing from the abominations in El Salvador and Guatemala, please put us down. We can accommodate six people if need be.

James and Helen Fritz
State College, Pa.

(Renny Golden suggests that WITNESS readers like the Fritzes, who are interested in accommodating refugees, contact Lee Holstein, Coordinator, National Sanctuary Movement, Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America, 407 S. Dearborn, Room 370, Chicago, Ill. 60605 — Eds.)

Doomsday Band-Aid

WITNESS readers should be alerted to a "band-aid for doomsday" plan concocted by the Department of Defense. In 1980, the DOD quietly and without Congressional debate circulated a request to major hospitals throughout the country. It was entitled the Civilian-Military Contingency Hospital System (CMCHS) and urged that civilian hospitals be able to set aside 50,000 beds on short notice for the treatment of military casualties.

One of the DOD computer models of future conventional war casualties would require one-third more beds than are available in military and veterans' hospitals in the continental United States. Hence, the CMCHS. To obtain the extra beds, it would be necessary for hospitals in the plan to curtail elective admissions and the use of other means of meeting the needs caused by floods, fires and other

disasters. As of some months ago, over 400 hospitals across the nation had joined the CMCHS.

There is one flaw in the computer printout. The scenario calls for a conventional war and doesn't take into account the possibility of either a tactical nuclear exchange or a full-scale one. Physicians for Social Responsibility have opposed the plan, stating that "the authors fail to acknowledge that full-scale conventional and nuclear warmaking capabilities are inseparably interlocked by a common technology and a publicly articulated military doctrine." They state that the DOD has come up with a totally unrealistic game plan.

The Department of Defense directed its request directly to hospital administrators and bypassed debate on the plan by Congress, the public and the majority of the medical profession.

We now know that a full-scale nuclear exchange between the superpowers would in all probability result in the extinction of the human race. So at best this informal approach to hospitals is an exercise in futility; at worst, a cynical piece of busy work to further delude the public that survival after a nuclear war is a possibility.

Lawrence Carter
Santa Monica, Cal.

WITNESS Plus NCR

Thanks for your offering of Christmas gift subscriptions. Over the past year, after I read THE WITNESS I would pass it on to my rector. But now I'm sending him a subscription so I can pass mine on to someone else. I really count as necessary reading THE WITNESS and *National Catholic Reporter*, to which I also subscribe. I pass those on to the Director of the New Mexico Conference of Churches.

Ruth Lackey
Albuquerque, N.M.

WITNESS in Darkness

Your magazine is so far to the left and liberal that I personally question if you are Christian. It is a certain fact that you are not biblical, but perhaps like most liberal thinkers, you do not intend to be biblical.

Please remember that it is one thing to be "religious" and "theological" and a very different thing to be uniquely "Christian" and "biblical." Those of us who are committed to biblical truth and honesty and are "born again" and "filled with the Holy Spirit" know the difference. Our hearts and prayers go out to those who are living in spiritual darkness.

Sanford C. Oyer
Wooster, Ohio

Must Speak Out

I commend you for your January editorial, "1984." I am in full agreement with it.

At 83 years of age, I find myself thinking how every day another step is planned or taken toward readying the thermonuclear air, sea and land devices to be used for the destruction of property and of human beings.

Yet the basic human needs for survival are not being met; lives are in jeopardy, and our governments request our condoning military programs or do not admit to the fact of their present implementation.

We must become more and more articulate, as THE WITNESS has. We must be seriously prayerful in asking God to move the minds of men and women toward recognition of the absolute necessity for peaceful negotiations between people and nations. I myself have never found that selling people on the idea of peaceful negotiation between nations has been easy. The alternative,

however, will be annihilation of most of the people on our planet.

Helen Stone
Petersburg, Mich.

Need Futurists

Crucial periods have come and gone. One is no worse than the other. Each has produced changes that have proved to be beneficial to humanity. But with all the benefits, there is always a high price to pay.

The battle today, as I see it, is not a crusade for some new social conscience locked in with century old theories, which have become as bureaucratic as industry and politics, but a battle against the 300-year-old industrial age structure now in the throes of transition. It is a worldwide phenomenon.

The industrial tradition has radically influenced the people of God to the point of determining the economic system over and above the physical, mental and spiritual health of the whole human family.

There must be futurists in all religions, bold enough to cut the paths to a new civilization. The 21st century age. The atom and space age. Until the past is ignored and the new beginning is developed on sound and truth-filled foundations, religions will fall as quickly and as definitely as the industrial system. The atomic age must be addressed in atomic age language, ideas, principles and most of all religious *truths*.

It is time for involvement. The church must strike out anew and break with the industrial complex. Can it be said that religions have not felt the impact of the governing elite?

Jesus was vexing and disturbing. The present world's Christianity has forgotten his teachings and has bought Paul's fairy tales which were the political structure for the Roman Empire.

S. Stuart Johnson
Sheridan, Wyo.

It's our birthday and you get the gift.



Coming in May!
our special
10th Anniversary supplement . . .

Free to all
WITNESS
subscribers

The history of THE WITNESS dates back farther than 10 years, of course — our first issue came off the press Jan. 6, 1917. But THE (new) WITNESS came to life again in 1974, after a two-year interruption following the death of its courageous editor, William B. Spofford, Sr.

The year 1974 was memorable for another reason: THE WITNESS declared its rebirth in a special supplement announcing the ordination of the first Episcopalian women priests, the Philadelphia 11. And new editor, Robert L. DeWitt, was one of the bishops who ordained them.

We are proud to be celebrating these twin events this year, and we will again produce a special supplement — not only commemorating those ordinations which made history in the Episcopal Church — but also focusing on what that event means to the present and the future.

Jesus Under Torture

A.D. 33 — A.D. 1984

Is there anything more abhorrent to ponder than an act of torture? The notion that one human being would willfully inflict physical pain or mental torment upon another toward some presumed higher end makes us cringe, makes us nauseous, makes us recoil in disgust.

These reactions normally prompt us to shy away from Lenten meditations focusing on Jesus under torture — the scourging, the crowning with thorns, the crucifixion. In the agony in the Garden, we see the Savior himself shaken in anticipation of the final events of Calvary, praying “if it be possible, let this cup pass from me.”

And so we make excuses to avoid contemplating Christ’s final hours. After all, that happened in A.D. 33. Surely we live in a more civilized era.

But reflecting upon events of recent history gives us pause. In our own country, consider the abominations of slavery which produced lynchings, dismembered bodies, rape victims, Black children tied to autos and dragged at high speed through gravel roads . . .

Then in other parts of the world, Jews sent to Hitler’s gas chambers, prisoners to tiger cages, the inhuman crimes of Stalinist purges . . .

And now, over the past two decades, a catalogue of modern horrors has emerged from Central and South America, reported by human rights commissions frequently connected with or aided by the churches:

An army colonel collects human ears to prove the sum of his body count . . . mutilated peasant men and women are found in the countryside; disemboweled, limbs chopped, genitals castrated, nipples cut off, *in utero* infants carved out . . . a mother receives her daughter’s severed hands, in a box, on Christmas eve . . . electric shocks are applied to prisoners to retrieve information . . .

Carolyn Forché has recounted many such ignominies in the new book, *El Salvador*, a collection of photos taken by 30 photographers on assignment from *Time*, *Newsweek*, etc. Forché was quoted recently about these grisly pheno-

mena: The perpetrators believe that “when mere death no longer instills fear in the population, the stakes must be raised. The people must be made to see that not only will they die, but die slowly and brutally.”

So has it been throughout history.

In the end, of course, the demonic use of force to achieve ends doesn’t work. It didn’t work when Christians were thrown to the lions, when unbelievers were delivered to the rack (and other horrors) during the Inquisition, when witches were burned at the stake. And neither will it work for the military and paramilitary forces who are tearing apart the soul of Latin America.

Some ineluctable spark fires the will of those who survive or witness atrocities, enabling them to struggle on in spite of the consequences. This mysterious capacity of the human spirit to stand fast, even under torture, for a cause believed to be just is truly grist for Lenten meditation. (See page 12.)

(M.L.S. and the editors)

THE WITNESS

EDITOR
Mary Lou Suhor

SENIOR CONTRIBUTING EDITOR
Robert L. DeWitt

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS
Richard W. Gillett
Hugh C. White

STAFF
Ann Hunter
Bonnie Pierce-Spady
Susan Small
Lisa Whelan

PUBLISHER
Episcopal Church Publishing Company

ECPC BOARD OF DIRECTORS

CHAIR
H. Coleman McGehee

VICE-CHAIR
Mattie Hopkins

SECRETARY
Gloria Brown

TREASURER
Carman St. J. Hunter
ASSISTANT TREASURER
Robert Eckersley

Otis Charles
Steven Guerra
Carter Heyward
James Lewis
Joseph A. Pelham
Robert Potter
Antonio Ramos
Kwasi Thornell

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Barbara C. Harris

THE WITNESS

an ecumenical journal
of social concern

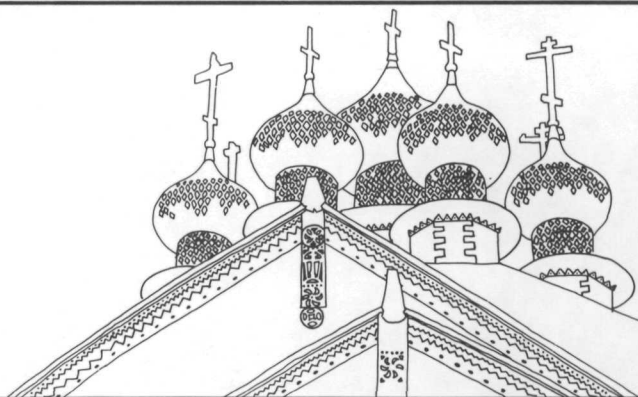


Table of Contents

6	Demystifying the Russian Threat Richard W. Gillett
10	From MAD to NUTS: Have We Lost Control? Carl G. Jacobsen
12	Bloody Religion: Secret to Wisdom Nathan E. Williams
15	Whose Freedom of the Press? Carter Heyward
18	Black Setbacks Under Reagan Mary Anderson Cooper
20	Frivolous Fruits: War Tax Update Kay Atwater

Credits

Cover, Beth Seka from a graphic by Citizen Exchange Council, 18 E. 41 St., N.Y., N.Y.; graphic p. 3, Margaret Longdon; photos pp. 6, 9, courtesy Richard W. Gillett; graphic p. 11, *Cities* magazine; "Crucifixion" p. 12 and "Joseph and Son" p. 21, Robert F. McGovern.

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. THE WITNESS is indexed in the American Theological Library Association's *Religion Index One: Periodicals*. Copyright 1984 by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Printed in U.S.A. ISSN 0197-8896.



The Rev. William Howard, Executive Director of the Black Council, Reformed Churches in America, is welcomed to the U.S.S.R. by Archbishop Pitirim of Volokolamsk, head of the publishing department of the Moscow Patriarchate. Looking on is Gennady Fedosov, Secretary-General of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Friendship Society. The meeting took place during the trip described in the accompanying article.

WITNESS contributing editor Dick Gillett visited the Soviet Union recently under the auspices of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Citizens' Dialogue. Here are his impressions . . .

Demystifying

As the American presidential primaries begin, and as poking and fumbling for the political pulse of the country becomes the obsession of every candidate for public office, how will the vital issue of the Soviet Union as principal antagonist of the United States be debated?

At this writing, a prediction is unfortunately not difficult to make. Notwithstanding recent peace posturing, Ronald Reagan has been successful towards convincing public opinion that the Soviet Union is "the focus of evil" (the phrase he used last year when speaking before a group of evangelical clergy in Florida). Although there is some resistance among Democrats to his "global conspiracy" theory of Communism, Reagan's vituperations against the Soviets' basic untrustworthiness, their conspiratorial temperament, their willingness to risk nuclear war, and the morally reprehensible nature of their society have gained alarming acceptance in the public mind. So much so, that practically no candidate, Republican or Democrat, is likely to take a position questioning this categorization of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Even the religious groups most actively involved in protesting the nuclear arms race generally have focused on the military escalation of both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., condemning the two nations equally and hastening to avoid the use of the word "trust" in any relation to the Soviet Union, lest they be accused of being "soft on Communism."

(Make no mistake about it: We are not in danger of returning to another Joe McCarthy period, *we have already returned there*).

During a visit as part of a 29-member citizens' dialogue delegation to the Soviet

the Russian Threat

by Richard W. Gillett

Union last year, I found such categorizations of the Soviet people and leadership to be not only highly simplistic but fraught with untruths. I found much that is good and noble in the Soviet Union, along with profound paradoxes and disturbing perspectives. What is more, I believe that an objective look at the Soviet Union today (one neither blindly pro-socialist nor fanatically anti-Communist) will disclose that the balance of responsibility for Cold War tensions at this juncture may lie more with the United States than the Soviet Union. Such a verdict may indeed be more than the American public can currently tolerate, but the issue must be approached with an open mind.

First-Hand Impressions

First-hand impressions are important. Herewith, acknowledging the limitations inherent in one short visit, are my own.

Our trip was sponsored by the U.S.-U.S.S.R. Citizens' Dialogue, Inc., a largely church-based group dedicated to promoting mutual trust and understanding between our two peoples through exchange visitations in each others' countries. We traveled together to Leningrad and Moscow, and then split into sub-groups to visit the Soviet republics of Estonia (Tallinn), Khazakhstan (Alma Ata), and Armenia (Yerevan). We held both formal and informal sessions on the subjects of war and peace and the relations between our two countries, and we did some sightseeing and visited churches and church leaders.

We landed in Leningrad on a late April afternoon in 50 degree weather. After clearing immigration (we had no difficulties), we went immediately from the airport to the monument commemorating the 900-day siege of Leningrad.

There began to form right away one of the two chief impressions that I carried back with me — that the Russians have suffered more from war than we can ever imagine.

When the Germans launched their offensive against the Soviet Union in 1941, they aimed straight at Leningrad, the cradle of the Revolution, the gem of Peter the Great, the soul, in many ways, of the Russian past and present. To hold that city cost the Russians the destruction of 3,000 buildings, including 187 architectural monuments, and the lives of 1 million people. The first winter of that siege, our guides told us, was the coldest in a century. About 500,000 died in the first 12 months, mostly women and children.

The next day at the Piskariovskoye Cemetery, we laid a wreath on the unmarked graves of soldiers and civilians who died in Leningrad.

So our delegation felt and perceived right at the start the Russian experience with war and suffering. Hardly a family did not suffer the death of a member or members. Twenty million Soviet people died in World War II. Over 1,700 cities and towns were destroyed. There is a noticeable scarcity of men on the streets between the ages of 57 and 70; they simply are absent from the population.

(The United States lost 405,000 armed forces personnel in that war. No town in the continental United States came under enemy attack, surface or air, and no foreign soldier set foot on our soil here.)

Over and over, the Soviets will tell you, "We do not want war." The pain is still in their eyes and voices.

The first night we arrived in Leningrad, some of us went walking — it was 10 p.m. and still twilight in that northern city. In their beautiful parks, ev-

eryone was out. There were lots of soldiers in uniform also, but they were not armed. It seemed that they were off-duty but required to be in uniform. We walked freely and without a guide around those incredible historic buildings in the Leningrad evening. Phyllis Palmer of Ohio said, as we saw the people enjoying the balmy night and the beautiful Neva River, "And to think that we have our missiles aimed at this city!" On the way back to the hotel, we saw a child's hopscotch pattern on the sidewalk. As we approached the hotel, we heard the sounds of a disco — a Western disco. Young people there were dressed similarly to the way my own children dress — acquiring a little Western "decadence"!

The next evening after a session with the Soviets and some sight-seeing, we boarded the train for Moscow. The following morning at 6:30, the radio began playing in the compartment — first some undecipherable Russian (a mixture of chit-chat and propaganda, one of our Russian-speaking American delegates told us) and then the unmistakable tune of "Do Re Mi" from *The Sound of Music*, sung in Russian!

Moscow Vignettes

Moscow was prettier than I thought it would be. People were out in great numbers in the streets; they appeared well-dressed and were not all scurrying along with their coat collars turned up. There were children. There were parents having trouble with their children. There were couples. There were more cars than I expected. You'd think you were any place in Europe, except there were no billboards or ads. They were replaced by political banners and signs, some in vintage 1950 neon. We found the huge apartment complexes dull and monot-

onous — but a long sight better than the crumbling blockbusters of Chicago's south side or Lower Manhattan. We saw no individual homes in Moscow, but there are wide boulevards, parks, playgrounds, and an incredible transportation network of electric trolleys and the Moscow subway.

Our most extensive dialogue with the Soviets took place in Moscow, at "Dom Druzhbu" (Friendship House), a beautiful old historic building. In both formal and informal exchanges, our differences became clear. The Russians asserted that we had been first to develop almost every major new weapons system since World War II, that the escalation of the arms race was begun again in 1979 by us (Jimmy Carter still being in office) and that they had armed simply to catch up. They said the United States had missed many opportunities since World War I for a de-escalation of the arms race. They said the U.S.S.R. has formally pledged not to use nuclear weapons first and has endorsed a mutual verifiable freeze and asked us why our government would not reciprocate. They felt that with Ronald Reagan, relations had plunged to their lowest in 40 years (this was said before either the Korean Airlines 007 disaster or the Grenada invasion), and expressed great fear that he could well start a nuclear conflagration and even seemed prepared to risk one.

The latter was my second chief impression from talking to the Soviets: their great fear of American intentions. It seemed a fear confirmed by the Russians' historic experience with the West ever since Napoleon's invasion of Russia. It had been the Germans who invaded Russia in World War I. Then, following the 1917 Revolution, Britain, France, and to a lesser extent, the United States, sent troops into Russia to support the (anti-Bolshevik) Whites in their effort to turn back the revolution. This was followed by the German inva-

sion in 1941. It finds its historic continuity today, when U.S. Cruise and Pershing II missiles are placed on European soil, aiming at the Soviet Union.

Several of us felt the Russians were correct in some of these assessments and said so. On the other hand, when we criticized their invasion of Afghanistan, their buildup of SS-20 missiles, their control of events in Poland, their throttling of Soviet dissidents, including particularly Jewish dissidents, their closed and secretive society, the enormous crimes of Stalin, and other acts, they basically defended them. There is a maddening inability of the Soviets to be critical of any Soviet foreign policy stance or of domestic security policies.

In religious matters, there is considerably more freedom than is commonly supposed in the West. More people are attending churches, and the government, although officially atheist, is allowing more congregations to open. Churches are crowded. People are not persecuted for the mere fact of attending church, but it is against Soviet law to propagate the faith or to evangelize. Except for seminaries, which are viewed as training schools, no Christian education class or schools are allowed (education is the function of the state). Certainly, no criticism of the government is tolerated from the pulpit. In visits with prelates of both the Russian Orthodox Church and the Armenian Apostolic Church, however, we were impressed with their commitment to peace and their regard for us as Christian brothers and sisters in that endeavor.

I returned to this country with a new awareness that we cannot begin to understand another people and culture unless we attempt to see history and world events from their perspective. Through the insights of liberation theology (Latin American, Black, and feminist), we in the "First World" are beginning to understand this as applied to Third

World peoples and minorities. It is time we took Russian history and culture with equal seriousness. We will thereby likely discover the validity of some of their perspectives, as well as the paranoia (focused historically in a love-hate relationship with the West) that skews their view of us.

I developed a maxim that I believe holds true in any dialogue we will have with the Russians: To the extent that we are willing to admit and discuss the prominent injustices and oppression, past and present, in our own society, to that same extent we can be tolerant and understanding of the injustices and oppressions in Soviet society— thereby eliminating the tendency to put the Soviets "in the dock" for their crimes, as if we had a superior moral platform from which to judge them.

In attempting to assess responsibility for the present dangerous impasse between our two countries, we should acknowledge at least four military and political realities dominating U.S. policy towards the Soviet Union since the end of World War II. First, that the United States has held military supremacy over the Soviet Union ever since the end of World War II, until only recently.

Second, that the United States possesses much more extensive military interventionary capacity than does the Soviet Union. There is no equivalent Soviet policy to the "two-and-a-half war" scenario which our country is planning to be able to wage simultaneously.

Third, under President Reagan, policy to force internal changes in the Soviet Union through economic and propaganda tactics has become explicit.

Fourth, the United States issued in 1982 (according to a document leaked to the *New York Times*) a plan which, among other things, called for the development of a "nuclear war-fighting cap-

ability" that would permit the United States to prevail in a nuclear war over a "protracted conflict period."

These aspects of our policy, I submit, weigh heavily — perhaps decisively — when compared to Soviet aggressions in Eastern Europe, Soviet aid to Third World countries, and the general global extension of Soviet influence and ideology, which has suffered serious setbacks in the last decade.

If our two societies are so vastly different and our histories and reigning ideologies are so far apart, where might we start to narrow the gap? George F. Kennan, the distinguished career diplomat and Ambassador to the Soviet Union for many years, recalls the wisdom of General George C. Marshall regarding the Soviet Union during the early post-World War II years: "Marshall used to say to us, 'Don't fight the problem,' by which he meant, I believe, 'Don't fight against the problem as a whole, for it includes elements that you

cannot hope to change. Find out which elements, if any, are susceptible to your influence and concentrate on them.'"

Specifically, we can begin to advocate a return to the level of cultural, educational, and scientific exchanges which blossomed during Khrushchev's time. (The United States, seeking diplomatic retaliation for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, sharply curtailed these exchanges.)

In a visit with Valentina Tereshkova, the first woman cosmonaut in space, four of us were deeply moved by her tender and reverent description of earth as she first viewed it from space. She related it beautifully to our need to live together on the planet and expressed her hope that Soviets and Americans could again link up in space for peaceful purposes, as they had in the early 1970s. That is another area of cooperation we could advocate.

In our visit to Armenia, engineer

Gamlet Maksapetian gave a moving speech advocating joint solutions to world environmental problems which affect us all. In these and other areas, there is room for our governments to take small steps towards cooperation.

Months after my trip, I find myself still fascinated, yet perplexed, about the Soviet Union. We saw and felt much, yet much remained darkly hidden. We saw great beauty in the people we met, yet there was a certain decay of the spirit perceptible underneath (as, perchance, in our own country?). We saw the striking results of an historic revolution that has eliminated poverty, homelessness, and unemployment. Yet the democratic impulses of that revolution seem to have been largely lost.

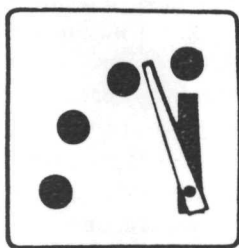
Above all, I came away convinced of this: The movement by the churches and others to reverse the arms race is going to be halted somewhere down the road unless it takes the decisive step of addressing and disarming the fear that feeds that race, namely our fear of the Russians. We need to discuss and develop a strategy for demystifying the Russian threat and enhancing mutual trust.

Such a strategy must be every bit as purposeful and vigorous as our nuclear protest strategies. It is risky, of course: We will be attacked as dupes, soft on Communism, un-American, and all the other historic epithets. But *not* to take the risk will be to let lie unaddressed, unexorcised, that pathology of fear and ignorance that breeds hatred. Like a recurrent fever, it will inevitably rise and paralyze further progress.

If we undertake such a strategy of rapprochement with the Soviets, I believe we in the churches could make a difference. The chances are considerably more than even that we will find enough common ground for a mutual trust that will eventually allow significant disarmament to occur, and enable our children and grandchildren — both there and here — to inherit a peaceful world. ■



Mme. Proskurnikova, Vice Chair of the Soviet Women's Committee, addresses U.S. delegates.



From MAD to NUTS

Have We Lost Control?

by Carl G. Jacobsen

Last year ended with the deployment of new U.S. missile systems in Europe. In January of 1984 the famed "doomsday clock" of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists moved still closer to midnight. It was the *second* such move since the inauguration of the Reagan administration. Relations between the superpowers were at a nadir. The fall of 1983 saw Washington and Moscow each comparing the other to Nazi Germany. George Kennan, America's senior Soviet specialist, somberly noted that such exchanges "are the familiar characteristics, the unflinching characteristics, of a march toward war."

There is a widespread consensus that the most immediate (though not the only) danger emanates from the Reagan administration's explicit disavowal of strategic assumptions accepted by its predecessors, both Republican and Democratic. But there is also longer term fear, that both sides might be approaching 21st century weapons with 19th century mindsets, that the military-industrial juggernauts might have become impervious to

the deliberations of statesmen and strategists, and that we are losing control — with systems dictating policy, rather than policy dictating systems.

The most immediate concern focuses on the deployment in West Germany of Pershing II ballistic missiles. Their minimal flight time to Soviet targets is seen by many to constitute an unconscionable increase in the risk of accidental war. U.S. warning systems suffered 147 false alarms over a recent 18-month period (the causes ranged from radar misidentification of Canada geese and the rising of the moon, to the insertion of a training tape into the wrong computer). Soviet technology is no better. Intercontinental-range flight times allow for backup checks. But with Pershing IIs on the border, so to speak, Moscow will not have time to verify whether radar blips are missiles or natural phenomena.

The Pershing deployment breaks a tacit 20-year-old superpower agreement not to deploy medium-range missiles adjacent to the other's territory. The withdrawal of American missiles from Turkey following Moscow's withdrawal from Cuba in 1962 mirrored mutual acceptance of the thesis that such deployments were unduly destabilizing. They were also increasingly unnecessary, due to the advent of large numbers of intercontinental-range missiles.

This did not mean that new strategic systems could not be developed. They did of course proliferate. But deployment decisions, the wheres and hows, sought to maximize one's security without jeopardizing the other's. Forward deployment of Pershing IIs defies the dictum.

NATO's "dual-track" decision of 1979 called for missile preparations to proceed in tandem with negotiations; the missiles constituted a bargaining chip, to be deployed only if negotiations failed. Yet in the end Pershing and cruise missiles were deployed in spite of the fact that Moscow had conceded far more than originally expected.

A quick review is in order. For three years prior to 1979 NATO viewed Soviet SS-20 deployment, accompanied by phase-out of older missiles, as a normal process of modernization. In the *Military Balance 1979-80*, Britain's prestigious Institute for Strategic Studies summarized establishment attitudes. Noting that 120 SS-20 launchers had been deployed, it continued: "If the Soviets were to retire the SS-4 and SS-5 missiles our calculations show that another 140 SS-20 would do the job of the 590 SS-4 and SS-5 missiles." In other words, 260 SS-20 missiles were seen as an acceptable component of Moscow's counter to America's Forward Based Systems (land and carrier-based nuclear-armed fighter bombers

Dr. C. G. Jacobsen is currently Professor of International Studies, Director of Soviet Studies, and Director of the Strategic Studies and National Security Program at the Graduate School of International Studies, University of Miami.

plus NATO-assigned submarines) and British and French forces. Only if deployment proceeded beyond 260 would parity be endangered.

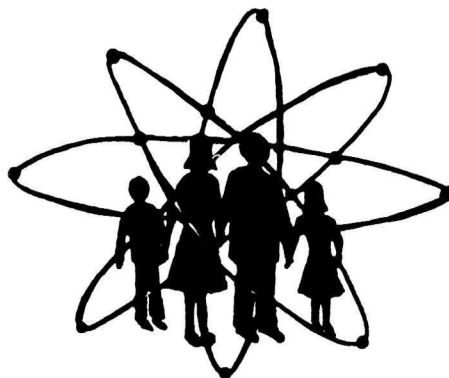
By the end of 1983 SS-20 numbers in Europe approximated but did not exceed this "acceptable" figure. Another 100 were stationed in Soviet Asia, and could in theory be moved westward (though the specter of Asian rivals was likely to keep them East of the Urals). But Moscow had backtracked. The Soviet Union offered to cut SS-20 warhead numbers drastically, down to British and French levels. The concept of "theater-range" parity with Britain and France could in the future become a recipe for SS-20 proliferation, since these nations both entertained grandiose expansion plans. But in December 1983 Moscow's offer meant that Soviet nuclear forces aimed at Western Europe would be cut to a level not seen since the late 1950s. NATO's dual-track decision had succeeded beyond anyone's expectation.

Yet Washington held steadfastly to the position that British and French forces were extraneous, and that U.S. theater-nuclear missile numbers in Europe match Moscow's — though Moscow must not deploy analogous systems in Cuba. The reverse, that America tolerate Soviet rockets in Cuba, without even posing a similar threat to Moscow in Europe, and that America furthermore agree not to count missiles developed by Cuba, with or without Soviet help, would of course be utterly unacceptable. Moscow was dared to precipitate a world crisis, or concede a U.S. advantage, and nullify two decades of military-political effort.

Ronald Reagan took office at a time when Moscow had secured countervailing strategic power, and growing ability to intervene in distant regions. But Pentagon data documented, then as now, U.S. superiority in most areas of basic technology. America remains ahead in the most important indices of power: warhead numbers, both strategic and

overall; accuracy potentials (far more important than yield); warhead miniaturization technologies (allowing more to be packed on smaller missiles); vulnerability (71% of Moscow's nuclear arsenal is land-based and theoretically vulnerable, as opposed to 21% of America's); and day-to-day readiness (60% of U.S. submarines are at their firing locales, versus 14% of Moscow's).

U.S. arguments about Soviet superiority are sleights of hand. Soviet yields are cited with no reference to overall accuracies. Warhead tabulations are skewed, excluding categories of U.S.



advantage. Soviet systems are dated from the appearance of their final configuration, while U.S. systems are dated from their first appearance (thus Soviet SS-18s and SS-19s are said to be 15 years newer than the Minuteman, although many are older than the latest Minuteman IIIs). Naval computations equate aircraft carriers with lesser craft, turning a two to one U.S. tonnage advantage into a Soviet lead. Tank numbers incorporate Warsaw Pact reserves, but exclude NATO's, and ignore NATO's twice-higher average firing rate and other qualitative differences.

The pursuit of war fighting and war survival echoes a tradition rooted in the flexible response doctrines of the 1960s, the early '70s Schlesinger doctrine of selective targeting and demonstration

strikes, and Carter's counterforce options. But with preceding administrations Mutual Assured Destruction remained the bottom line. Therein lay the precondition, rationale and imperative for arms control. But Reagan demurred. Today's procurements are explicitly designed to "render the accumulated Soviet equipment stock obsolete."

Established programs to develop and deploy Trident, MX and Pershing II missiles with the theoretical accuracy to take out Moscow's land-based forces continue. But now they are joined by orders for supercarriers and naval units openly designed to penetrate and attack Soviet second-strike submarine sanctuaries in the Barents Sea in the north (and the Okhotsk, in the Far East). The threat to Moscow's retaliatory force potential constitutes *de facto* repudiation of MAD, and hence of the need for arms control. The new catch-word is NUTS — nuclear utilization theories — reinforced further by the President's call for a decades-long program to establish space-based ballistic missile defense systems.

The chorus of objections from so many past national security advisors focused in part on the impracticability of the ambition. Internal U.S. Navy documents speak of the Barents Sea ambition with extreme skepticism. The space vision presupposes awesome scientific progress, at awesome cost, and ignores prospects for cheap, effective countermeasures. And the first strike potential of Trident, MX, Pershing II and newer Soviet missile models rests on accuracy computations that ignore the differences between peacetime and wartime trajectories, and between ideal and hostile environments.

Technological realities and constraints, and pressure from allies and Congress, may yet persuade the Reagan administration to revert to its predecessors' acceptance of MAD. The outline of a compromise exists. Paul Nitze, America's theater-nuclear arms negotiator in Eu-

Continued on page 23



Bloody Religion: Secret to Wisdom

by Nathan E. Williams

I am amazed at the ease with which the cross is displayed. This hideous instrument of execution now hangs from our necks on chains, adorns the lapels of our jackets, dangles from our wrists on bracelets, and is traced in frosting on cakes and bakery rolls. Can you imagine doing the same with a hangman's noose? An electric chair? A cyanide pot? A firing squad? I cannot.

There were three means of capital punishment in first century Palestine:

The Rev. Nathan E. Williams, M. Div., is minister of the First Baptist Church of Pittsburgh.

stoning, beheading, and crucifixion. All are mentioned in the New Testament. Crucifixion was the most odious punishment. Ancient writers were repulsed by it. It was viewed by the authorities as a deterrent to crime, and for that reason administered to the most "dangerous" criminals. In A.D. 6, Judas the Galilean and 3,000 of his followers were crucified along the roads of Palestine for a guerilla insurrection against a Roman census. Jesus, who never took up arms or advocated that others do so, was regarded as sufficiently dangerous to merit this exemplary death.

We have domesticated the cross. Its

power to offend has been stolen and with this loss, the scandal and the power of the Gospel have disappeared from our lives. The cross is as offensive as the electric chair; and the "preaching of the cross" — the insistence that a man tried, convicted, and executed for a capital crime is the Savior of the world — is scandalous. (*I Corinthians 1:18-25*)

God's wisdom is said to be bound up with that event. This "foolish Gospel" of Christ crucified is said to be the very power of God.

I have puzzled for years over the meaning of the cross. I have read commentaries and many books, but some-

how they always seem a little wide of the mark. It was not until I understood that the cross interprets what happens to all the poor of this world that the event began to make sense.

Those who suffer are people who subsist on the fringes of any society, who are forced through no fault of their own to live in the cracks and crannies of this world's systems. We do not lack contemporary illustrations. If I take a gun, enter your house, and with my gun deprive you of everything you need to sustain your life and that of your family, I am a criminal. On the other hand, if I live in Central or South America, and with my

friends and backing from the CIA, foment a coup, expropriate communal lands, refuse to grow corn and beans and rice and instead raise crops for export (sugarcane, strawberries, orchids, coffee), and hire you at a subsistence wage to work my lands, I am a capitalist. Every society, every system, intentionally marginalizes people. It happens under socialism, it happens under capitalism. We have grown adept at criticizing dehumanization and oppression occurring under socialism. We are not so adept at criticizing the oppression which exists under capitalism.

The crucified Christ is the interpreting symbol for all the marginalized and oppressed peoples of this world — Jews through the centuries, Armenians at the hands of Turks, Hottentots under the Boers, American Indians and Black Americans, victims of Stalinist purges, victims of the Inquisition, Palestinians at the hands of the Israelis, and the list could go endlessly on.

The crucified Christ interprets that suffering because he is one with it. Finitude and death were an unavoidable consequence of incarnation. Suffering, as one caught in the grinding of society's institutions, was a choice which went beyond what was implicit in incarnation. To believe that God really was "in Christ" is to believe that God is intentionally one with all who suffer. The cross is a theology of suffering, God's perspective on the world. Paul asserts that this gospel is the heart of Christian preaching, and he will know nothing other than "Christ crucified."

Commitment to the cross is a commitment to bloody religion, and we don't like bloody religion. The old liberal theology did away with bloody religion in favour of ethical religion. No more dying Jesus and blood-stained cross. The "real" Jesus had been located between Matthew,

Chapters 5 and 7. Here was the Great Teacher, the Young Idealist, the Inspirer. But liberal theology crashed on a bloody event — World War I — and neither theology nor our world has been the same since.

It is time we discovered that bloody religion is the secret to understanding the wisdom of God. Only God is foolish enough to become one with those who suffer and die. Conventional wisdom has no room for this nonsense . . .

We can illustrate the demand made on us by pointing to Paul. We first see him among the powerful standing at the edge of a circle, holding the clothes of those who are stoning Stephen to death. He is next with a detachment of soldiers making his way to Damascus to hunt out those whose faith is seen as a threat to the standing order. But something happens. He is converted, and before long we see Paul at another stoning. This time he is the center of the circle, and the stones are striking him. Paul went from oppressor to oppressed with his conversion to Christ. Paul was not born marginalized, but he became one with those whose lot it was to be hunted and pursued to death. He was converted to the poor.

This conversion must happen to us. I am struggling with my own response. It has to mean some changes, or I will be guilty of hearing the gospel and not obeying it — which is not to hear it at all. And sooner or later, this conversion must mean some changes in our church.

Several years ago the Latin American bishops, meeting in 1968 at Medellin, Colombia, agreed that God loves everyone, but insisted God has a preferential love for the poor. The bishops went on to say that there are three forms of poverty: poverty as lack; spiritual poverty; and, poverty as commitment. The first is self-evident. The second is defined as "the condition of total availability to God."

The third is that event in which those born with enough, out of their total availability to God, become one with the poor to testify to the destructiveness of poverty and to work with the poor to transform their situation. This is the conversion to the poor which issues from the cross seen as a theology of suffering.

I close with a paraphrase of *I Cor. 1:18-24*. It is based on the insights already discussed, and on the recognition that the words 'Jews' and 'Greeks' do not refer primarily to ethnicity or to religion, but to rival ways of thinking and acting.

The theology of suffering is always regarded as utter foolishness by the powerful who are on their way to destruction, but to us who are on the way to salvation it is the power of God. Scripture promises that God will expose the scheming of the powerful and the manipulations of the person who knows all the angles. There is no way to God through power and cunning — they are limited to the world which is passing away. Because the world was utterly without hope of knowing God through the categories of its choosing, God resolved to save those who have faith by the foolishness of the gospel. Capitalists invest for profit and socialists demand collective ownership of capital; but we proclaim Christ — yes, Christ nailed to the cross. And though this is absurdity to capitalists and nonsense to socialists, yet to those who have heard Christ's call — capitalists and socialists alike — Christ is the power of God and the wisdom of God.

(A longer version of the above article appeared in *The Expository Times*, Vol. IV, #6, published by T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, Scotland. Reprinted by permission.) ■

SHORT TAKES

Friends Upsetting

"I get upset with some of my conservative friends because they act like they invented Jesus . . . but also with some of my liberal friends because they act like they don't know who he is."

—Woodie W. White, General Secretary
Commission on Religion and Race
Quoted in *Circuit Rider*

Babies on Bumpers

He made the suggestion as a way to reduce automobile accidents. This man was concerned about the mushrooming violence on our streets and highways. He proposed that the state pass a law requiring us to install seats on the front bumpers, and that is where all children would ride.

His hope, of course, is that putting our children up front that way where they would be unprotected and fully exposed would prompt a revolutionary change in our driving habits. That proposal is mostly an attention getter. But when it comes to nuclear war, the babies are already on the bumpers. . .

Hundreds of millions of children and their parents are already out there, fully exposed and totally unprotected by any defense. How can we get the attention of the decision makers on these matters? They seem to have lost touch with reality. We need to be brutally realistic about a matter as serious as this.

—Robert W. Moon
Central United Methodist Church
Stockton, Cal.

How Women Are Equal

"In an age of nuclear proliferation, women are equal with men in the threat of annihilation. Nuclear weapons do not discriminate on the basis of sex. But women are not equal in the decision-making power to reverse this destructive trend. The arms race underscores the horrible fact that women are equal in death, but not in the power and means to choose life."

—Patricia Mische
Global Education Association

The Elephant and the Mouse

Bishop Desmond M. Tutu, Episcopal prelate and winner of the New York Council of Churches Family of Man Award, told the press recently that interest in Africa among Americans was at a low point.

The issue of South Africa could play a role, however in the 1984 Presidential election because of apartheid and the rise of Black political efforts in the United States, he said. He provided by way of explanation his parable about the elephant and the mouse.

"If you are neutral in a situation of injustice, you have chosen the side of the oppressor. If an elephant has his foot on the tail of the mouse, and you say you are neutral, the mouse will not appreciate your neutrality."

Through Buddhist Eyes

"The term 'engaged Buddhism' is, in a sense, redundant. Buddhism means to be awake—mindful of what is happening in one's body, feelings, mind, and in the world. If you are awake you cannot do otherwise but act compassionately to help relieve the suffering you see around you. So Buddhism must be engaged in the world.

"When you look at this chair, can you see in it the forest from which the wood came? Can you see the sun that shone upon that forest, and the clouds that rained upon it? Can you see the woodcutter and his family? And the wheat that fed them? Can you see that the chair is comprised of the whole non-chair world? Can you see that the sun is your own heart, and the atmosphere your lungs?

"All things exist in a state of inter-being—we inter-act with everything. 'This is because that is; this is not because that is not.'"

—Thich Nhat Hanh
IFOR Report

Whose Freedom of the Press?

by Carter Heyward

A recent fact-finding visit to Nicaragua and neighboring Honduras provided an occasion for our delegation of U.S. women to explore some of the facts and fictions embedded in the Reagan administration's allegation that Nicaragua's Sandinista leadership is constructing a totalitarian regime. To support his contention that Nicaragua is being run by Communists, Reagan charges that the Sandinistas have inhibited peoples' freedom, and, in particular, freedom of the press.

Pedro Joaquin Chamorro agrees. As editor of *La Prensa*, a Managua daily, Chamorro protests vigorously against reference to *La Prensa* as an opposition paper. "Opposition? That's a compliment to the Sandinistas. We are not an opposition paper, because that implies freedom. We are not free to print, to say what we want."

Demonstrating his complaint, Chamorro hands us copies of columns and editorials which have been censored by the Sandinistas. Included are articles on ARDE (Eden Pastora's group of

"contras" who are organizing to overthrow the government); a recent trip of Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega to Mexico; a quote from the *New York Times* in which the Nicaraguan censor had insisted, in reference to the movement to topple the government, that *La Prensa* change the words *rebel*, *insurgent*, and *dissident Sandinista* to "contra;" and finally some editorials calling for the Sandinistas to return to the democratic goals of the revolutionary movement which overthrew Anastasio Somoza in 1979.

Chamorro, son of the late Pedro Chamorro who was assassinated in 1978 by forces friendly to the Somoza dictatorship, speaks for a significant number of Nicaraguan business and middle-income people who are unwilling to identify themselves with either the Somocistas (right-wing supporters of the late President Somoza) or the Sandinistas.

"We want a country in which there can be free play," states Enrique Bolano, head of INDE (private enterprise organization). Echoing Chamorro, Bolano envisions the nation he desires as a democracy in which all are free to write what they please (freedom of the press) and to make and attract whatever investments they please (free enterprise).

These persons and others with whom our delegation met have been disappointed by the Sandinista government. "We used to criticize Somoza because of

the lack of human rights," laments Indalecio Rodriguez, a director of the FDN (Nicaraguan Democratic Front, organization overseeing the "contra" movement). Speaking in the FDN's headquarters across the border in Honduras, Rodriguez continues, "It is even worse now, because Nicaragua is being run by Marxist terrorists who have put Nicaragua in the pocket of Soviet power. Nicaragua is an occupied country today. There is no freedom."

For Rodriguez, Bolano and Chamorro, the problem is rooted in the Sandinista betrayal of the original — democratic — goals of the revolution. They agree that Somoza was a disaster and they are strong in their criticism of the United States for having put and kept the Somoza family in power. "But," Rodriguez contends, "while Somoza came to power with the blessings of the United States, the Sandinista terrorists came to power with the blessings of President Carter."

To businessman Bolano and the FDN, the solution is clear. The United States, under the leadership specifically of President Reagan, can help bring freedom to Nicaragua by providing the "contras" with whatever military and economic assistance they need in order to rid the country of the Sandinistas. Editor Chamorro is somewhat more circumspect in his support of the "contras," but, as his censored editorials suggest,

The Rev. Dr. Carter Heyward is Associate Professor of Theology at Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass. She was in Central America recently as a member of a fact-finding delegation sponsored by Nicaragua Education Project, Washington, D.C. Author retains copyright of this article.

freedom and democracy must be brought to Nicaragua.

If the White House press corps or U.N. Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick were writing this essay, it would probably stop here and serve well their purpose to generate support for current U.S. policy toward Central America in general and Nicaragua in particular.

The Reagan administration's position is simple. It was summarized nicely for us by a Honduran journalist who is sympathetic to the Sandinista government and outraged at U.S. intervention in the affairs of both Nicaragua and Honduras. "The U.S. position has become the Honduran position," reflects Jaime Gomez (not his real name).^{*} "The U.S. government believes, and has instructed the Honduran government to believe, that (1) Communism is bad. (2) Nicaragua is Communist. (3) The United States is Honduras' only defense against Nicaragua. (4) In order for Honduras to survive, Honduras must give up its freedom as a nation and we must turn ourselves over to U.S. wishes."

Gomez continues, "I write so that, in the future, no one will be able to associate my name with these four 'truths.' I don't want my children disappointed." Unlike a number of Honduran dissidents, Gomez uses his real name in his work and did not ask us to conceal his identity.^{*} We were also interested that no one in Nicaragua, including the political opposition, seemed hesitant to have his or her identity revealed.

Having been told by officials at the U.S. Embassy in Tegucigalpa that Honduras' "remarkably free press" is a fine contrast to Nicaragua's censored journalism, we asked Gomez and his fellow journalist, Roberto Romero (also a pseudonym)^{*} about freedom of the press in Honduras, the Central American coun-

try which, many persons on all sides of these issues agree, is fast becoming a U.S. Marine base.

Romero shook his head and smiled at the mention of a free press. The two writers agreed that it all depends upon whose freedom is being allowed and served by the press. Speaking for both, Gomez noted, "There's no official censorship here, but much unofficial self-censorship." Journalists in Honduras censor themselves because, in his words, "The safest business in Honduras these days is to keep your mouth shut. When we write, we run a risk, people call it suicidal, but we write because we cannot stand not to speak."

Prayers of the People

Petitions that may be inserted into the Prayers of the People at the Eucharist:

For the people of Central America, that they may have the opportunity for self-government, free from outside military influence.

For the governments and leaders of Central American countries, that they may promote dignity, freedom and peace for all of their people.

—Episcopal Peace Fellowship

Can these journalists criticize the U.S. government? The Honduran government? Can they publicly support the Sandinistas? "Occasionally they let one of our articles through," Gomez comments, "but, after all, advertisers control newspapers, and this means that money controls newspapers, and this of course means that the status quo controls the press. We have no base for any alternative papers here. You ask about freedom of the press? In Honduras if you don't censor yourself, they simply don't publish it."

What is the permissible journalistic line these days in Honduras? "That the U.S. Marines are the saviors of Honduras," Gomez states sharply.

Back in Nicaragua, Gustavo Parajon,

President of CEPAD (Evangelical Committee for Aid and Development) and a medical doctor who worked in rural Nicaragua before assuming a Baptist pastorate in Managua, spoke passionately of the U.S. government's attempt to "destroy Nicaragua."

In Parajon's view, the freedom of the press argument is simply one more tactic the United States is using to discredit Sandinista efforts to build a country in which the poor have food and all have health care and in which, since the Sandinistas came to power in 1979, the illiteracy rate has dropped from 55% to 14%.

"If we're going to talk about freedom of press," Parajon suggested, "let's talk about the U.S. press. About the news blackout during the Grenada invasion. And about the Voice of America or the U.S. Armed Forces radio. Have you listened to them recently?" he inquired. "Pure propaganda. That's all. The United States will do anything and say anything right now to further its own interests."

As for the Sandinista censorship of such papers as *La Prensa*, Parajon insisted, "Of course, there is censorship, and that's not to be desired. But you must understand that Nicaragua has Goliath on its back. We are in a state of national crisis, which your government has created. We are at war. I would refer you to your own history — to the censorship measures that have been imposed upon your press during times of war."

When pushed as to whether, even so, it is legitimate to limit peoples' freedom (a question, perhaps, only a white middle- or upper-strata U.S. citizen could ask), Parajon responded, "I think it is illegitimate to attempt to bring down a government at the expense of the poor. And not only illegitimate, but unpastoral. Because what can be more pastoral than to be for justice and life."

A day earlier our delegation had met with about 150 members of a Christian

^{*}Although these interviewees did not ask us to conceal their identity, I thought it prudent not to reveal these sources, lest such articles as this provoke reprisals.—C.H.

base community in Esteli, a town not far from the Honduran border and a regional center of agrarian cooperative reform. "What is this 'freedom' about which your President speaks?" a woman asked us. "For the first time, we are free to have the food we need to eat. For the first time, we are free to have babies who will live past one-year of age. For the first time, we have free health care, which means that our children do not die of polio."

A man rose to join in, "Is it freedom, if you have a warehouse full of food and I am starving? Is this what Mr. Reagan means by freedom?"

Juan, a young farmer carrying a rifle to protect himself, his family, his land and, for the moment, our delegation from the possibility of a contra-attack, walked with us through a field of tomatoes. "What is your country trying to do to us?" he wondered outloud. "To bring democracy and freedom to those of us who, for the first time in the many generations of our families, have land that we can work, crops that we can sell, the possibility of an income that we can save? Are there not people in your country — Black people and Indians and other poor people — who are not yet as free as we have become? It seems to us that your government wants to keep all poor people, in Nicaragua and in the United States, unfree. It seems to us that the only people whose freedom matters is the rich peoples' freedom to live as they want."

This is precisely the point, according to Peter Marchetti, a Jesuit priest and U.S. economist working in Managua. Agreeing with Gustavo Parajon as well as with the farmers and Christian base community members with whom we spoke, Marchetti condemns U.S. aggression against Nicaragua as a "war of the rich against the poor." In Marchetti's analysis, the United States "will not tolerate the emergence of a neighboring state which is committed to a mixed

economy and a posture of international non-alignment" (dependence upon different spheres of influence for different needs). In this way, Nicaragua represents to other Third World nations the possibility of *actual freedom* from the competitive hegemony of the superpowers. In Marchetti's opinion, this is the reason the United States is bent upon the destruction of the Sandinista vision.

"Even if the United States bombs this country back to a million people with a Somoza and a vicious national guard," Marchetti asserts, "Nicaragua will have served as a model to Third World countries of how an actual democracy can come into being in the world, among the poor."

"Yes," concurs Monica Baltodano, a guerilla leader against Somoza and today one of the nine members of the governing directorate of the Sandinistas. "We cannot deny that we have a flawed system — a censored press, political prisoners — but the United States is purposely exploiting our problems for its own gain. The fact is, those whom we have arrested for attempting to overthrow our government are treated humanely. They are not tortured or killed." Baltodano was inviting us to compare Nicaragua's treatment of its political dissidents to that of those nations which the United States supports like Guatemala, Chile, Argentina and El Salvador.

She admitted that the insensitivity and cultural chauvinism shown toward the Miskito Indians has deep roots in Nicaraguan history and is a form of racism which the Sandinistas must overcome.

"What you see today is a flawed system which needs to be much better than it is," she acknowledges. "But rather than being able to make our nation better, to solve the problems we admit we have, our entire nation is having to accelerate preparation to win this war with the United States. Your political, economic and military assault on us has

affected all sectors of our life, not just the military. Everybody and everything is affected. And all of our people are prepared to fight to defend our freedom from U.S. domination."

But is it true, we asked, that you are now getting military help from the Soviet Union? "Of course. We will take assistance from anyone who will offer it. We did not start this war. We asked for friendly relationships with your government but it shut the door in our face and announced its plans to destroy us. We will not be aligned with either of the superpowers, but we will take help from anyone who provides it in order to defend our country."

Rita Delia Casco was Nicaraguan ambassador to the the United States after Somoza's fall, during the last year of the Carter administration and into the Reagan administration. Casco reiterated Baltodano's charge, "Please point out to your people that, from the beginning of our new government, Nicaragua has sought good relations with the United States. What we have said is that we will not be your slaves. And that is why your current administration refuses even to dialogue with us. Under Carter, we could at least engage in conversation. Under Reagan, we are told that our role is to listen, submit, and follow."

"Under the pretext of dialogue, your government sends a group like the Kissinger Commission, which informs us that either we will do things your way or be destroyed," Casco recollects. "They were to be a fact-finding body. Presumably their role was to listen. But all they did was talk to us about our lack of freedom, our being a closed society, our being unwilling to listen to anyone but Communists."

"And when Comandante Daniel Ortega finally got up to speak," Casco informs us, "Mr. Kissinger removed his earphones, and we heard one of the Commission members say to another, 'Stop listening to this son-of-a-bitch.'"

Black Setbacks Under Reagan

by Mary Anderson Cooper

The recent appointment of White House advisor Edwin Meese as Attorney General of the United States can only be viewed as one more affront to minorities in general and Blacks in particular.

Meese was the driving force behind the recent firing of the Civil Rights Commissioners and reconstruction of a Reagan-controlled Commission. For years he has worked to destroy the Legal Services Corporation, which provides assistance for low income people. He also opposes the role played by many federal judges in interpreting the law on such social issues as school busing and affirmative action. His long history of aggressive activism in these areas gives Blacks yet another reason to fear the loss of many advances they have made in the last two decades.

A recent *Washington Post*/ABC poll shows that nine out of ten Blacks feel that they have been hurt by Reagan policies and that seven in ten think he doesn't care that they are suffering.

This indicates that Black voters could play a crucial role in the 1984 election. They are key in four states—North Carolina, Mississippi, Tennessee, and Texas—where the Democrats hope to capture Senate seats. In 11 states, unregistered Blacks of voting age comprise a larger group than the President's margin of victory in those states in 1980.

Budget Cuts

The effect of administration policies on Black Americans was the subject of a recent study by Milton Coleman of the

Washington Post. He interviewed more than 50 Cabinet Secretaries and Assistant Secretaries, White House staffers, members of Congress, Civil Rights leaders and concluded: "It was not quite an accident, nor was it planned, but the budget cuts that President Reagan steamed through Congress in his first two years in office have apparently had a far greater impact on Black than on White Americans."

The reason is that the average Black family's income is far lower than that of the average White family. Median Black family income in 1981 was 56% of the White median. Since the greatest burden of the administration's budget cuts fell on the means-tested programs which serve the low-income population, it was inevitable that Blacks would lose the most.

According to the Congressional Budget Office, in fiscal year 1983, total federal spending was 3.6% below what it would have been had the Reagan budget cuts not taken place. But in the programs where the cuts did occur, Medicaid spending was reduced 5%, food stamps 10%, Aid to Families with Dependent Children 13%, job programs 58%, child nutrition 29%, educational aid for the poor 19%, and college student aid 11%. Subsidized housing was ended. In every case, Blacks have disproportionate interest in these programs.

In the early days of the Reagan administration, the President promised to maintain a "social safety net" to support the "truly needy," and he listed several programs which he said would not be cut. Most of them aided more middle-class people than poor people (i.e., Medicare) and most have subsequently been cut at the President's request. In the meantime, Budget Director David Stockman has thrown into question even this nominal commitment to supporting those in need

by remarking that "it was a happenstance list, just a spur-of-the-moment thing that the press office wanted to put out."

Negative effects of the budget cuts on Blacks have been felt in some unanticipated ways. One in every four Blacks in the work force is employed by some sort of government agency, compared with one in six Whites. Between January 1981 and August 1982, 1.4 million jobs disappeared in the public sector, due in part to a Reagan policy of staff reductions in government agencies. Despite recovery of about 1 million jobs, over 400,000 of the positions have not been refilled. Black workers suffered one third of the total cuts and were laid off at a rate three times that of Whites.

While there is no evidence that the administration intentionally discriminated against Blacks in its efforts to cut or eliminate programs serving the poor, there is also no evidence that any thought was given to assuring that the budget axe did not fall with particular severity upon one group, namely Blacks. According to economist Andrew E. Brimmer, "The Reagan people don't think about Blacks first thing in the morning . . . seldom do they think of Blacks at all." Said Nixon administration welfare specialist Thomas C. Joe, the Reagan administration's approach was "a simplistic mechanical deal and not racist. I think insensitivity may be the word."

Civil Rights

If observers are willing to give the administration the benefit of the doubt in relation to the effect of budget cuts on Blacks, the arena of civil rights is another matter. Here the record of the Reagan team has clearly been one of deliberately withdrawing the special protections for

Mary Anderson Cooper, an Episcopalian, is Assistant Director of the Washington office of the National Council of Churches, and editor of its newsletter, *Mark-Up*.

minority groups which have characterized federal policy for the last 50 years. This administration came into office firmly opposed to affirmative action in any form and it has consistently dragged its feet on enforcing existing law, despite protestations that it is committed to treating Blacks just like everyone else. The nation's chief civil rights enforcer, William Bradford Reynolds, Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, has even declared that he does not consider himself bound by Supreme Court decisions related to school desegregation.

The racial insensitivity of the Administration has been clearly demonstrated in four especially troubling situations which drew widespread criticism from Congress and the public:

—The administration sought to give tax exemption to the Goldsboro (NC) Christian Schools and to Bob Jones University, even though they openly practice segregation. This effort was halted by a Supreme Court finding that the schools are ineligible for tax exemption.

—The President opposed extension of the Voting Rights Act and worked hard to get the legislation watered down. He only got on the bandwagon in the last few days when it was evident that Congress overwhelmingly opposed his position.

—Mr. Reagan fired all members of the Civil Rights Commission except one person whom he had appointed. The battle in Congress over reauthorization of the Commission became so heated that the legislators finally wrested control of half of the appointments to the Commission from the President, who then reneged on an agreement to reappoint some of those whom he had fired. In collusion with Congressional Republican leaders, Mr. Reagan has managed to control six of the eight membership slots on the Commission, a situation which seriously jeopardizes the independence of that body.

—The President opposed creation of a federal holiday honoring Martin Luther King and when he lost on that issue, offended millions by making an off-hand remark to the effect that the country

would have to wait 35 years to know if King was a Communist.

Two recent statements by government officials sum up the problem facing the administration as it confronts its relationship with Black voters. Said Michael Horowitz of the Office of Management and Budget, "We are being savaged by the fairness issue. Our moral and, correspondingly, our political base has been truly eroded. The toll has been acute."

An explanation for why that is the case was offered by Republican Rep. Newt Gingrich, of Georgia. He said, "In the Black community, conservative is a code word for racism, and a balanced budget is a code word for cutting off their neighborhood. If you come in as a conservative Republican and make promises that make sense to the White middle class, you have to reach out over and over every week and vividly demonstrate your commitment to an integrated America." That is precisely what the Reagan administration has failed to do, and the Black community is fully aware of that failure. ■



Nation Moves Backward on Civil Rights

Interview With Mary Frances Berry

A special issue of Networking, Church and Society newsletter, features an exclusive interview with Dr. Mary Frances Berry, outspoken activist on the Civil Rights Commission, by Richard W. Gillett. Available free while they last from Church and Society, 2808 Altura, Los Angeles, CA 90031. An excerpt follows:

GILLETT: Please comment on the role of the Civil Rights Commission and its effectiveness during the Reagan Administration and prior to the Administration.

BERRY: The Commission has been in existence since 1957. Our job all that time as a Commission has been not only to do research and analysis and hearings on problems which exist in the country and make recommendations to the Congress and the President about what should be done, but to monitor the federal agencies once the civil rights laws were passed, to see if they were enforcing civil rights laws. Before the Reagan Administration came into office, most presidents understood this watchdog role. Even President

Nixon, who was criticized by then Commission Chair Father Ted Hesburgh, did not respond by trying to fire him. In *this* Administration, the Reagan Administration, there was a feeling from the beginning, expressed to reporters and publicly that Civil Rights ought to be a tool of the Administration. This administration has tried to reinterpret the rights laws without Congress changing them. It even went so far as the administrative agencies deciding that they would not give the Civil Rights Commission information in order to keep the Commission from doing reports on them. We had to threaten to subpoena the White House and the various agencies in order to get them to give us information that we needed.

Frivolous Fruits

by Kay Atwater

*Conscience needs no persuader
But is of itself the goad;
It brooks no pain, regret or grief;
One step, then all is well.*

—Old English grave marker

Don't be surprised if your conscience starts goading you more often in the early days of spring. It could be warming you up for Income Tax deadline, April 15. By that day, you may have joined the widening circle of war tax conscientious objectors who are escrowing or redirecting their taxes to alternate funds.

If you do, the government has anticipated your move. In September of 1982, the Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act (TEFRA) was made into law. It is part of the current administration's effort to curb income tax abuse. With the U.S. budget and the resulting deficit increasing each year, TEFRA is expected to help the Internal Revenue Service bring in additional revenue. Section 6702 of this law has become all too familiar to those of us who are refusing income taxes for U.S. military expenditures. It reads, in part:

If a return . . . does not contain information on which the substantial correctness of the self-assessment may be judged, or contains information that on its face indicates that the self-assessment is

substantially incorrect; and [this] conduct . . . is due to a position which is frivolous, or a desire to delay or impede the administration of Federal income tax laws, then such individual shall pay a penalty of \$500.

If the penalty is to be appealed, tax resisters must pay 15% (\$75) of the total fine and appeal within 30 days. If the appeal is denied we have another 30 days to file for District Court. TEFRA also raised the cost of going to Tax Court from \$500 to \$5,000, and added a fine (\$1,000) for assisting others in preparing what they consider to be false documents.

Until 1982 it was solely the level of underpayment that determined the penalty amount. Today, the "frivolity" fine is \$500 whether the shortage is \$7 or \$7,000, and it is imposed immediately after filing.

Conscientious objectors to military taxes now face a number of ways of getting caught. A tax return showing a credit or deduction for peace, with or without extra writing on its face, is liable for the fine; (but a return which is filled out "correctly" would not be penalized, even if the tax or a portion of it is refused in a separate document). The figures must reconcile, no information must be lacking, and one must not write anything extra on the return. Any of these could delay the clerks in their initial processing. Separate letters of conscience are read later.

The doubly liable protest would consist of an incompletely or incorrectly

written return that triggers the fine, then a refusal to pay that fine. Extra penalties would be picked up on the way to the courthouse, along with interest, or during the collection process.

With a reduced budget and increased diligence, the IRS processed some 94½ million individual tax returns for 1982. Total protests numbered over 49,000, an increase of 83% over 1981. Protests from pacifists numbered an estimated 12,000, but it is hard to pin down this number because of semantic differences with the IRS. Estimates are, however, that pacifist protests more than doubled from 1981 to 1982. The Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act was promulgated to afford some relief from this situation, to punish and deter protesters and to shorten the collection process by collecting fines "up front."

About 4,700 "frivolous" fines were imposed beginning in May 1983, for protest returns of all varieties, including antiwar protests. Over 100 of those had been reported by late October to the Center on Law and Pacifism. At least six others are being handled by the ACLU. The Center on Law and Pacifism has agreed to act as a clearinghouse for "frivolous" fine cases and its staff attorneys are aware of at least 40 cases in which some aspect of TEFRA is being challenged.

The Center on Law and Pacifism publishes *Center Peace*, a "News Journal for Alternative Living," in addition to other materials covering a broad range of subjects of interest to Christian pacifists. *Center Peace* carries updates on the

Kay Atwater is a 50% income tax escrower and former WITNESS staffer who now works on computers.

Supreme Court cases involving challenges to TEFRA. Some of the legal issues are: the right of free speech (writing a message of concern on a government document), the free exercise of religion, and the right of due process, since the IRS does not print a warning about the new law on the return and there is no chance to appeal the immediate payment of 15% of the fine.

It is, however, the choice of the word "frivolous" that has rankled conscientious objectors and given TEFRA a bad name. In legalese, a "frivolous" position is one found to have been unsuccessful in the courts after having been tried there repeatedly. The word in normal usage, though, has a meaning that is diametrically opposed to anything involving conscience: "Of little value or importance, trivial, trifling, . . . giddy, etc."

If I refuse to pay taxes for weapons that can hurt or kill people (and violate my conscience), my position is deemed frivolous because our current laws do not allow for this kind of position. The word is a bad choice, but let's not get stuck there. The grievance lies in the *non-status*

attributed to my conscience in matters of civil law. You cannot see or feel my conscience, you cannot ask me to list its history or its contents — but it is my main decision maker, and therefore it most certainly exists! Laws that do not recognize the existence, let alone the authority of conscience ought to be reconsidered.

Senator Mark Hatfield, one of the authors of the World Peace Tax Fund Bill, is well aware of this problem. So many complaints were sent to Congress by conscientious objectors on which the new \$500 fine had been imposed that Mr. Hatfield conducted an investigation on behalf of those who protested on religious or moral grounds. A statement was released saying that the penalty was never intended to be used against conscientious objectors who file honest tax returns, but was aimed at those who practice tax *evasion*, a willful, criminal act.

TEFRA does not distinguish between the two, so the IRS clerk sees a protest return and tosses it into the "frivolous" basket. In fact, military tax refusal, even on grounds of conscience, is seen as just another scheme to avoid the payment of

income taxes. The widespread existence of alternative funds for human welfare and escrow funds persuade us that this is not the case.

TEFRA will help by trapping some of the evaders, but it is the pacifists who tend to appeal the penalty and follow through with their protest in the courts. How successful they will be remains to be seen. If indeed, as Senator Hatfield has indicated, the co-authors are "embarrassed" to know that it is being used against conscientious refusers, this could well have some effect for the selection of returns for the \$500 fine. Whether it continues to be used against resisters or not, the stir that TEFRA has raised can only help the World Peace Tax Fund Bill (HR3224,S2105). It's safe to say that legislative relief for tax COs is not imminent, but at the same time pacifists generally are optimistic.

The bill gained a new Senate sponsor recently, Charles Mathias of Maryland. There are two senators and 47 representatives as of this writing.

The World Peace Tax Fund Bill proposes a trust fund, administered by a



Joseph a Tax Resister?

I often wonder if Joseph ever got around to getting enrolled for taxes before he had to get out of town fast with the Mother and Child. I wonder if Joseph ever felt like he could leave Mary and the Babe alone long enough to stand in line to get enrolled?

And, if not, would he get signed up the minute he returned from Egypt — knowing what taxes had been used for in Bethlehem — to pay the soldiers who slaughtered the infants?

Joseph may well have been a tax-delinquent who turned into a

tax resister, who became glad that he wasn't paying the taxes that enabled the ungodly things the government was doing.

I am a tax resister, so I don't pay for any of the U.S. military horrors, but that is of little comfort to those who are jailed or abused in any way by the misuse of power.

I thank all who bring to the attention of the American people what their country is doing. Keep at it.

—Abbie Jane Wells
Juneau, Alaska

board of trustees, to which conscientious refusers of war taxes may direct their money. A congressional committee will approve the appropriations and no part of the fund may be spent for anything having to do with war or weapons. The bill recognizes the differences among taxpayers, not in their politics (that is a foregone conclusion in this country!), but in the matter of individual conscience — that God-given ingredient of the human spirit that compels us to do outlandish things, only some of which are legal.

The Campaign Committee of the WPTF sponsors an intensive lobbying effort, and each monthly newsletter carries reports of some of the encounters with members of Congress or their deputies. Arguments and suggested replies to objections are updated regularly in the newsletter for those who wish to lobby personally with their representatives or senators.

These rebuttals, for example, point out that the WPTF is not a “special privilege” tax bill which would reduce or eliminate taxes for the peace people. The full amount of taxes due will be paid, but redirected to the trust fund and earmarked for peacemaking projects. It has nothing to do with tax evasion or reduction and everything to do with the relief of conscience.

In 1979, Ed and Gloria Pearson began an organization called the Conscience and Military Tax Campaign. The group circulates the CMTC Resolution, which is designed to register one’s willingness to refuse war taxes as soon as there are 100,000 total signers. This deals with the hesitation that most people have about submitting a “maverick” tax return and tells them they are in no way alone. Of the 4,000 or more signers to date, most have already taken some “first steps,” e.g., writing or calling their representatives, refusing the telephone tax, enclosing a letter of conscience with their income tax return, and so forth.

The Escrow Fund of the CMTC has

about 700 depositors, with a current total on deposit of about a quarter million in refused military taxes. Interest from the accounts is used by the CMTC for their expenses: a splendid newsletter, an advisory network, a speakers’ bureau, and the recent spearheading of the National War Tax Resisters Coordinating Committee to help people locally.

The IRS has served levy notices against three individual accounts in the CMTC Escrow Fund. In each case the Administrator refused to comply and the individual depositors assumed responsibility. No strings are attached to one’s account; money can be withdrawn whenever the need arises. Other escrow and alternative funds have sprung up all over the country and in a dozen or more other countries, where people have awakened to the folly of the arms race.

The question of conscience and income taxes has been raised primarily with individual taxpayers, but within recent years there have been several cases involving corporate withholding. If an employee wants to refuse part or all of his or her income tax it’s best if the employer is sympathetic and willing to refuse to comply with a levy on the employee’s wages. This is not usually the way it is, but we can rejoice in the witness of such organizations as Sojourners, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Philadelphia Friends Yearly Meeting, the General Conference of Mennonite Churches, the Church of the Brethren, and a score of others who have not only pledged moral support for tax refusers but have taken some kind of step to indicate their solidarity with each other and with their employees. In most of these cases, after an initial levy attempt by the IRS, the levy notice has been withdrawn. The same thing is beginning to happen to some individual churches.

Local churches and meetings are standing up to the IRS as never before, some with more success than others, when their pastors declare themselves. A min-

ister who refuses to pay war taxes comes to the point where she or he must have the support of the congregation or violate his/her conscience and pay the tax.

The dialogue that ensues between pastor and people generally enters territory most Christians have never traveled. They are usually split down the middle between those who support the CO and those who cannot bring themselves to participate in breaking the law, perhaps for fear of the unknown and what might happen to them. If the IRS approaches the parishioners with a garnishee demand on the pastor’s salary, it makes the local news. Everybody starts talking on a new theological level!

Whatever the decision, the people tend to be in favor of the minister’s right not to pay for war, but they do not always agree with his or her reasons for the action, and they deliberate a very long time before agreeing not to cooperate with the IRS.

Such an act of conscience moves like a steam roller. Whether it is the act of one person or a group, you don’t try to stop it, and it needs no justification. The U.S. citizen who files a tax return either takes that sure step forward to say “no more” and accepts the consequences, or simply complies with the law. There’s “no pain, regret or grief.” Either way, the fruits of all our conscience, in their own time, will ripen in our midst. ■

Resources

The Center on Law and Pacifism, P.O. Box 1584, Colorado Springs, CO. 80901 (303-635-0041).

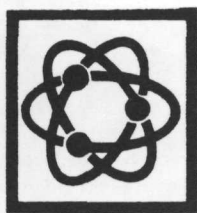
Conscience & Military Tax Campaign — U.S., 44 Bellhaven Rd., Bellport, N.Y. 11713 (516-286-8825).

Episcopal Peace Fellowship, Hearst Hall, Woodley Road & Wisconsin Ave., Washington, D.C. 20016 (212-363-5532).

National Campaign for a World Peace Tax Fund, 2121 Decatur Pl. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008 (202-483-3751).

Continued from page 11

rope and doyen of the more conservative wing of the arms control community, charted a formula of slower cruise missiles but no Pershing IIs in Western Europe. It meets the dictates of realpolitik, while allowing Moscow to limit its response to one that Washington can live with. It needs to be resurrected. Dreams of real superiority must be recognized as fatuous in an era with two million Hiroshima equivalents of nuclear horror (the use of just one-fiftieth of existing arsenals will suffice to bring in a "Nuclear Winter" that no life can survive).



But if compromises are reached and immediate dangers averted, others remain. The longer comprehensive arms control efforts are put off, the more difficult they become. The technologies and systems now in the pipeline pose ever more vexing problems. Submarines, missiles, and planes are easy to "see" and count; cruise missiles small enough to hide behind a winch on a fishing trawler, and laser and high energy particle beams are not.

We may indeed be on the verge of losing control. In his farewell address President Dwight D. Eisenhower warned against the "conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry" whose "total influence — economic, political, even spiritual — is felt in every city, every statehouse, every office of the federal government. . . The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist." Yet the awesome reality that he felt was

but a Lilliput compared to the Gullivers of today's American and Soviet military-industrial complexes. Half the world's scientists are employed directly or indirectly by the ubiquitous military-industrial beast.

The *increase* alone in 1983 world military outlays could have paid for all of the following:

- vaccination against diseases that kill more than five million children annually;

- extending literacy by the end of this century to the 25% of the world's adult population that is unable to read or write and hence is cut off from most sources of knowledge;

- training health auxiliaries, barefoot doctors, and midwives (who can take care of 85% of a Third World village's health needs) to service vast rural regions of the less developed world that have no access to professional medical services;

- eradicating the malnutrition that today sees more than 500 million people eating fewer calories than are needed to sustain ordinary physical activity, and that condemns 200 million pre-school children to chronic hunger (one out of three children die from starvation before reaching the age of five);

- providing supplementary feeding to 60 million malnourished pregnant and lactating women, that would dramatically decrease infant mortality rates.

Even after paying for all this, there would still be enough money to establish 100 million new school places (250 million new school places are needed within the next five years just to keep Third World enrollment at 50%) and to introduce hygienic water supply systems (waterborne diseases kill 25,000 people every day; such diseases are the most common cause of death among children under five).

Herein lies the gravest threat of all. The relative impoverishment, increasing alienation and desperation of the less

developed nations, together with the fact that many of them will be able to acquire primitive nuclear arsenals before the end of this decade, constitute an exceedingly combustible mix. Aid programs in the past have all too often been either band-aid attempts to salve the donor's moral conscience, outright bribery, or else "tied," and hence, *de facto* donor country industrial welfare programs of little or no benefice to the recipient. Current international trends may compel fundamental re-evaluation. There is today every reason to say that foreign aid programs should become integral parts of the developed world's defense budgets — with all that this would entail in terms of increased funding, and near immunity to normal fiscal restraints. Traditional threat images are less and less germane. If anything, they merely obfuscate the real threats, threats that are far more dire. ■

Remembering THE WITNESS

UNITRUST is a tax-related term describing a financial arrangement that gives you substantial tax advantages.

It gives THE WITNESS a gift—and at the same time guarantees you a certain return (up to 10%) for your lifetime. Call or write for additional information about this and other ways to help THE WITNESS through bequests.

THE WITNESS
P.O. Box 359
Ambler, PA 19002
(215) 643-7067

Cueto, Guerra et al to Jail

A Federal Court has ruled against Maria Cueto, Steven Guerra, and three other Hispanics who were appealing criminal contempt charges for refusing to testify before a Grand Jury, it was announced Feb. 13.

Cueto is former executive director of the Episcopal Church's National Commission on Hispanic Affairs, and Guerra is a member of the Board of Directors of the Episcopal Church

United States v. Rosado

In September of 1982 a special federal grand jury was impanelled in Brooklyn. According to the government, the purpose of the grand jury was to investigate the Fuerzas Armadas de Liberacion Nacional (FALN). The grand jury was conducting an investigation under the Racketeer Influenced Corrupt Organization Act (RICO), originally passed to prevent the laundering of money by organized crime. Two days after it was impanelled it indicted five persons for criminal contempt for refusing, in December 1981, to testify before a different grand jury also supposedly investigating the FALN. The five persons are Julio Rosado, Andres Rosado, Maria Cueto, Ricardo Romero and Steven Guerra. Four are members of the Movimiento Liberacion Nacional ("MLN"), a group advocating independence for Puerto Rico. This case marked the first time, in recent history, that supporters of Puerto Rican independence or any other political witnesses have been charged with criminal contempt. Four of the defendants were previously jailed for civil contempt for refusing to cooperate with similar grand juries.

At trial the jurors' names were kept secret as the government requested anonymity to "protect" the jurors from the FALN and the five were convicted of the felony of criminal contempt.

As all but Guerra had already served substantial periods of time in jail for civil contempt, the government knew when it subpoenaed them that they were going to refuse to testify. The government maintains that the five are members of the FALN, but because it lacks sufficient evidence to bring them

Publishing Company. The five Hispanics will begin serving three year jail sentences, during which time a petition will be filed requesting the Supreme Court to review their case.

Further details were unavailable at press time, but will appear in next month's WITNESS. For those unfamiliar with the case, a historical precis follows, issued by attorneys for the defendants.

to trial on charges directly related to such an alleged membership, it has tried them for criminal contempt.

It was the government's intention to present evidence of such membership at the sentencing hearing to convince the court to give them substantial terms in prison. Such a sentencing hearing—to prove membership in an organization—had been used solely in organized crime cases and only when the underlying crime was related to organized crime activities. However, as the government consistently violated the court's orders with regard to submitting sentencing material to the probation department, the court precluded the government from attempting to show FALN connections as a sanction for its misconduct. The five were sentenced to three years in prison

Subsequently the United Nations Special Committee on the Situation With Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples adopted a resolution which noted its members were "concerned also by the intensification of repressive measures against the Puerto Rican independence forces, including the activities of the federal Grand Jury utilized by the United States as an instrument of pressure and intimidation against Puerto Rican Patriots." It went on to "demand the cessation of all repressive measures against Puerto Rican independence forces, including the intimidatory activities by the federal Grand Jury which were denounced before the Committee."

[Margaret L. Ratner with CCR cooperating attorney Elizabeth M. Fink and Michael Deutsch]

The Episcopal Church Publishing Company
P.O. Box 359
Ambler, Pennsylvania 19002

Address Correction Requested

NONPROFIT ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
North Wales, Pa.
Permit No. 121