

VOLUME • 69    NUMBER • 1    JANUARY 1986

# THE WITNESS

The Political Task  
of the Church • Cornel West  
Getting to Know Cuba Again  
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a new  
year  
dawning

# Letters

## Parish studies articles

Thank you for your prompt mailing of our order of a dozen copies of the November WITNESS. A number of persons in St. Timothy's parish are attempting to broaden their understanding of Central America, and my hope is that the articles in this issue will greatly enhance their grasp of the many issues involved in the strife of that area.

Several sermons by me, and promptings found within our Sunday "Prayers of the People" have stirred people's concern regarding U.S. involvement in Central America. One of the concerns that some parishioners raised was the need for a source of information and opinion other than that found through our daily newspapers and news magazines. This issue of THE WITNESS, with reports from Christians who either live in the region, or have recently visited there, certainly meets this need for an alternative source of information.

**The Rev. John Randolph Price  
Greenville, N.C.**

## Editorial reflective

THE WITNESS editorial in the November issue, "The church of the 21st century," presents Christians everywhere with a great challenge. You give us two roads to take in the coming years; actually even in the present day.

We who live in Pablo Richard's North, and thus are in the land of ease and plenty (at least that is applicable to many of us, especially Episcopalians), may well have a tendency to keep old dogmas, abstract dogmas, and in so doing build an almost impenetrable wall between the North and South. There are so many ways we can justify such a course, but they are false.

Those who decide to become the church which will be the spiritual force for the poor and the defenders of life as opposed to the Northern centers of death will have a hard and difficult road to travel, but our Lord never promised that trying to live by His rules would be easy.

They will have to be true doers of the word, and not just easygoing hearers.

An excellent editorial which forces one to think, if one thinks at all.

**Charles D. Corwin  
Colonial Beach, Va.**

## Third World voice heard

Congratulations on your wonderful journalistic ministry and mission! The November editorial is short but to the point. I'm sure Pablo Richard and the Departamento Ecumenico de Investigaciones (DEI — the Ecumenical Department of Research in Costa Rica) will be happy, even jubilant about it, for it communicates the true Christian attitudes of Third World peoples struggling for national sovereignty and human dignity.

**Sister Caridad Guidote  
New York, N.Y.**

## Saw hope in Nicaragua

I cannot thank you enough for the November WITNESS which deals so effectively with free Nicaragua, occupied Honduras, and poor, befuddled Costa Rica. You are really doing your bit to counteract the propaganda blitz we are being subjected to by our government and the mass media.

It was one of the peak experiences of my life to be present at the ECPC Awards Banquet at which Nicaraguan Bishop Sturdie Downs so movingly spoke. I add my loud "Amen" to his comments and commend you for printing them. I was also inspired by Roman Bishop Casaldaliga's "Ode to Reagan."

I knew Bishop Downs during my six months in Nicaragua as a volunteer nurse in 1983. I saw his work bear fruit when I joined a group from Managua in the church bus on Palm Sunday morning. The Bishop of Costa Rica, Cornelius Wilson, was up for a visit. We went to Matagalpa to reestablish a defunct parish by bringing the church to a poor barrio in the hills. For the remainder of

my time in Nicaragua, I was privileged to help out in that community every weekend. I was able to see them again when I went to Nicaragua's Fifth Anniversary celebration last year. The occasion was marred by the death of the younger brother of the parish secretary, in a contra ambush.

To understand the religious and national rebirth in process in Nicaragua, one needs an historical as well as economic perspective. The Anglican, and later, the Episcopal churches first arrived there as a manifestation of British, then U.S., colonialism. In charity, I can only hope that the missionaries were unwitting accomplices to the rape of the region which goes on to this day. It was the bitter reality of Nicaragua until that longsuffering land finally achieved full independence in 1979. It is still a fact of life in that classical "Banana Republic," occupied Honduras.

The scene in Nicaragua is different. In the "barrio" where the parish was reestablished in '83, the people, with some materials and technical assistance from the government, had brought electricity in for the first time, were completing the fresh water and sewage systems, and the whole neighborhood took part in a campaign to vaccinate every child against polio and measles. If that's "communism," I'll have some more, please. They now have their first Nicaraguan Bishop, an enlightened Christian and a patriot. Under him the little acorn planted by the cohorts of the colonialists can grow.

At the Convention I heard Bishop Downs referred to as "the baby bishop," a reference to his comparatively tender years and recent elevation to the episcopacy. How appropriate that it should be he who calls upon us to liberate our church and our country from the worship of Mammon. Isaiah said, "And a little child shall lead them."

**Donald McEvoy-Albert  
San Diego, Cal.**

## WITNESS abroad

I enclose my subscription for two years. May I say how stimulating I find your journal. It is a tremendous guide to the American social scene. Have you ever thought of a subscription drive in the United Kingdom?

**The Rev. Leonard Tyler**  
Berkshire, England

## Stockbroker at top OK

Given your consistent editorial stance of affirming the inclusiveness of the Episcopal Church, and seeking to overcome the labeling of Christians merely because of their age, sex, race, etc., a position which I share, I was disheartened to read in Mary Lou Suhor's article (November) what I felt to be an *ad hominem* attack on the new President of the House of Deputies, the Very Rev. David Collins, by implying that his particular profession/vocation somehow made him worthy of being left on shore as the new liberal ship of the church casts off. If Dean Collins does not share the ideology of THE WITNESS and its friends (a matter on which I have yet to be informed), then let his views be treated openly and with dignity by those who would differ with him. To suggest that being a stockbroker somehow disqualifies him by nature from our hopes for the future demeans the sanctity of whatever work in the world to which God has called each of us, and is at odds with our commitment to the ministry of reconciliation.

**The Rev. Malcolm C. Burson**  
Old Town, Maine

## Disarmament apologia

The lengthy discussion in the August WITNESS titled "Alternatives to war" by Gene Sharp was nothing less than a veiled apologia for unilateral disarmament. As I understand his proposal, Sharp suggests that the Western world, following a lengthy period of self-induced re-education should gradually abandon any

reliance upon military power to deter or discourage Soviet expansionism.

In the place of military deterrence, conventional or nuclear, he would have the West adopt a policy called "civilian-based defense"; this appears to be effectively an intellectual, nonviolent, civilian struggle against the forces of Soviet oppression and/or military occupation. I gather that this idea of civilian-based defense is patterned somewhat upon Gandhian principles of inducing socio-political change through the medium of civil disobedience and passive resistance to a militarily-supported occupation. True, Gandhi was effective in India but you seem to dismiss the fact that he was dealing with an enlightened British hegemony. I cannot help but speculate what might have been the results had the imperialism been of Soviet origin rather than British! I doubt very much that civilian-based defense could ever be effective against a determined, occupying military power such as the Soviet Union has aptly demonstrated itself to be. I think of the people of Afghanistan, Poland, the Balkans, and now Southeast Asia. As even the most casual observer of the historical process can see, once Soviet Communism has become entrenched, willingly or otherwise, it becomes impossible to change the status quo.

I further consider it to be a specious argument to cite examples of successful resistance movements during World War II in Europe, such as the Norwegian and Danish experiences under Nazi Germany, for real change came about only after overt military intervention by the Allied armed forces. Sharp does admit that there would be casualties in such a resistance movement; I would rather endure casualties during wartime with the possibility of successfully destroying an oppressive system whose history has been one of pervasive evil and tyranny.

**The Rev. William N. Tedesco**  
Seymour, Conn.

## Sharp responds

There is every reason to be apprehensive about the nature and practices of the Soviet Union, but it is pure romanticism to assume that one should choose to "endure casualties during wartime (against that system) with the possibility of successfully destroying (it)." Whatever the difficulties and dangers of civilian-based defense against new Soviet aggression or old Soviet hegemony, the nature of modern war does not make it a suitable tool for human objectives in dealing with "the forces of Soviet oppression and/or military occupation."

The gravest challenge thus far to Leninist systems by people living under them has been made by the Poles, deliberately using nonviolent forms of struggle with the wisdom that violent rebellion would have produced massive annihilation by retaliating Soviet military forces.

It is also true that the Soviet Union and its client states in Eastern Europe contain significant internal problems. We need in-depth studies of the weaknesses of totalitarian systems. With their identification it becomes possible to concentrate resistance on the pre-existing "cracks in the monolith." All past resistance to totalitarian systems, including the very important cases against Nazi Germany, have been improvised by people who had little or no knowledge of what would be most effective. However, it is now possible for scholars, strategists and practitioners to provide knowledge of how to noncooperate, how to defy tyrants of all flags more effectively and to share that know-how with populations under dictatorial rule, or which are threatened by such neighbors.

It is pure defeatism to assert that change is "impossible" against an established Soviet Communist system. That is what their rulers want people to believe. It is naive to think that modern military might does anything to help in that situation. U.S. military power has

*Continued on page 23*



## In the matter of Sherwood and Gilson

**T**HE WITNESS sadly announced in December that the Rev. Zal Sherwood, who had openly proclaimed himself a gay priest in our pages, was asked to resign his post as curate of Emmanuel Episcopal Church, Southern Pines, N.C. Since then, Anne Gilson, the seminarian who wrote about her lesbian orientation in the September issue, has been summarily dismissed from continuing her postulancy in the Diocese of Bethlehem.

In both actions, Bishops Robert Estill of North Carolina and Mark Dyer, respectively, stood firmly behind the 1979 General Convention resolution of the Episcopal Church covering the "appropriate" sexual lifestyle for ministry.

A 1985 resolution which stated that sexual orientation was not a barrier to the selection process for ordination was narrowly turned back by five lay votes in a vote by orders. Consequently, the 1979 guidelines, still in effect, state:

- There are many human conditions, some in the area of sexuality, which bear upon a person's suitability for ordination.
- Every ordinand is expected to lead a life which is "a wholesome example to all people." (Prompting *The Episcopalian* to title their '79 story, "What does wholesome look like?")
- We reaffirm the traditional teaching of the church on marriage, marital fidelity, and sexual chastity as the standard

of Christian sexual morality . . . *Therefore* we believe it is not appropriate for this church to ordain a practicing homosexual, or any person who is engaged in heterosexual relations outside of marriage.

It is the last sentence which, in the words of Bishop Wesley Frensdorff at that time, "Turns the bread of grace into a bag of stones."

After the resolution passed the House of Bishops in 1979, Bishop John Krumm immediately submitted a dissenting statement, endorsed by 22 other bishops, saying "We do not believe that either homosexual orientation as such, nor the responsible and self-giving use of such a mode of sexuality, constitutes a scandal in and of itself."

Those who signed expressed their gratitude for "the profoundly valuable ministries of ordained persons, known to us to be homosexual, formerly and presently engaged in the service of this church." (Perhaps the most noted, the Rev. Malcolm Boyd, celebrated his 30th anniversary of ordination at St. Augustine-by-the Sea, Santa Monica, Cal. recently.)

The dissenting bishops stated that the '79 resolution carried with it "a cruel denial of the sexual beings of homosexual persons." They added that the action also condemned "countless laypersons of homosexual orientation who are ren-

dered second class citizens, fit to receive all other sacraments but the grace of Holy Orders, unless — in a sacrifice not asked of heterosexual persons generally, they abandon all hope of finding human fulfillment, under God, in a sexual and supportive relationship."

Bishop Paul Moore of New York has said, "When sex and religion are mixed, there is no more violent emotion known to man or woman." In the matter of Sherwood and Gilson, such emotions are carrying the day, leaving reason and justice as victims.

Reason, along with tradition and the Bible, constitute the three pillars of Anglican theology. The church should be triply wary, then, of joining ranks with those who embrace biblical fundamentalism and non-critical theology in simplistic responses to homosexual issues. Lesbian and gay rights are being studied today in serious discourse in educational and legal fields as well as in the American Academy of Religion.

Finally, in the matter of Sherwood and Gilson, two activists who were tired of living in an ambience of duplicity and deception: THE WITNESS believes that the bishops who signed the dissenting statement about the prevailing resolution should show pastoral concern by opening their dioceses to people like Zal and Anne, giving credence to their own words and hope to the church. ■



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# THE WITNESS



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# The political task of the Christian church

by Cornel West

**A**t the beginning of this century, we witnessed the Europeanization of the world. By 1918, a handful of states located between the Atlantic Ocean and the Ural mountains controlled over 87% of the land on the globe. By the middle of this century, European hegemony had been replaced by the Americanization and Sovietization of the world.

In this article, I shall attempt to discern the political task of the Christian church in view of prevailing institutional forms of injustice introduced first by the Europeans and later reinforced by the two superpowers. For Christian thinkers, political discernment rests upon systemic social analysis grounded in an interpretation of the Christian Gospel. Such analysis should take seriously the biblical injunction to look at the world through the eyes of its victims — to see through the lens of the cross. Therefore, I shall attempt to put forth a framework which highlights the global life-denying forces which victimize people.

Distinctions should be made between exploitation, repression, domination and subjugation. Each can be identified with a particular social logic promulgated first by Europeans and intensified later by the Americans and Soviets. Social logics are structured social practices which dehumanize people. I associate exploitation with the social logic of capital accumulation; repression with state augmentation; domination with bureaucratic administration; and subjugation with white, male, and heterosexual supremacy.

The development of capitalism is a basic feature of the Europeanization of the world. Its operation is dictated by accumulation and powered by profit-maximization. Its aim is not simply to generate capital, but, more importantly, to reproduce the conditions for generating capital. As Marx noted, capital is neither mere revenue nor money, but rather a social relationship between persons which requires economic

exploitation of those who work (e.g. sell their time, skills, energies). Since the ownership of the means of production (e.g. land, raw materials, instruments) is held by a small minority, the majority who must sell their labor are forced to live lives of material insecurity. *Exploitation* here is not so much a moral term as descriptive, denoting workers' lack of control over investment decisions, their work conditions, and how their products are used.

The capitalist mode of production, an international economic system, has undergone three stages: industrial capitalism, monopoly capitalism and multinational corporate capitalism. Its basic effect has been to privatize and centralize First World economies and to subordinate Third World economies to the First World. Capitalism's major competition has been the rise of the Soviet Union and its satellite countries. Yet their centrally-planned, hierarchical economies do not provide a feasible alternative.

The social logics of capital accumulation during the Europeanization, Americanization and Sovietization of the world have resulted in centralized economic power unaccountable to the majority of the populace and usually manipulative and abusive of the neo-colonial countries which depend upon them.

In the past decade, capital accumulation in the United States has undergone a deep crisis, principally due to increased competition with Japanese and European (and even some Third World) corporations; rising energy costs due to Third World oil cartels; the precarious structure of international debts owed American and European banks by Third World countries, and victorious anti-colonial struggles which sometimes limit lucrative capital investments. The U.S. response has been to curtail the public sphere by cutbacks of federal transfer payments to the needy; diminished public worker protection; erosion of unemployment compensation; diluted environmental protection; enlargement of low wage markets and incentives, and abatements to huge corporations. In short, this response promotes the dissolution of the public sector.

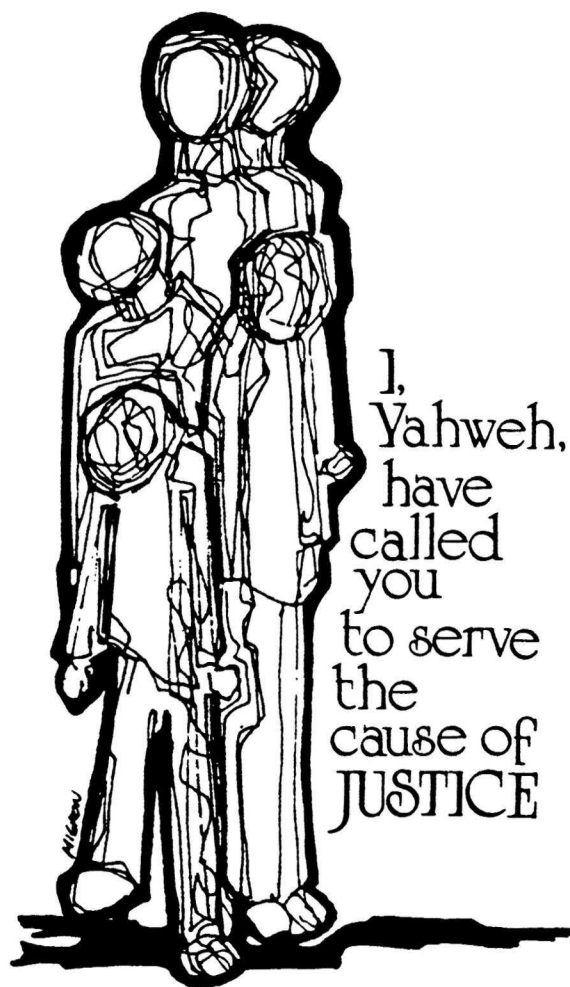
## Repression and augmentation

One of the ironies of the Europeanization, Americanization and Sovietization of the world is the increasing dissolution of the public sphere alongside the augmentation of the state. The state is understood more and more to be a channel through which public funds sustain centralized economic power (of multinational corporations in capitalist societies or bureaucratically-controlled economic firms in communist societies) as opposed to the public sphere which promotes the common good.

There has always been an intimate relationship between

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capital accumulation and the modern state, but the function of the state has changed radically. For example, industrial capitalism neither desired nor sought public regulation — yet it was buttressed by sympathetic courts, supportive military and police and financially helpful legislatures. Monopoly capitalism openly violated anti-trust laws enacted in response to peoples' movements, but its resiliency and resources — its capacity to insure economic growth — limited an expanding state to the roles of public regulation of monopolies, support for those outside the job market and protection of the marginal. And, of course, multinational corporate capitalism is saddled with a burdensome welfare state whose major recipients are not poor minority female heads of households (as is often believed) but rather corporations *qua* huge contract winners.

The salient feature of state augmentation since American and Soviet hegemony is the ever-expanding refinement of

surveillance and control methods. The primary function of state apparatuses in U.S. and U.S.S.R. neo-colonial countries — from Chile to Cuba, South Korea to Poland — is to control and contain counter-insurgency movements with brutal techniques often learned from their hi-tech patrons.

The basic difference between the Americanization and the Sovietization of the world is that the United States was born with a precious rhetoric of rights. This tradition of liberalism, though circumscribed by racist, sexist and class constraints, provides crucial resources against the encroachment of repressive state apparatuses. Hence the scope of individual liberties remains broader in the United States — as well as in the U.S. neo-colonial countries — than in Soviet neo-colonial ones. This rich rhetoric of rights is politically ambiguous in that it can resist both state repression and state support for public life. By confusing state intervention in the economy with state interference in people's lives, healthy libertarian sentiments can lead toward a conservative ideology.

### **Domination and bureaucratic administration**

The social logic of bureaucratic administration runs on impersonal rules and regulations that promote hierarchical patterns and steadfast submission. Its goals of institutional efficiency and self-preservation often enhance profit-maximization and disciplinary control. Capital accumulation, state augmentation and bureaucratic administration in both capitalist and communist countries constitute the major components of a growing "iron cage" in which labor is exploited and people are repressed and dominated.

The major responses to bureaucratic administration have been "therapeutic" releases such as alcoholism, narcotic subcultures, simulated sexuality, cults of sport and charismatic renewals of religion. These are earnest attempts to preserve some self-vitality and vigor and overcome the banality of modern societies. In the United States, such responses have often reduced religious rituals to packaged commodities, kerygmatic preaching to dramatic commercials, and protracted struggles of conversion to glib events of sentimental titillation. Rarely do these responses result in opposition to the status quo. Instead, they usually become escapist activities that reinforce it.

Capital accumulation, state augmentation and bureaucratic administration are shot through with white, male heterosexual supremacist discourses and practices. Such racist, sexist and heterosexist practices relegate black, brown, red, yellow, gay and lesbian people to marginal identities and cause them psychosexual anxieties.

Industrial capitalism boasted of overt racist practices such as Jim Crowism, exclusionary immigration laws against Asians, and imperial conquest and geographical containment of indigenous peoples. Its cult of domesticity limited the role



of heterosexual women, banished lesbians, and promoted a doctrine of masculinity which degraded “effeminate” heterosexual men and gay men. Monopoly capitalism tempered its racist practices and refined its ideologies against peoples of color, but nearly committed genocide against Jewish peoples in the midst of “civilized” Europe. It celebrated women who carried double work loads and castigated lesbians and gay men. Multinational corporate capitalism turns its racist ammunition on the black and brown working poor and underclass; focuses its right-wing movements on women’s reproductive rights and often uses lesbians and gays as cultural scapegoats.

### First World church resistance

Christians are deeply entrenched in the prevailing political situation, and our theologies are shot through with the social logics I have described. Are there any Christian resources left after one teases out the economic exploitation, state repression, bureaucratic domination, and racism, sexism, and homophobia?

Only if we can interpret dramatic biblical narratives and emphasize a morality which promotes the de-Europeanization, de-Americanization and de-Sovietization of the world. This should not result in a vulgar anti-European, anti-American and anti-Soviet stance. Rather, it should build upon the best of the European, American and Soviet experiments. Further, it does not constitute a shift of the church to a “universal” faceless church, but rather from a church caught in European, American and Soviet captivity to a church more fully grounded in people’s basic needs. In biblical language, I am promoting a church serious about rooting out its deep-seated idolatries.

Christian resources include the indispensable (yet never adequate) capacities of human beings to solve problems — hence the anti-dogmatic elements of Christianity which encourage critical consciousness and celebrate the good news of Jesus Christ which empowers and links human capacities to the coming of the Kingdom. Thus too the warding off of disenabling despair, dread, cynicism, and death itself. Last, Christians view all human beings as having equal status, as warranting the same dignity, respect and love. Hence the Christian identification with the downtrodden and disinherited.

For those of us situated in the Christian tradition, there ought to be a deep bias against the prevailing forms of dogmatism and oppression. Yet this bias should be manifested without making criticism, hope and liberation a fetish or idol; for such reductions of the Christian Gospel result in impotent irony (as with some avant-garde postmodern theologians), shallow self-indulgence (as with many First World churches) or spiritless political struggle (as with some sec-

ularized political activists).

Another task of First World middle-class churches is to preserve the Christian ideals of individuality and democratic participation in the decision-making processes of the major institutions which guide and regulate our lives.

This accents the Christian belief that all humans are made in the image of God, and are thereby endowed with a certain dignity and respect which include a chance to fulfill their potentialities. This interpretation acknowledges that the development of individuality occurs within groups and societies. Further, it recognizes the depravity of persons in the sense that institutional mechanisms must provide checks and balances for various forms of power, wealth, status and influence. These mechanisms seem to work best when regulated and enforced by democratic convictions. This concept of democracy not only calls for participation within a given set of structures, but also a share of power to change the structures themselves.

The Christian struggle for freedom is as much a struggle for moral norms and systemic social analysis as it is a struggle against the powers that be precisely because these powers must be adequately understood if they are to be effectively transformed. Battles within the Christian tradition are often fought over the kind of social analyses to be employed in understanding our lives, societies and world. Christian thinkers should employ elements of various social analyses of power, wealth, status and influence that look at the world from the situation of the “least of these.”

Given the complexity and multiplicity of social logics in our world, an acceptable social and historical analysis must be both *systemic* and *eclectic*. My framework rests upon insights from the traditions of Marxism, anarchism, Weberianism, Garveyism, feminism, womanism, anti-homophobia, ecologism, liberalism and even elements of conservatism.

Affirming the Christian norms of individuality and democracy would more than likely lead to some form of democratic and libertarian socialism linked to anti-racist, anti-patriarchal and anti-homophobic ways of life; that is, a socioeconomic arrangement with markets, price mechanisms, an induced (not directed) labor force, a free press, formal political rights and a constitutionally-based legal order with special protections for marginalized peoples. This social vision recognizes that centralization, hierarchy and markets are inescapable realities for modern social existence; the crucial question is, how will they be regulated?

Finally, the preservation of individuality and democracy depends in large part, upon our understanding of and commitment to a deep sense of justice. And for Christians, justice has much to do with the depths of our faith. ■

# Short Takes

## Parable of wild geese

Several months ago I read a fascinating report about wild geese which was taken from an aeronautics laboratory study of them made in a wind tunnel. It was discovered, according to the report, that geese can fly a 71% longer range when they fly together in this v-formation, than when a solitary goose tries to make it alone. Evidently, the action of the wing tips of the goose ahead creates an uplift which makes it easier for the goose that follows; and each in turn passes on this lift to the one behind.

Furthermore, as the geese press on towards an unseen goal, the report goes on, they have a way of rotating their leadership so that the leader, who has no assistance, does not get worn out. And then, interestingly enough, when one of the geese becomes ill and has to leave the formation; and descends to the earth for a rest (this is really incredible) one of the other members of the flock also separates itself from the group and accompanies the ill one to a resting place.

Thus endeth the parable of the wild geese in flight.

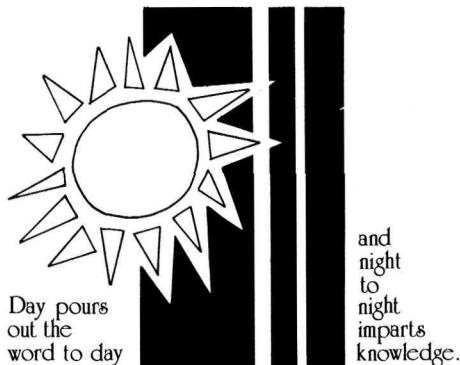
— William W. Kenney  
*Dimensions in Discipleship*  
Vancouver School of Theology

**Spanish proverb:** An ounce of mother is worth a pound of clergy.

## U.S. arms Third World

According to a new study released in mid-May of 1984 by the nonpartisan U.S. Congressional Research Service, the U.S. has again emerged as the number one arms supplier to the Third World. The U.S. share of the market rose from 32 percent to 39 percent between 1982 and 1983, while the Soviet Union's share declined from 27 to 17 percent. Last year's totals to the Third World amounted to \$26.5 billion, with the U.S. supplying \$9.68 billion and the Soviets providing \$7.8 billion. In the current fiscal year, arms sales agreements by the U.S. have already totaled \$9.1 billion, and another \$4.8 billion is proposed, which would set a new record.

— "Grassroots"  
*World Encounter, Fall '85*



## The risk of prayer

Prayer is a very dangerous business. It carries with it one great element of risk: the possibility of change. In prayer we open ourselves to the chance that God will do something with us that we had not intended . . . Don't we know for a fact that people who begin by "just praying" go trudging off to missionary lands, entering monasteries, taking part in demonstrations, dedicating themselves to the poor and sick?

People who really pray don't talk about it much. After you have looked into the matter carefully, you may be able to puzzle out who is really praying. In general though, prayer is something of an underground. Is it because people who pray are too possessive about their experiences to share them? On the contrary, people who pray usually share their experiences generously. But on the whole they don't advertise their prayer-lives. Perhaps the energy that might be used in talk goes into prayer instead.

Emilie Griffin  
*Clinging: The Experience of Prayer*

## Quote of note

To eat bread without hope is still slowly to starve to death.

— Pearl Buck

## But for a phone call . . .

The Rt. Rev. John T. Walker, Bishop of Washington, who led Episcopal Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning in early balloting in the House of Bishops in Anaheim, had urged Browning not to withdraw his name from the race in a phone call during the summer of '85, it was revealed recently

by The Virginia Churchman.

The Virginia Churchman told how Walker related the story of the phone call during a welcome home party given by his diocese at Mt. St. Alban's after General Convention.

Walker told some 250 persons that he was disappointed not to have been chosen, "but I'm perfectly happy to be sent home. The message I received at Anaheim was that it was God's will that I stay here," he said.

He went on to relate how Browning, a close friend of his family, had telephoned him during the summer to suggest that he, Browning, withdraw his name from nomination for Presiding Bishop. Browning said he felt it would be the best thing for the Episcopal Church at this time to "make a statement" by electing Walker, the Black candidate, as Presiding Bishop. Walker said he told Browning that it would not be right for the Bishop of Hawaii to step aside, and dissuaded him from doing so.

## 'La Conquistadora'

In the museum of Santa Fe, New Mex. there is a statue of the Blessed Virgin with the meaningful name of *La Conquistadora*. This is Cortes' "Queen of Heaven," who accompanied him on his pilgrimage to our lands. With her at his side, he came from Spain in the name of God to conquer Mexico — putting into execution the greatest blood-bath in American history. As tragedy would have it, the Amerindians, in their mythology, had expected to see one day disembarking on the eastern coasts of their lands, White gods, dispensing eternal life. Beneath the banner of the White goddess, Christian conquistadors invaded everywhere, and the terrified aborigines quickly came to know the methods by which European empires limitlessly extended their borders.

As I stood in the museum gazing at *La Conquistadora*, suddenly a shock went through me. One of her eyes had been gouged out! I felt a sudden burst of joy. Some Indian had come by here and realized that this was an image of the oppression and death of sisters and brothers, and wanted to do something to avenge them.

— Theologian Georges Casalis  
*Third World Sermon Notes*

# The church in a frozen revolution

by James Guinan

When American TV showed U.S. troops parachuting onto an airstrip in Grenada, Oct. 23, 1983, most of us had never heard of this tiny Caribbean island-nation, let alone tried to find it on a map.

If one located it in the southeastern Caribbean and probed further, an atlas would reveal that the nation contains two other small islands — Petite Martinique and Carriacou. Carriacou — four hours by mail boat from Grenada and 16 minutes by LIAT Island Hopper, is where I spent six months as interim priest last year.

Bishop George Hunt of Rhode Island had called me at my retirement home in Virginia to ask if I would spend some time in the Caribbean after the hurricane season. Rhode Island has a companion-diocese relationship with the Anglican Diocese of the Windward Islands, and Carriacou needed assistance because of the unexpected death of its 32-year-old rector. Since clergy are in short supply, I was assigned by the Most Rev. George Woodroffe, Archbishop of the West Indies, to two congregations: one rural, St. Francis in Harvey Vale; and Christ the King in Hillsborough, the urban center, seaport and political headquarters of the island.

The following thoughts flow from my work experiences and involvement as priest and pastor there.

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**The Rev. James Guinan** is an Episcopal priest and longtime social activist who has served in San Francisco, Detroit, Connecticut and Rhode Island. He is now living in retirement in Deerfield, Va.

My first observation is that the church, both Anglican and Roman expressions of it in Grenada, seems inextricably interwoven in the fabric of politics. Herbert Blaize, the Prime Minister of Grenada, was senior warden of the Carriacou church. The time he was able to spend in active service was limited but nonetheless, he was a vital force and voice in the life and work of the church.

The church, by and large, is made up of people who have “made it” in the post-colonial world, and they expect to keep things the way they are. They would remind me of the horrors of the past two regimes and were clear that they did not want any more disruptiveness from revolutions and U.S. interventions and such.

My first six weeks were busy: five funerals; six baptisms with preparation sessions; two Eucharists each Sunday in both congregations plus Sunday school in the afternoon; and great numbers of memorial requiems for those recently departed. These requiems may be unique to Anglican Churches in the Caribbean. They are celebrated in the church but often in the home as well, on the ninth day, the 40th day, or the anniversary of the death. Usually the family invites friends to attend and there is a small gathering afterwards to break bread and share a drink.

The religious life of the people was a new experience for me. It was not easy to bend from my Virginia Seminary low church training and 36 years of experience as a social activist to become a “Mass priest,” saying requiems so frequently. And when I realized that the Anglican Church had also been an in-

strument of colonialization through the years, I found myself becoming increasingly uncomfortable. I was ministering to people with a post-colonial hangover.

From the first days since the Europeans and British came to these shores, the church — first Roman, then Anglican — has served as the domesticating arm of the empire. After the Spanish literally drove the Carib Indians, who preferred death to enslavement, off a cliff in Grenada, the next colonial master, the French, imported Black West Africans as slaves to maintain the lush plantations whose harvests were sent back to Europe. Since 1763, when the British “won” Grenada from the French, the Empire maintained colonial status, not for the development of the people, but for its own wealth. Since 1974, Grenada has been independent, although it remains part of the British Commonwealth.

After many uprisings and a recent revolution, the struggle for freedom still continues. Grenada, Carriacou, and Petite Martinique, with populations of some 100,000, 5,000, and 500 respectively, comprise a little “Nation of Conflict,” as George Brizan, Minister of Agriculture, called it in his recent book.

But revolution is behind Grenadians for a while. The freedom they enjoy is still shackled to a colonial way of life. They are still “of the Empire” in their Anglican ways of liturgizing and running their church affairs. Their religious expression is one of acculturation and acquiescence.

The churches here seem to have fed the people with a diet of pious palliatives and avoided the strong meat of the



Gospel. Hence, the heavy ritualistic orientation. Is that so much easier to teach than to probe the roots of poverty, 40% unemployment, poor health facilities, and how to recover indigenous agricultural production and the fishing industry? I do not understand how both the Roman and the Anglican Churches can be so insensitive to the needs of the people they serve. The politics of the church are colonial rather than West Indian or West African.

And now the government is changing its allegiance to another empire — the United States. America's dominating influence in the Caribbean leaves no doubt who calls the shots. Herbert Blaize's election was largely the result of U.S. assistance. One of our embassy officials told me, "He was the candidate we felt would best represent our interests." It is generally accepted all over Carriacou, Blaize's parliamentary base, that U.S. money and political assistance won him the election. The campaign literature, T-shirts, posters, polling assistance, etc. left no doubt that Blaize, indeed, was the candidate who would "best represent our interests." And I suspect our interests are those that will guarantee that there shall be no more Marxist countries in the Caribbean.

To be sure, the unrest before Blaize took office were frightening years for Grenadians. I have heard my friends describe them. They were genuinely apprehensive. The first Prime Minister to whom the British turned over rule, Eric Gairy, turned out to be a despot with his Mongoose Squads of killers on the loose, trampling down any and all opposition to the new government. Gairy was overthrown in 1979 by the New Jewel Movement and the People's Revolutionary Government under Maurice Bishop. Influenced by the Black Power movement of the United States, the leadership and the young nation struggled to make itself representative of the Grenadian people. Fraught with internal dissension, how-

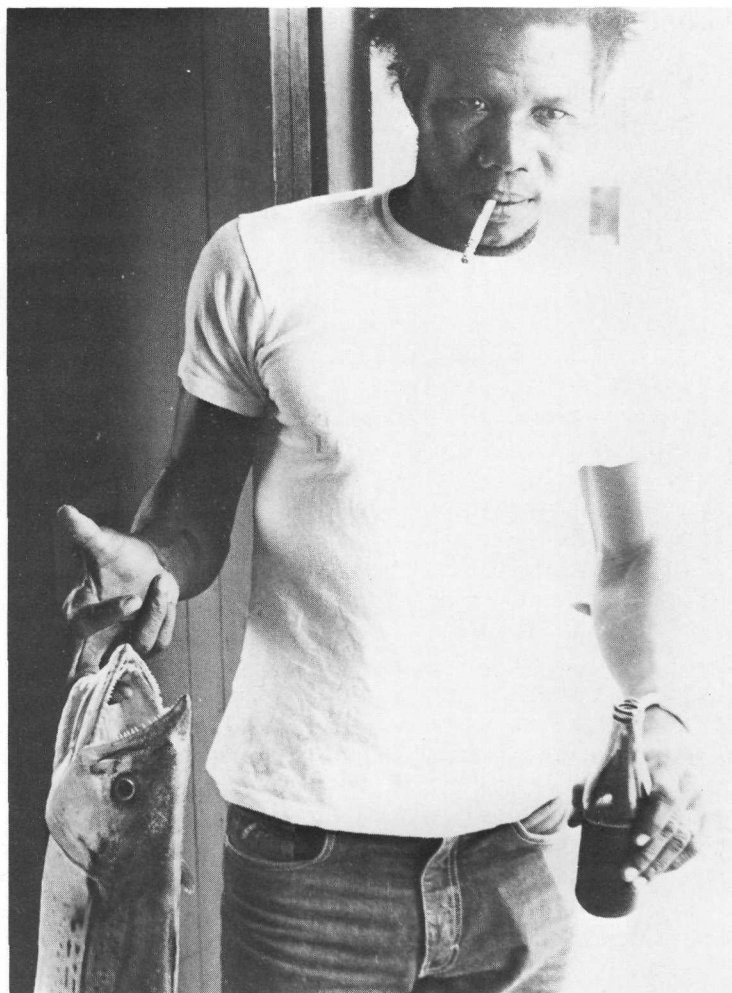
ever, it collapsed when Bishop was murdered in 1983. It was at this point that the United States invaded.

The questions that go begging today are the same questions the Bishop regime purportedly was struggling with. The church continues to retreat from addressing social and political issues that might make people aware the country is still living in dependency, in a colonial dream world. Thus, the church supports the Blaize government, and preserves the

status quo.

Although there is an attempt in the West Indies to bring the Anglican Church to a point where Black African West Indians might begin to have a sense of their past, as exemplified in the recent conference in Barbados on the theme of Afro-Anglicanism, the Grenadian church is not that far along.

The Grenadian church seems to busy itself with intricate pastoral duties and liturgical imitations of Roman Catholicism



**A Carriacou fisherman with a prize catch. The fishing industry no longer serves the islanders due to the bootlegging enterprise that ships fish off to Martinique to fine restaurants, in trade for Jack Iron Rum.**



The author in the market square purchasing tamarind balls, a delicacy of Carriacou.

such as Corpus Christi processions and Stations of the Cross. Seldom does anyone in the pews hear anything from the prophets. When I subscribed to the Caribbean Conference of Churches newspaper, I was told I should be careful because it was a “communist” publication. Actually, I found it to be the best source of news about what is going on in the Caribbean today, and a clear voice for liberation from the forces that have kept people oppressed for centuries.

What is needed, I believe, is for the church to find and preach a theology of liberation — not necessarily the liberation theology of some of the neighboring islands and Central America which is Marxist in its analysis. Clergy, today, however, are trained for the most part at the Anglican seminary at Codrington College in Barbados. Its emphasis is mostly on pastoral ministry and liturgical innovations for the Anglo-Catholic

tradition. Social issues go unaddressed. Consequently alcoholism is incredibly high; women are second class citizens; pollution prevails and potable water is unevenly distributed; senior citizens are lonely, uncared for, medically deprived and forgotten; and a basic economy of agriculture and fishing lies fallow.

A liberating theology would preach and teach about the church’s ministry in the social and political arena. A liberating theology would begin to implement social programs to help alcoholics, give hope to the aged for dignified twilight years, and insist that women demand full citizenship. A liberating theology could free a lot of people in Grenada and help deal with the defeatist attitude that says, “Oh well, it’s always been that way. How can I hope to change it?”

Maurice Bishop’s charismatic ideas touched many young people in Grenada. His New Jewel Movement was hope-

lessly overwhelmed by the rigors of trying to make good the promises within the ideology of Marxism. Today many advantaged youth have left the island, creating a brain drain. And many youth have left the church because, I suspect, the church is not saying anything of importance.

The church can have a role in shaping the revolutions yet to come in Grenada. Shaping these revolutions may prove to be the greatest challenge of the church’s modern day history.

While in Carriacou I felt I was living under a volcano. Nothing was about to erupt — it already had, and was all covered with volcanic dust and soot that no one knew how to dig out of. It is time for us to begin listening to the rumblings that are emerging from the Caribbean. The problems are real — they are not a result of Marxist agitation, as many, including our President and State Department, would have us believe. They stem from a period of colonialization and slavery that was cruel and dehumanizing, and they will not be wished away. ■

## black & white dream at end of October

ahead, and to the side of the road,  
a little child is standing —  
i’d guess about 3 years old —  
in clothes somewhat ragged,  
with eyes this way, unblinking;  
her arms hanging down at her sides.

closer to me, the car —  
heading straight at her.  
from deep in my chest,  
i will it to swerve,  
but its engines push it onward,  
and further to the right — straight  
at the child, innocent and standing  
in the way.

i do not see the impact,  
but i know it as it happens.  
i wake and cry her name,  
“Grenada!”

— Gillian M. Dale



## Council sends mixed signals

**T**alk about damning with faint praise! A recent Diocesan Press Service news release from the Episcopal Church Center at New York carried the headline: "Shareholder Actions Split New Council." The release reported, in part:

"A debate on a shareholder resolution gave some indications of the disinvestment process ordered by (General) Convention and how the newly-seated Executive Council of the Episcopal Church might address the whole range of shareholder ethics.

"Two resolutions would have General Motors and the Raytheon Company establish policies making renewal of contracts with the government and instrumentalities of South Africa contingent upon the Pretoria government's committing itself to the end of apartheid and to 'meaningful steps' toward racial, social and political equality. A third asked IBM, Shlumberger, General Electric, United Airlines and General Signal Companies to state that they would terminate their South African business unless the government began action on the 'Tutu corollaries' before the end of 1986."

(Bishop Desmond Tutu has stated that firms doing business in South Africa should pressure the government to abandon the homelands policies; abolish influx control, pass laws and other instruments of apartheid; restore full political rights; free all political prisoners and increase funding for black education, housing, health and social welfare programs.)

If, indeed, this initial meeting does offer indications of how the 40-member council will approach the highly charged

area of social responsibility in investments over the next three years, it is already sending some mixed and confusing signals to the church and the ecumenical community. In prolonged debate over how the church would continue its opposition to apartheid in South Africa, there emerged a decided lack of clarity on council's response to the mandate from Anaheim.

Along with those who raised one of the first questions at the meeting, we too ask: Why, indeed, would the council pursue such courses of action — seeking controls on firms active in South Africa — when Convention had mandated *disinvestment* from all such companies?

Some members of council, reportedly, argued that Convention's intention was for immediate divestment, although this is not explicitly stated in the resolution. This certainly was the understanding with which many General Convention deputies left Anaheim. Moreover, despite the resolution being flawed by lack of a specified time for implementation, it presented the church with the opportunity to couple its daily Convention prayers for Bishop Tutu with concrete action.

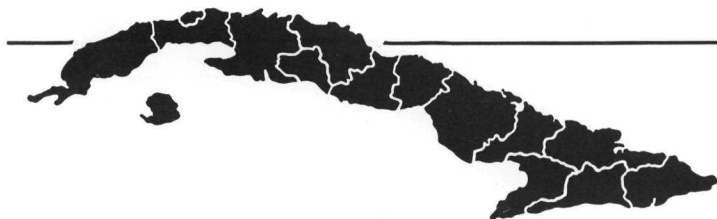
Newly elected Councillor Bettye Jo Harris, who directs a multi-racial/multi-ethnic Immigrant Service Center for the Episcopal Church in Hawaii, argued that "the church's witness would be all the more forceful if it took place at the risk of some financial loss." However, Treasurer Matthew Costigan dropped in a bon mot by conveying the church's attorneys' opinion that "the Council was bound *legally* to prudent investment pol-

icies that seemed to bar the sale of stock at a substantial loss if that could be avoided."

When all was said and done (at least until the next meeting in February), council voted to pursue the umbrella action calling on the companies to seek conformity to the Tutu corollaries and calling on GM to end its ties unless apartheid is dismantled. A resolution calling on Raytheon to follow the GM course was sent back to committee.

The remainder of the DPS report was equally as damaging and really needs no comment. To wit: council also deferred action which would have called on AT&T to terminate its contract to manage the nuclear weapons division of the Sandia national laboratories. The Rev. George Bates, council member from Albuquerque, N.M. objected strenuously to this measure because of *phraseology*. AT&T, he argued, manages the *whole lab* — with facilities in Albuquerque and Livermore, Ca. — not just the nuclear weapons division under contract to the Department of Energy. The vote: 22-12. The meeting also authorized a resolution calling on Martin-Marrietta to establish a company committee to explore and report on the firm's ethical involvement as a prime contractor in the development of the MX missile and make renewal of such contracts contingent on the report. A measure which would have Shlumberger report to stockholders the extent and nature of its sales to the Soviet government won similar quick support. ■





## Getting to know

**I**n late 1984 I visited Cuba for the first time since 1950. I was not prepared for what I found — a new and almost buoyant Cuba. Readily available reading matter on the country for the last two decades has been scarce and slanted

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**The Rev. Cora Cheney Partridge** is an Episcopal priest active in three dioceses — Delaware, Florida, and Vermont. An author of children's books, she has traveled extensively abroad. Her recent trip to Cuba elicited the accompanying article, and the interview with the Rt. Rev. Emilio Hernandez, Bishop of Cuba, below.

here, torn between flagrant Cuban revolutionary propaganda on one hand and reports on the U.S. uncompromising fear of Communism on the other.

Consequently, there is a vast area of indifference and ignorance in the United States about our Cuban near neighbor, its history, its problems, and its own adaptation of Marxism which we need to know about if we are to be friends. Little is taught in our public schools about Cuba to our post-1960 generations.

The Cuban Revolution of 1959 was a great leveler. There is almost total literacy, total employment, free education

at all levels, free medical care, free child care centers. To ride a bus costs five centavos for all. There are safe, clean streets, no beggars. While housing is cramped in some areas there is still a place for everyone to live.

Rationing is in effect, but there are “parallel” stores for food, gasoline, goods and luxuries if one works extra hard to pay the higher prices. Basics are available to all people.

Most businesses are state-owned. There is no free press but there are many inexpensive books for sale. Serious

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## Cuban bishop, once prisoner,

**T**he Right Rev. Emilio Joaquin Hernandez Albalate, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Cuba since 1982, sat, apparently relaxed, in a worn chair in his office in the *Obispo's* House, adjoining the Holy Trinity Episcopal Cathedral. In this neighborhood of historic mansions and embassies of the Vedado section of old Havana one recalls the pre-revolutionary city with its walled compounds and well tended gardens — and its slums that once lay beyond.

The bishop's relaxed appearance is belied by his eyes that look beyond the crumbling old walls to the new Socialist-Communist world of Cuba today. Experience has given him insights that differ from the social and political stability of most bishops. Emilio Hernandez, (note: in the Spanish manner, his moth-

er's name *Albalate*, is appended after his surname) after fighting along with anti-Batista forces, became an active revolutionary soldier in the turbulent 1950s. In the confused Cuban world after Castro's takeover in 1959, Hernandez was involved in an anti-government plot, for which he spent 10 years in prison, from 1962-72.

“I was guilty as charged,” he said. “I paid my debt.”

He preferred not to belabor the details of the reasons for his imprisonment and eventual release, but he spoke freely of his decade in prison, and of his revolutionary student days.

Born into a Roman Catholic family in Camaguey Province in 1925, young Emilio attended the Episcopal Trinity School in Moron. This led to involve-

ment in an Episcopal missionary Sunday School. In time he became an Episcopalian and began to have thoughts about the priesthood. He yearned to go to the United States for theological study.

“But my mother thought I was frail,” smiled the thin and delicately built bishop. “She persuaded me to study in Cuba. The cold climate of *Norte America* held a great terror for her, so I entered the University of Havana and began the study of medicine.”

The bishop paused, thinking back on student days. It is a matter of public record that Fidel Castro was also at the University in that period of change and unrest in Cuba.

“My mind was a revolutionary mind at all times. Serious Christians live in

# Cuba again

by Cora Cheney Partridge

shortages of cars and spare parts exist (Where else would you see a Henry J. and an Edsel parked side by side today?). There are also shortages of taxis, small buses, machinery and such luxuries as fancy clothes, cosmetics, and non-essentials that flood the Western world.

But best of all, the Cubans are still the joyous people they used to be, and while there are dark and light sides to all issues, there is no doubt that most of the population seems better off under the new system. The people look well dressed and healthy with none of the dreariness that I experienced in Soviet populations.

Partly, the difference is in the basic moods of the two peoples, and part is that Cuba has adapted its own brand of Socialism to its special needs. Cuban people are still the determined rebels who do not relish total loss of individuality; historically they are freedom fighters against any entrenched oppression.

In 1961 an attempt to overthrow the Castro government by a force led by Cuban exiles with U.S. support was a fiasco. The Bay of Pigs invasion turned back in 72 hours, became a unifying and rallying event for the Castro govern-

ment. After the event, the United States broke diplomatic ties with Cuba, and the great blackout of news and free intercourse began. However, the United States retained Guantanamo Naval Base near the Eastern tip of Cuba, but it is totally fenced off.

The Cubans seem to want our friendship (and dollars) very much, and they are bitter about the U.S. trade embargo, in existence since 1962. They are put into a position of having to purchase from distant countries, driving a wedge between natural partners.

Many Cubans resent the fact that we

## sees brighter future

revolt in the world, and Christ was the greatest revolutionary of all times."

While at the University, after three and a half years of medical school, Emilio, now in his 20s, became firm in his ambition to become an ordained priest. He confessed that it was with some "guilt" that he left medical school and entered the seminary at Matanzas, Cuba, where he graduated, at age 27, in 1955. He was ordained deacon that year, and in 1956 became a priest and took a country parish.

Meantime, in 1952, he had married Edivia Mesa, and they began their family of two sons and a daughter. Now they have three grandsons.

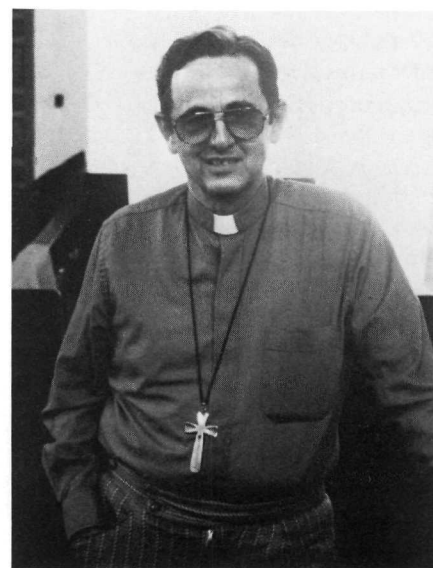
Although he had a family and a parish, the young priest was politically active;

five years after he was ordained he was in prison for his politics. At no time did he consider abandoning his native land. During the ordeal of his imprisonment his wife and children remained in Cuba, his loyal supporters.

"We are Cubans," he said proudly.

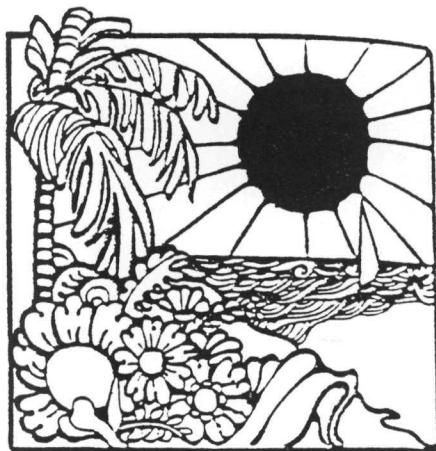
Despite the hardships to himself and his family, Emilio found the 10 years in prison an "edifying" experience. It was a time of deep spiritual growth, and he soon became a virtual chaplain of the prison.

"People who are locked up need healing," he said. "It was also an ecumenical experience. We were all one under God, as well as under guard. I found that the spiritual needs of people are stronger



The Rt. Rev. Emilio Hernandez

*Continued on page 17*



"Norte Americanos" consider that we liberated Cuba in 1898, when they had been fighting a winning revolt against Spain for half a century. In 1894, my own father, at age 15, ran away from home in a small Southern town to join the Cuban rebels. His anxious parents overtook him in New Orleans and persuaded him to come home to finish his education. There was a tremendous sympathy for the revolutionary cause among American liberals, and Jose Marti, the political philosopher, humanitarian and writer whose thoughts have probably influenced present day Cuba more than any one person, was a hero to many in the United States as well as Cuba.

Churches are still communicating between the two countries. Contrary to widespread opinion, Castro never persecuted the churches nor prevented either Protestant or Roman Catholic worship as long as they did not advocate the overthrow of the government. (We cannot do that in the United States either). After the revolution there was an exodus of the wealthy establishment, many anti-Castro Cubans, who went chiefly to Miami, foreseeing drastic economic changes. The emigres included many professionals and many religious people. The influential Cuban community in Miami today is vocally anti-Castro and pro-Reagan.

The remaining congregations in Cuba began to work together for an indigenous new church with much ecumenical emphasis. The only sign of Christmas celebration I saw in Havana in 1984 was in churches, usually in cooperation with others, a rather refreshing movement to put the Nativity back into a religious atmosphere.

The old Evangelical Theological Seminary at Matanzas has survived the revolution and today is teaching students from a variety of denominations. Church membership in all religions is down from pre-revolution days; however a small but steady increase is developing.

In the new constitution the "Family Clause" defines the status of women. Although it may not be totally adhered to, there is legally no discrimination against women in pay or in jobs. Men are required by law to share the housework and child care. I actually saw a man hanging out the wash.

The country, although not very well prepared for it, is seeking tourism. Citizens of the United States can enter through cultural exchanges or through church connections under certain circumstances. European, Canadian, and Asian travel groups are flooding Cuban hotels to capacity.

Water is potable throughout the country, in contrast to other Latin American countries. Fresh salad vegetables offer no risk to wary tourists. There are almost no manufactured tourist goods for sale, but the government hard currency stores in hotels have a few souvenir type items. The Cuban peso is worth slightly more than a dollar.

A traveler with even a slight knowledge of Spanish is able to enjoy bus rides without an escort and talk to other passengers. Visitors are free to move about with no "shadow" following. There was no indication that any areas or institutions were either set up for or prohibited to tourists. Bus rides on cheap and crowd-

ed public transportation can take you through the countryside or into rural villages to see the daily life style of the people. Cubans do not have our freedoms of press and speech, but they also do not have the poverty and living conditions they had in the past.

Is Cuba exporting revolution? Is the United States exporting democracy? Is mutual respect possible, making a literal effort at loving one's neighbor on a hemispheric basis? ■

## Thornell heads ECPC Board

The Rev. Kwasi Thornell, recently named canon missionary of the Washington National Cathedral, has been elected new chair of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company to succeed the Rt. Rev. H. Coleman McGehee, Jr., whose term expired.

Other officers are the Rt. Rev. J. Antonio Ramos, Associate Director for the Caribbean and Latin America, National Council of Churches, vice president; Gloria Brown, consultant-psychologist from Los Angeles, secretary; and Carman St. John Hunter, of World Education, Inc., New York, treasurer.

Re-elected for a second term are the Rt. Rev. Otis Charles, dean of Episcopal Divinity School; and Steven Guerra, who will complete a full second term interrupted by his incarceration as a Grand Jury resister.

Newly elected Board members are the Rt. Rev. John H. Burt, retired Bishop of Southern Ohio; and the Rev. William W. Rankin, rector of St. Stephen's church, Belvedere, Cal. Newly named to the Contributing Editors of THE WITNESS magazine is the Rev. James Lewis, vicar of the Church of the Incarnation, Ann Arbor, Mich. The full complement of the ECPC Board, and all Contributing Editors of THE WITNESS, are listed on the masthead on page 5.



## Cuban bishop . . . *Cont. from page 15*

than the physical needs. Prison gave me the unshakable conviction that the spirit is the basis of human welfare.”

How does he see the role of the church in the new Cuba?

“A new church is emerging in Cuba, where only about 15% of the population are professed Christians. All over Latin America churches are looking after the needs of people. The church is not oppressed here, but professed Christians cannot be ranking members of the Communist Party. Yet the church still has power.”

Nevertheless, church rolls are smaller in revolutionary Cuba than in the 1950s. For example, the Episcopal Church, which has always been a minority church in Cuba, has about 2500 to 3000 members in contrast to the 5000 to 7000 members of 25 years ago, many having left the country. The attitude of most Christians is more ecumenical now.

“We are co-operative, for the church reflects the society where it exists. Cuba’s indigenous new church is being formed in a new context, with new interpretations of the Scriptures” reflected the bishop.

The Episcopal Church is in ever closer contact with its counterparts in Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Mexico, and to the extent possible, other Caribbean churches.

“The role of the church in a communist country is to help people spiritually as in any other context. The church offers a continuing challenge of political change,” he mused. “The new government has unquestionably improved the lot of the general population. The Family Clause in the new Constitution of Cuba truly tries to give total equality to women, for example. Men are required by law to take half the share of housework and child care.”

His wife Edivia brought in hospitable cups of thick Cuban coffee, and they exchanged a quick smile.

“We’ll see if it works out. Even this is reflected in our church. We are getting ready to ordain three women to the diaconate soon. We welcome this healthy development for our women who will become priests in the normal pattern of the church.”

Can the churches of the United States and Cuba lead the way for opening diplomatic channels between our two countries? Bishop Hernandez paused occasionally to re-form his Spanish thoughts into English words.

“Some churches in the two countries are moving to work together despite political differences. Take, for example, the sister relationship between the United States Diocese of Florida and the Episcopal Diocese of Cuba, which was initiated by Bishop Frank Cervený of Florida in 1982.

“Since then we have had a delegation at the Florida Convention in 1984 and 1985, and Bishop Cervený with a supporting group has recently been allowed to come to Cuba. The Diocese of Florida has given me a new car to replace my 1966 Austin. That is church diplomacy for I certainly am grateful for the new Datsun.”

The Episcopal Church in Cuba, which has existed formally for over a century, was until 1966 a mission diocese of the Episcopal Church of the United States. *The Iglesia Episcopal de Cuba (Diocesis Autonomo e Independiente dentro de la Comunion Anglicana)* drew up its own constitution in 1967. It operates under the Metropolitan Council which consists of the Primate of the Anglican Church in Canada, the Archbishop of the West Indies and the President of Province IX, Episcopal Church, U.S.A.

In a country where there are many Blacks, it is notable that the first native-born Cuban Episcopalian to be ordained was Emilio Planas Hernandez (no relation to the present bishop) who became a priest in 1904. Bishop Hernandez, who became Bishop Co-adjutor in 1980 and

consecrated Bishop in 1982, was the third Cuban-born bishop.

Although the 1979 *Book of Common Prayer* is now translated into Spanish, the Cuban Episcopal Church is working out its own liturgy and hymns to fit its special culture.

Is it harder to be a Christian in a communist society or in a capitalist society?

“It is hard to be a Christian in any society,” the bishop replied quietly.

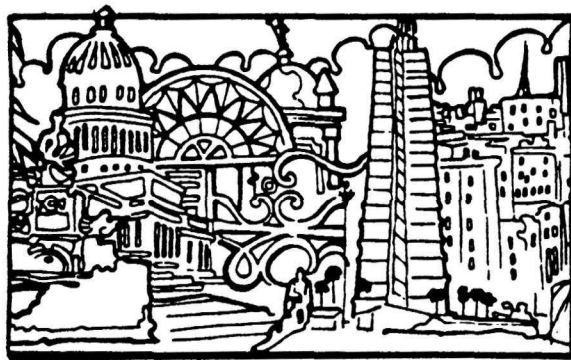
What about Liberation Theology which is now so associated with Latin America?

Emilio Hernandez rubbed the back of his neck, walked across the room to straighten on the wall a picture of his newest grandson, and replied thoughtfully.

“That is a popular term, with many meanings. I tend to consider myself a traditional theologian. In Cuba, the revolution itself represents liberation for most people, but there is a price. Capitalism also has its price. Whatever the choice, some people will think the price is too high. Christ is the liberator. When that idea is grasped, the church will endure in some form in all societies.”

Since this interview took place, the Episcopal Church of Cuba at an extraordinary synod approved the ordination of women to the priesthood and episcopate by a unanimous vote of clergy and lay delegates. “That is far ahead of some other Anglican bodies,” the bishop noted on that occasion.

—C.C.P.



# In technology we trust

by Michael Hamilton

**R**onald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev have met at last. But specific agreements between them about nuclear arms affairs were conspicuously absent. Reagan did not respond to Gorbachev's invitations to continue to abide by the SALT II Treaty, nor was the U.S. president willing to explore a comprehensive test ban, nor an anti-satellite weapons ban; he did not modify his Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) plans, generally known as Star Wars; nor did he clarify his understanding of what the ABM Treaty means to him and to his administration. If goodwill takes no tangible shape, it lacks a crucial incarnational element.

And so the arms race will continue. Over the last decades we Americans have embarked upon a series of technological developments euphemistically known as "weapon modernization." This process has brought neither the Soviets nor ourselves any greater security. And, it has been our "leadership" as Americans — our scientific superiority — that in most cases has initiated these developments. The Soviets have responded in kind. They have also sought advantage whenever they could. God's judgment surely falls upon both of us.

But let me review recent history. It is common knowledge that we were the first to develop and use the atomic bomb. Then we developed the hydrogen bomb in 1952. The Soviets were the first to flight-test a satellite in 1957. We were the first in 1962 to equip our submarines

with nuclear missiles. We were the first to deploy ICBMs with multiple warheads in 1975. And in 1983 we were the first to deploy advanced cruise missiles. Each one of these incidents were watersheds in which enormous advantages in technological development took place. How and why have we done this?

First, because we cannot resist the temptation to take advantage of every scientific idea that excites our curiosity and our wish for temporary military advantage. And the profits made by our military industrial complex are an added incentive. By misleading our people, our leaders over the years have justified these developments on the false grounds of a "bomber gap, missile gap, window of vulnerability, bargaining chip," or in the words of a recent Defense Department policy paper, "to prevail over our adversaries." In every case, our advantage has been short-lived, for the Soviets have followed us in order to maintain their own strength.

In condemning this mutual escalation I am not a pacifist. I am not arguing for the present elimination of our nuclear weapons, nor have I ever thought we should endanger our national security. We should maintain nuclear deterrence, which I believe is morally justified, until both we and the Soviets through arms control treaties can reduce our arsenals to the point when we begin serious negotiations for the maintenance of peace born of justice and ecological security, not fear.

But it is important to reflect at this time because we have just crossed one new watershed in weapons development and we are about to cross another. The first is our recent testing of an anti-satellite

weapon. Both the United States and the Soviet Union have done research in this area, but the Soviets have observed a moratorium on testing for the last two years and they have offered to negotiate an anti-satellite treaty with us. We still refuse to cooperate. Recently we shot down a satellite with the first sophisticated system.

This may be a technological triumph, but it is also a disastrous watershed. If we and the Soviets continue to develop weapons to destroy each others' satellites, then we destroy the capability to see and verify what each other is doing and, in time of tension or war, our crucial link of communication with the Soviets can be destroyed.

The second and even more calamitous policy, I believe, is the SDI, or Star Wars, proposed by this administration. We are embarking on a technological research program including the intention to test the system's subcomponents. It is an enormously expensive program, running into as high as \$33 billion over the next six years. It has been condemned by many scientists as unfeasible, by veteran arms control professionals as destroying the ABM Treaty in principle, and incidentally, has recently been condemned by the General Convention of the Episcopal Church.

There are two additional compelling arguments against this venture. First, assume for a moment that SDI is in position and ready to be used. It has never been tested, it never can be tested. Do you think for a moment we could trust its effectiveness? Secondly, dream again that a nuclear war breaks out. SDI is activated and nearly all Soviet ICBMs are destroyed in space. As we "cele-

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**The Rev. Michael Hamilton** is canon of the National Cathedral, Mt. St. Alban's, Washington, D.C.

brate," 500 cruise missiles slip in past all of our defenses and the holocaust occurs after all.

President Reagan, in his speech on March 23, 1983, proposed that scientists, through the SDI program, "give us the means of rendering nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete," and of "eliminating the threat of nuclear missiles." "Wouldn't it be better," he asked, "to save lives rather than avenge them?" His charm is our undoing, for his words are grossly misleading. They may sound comforting and innocent to us, but reflect for a moment how they sound in Soviet ears. Actually, no imagination is needed, for they have already told us, loud and clear, that it frightens them. What sounds like defense to us, is a threat of attack to them. What sounds like an ethical goal for us is, in terms of its consequences, a delusion for it brings a

major escalation in the arms race.

If we try to develop a means to shoot down their missiles, they will have lost their deterrent ability and security. And they have told us what they are going to do. They will greatly increase the production and deployment of their own offensive weapons so that any Star Wars defense begun by us will be overwhelmed by them. And finally, as fast as they can, they will research and deploy their own Star Wars weapon system. President Reagan says of this program that "it is a vision of the future which offers hope."

It is not! It is evil, it greatly increases the fear and danger of war, and I believe President Reagan speaks like a false prophet. We should do all we can to halt this new arms race.

At the summit, both Reagan and Gorbachev agreed that it was in their mutual interest that there never be a nu-

clear war. Since our president has an apparently unshakable commitment to SDI, our task as church people is to lobby Congress to cut back on its appropriations. We should also take advantage of every opportunity for personal and cultural exchanges, so that the poisonous atmosphere which this administration has engendered in our public towards the Soviet Union be changed. The fact that a summit meeting has occurred makes these efforts more feasible.

Finally, if our destiny as humans were to be decided only on the levels of this analysis, our future would look bleak. For it is true that those who live by the sword, shall die by the sword. But we Christians also worship a God who is concerned with human affairs and who can bring good out of evil. It is in that faith, in obedience to that God, that our essential security lies. ■

## ONE TRILLION DOLLARS

### ONE TRILLION DOLLARS!

That's a lot of money. It averages out to \$18,000 for every family of four in the United States. The initial budget of approximately \$30 billion is only for research and development—the camel's nose under the tent. The big money gets spent on production, deployment in space, and operations. Former Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger estimates the twenty-year cost for the total system at **one trillion dollars**.

### STAR WARS COULD NOT PROTECT US!

Most experts agree that an "Impenetrable shield" against thousands of nuclear warheads is absolutely out

of the question for at least twenty years. **Current military plans call for Star Wars to protect only missile silos, not civilians.**

### WHAT WOULD THIS TRILLION DOLLARS BUY US?

- More Soviet nuclear weapons: If the Soviets believe many of their missiles will be shot down, they will deploy thousands of new missiles to overwhelm our "defense." They will also build anti-Star Wars weapons and, of course, their own Star Wars system.
- Higher risk of nuclear war: The chance of an accident or miscalculation during a crisis grows as the number of complex weapons escalates and fears about the other side's intentions increase.

- More cuts in programs for poor and middle-class people.

- Higher federal deficit: One trillion dollars represents one half the current total U.S. federal deficit.

### WE NEED THIS ONE TRILLION DOLLARS TO ENRICH LIFE, NOT DESTROY IT!

For more information, contact:  
The National Disarmament Program  
American Friends Service Committee  
1501 Cherry Street  
Philadelphia, PA 19102  
(215) 241-7167

Additional leaflets may be ordered at \$5.00 per hundred.

This leaflet printed in-house by AFSC.

The American Friends Service Committee has published a unique educational leaflet — a "Trillion Dollar Bill" — the projected cost of Star Wars, the Strategic Defense Initiative proposed by President Reagan (shown actual size above).

On the front is a Darth Vader-like torso with the words, "In Technology We Trust" underneath, and figures of spacecraft shooting down missiles. The trillion dollar bills are available from AFSC at address noted above.

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# South African church stirs pot

by William Johnston

*South Africa, a society in extremis, provided a remarkable 26-page theological document toward the end of last year similar to the Barmen Declaration in which the Confessing Church challenged rising Nazism in Germany in 1934. THE WITNESS asked William Johnston, president of Episcopal Churchpeople for a Free Southern Africa, to comment on the piece, The Kairos Document, as well as the recent World Council of Churches meeting about the critical nature of the region.*

**T**he *Kairos Document* comes out of the tempest sweeping South Africa. Laypeople and clergy from a wide spectrum of Christian churches began meeting together last July impelled by the fast moving human devastation overwhelming their country, and by September had produced *Kairos* — entitled “Challenge to the church: A theological comment on the political crisis in South Africa.” The 153 signatories range from members of the Apostolic Faith Mission Church to the Roman Catholic — theologians, nuns, parish priests, church officials, women and men, four-fifths of them Black. Some have been detained; several tortured by South African police.

*Kairos* — the moment of truth — is direct, tough, angry. It admits to being an unfinished document and invites comment and refutation. It addresses the conflict in South Africa between oppressors and oppressed — a “crisis for the church as an institution” because “both oppressor and oppressed claim loyalty to the same church.”

*Kairos* is divided into three sections. The first deals with State Theology — the apartheid regime claiming it is ordained with “divine” authority, relying on a misinterpretation of Paul’s *Romans 13:1-7*. The churchpeople’s document

demolishes this notion and its corollaries: that Pretoria’s law and order is just and must be obeyed, that opposition thereto is communistic, and that Pretor-

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## Tutu not among signers

**While Anglicans comprised the largest number of *Kairos* signatories, Bishop Desmond Tutu was not among them.**

**In an interview with *Washington Post* correspondent Allister Sparks, he said, “I am in agreement with the broad outline. I am with them maybe 90% of the way.”**

**However, Bishop Tutu said he found the tone “unnecessarily abrasive.” He added, in an afterthought, “But the prophets, I suppose, were not noted for their delicate language.”**

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ia’s god is the True God. *Kairos* states: “The god of the South African State is not merely an idol or false god, it is the devil disguised as Almighty God — the antichrist.”

The creators of the *Kairos Document* speak with the immediacy and the authority of those deep in the tumult and horror of South Africa today. They know the increasingly frantic barbarity of the instruments of the apartheid state: the army, the police, the roving goon squads. Almost 1,000 Black children, women and men have been killed over the past year and a quarter. Hundreds of young men and women — those who survive — come out of police torture damaged both in body and in mind; surgeons and psychiatrists cannot cope, nor can parents. The signatories see about them the beginning disintegration of the South African State and the painful firstlings of the birth of a new society.

Two witnesses to both death and birth with the credentials to sign *Kairos*, and who could not, are of particular interest to Episcopalians: Anglican priests Geoffrey Moselane and Mcebisi Xundu. Father Moselane was rector of Sharpeville (a place marked in blood since the 1960 massacre). As revolt swept his township last year and as Pretoria’s puppet councilmen fled, he became the acknowledged community leader. He was detained incommunicado in October 1984 and is awaiting trial for treason. Father Xundu played a similar role in



Lamontville Township outside Durban. That community resisted incorporation into the Kwa Zulu “homeland” and the priest was among those who bore the brunt of attack by both state authorities and the Kwa Zulu Inkatha Movement. On Aug. 1, he witnessed the murder by a nighttime hit squad of civil rights lawyer Ms. Victoria Mxenge. He was detained shortly thereafter. Upon release he went into a hospital, and has now fled to the Port Elizabeth diocese.

*Kairos* next critiques Church Theology as “inadequate, irrelevant and ineffective.” Without mentioning names, the signatories level the charge that church leaders condemn violence without analyzing the differences between the pitiless South African State violence and that of the majority of South Africans who resist that violence. *Kairos* speaks to the leadership’s confusion of justice in the South African situation as a matter of reform whereas there is a clear understanding among most South Africans that apartheid cannot be reformed, it must be demolished. This perception is nationwide and the struggle to destroy apartheid and exploitation is well underway. *Kairos* states that Church Theology takes “reconciliation as the key to problem resolution.” It argues this does not apply in South Africa today. “Nowhere in the Bible or in Christian tradition has it ever been suggested that we ought to try to reconcile good and evil, God and the devil . . . we are supposed to oppose, confront, and reject the devil and not try to sup with the devil.” The oppressor must first repent then reconciliation may take place. “No reconciliation is possible in South Africa *without justice*.”

In *Towards a Prophetic Theology*, the *Kairos* churchpeople call for urgent church social and biblical analysis of the South African situation. Inherent is the plea for the church to catch up with political and societal determinations being made in many quarters, not the least,

## Summary: Kairos Document

# Challenge to the Church

**T**he political crisis in South Africa today is the *Kairos* or moment of truth not only for apartheid but also for the Church. A *Kairos* is a critical and decisive moment, a time of grace and opportunity, a challenge to decision and action.

What this moment of truth shows up first of all is that we are a divided Church. Some would even say there are two Churches—a White Church and a Black Church. Both the oppressor and the oppressed, who are in mortal conflict at the moment claim loyalty to the same Church and the same faith and participate at the same table of the same Lord. How is that possible?

In relation to our political crisis there are three different theologies or ways of understanding Christian faith.

## State Theology

The apartheid State misuses biblical texts and Christian beliefs to justify its oppression of the people. This we call State Theology.

1. The State appeals to *Romans 13:1-7* where Paul says that we should obey the State. That would be true in normal circumstances but Paul does not tell us in this text what we should do when the State becomes unjust, oppressive and tyrannical. When this happens we must say with Peter that we shall “obey God rather than men” (*Acts 5:29*). We should also read *Revelations 13* where the State is described as a diabolical beast.
2. When we oppose the State and resist its oppression, the State makes use of the idea of *law and order* to try to make us feel guilty and sinful. But “law” here is the unjust and discriminatory laws of apartheid and “order” here is the disorder of oppression and exploitation.

We must as Christians resist this type of law and order and obey the law and order of God.

3. In State Theology the symbol of all evil is *communism*. Everyone who disobeys and opposes the State is called a godless, atheistic communist. And the State’s idea of hell-on-earth would be a future communist take-over. They use this in an attempt to frighten people.
4. And finally the *god that the State preaches* to us is not the God of the Bible. It is an

idol. It is the god of the gun, the god of oppression. In fact this god is the devil in disguise — the antichrist.

We must reject this heretical theology and its false prophets who can even be found among the ranks of those who profess to be ministers of God’s Word.

## Church Theology

Many Church leaders, who make statements and pronouncements about apartheid, appeal to certain abstract Christian ideas like reconciliation, peace, justice and non-violence. This we call Church Theology and we offer here our critique of this theology too. It is inadequate, irrelevant and ineffective.

1. **Reconciliation:** There can be no true reconciliation and no genuine peace without justice just as there can be no forgiveness until there is repentance. If we call for reconciliation and negotiations now before repentance and justice and equality have been established we will be calling for reconciliation between good and evil, justice and injustice, God and the devil. We must not come to terms with evil, we must do away with it.
2. **Justice:** True justice cannot come from the “top” from the oppressor in the form of concessions and reforms. Why then do Church leaders so often address their appeals to the “top,” to the State and to the White community? They (the top) must indeed repent but true justice will be determined by all the people together as equals. Should the Church not address its appeals to the oppressed, encouraging them to take up their own cause and to struggle for justice?
3. **Non-violence:** Violence is a loaded word. What a person calls “violence” and what they call a ‘legitimate use of physical force in self-defence,’ depends upon which side the person is on. When Church statements call all physical force “violence” no matter which side does it, they are trying to be neutral and to avoid saying who is right and who is wrong, who is the aggressor and who is the defendant. Of course that does not mean that every or any use of physical force by the oppressed is justifiable but it

*Continued on page 22*

the blood-drenched streets of the townships.

*Kairos* includes a message of hope but adds: "The conflict and the struggle will have to intensify in the months and years ahead because there is no other way to remove the injustice and oppression."

A Challenge to Action at the end wisely warns the church not to become a third force between oppressor and oppressed. The church must not duplicate people's organizations or have programs "that run counter to the struggles of those political organizations that truly represent the grievances and demands of the people." A World Council of Churches emergency meeting on South Africa and South African-occupied Namibia in Harare, Zimbabwe, recently spoke with the same sense of urgency that *Kairos* does. The WCC manifesto calls for the resignation of the South African government and for mandatory economic sanctions against Pretoria. It urged support for liberation movements fighting the apartheid regimes. The world church organization rejected reform: "Only the liberation of South Africa will be sufficient," it said.

Those who forged *Kairos* in the furnace of South Africa end their statement with an appeal for support from Christians throughout the world. The WCC's declaration lays out some hard, practical moves which challenge Americans whose government — despite recent tepid "sanctions" — remains Pretoria's strongest ally. Divestment is only a stage of the total effort needed to act for the people of Namibia and South Africa. Comprehensive mandatory sanctions require a national commitment from U.S. church-people. And, Americans must guard against their government's stealthy entry into the South African war of independence by way of support for UNITA in Angola, a flanking maneuver to keep "South African reform" in hand.

A summary of the *Kairos* document accompanies this article. ■

### Continued from page 21

cannot be condemned for the same reason and in the same way as the violence of the aggressor.

4. **The Fundamental Problem** with this kind of Church Theology is that it is still influenced by a type of spirituality that tends to be other-worldly. It is only recently that the Church has come to face the realities of this world and it has not yet developed an adequate analysis of our society and an appreciation of the need for politics and political strategies. A new biblical and prophetic spirituality is needed today.

### Towards Prophetic Theology

What we need now is a prophetic theology that takes a clear and unambiguous stand in the present crisis. This will have to be based upon a reading of the signs of our times, that is to say, a *social analysis* of the conflicting forces or interests that make up our situation of oppression.

Then we will have to go back to *the Bible* to find out what God has to say about oppression and what it means to say that God is always on the side of the oppressed. In the Christian tradition we will find this same theme expounded in terms of *tyranny*. A tyrannical regime is one that has become the enemy of the common good because it governs in the interests of some of the people and not in the interests of all the people — the common good. The apartheid regime is clearly a tyrannical regime. It is therefore a *morally illegitimate* regime and should be replaced by a government that will govern in the interests of all the people.

A prophetic theology, however, will not only point out what is wrong and sinful in our society, it will also present both the oppressor and the oppressed with a relevant and explicit *message of hope*. There is hope because God has promised us in Jesus Christ that justice and truth and love will triumph over all injustice and oppression in the end.

**God Sides with the Oppressed:** We are a divided Church and there is only one way forward to unity and that is for the Christians who find themselves on the side of the oppressor or sitting on the fence, to cross over to the other side to be united in faith and action with those who are oppressed. We must be united in Jesus Christ and in God "who is always on the side of the oppressed" (Ps 103:6).

**Participation in the Struggle:** The present crisis challenges the Church to move

beyond an "ambulance" ministry to a ministry of participation in the struggle for liberation by supporting and encouraging the campaigns and actions of the people.

**Transforming Church Activities:** The usual activities of the Church like Sunday services, baptisms, funerals and so forth must all be re-shaped to promote the liberating mission of God in our present crisis. The evil forces we speak of in baptism, for example, must be named. We know what these evil forces are in South Africa today.

**Special Campaigns:** The Church should also make its contribution to the struggle by having special programmes, projects and campaigns. However, this should be done in consultation with the political organizations that truly represent the grievances and demands of the people. Otherwise there will be a serious lack of co-ordination and co-operation.

**Civil Disobedience:** The Church must not collaborate with tyranny and oppression. It should encourage all its members to pray and to work for a change of government. In the process the Church may sometimes have to confront the apartheid regime and even advocate civil disobedience.

**Moral Guidance:** It is also the role of the Church in its present crisis to provide moral guidance by helping the people to understand their rights and their duties especially the moral duty to resist tyranny and to struggle for a just society. While it is necessary to curb the excesses of those who act wildly and thoughtlessly, the Church should be experienced as the community that challenges, inspires and motivates people.

It is hoped that this document will become the basis of discussion, reflection and action and that it will be further developed and improved by those who can hear what the Spirit has to say to the Churches in our day.

### Resource

*Episcopal Churchpeople for a Free Southern Africa*, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012. Telephone 212-477-0066. An independent group supporting those within and outside the churches struggling for freedom in countries in Southern Africa. Publishes regular newsletters and frequent booklets addressing human rights, human needs, economic and social development in countries in Southern Africa.



## Letters . . . Continued from page 3

been of no use whatsoever to assist in the liberation of people in Eastern Europe, for example, even when they were already in revolt.

If we choose not to become the victims of any tyrannical systems, nor to become the victims or preparers of nuclear annihilation, then it is essential that we explore the potential of nonviolent forms of struggle both against established oppression and to prevent new aggression. That is not a topic for speculation or doubt, which William Tedesco apparently prefers. It is a topic for serious research, policy analyses, and courageous resistance.

**Gene Sharp**  
Cambridge, Mass.

## Re Harris article

Barbara Harris, writing in October's WITNESS, makes an important and valid point about the role of Black women in the church ("A cloud of witnesses"). Thus it is even sadder that the only way she can find to uplift her Black sisters is by putting down other people.

It may be true that the agenda for some Black women is different from that of some White women within the church. However, to say that "the Black woman's agenda" is one thing or another implies that all Black women are limited to a single idea, and that they are all alike. The following idea, that "Black women must not be seduced by the personal power game operative in the White feminist movement" is at best evidence that the author has a narrow view of feminism. That women have fought and suffered in order to gain the right to be ordained in the Episcopal Church because of some sort of "personal power game" sounds more like the Prayer Book Society's nattering about "priestesses" than something I'd expect to read in THE WITNESS.

However, Harris doesn't limit herself to attacking other women. Black male clergy also get to feel her knife, when she says that many of them "are bound by aspects of traditional Anglicanism that enslave the mind and stifle the spirit".

Whether or not there are many conservative male Black clergy, Harris' language is unnecessarily inflammatory — she is not likely to convert anyone by describing Black males as enslaved and stifled by Anglicanism.

Her third blow is directed at young males, Black and White. Apparently "certain younger males (are) more interested in playing church than in being church," a sin which doesn't affect Black women with late vocations, according to Harris.

It is certainly true that preachers and writers must use different language when addressing different groups, and THE WITNESS article was initially given at a Conference on Afro-Anglicanism held in Barbados.

THE WITNESS, however, is a different forum. Harris has done herself and her thesis a disservice by going out of her way to alienate the same groups she should be trying to reach — the same people who, once reached, could be supportive. If Black women aren't supported by other women (personal power games), by other Black clergy (enslaved and stifled) or by young clergy (playing church), they are going to find themselves all alone, which is not the best place to be.

**Francis C. Zanger**  
General Theological Seminary  
New York, N.Y.

## Extols column

I could not refrain from "penning" these lines of appreciation to Barbara Harris. Their provocation has been a process rather than a single reaction to her November column.

"Bombs and bombast" is such an important message! As a longtime sustainer of KLANWATCH (as is my mother), I have always spread the news in order to gain more support of their tireless efforts. But this column will reach so many more.

As Harris says between the lines, "preemption" is this government's way of dealing with its naughty non-allies — which is most of the world! If the government really wanted goodwill to break out like a field of flowering tulips, it

would *pour* funds into foundations like KLANWATCH and Food First.

Every month I receive more updates on the cases in progress vis a vis the Klan. With each photo from KLANWATCH, I am reminded of James Baldwin's short story, *Going to Meet the Man*, written in the 1960s. Now hate renews its frontal surge once again.

There is so much I have to thank Harris for — the journey of the Rev. Pauli Murray (August column) not being the least. I can only imagine what that wells up in her.

**Janeice McConnell**  
Long Beach, Cal.

## Fascinatedly horrified

I read THE WITNESS out of fascinated horror. While I do not disagree with everything you all publish (corporate capitalism is a terrifying thing), I am very much opposed to most of what you print and to your basic philosophical position.

I have read the Bible regularly for some 20 years and where you get your positions from is beyond me — some very strained exegesis and more than a little eisegesis, it would seem.

I support and work for the recovery of historic orthodox Christianity within the Episcopal Church. Historic orthodoxy has been the source of much social and political challenge and ideas — but it does not produce leftist/collectivist/governmental-centrist ideas. Those come from some other source, not Scripture nor the Lord of Glory who inspired Scripture.

**The Rev. Charles Sutton**  
Eutawville, S.C.

## Enriches whole being

What a great joy to receive THE WITNESS each month, to share in the living faith of so many WITNESS authors and to know that the Christ I have known through my seven decades is being effectively translated into the life of today. Between this and *Sojourners*, plus a few others. I'm being fed something that enriches my whole being.

**The Rev. Joseph S. Dickson**  
Kent, Ohio

## Back Issues Available:

● **AIDS: The plague that lays waste at noon**, plus articles on the rights of gays and lesbians in church and society. Authors include John Fortunato, Zalmon Sherwood, Anne Gilson, Domenic Ciannella, Madeline Ligamare. September 1985.

● **Capital Punishment:** Articles by Mary Miller, Joe M. Doss, Marie Deans, Thomas Shepherd examining how the death penalty is symptomatic of a violent society; what it means when a prison chaplain loses a friend to the electric chair; the morality of capital punishment; a survivor's view of murder; and a model church ministry to prisoners. April 1985.

● **Bishop Tutu Speaks Out:** Includes quotations from various speeches of the noted Nobel prizewinner, showing his courageous stands against apartheid, his deep biblical faith and his keen wit; backgrounder on South Africa; and letter from U.S. church leaders to Congresspersons refuting claims that U.S. companies in South Africa are a force for change. Also lists resources for those working against apartheid. December 1984.

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## Urban caucus to meet

The Episcopal Urban Caucus will hold its sixth national assembly Feb. 26 to March 1 in Pittsburgh at the Westin William Penn Hotel. In addition to those from across the country involved in social ministry, the new Presiding Bishop Edmond Browning has indicated that he will attend.

Theme of the assembly is "Celebrate the City: Stir up the Church to be the Wounded, Living Hands of Jesus." — "Celebrad la Ciudad: Agita la Iglesia para sea las Manos Heridas y Amorasas de Jesus."

The Rev. William Boli of Saginaw, Mich., of the EUC planning team said, "We are going to meet in the heart of the Rust Belt. Pittsburgh is corporate center for many major industries and yet the Monongahela Valley is a wasteland of closed steel mills, factories, and warehouses. The contrast between corporate wealth and vast unemployment is greater in Pittsburgh than in any other American city — a perfect setting for the Assembly to

examine issues of economic justice in America today."

Keynote speaker will be economist Dr. Howard Stanback, currently on academic leave to assist the Mayor of Chicago. The assembly it was announced by EUC president, the Hon. Byron Rushing of Massachusetts will also hear labor and business leaders, politicians, and the unemployed offer their perspectives on the economics of the Monongahela Valley. Representatives of The Consultation, a coalition of progressive groups who worked together successfully at the recent General Convention, will share their future agendas with Assembly participants.

The Urban Caucus has set aside \$2,500 for scholarships to help low income or unemployed persons attend, available on a first come, first served basis. Private housing is also available on request. For further information: The Rev. William Boli, 720 Tuscola St., Saginaw, MI 48607.

## Nun raps bishops' pastoral on women

We live in the historical rootedness of patriarchy in which the human person is defined and valued in terms of male superiority. It is patriarchy that has validated the legal, social and economic systems of society. It is patriarchy that continues to enforce relationships of domination and subordination, determining all human enterprise, public and private, nurturing the evils of racism, sexism and militarism. This culture of dominance is masculinized, monosexual, hierarchical, exclusive and elite. It perpetuates a social order based on domination and privilege for the few. It creates and nurtures institutions of limited access and no ownership. It is for many women the institutional church . . .

Patterns of patriarchy are so deeply embedded in the institutional church, that they come to be seen as divinely revealed and unchangeable. For women to be involved in

God's activity is to be co-creators of this earth: to dream new dreams, birth new ways of doing theology; nurture new unities, challenge hierarchical structures of control.

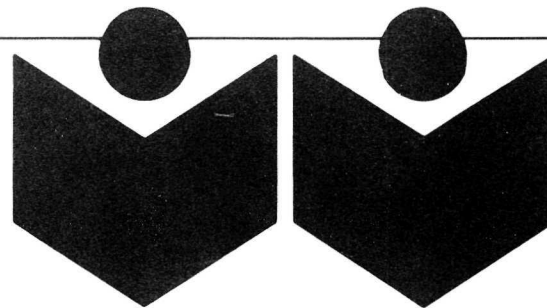
To write a Pastoral Letter on Women is ridiculous. In the past, bishops have written on racism, not on Black people; on economic justice, not on poor people. Why are you writing on women who are the victims rather than on the issue of sexism and the condition of patriarchy? The National Assembly of Religious Women urges you *not* to write this document. Unless you are willing to change the focus, such an effort is inappropriate and lacks credibility.

— Sr. Marjorie Tuite, O.P.  
(testifying before the National  
Conference of Catholic Bishops'  
Committee for the Pastoral  
Letter on Women)



# THE WITNESS

## 1985 Index



**T**he task of indexing a year's collection of **WITNESS** articles used to be a tedious and thankless process, avoided by staff until the last minute, the final assembly involving at least a weekend and numerous pots of coffee. No more, thanks to the fleet fingers of Editorial Staffer Susan Small, operating our IBM computer. She has tamed it to spit out information in short shrift which formerly took agonizing hours to compile.

Librarians, researchers, and students have found this tabulation helpful in the past. We have most back issues available should new subscribers recognize a particular author or topic which they would like to acquire for their files. Parishes may wish to order articles in bulk quantities as resources for study groups.

**THE WITNESS** is also indexed by *Religion Index One*, a publication of the American Theological

Library Association. We have been providing a complete index (by author and subject) of articles in **THE WITNESS** since 1982. An abbreviated index dating back to 1974 when the magazine was re-instituted is available for \$2 to librarians or to long-time subscribers who may be interested in looking up their favorite authors. Send queries to Ann Hunter, **THE WITNESS**, P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002.

## AUTHORS

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