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# THEUITNESS

'Reasoning' with U.S. diplomats in Moscow NORMAN SOLOMON

THE WITNESS meets the Presiding Bishop

Assisted begetting CHARLES MEYER

# Letters

### In streets with bishop

I am aware that it is unbecoming to yield to anger in pursuing Christian goals. So is it quite as unbecoming to yield to the false comfort of complacency. I am an angry Episcopalian whose Nicaraguan bishop, Sturdie Downs, tells me, "If you only knew about the interventions by the United States and how your country created a National Guard which kept our people down, and how multinationals exploited us, you would be in the streets protesting." (November WITNESS).

I get angrier when I hear about the terrifying things my tax dollars and Reagan's murderous Contras have done to struggling Third World human beings who are trying vainly to mind their own business. Now in the austerity Gramm-Rudman years ahead, Reagan has announced his intention to get \$100 million to continue funding Contra terrorism. All this on the basis of a simplistic philosophical snobbery succinctly enunciated years ago by Foster Dulles: "The world is divided into two groups of people the Christian-Anti-Communist, and the others."

On one side, a minute number of WASP-ish First World elite makes and enforces the rules. On the other side are the others of the Third World whose indispensable colonial functions have been to obey the rules, provide cheap labor, sell raw products to First World, buy the First World's processed goods and borrow First World dollars. By the Dulles formula the First World contains authentic people; the Third World people are just so much protoplasm. Further, a Christian must squirm at the automatic label, "anti-Communism" or anti-anybody and the implication that the billions of others must by geographical circumstance, be Communists.

If Christians had to choose between Dulles' Christian anti-Communists and the Third World *others*, they would find themselves in terms of prophetic obligations more useful and warmly theologically at home in the Third World camp — where 40 of its 118 countries are the poorest in the world; where 1.2 billion of its inhabitants (60% of the population) subsist in poverty; where there is a (resented) post-colonial surge of national self-reliance; where, as in Nicaragua there is a deep-seated desire to develop and fashion national survival policies according to what they see as their own needs, problems, and historical experiences. I am in the streets with our Nicaraguan bishop.

> Robert P. Moore Sewanee, Tenn.

### Left wing nausea

I've been receiving THE WITNESS for almost a year now and can sum up my reaction in three words — disgust, outrage and shock.

Its content across the board is consistently un-American and at times treasonous, not to mention un-Christian. I am frightened at the thought of that many misguided souls being organized enough to turn out such a publication. If "Big Brother" isn't already looking over your shoulder, he should be.

> Vickie P. Miller Belle Glade, Fla.

### Mary's image miscast

The paragraphs headed *La Conquistadora* in your January Short Takes held a challenge for me. Surely the Amerindian who gouged out one eye from so false an image as this one was justified in being angry; and doubtless Cortes' conquest of the natives was, as Georges Casalis says, the greatest bloodbath in American history. Before the actual events which fill us with such horror took place however, the psychological stage had to be set, and that was the selling into prostitution of Jesus' Mother to a worldly pimp.

Traditionally Mary stands for Christ's human nature. It is natural for a human being (unless shackled) to act in freedom, in defense of the freedom of other human beings. Unless the Virgin is a free human being in her own right, can we expect humanity to be free?

It is horrible to think of an eye being gouged out, even from so false an image as this so-called Queen of Heaven; it is bound to suggest mutilation of a true image, however we rationalize to the contrary.

In her usual appearance Mary is serene, anything but an object of controversy. But look under the surface and you will find that in the soul of man she is even more controversial than her Son.

> Mariquita Platov Tannersville, N.Y.

### Drug article exemplary

I read, with great interest, the article in the February issue of The Witness Magazine titled, "Climbing the Mountain in Kensington," by Susan Pierce. For many years I have been working with community organizations in fighting the problem of drug trafficking in my community. The community people featured in the article, along with scores of others, have, at great personal risk, chosen to fight the big business of drug trafficking. Their work should stand as an example to others as to what can be done when a community unites and takes action.

I commend your magazine for this insightful and timely article.

> Ralph Acosta State Representative Commonwealth of Pennsylvania

### Technology we worship

It was encouraging to read Michael Hamilton's plain-spoken denunciation of President Reagan's Star Wars program as "evil" (January WITNESS). Many rational, "post-mythical" Christians seem reluctant to acknowledge the spiritual reality of evil in this way, even though Scripture calls us unequivocally to such a view (*Eph. 6:12*, etc.).

In my opinion, the nuclear weapons

movement is not only evil in its present world-threatening dimensions, but has been so since its very beginnings. The TV documentary "Oppenheimer" reminded us of the combination of boyish enthusiasm and Faustian arrogance with which that brilliant team of Los Alamos scientists pushed ahead with their research, quelling their consciences and taking refuge in Oppenheimer's advice that scientists shouldn't get mixed up in politics. Oppenheimer's recollection, as the first test bomb exploded, of the line from Hindu scriptures, "I am become Death, the shatterer of worlds" shows an awareness of evil which I find chilling.

The test was called "Trinity." One thinks of the attempt a few years ago to name a nuclear submarine "Corpus Christi," an equally diabolical incongruity. Oppenheimer apparently chose "Trinity" with specific reference to the poem of John Donne which starts, "Batter my heart, three personed God," and continues, "Yet dearly I love you and would be loved fain, But am betrothed unto your enemy." The following is from another eye-witness, General Farrell, in a later report to the War Department:

Everyone in that room knew the awful potentialities of the thing that they thought was about to happen. The scientists felt that their figuring must be right and the bomb had to go off, but there was in everyone's mind a strong measure of doubt. The feeling of many could be expressed by "Lord, I believe; help Thou mine unbelief."

We were reaching into the unknown and we did not know what might come of it. It can safely be said that most of those present were praying, and praying harder than they had ever prayed before.

The effects could well be called unprecedented, magnificent, beautiful, stupendous and terrifying. No man-made phenomenon of such tremendous power had ever occurred before.

(The explosion and the air blast were) followed almost immediately by the strong, sustained, awesome roar which warned of doomsday and made us feel that we puny things were blasphemous to dare tamper with the forces heretofore reserved to the Almighty.

The symbolism of evil could scarcely be clearer. Canon Hamilton's title could be taken one step further: "In technology we trust: technology we worship." Lord, have mercy upon us.

> The Rev. Carlton T. Russell Norton, Mass.

'How to' peace pamphlet THE WITNESS has provided numerous articles on peace and justice issues. Many Episcopalians are anxious to see these issues addressed in their parish and such concerns made a part of parish worship. However, it is hard to know how to begin or what to do.

The Episcopal Peace Fellowship has been working on this problem for several years. Its 'how to" experience is available in an EPF pamphlet titled "Working for Peace in the Parish/A Guide for the Laity". The pamphlet describes 20 things lay people can do to make peace and justice a part of parish life. For a free copy, write Episcopal Peace Fellowship, 620 G Street SE, Washington, DC 20003.

> Dana Grubb, Chair Parish Peace Action Committee

### College editor's resource

I'd like permission to reprint several articles that have appeared in THE WIT-NESS, in particular those which discuss South Africa and divestment, in my student newspaper, the *Clarkson Integrator*. In addition, I'd like to be billed for a subscription. I consider it my responsibility as editor of the paper to inform my readers about many of the issues which THE WITNESS discusses, and I would consider it a helpful resource.

> Tom Seager Clarkson University Potsdam, N.Y.

### Gay Christians supported

After reading your January editorial, "In the matter of Sherwood and Gilson," I wanted you to know of the support of my parish for lesbians and gay men. At All Saints, Pasadena, we have a staffsupported group which has been crucial in the lives of some gay Christians who were on the verge of abandoning their faith because of the loud, persistent message from most churches, that we can't be gay and Christian. Our bi-monthly meetings are announced in the Sunday Liturgy.

We who are lesbian or gay at All Saints are extremely fortunate to hear the Good News with such clarity. I am proud of my parish and want to share this good news with WITNESS readers.

> Mark Benson Los Angeles, Cal.

### Sex: impossible tangle

The issue of sexual orientation among the clergy — and for that matter among Christians generally — has become an impossible tangle unless we look at it from a new perspective. Preoccupied as we are by sexuality here in the West, we have perhaps overlooked the nature of sex, which is after all a biological drive, or form of energy. It is best regarded, I would say, venerated, as a vital creative force in human life when properly used and conserved, and like all such forces, capable of being quite destructive when it isn't.

The language of early church teaching on sexuality is a kind of symbolic shorthand, using concepts like morality which

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# The case of the missing canon

"No one shall be denied rights or status in this church because of race, color, ethnic origin, sex, sexual orientation, physical disabilities, or age, except as otherwise specified by canon."

he above highly applauded attempt to expand the so-called "Civil Rights canon" of the Episcopal Church widely reported by the press as having passed both the House of Bishops and House of Deputies at Anaheim — does not appear in the newly published *Constitution and Canons of the Episcopal Church.* 

That revelation brought shock and no little anxiety, especially to the Episcopal Women's Caucus and Integrity, which had worked since early 1984 to have the canon expanded to cover the rights of women and additional minorities. The Consultation, umbrella organization of groups working for justice and peace issues, had also thrown its full weight behind the effort at General Convention. But the old canon is still in place: "No one shall be denied rights or status in this church because of race, color, or ethnic origin."

The debate around this canon and a parallel resolution which would have stated explicitly that sexual orientation was not a barrier to the selection process for ordination provided the longest and most heated discussion during Convention. The latter resolution was narrowly defeated by lay deputies in a vote by orders. But it was generally believed that the "Civil Rights canon" had passed. Reports in the General Convention Daily, THE WITNESS, the mass media, and in The Episcopalian added credence to that belief. Scott Field Bailey and John Gundrum, secretaries of the House of Bishops and House of Deputies, respectively, had even signed a document affirming its passage, which was later retracted in The Episcopalian. The "Civil Rights canon" was incorporated in this year's General Ordination Examination (GOE) by the General Board of Examining Chaplains, who apparently also thought it had passed.

The errant canon, it seems, was not successfully processed. Deputies had changed the wording of the resolution, approved by the House of Bishops, substituting "sex" for gender, as an example. The changes were sufficient to warrant a return to the House of Bishops for concurrence.

Why did the Convention's most hotly debated resolution never resurface in the House of Bishops?

Was it purposely scuttled, or shuffled to the bottom of the pile by its enemies? That conspiracy theory is faulted by the fact that three days passed from the time the House of Deputies acted until the convention ended, sufficient time for lobbyists tracking legislation to turn up skullduggery.

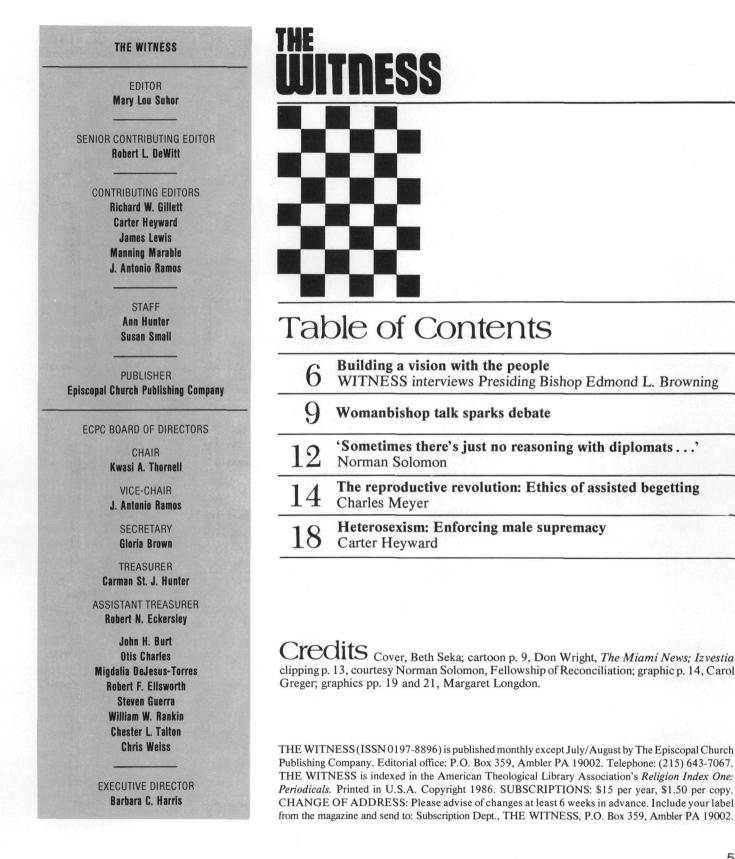
On the other hand, many lobbyists at convention have complained that it was almost impossible to follow legislation through its course. They claimed that access to information was severely limited; numerous resolutions got lost in the shuffle or resolutions "mysteriously changed their form overnight."

THE WITNESS believes that major blame can be traced to an antiquated computer technology and communication system. The staggering amount of paper shuffled through a telescoped legislative session was formidable. Some resolutions never even arrived before committees — four of them, curiously, dealing with women's issues (comparable worth and contraception among them).

THE WITNESS believes that a more sophisticated information system must be in place for General Convention in 1988. In a high-tech society the legislative process is little enhanced by the dinosaur apparatus of tellers running up and down aisles counting votes.

A computer network system could provide instant voting results, more accurate transfer of data between Houses, and an updated file of resolutions, by subject and with current status. Texts could be secured upon request. Terminals in both houses, available to visitors, would guarantee that the legislative process would be as open as possible.

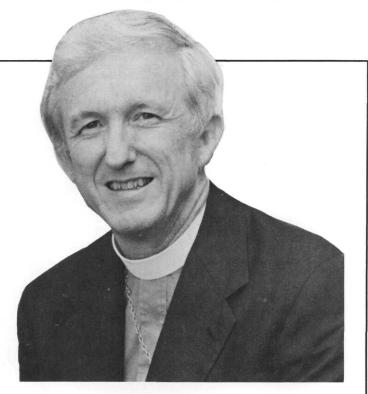
In an era when human and civil rights violations demand constant vigilance worldwide, it is unconscionable to have a "loose canon," such as the one which went awry, in the Episcopal church, especially when its new Presiding Bishop espouses a multi-racial, multicultural, inclusive church. And freedom of access to information, another global concern, would help assure that this would not happen again.



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### WITNESS interviews P.B.

The Rev. Barbara Harris, executive director of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, and Mary Lou Suhor, editor of THE WITNESS, interviewed Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning when he was in Philadelphia recently for the installation of the Rt. Rev. Allen Bartlett as coadjutor of the Diocese of Pennsylvania. Bishop Browning described the theology which undergirds his ministry, his favorite spiritual authors, his leadership style and vision for the church in the hour session.



The Most Rev. Edmond Lee Browning Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church

# Building a vision with the people

Question: We'd like to open with questions about theology and spirituality. You're the first Presiding Bishop to have mission experience in Asia, Europe and Hawaii, giving you a unique global perspective. Can you tell us how your theology has evolved, undergirded by this global view?

**Answer:** My theological frame of reference is basically what I call the servanthood ministry of Christ, which I try to design in terms of the need for a compassionate spirituality. In living in various places, I have come to a deep awareness of my own sense of brokenness and of the brokenness that I've seen around the world, and the need of the church to give wholeness to that brokenness in everything the church does. But I don't think that awareness comes without the acknowledgement of our humanity, and out of that knowledge, hopefully a more creative response to the needs of the community.

Over the years, moving about as I have, my understanding of the Sacrament of Baptism has taken on new meaning. That is, primarily, in the recognition of the call to mission in Baptism, which is a universal call to all people who are part of the church. And I hope that out of that understanding has come a recognition of the worth of every person's ministry and of the need to enable those ministries to find their richest fulfillment.

#### Q. Has Roland Allen been an influence on you?

A: Oh, sure. And each place I've gone has made a tremendous contribution to my own life. When I was in Okinawa, I think I grew up there in terms of understanding the nature of the church and the value of each person's life in the total ministry of the church. A lot of that growth came about largely because of trying to understand the culture.

I probably had some kind of fantasy in the back of my mind when I went to Okinawa that I was going to take God to the Okinawans. But then I discovered God was there long before I got there or any missionary had gotten there. That really came out as I got to know the Okinawan people, and came to see the beauty of their lives and their culture — like their sense of family and the way they were trying to pursue their own course of happiness and fulfillment.

### Q: Then what does the missionary add, if all of that is already there?

A: You mentioned Roland Allen. I began to read Roland Allen in Okinawa and one of his principle theses is that the gift of ministry is in every place — you do not have to import ministry to make it happen. Mission is the acknowledgement of the gifts in a place and it enables ministry to come into being. Okinawa was a profound experience and I think Roland Allen helped me to interpret what I was experiencing.

### Q: You'll be going to Central America soon, where many have embraced and been nurtured by liberation theology. What do you think about liberation theology? Is it a Marxist-Communist phenomenon, or secular humanism, or does it have validity?

A: If I understand liberation theology, and if I understand the Gospel of Luke and Jesus' proclamation of His own ministry then I see that liberation theology is the carrying out of the imperatives of the Gospel as it relates to the place where the Gospel is being lived out.

### Q: When people move, it's a time to throw away a lot of things. Frequently books are a problem, especially when some are "special friends." Do you have any spiritual books or favorite books that you carry with you when you move about as you have done?

A: There are some that are friends, and have been friends for some time. The works of Henri Nouwen have been a tremendous help in my own development, in my understanding the brokenness of the world and how to relate the ministry of Christ to that brokenness. Then there are Juan Luis Segundo's books. And Shusaku Endo is a Japanese author I've been reading recently. One of his novels is called *Silence*. His work has been translated into English. I've just finished *Silence* and it's pretty factual stuff about missionaries who went to Japan in the 16th century when Japan was closed off from the rest of the world, and describes the suffering of Japanese Christians during that time.

### Q: In terms of the church here, you had indicated you were going to spend a lot of time listening to folks in the church. Have you started that process, and what are you hearing?

A: It's too early to say what I've heard; the main thing is that there's a lot of excitement about the new beginnings and very high expectations about the future. We just had a meeting of Executive Council and one of the early priorities that I see is getting myself involved with Executive Council and establishing a trust level so that things can happen. I'm trying to get as much input as possible from Council members to see how they would like things structured. One of the things we have done is to appoint an agenda committee to give direct input about the design of the listening process and the places we're going to do that. In June we're going to Atlanta. In February of '87 we're going to St. Augustine's College and then to Central America the following June. That's how Executive Council is being used to find out where this church is and where it wants to go. Hopefully, this will make an impact on the decision-making bodies of the church.

My own initiative has been to set priorities for all the responsibilities of a Presiding Bishop. Most of the things I have lined up are in response to those priorities. I'm not attending any diocesan conventions and, with the exception of Toronto and Panama, my travel is limited to the United States for the next year. I have purposely tried to set up meetings with as many different groups within the church as I can, such as the Union of Black Episcopalians, the Urban Caucus, the Board of APSO — Appalachian People's Service Organization — and Provincial Bishops.

# Q: What do you do about the information glut — you must have less time to read now?

A: The time that is difficult is when I'm traveling. Now that we're living at the Episcopal Church Center in New York, there's an advantage to living in the city, over the shop, so to speak. I find I have more time for my personal prayer life and for reading than I've had for a long time. I don't have to worry about getting into a car in the morning and rushing off someplace, and that really is kind of neat. I look forward to having that special time.

I was talking previously about setting priorities on the job. One of the things I'd done before was I had put my spiritual and personal life, taking care of myself physically, and my family life in second place, and I had put pastoral care of bishops in first place. But my brother bishops who make up the Council of Advice really jumped on me. They said, take care of yourself first, and then you can take better care of us. If I'm going to survive in this job, and I plan to, that's going to be a high priority.

But there's also always the need to get ready for whatever is the next event. I don't shoot from the hip very well, and I intend to enlist the staff to help me prepare. Before I go to the next meeting, by golly, somebody's going to have to brief me on what the issues are, what concerns we should raise, and assist me with that sort of planning.

# Q. Have you begun your consultation with the Primates on the issue of women bishops?

A. I've written the Archbishop of Canterbury that it be high on the agenda at our meeting in Toronto and he's assured me that this was so. You might ask a couple of bishops who were at the pre-Lambeth meeting in Lima what was discussed there.

### Q. A majority of the House of Bishops indicated it would not withhold its consent to the election of a woman bishop. What happens if a majority of Standing Committees do not consent?

**A.** I don't think that would happen. I hope that we don't have too many bishops who are in conflict with their standing committees.

I think the American church has a strong conviction about women in the ministry. We've lived with it for 12 years now and we have a real commitment to it. I think some people elsewhere have problems with it, which means we're going to have to do some work with relationship to the Anglican communion as well as to other parts of Christendom.

### Q: Have you completed your staff appointments?

A: No, I'm really just into it. Dick Chang and Charles Cesaretti are going to work very closely with me, will help me move about the country and get ready for various things. But there will be some changes in the Church Center executive positions.

#### Q: Any major restructuring planned?

A: It's too early for me to say. One of the things I'm attempting to do is spend a lot of time in New York with the Church Center staff to learn about their hopes and expectations, what they're doing and how they're doing it. I'm going to ask someone to look at the overall structure of 815. I feel there's probably a need for more sharing across departmental lines and a need for a clearer understanding of what each department's goals are and how they interface with each other. I've asked someone to come in to help bring that about, and that's going to take time.

I think there are some great social issues that the church can creatively respond to in many ways. I've just asked for a review of the church's Washington office, which right now is just a one-man office with a secretary. William Weiler works there with an ecumenical consortium. Last year Executive Council voted for an evaluation to find out how the office could be strengthened to be more effective. Hopefully by June we'll have a report to Executive Council that will tell us how the office can better deal with issues and take advantage of being in Washington, where the church can have an effect on government decision-making.

Whenever someone new comes into this job, I think the staff looks forward to it. They've all dreamed of changes they'd like. They've been under one administration for a long time and now they see this as a chance to try some of their ideas. We're going to be flexible and just let them float. I'm not one who goes into things with a fixed agenda. I believe when you're building a vision, it doesn't just come from you, it comes from the whole church. I'm not talking about just trying to build consensus, but about trying to find out where we all hope this church can go, and a lot of people can share in that process.

One of the things I've thought about doing after a year, a year and a half, is to call together people who represent the leadership of the church, which I would see as a pretty mixed bag, and ask them, "What do we want to do for the next three, six or nine years? What do we want as our major focus, how are we going to get there and what is it going to take to get there?" I think it could be an exciting process.

### Q: How would you describe your leadership style?

A: I think that a real element of leadership is building trust. If you don't trust me and I don't have a sense of that trust, we're going to have a hard time getting anything moving. Although it may be a backbreaker, I think getting around the country is absolutely essential. That way people can get to know me, so that when they hear some statement of mine, maybe they won't say, "Migod, there he goes again," and will say instead, "Well, we're going to listen because we know he's willing to listen to us." Hopefully that will create a dialogue out of which will come some sense of direction about who we are and what we're called to be. That's the way I operated in Hawaii. I don't know whether you can operate that way nationally. It's going to be a little more difficult but it's worth a try.

# Q: If you could "blue sky" for a minute, what would be your vision for the church?

A: On the one hand I find that difficult to do; on the other, I do have some ideas and points I'd like to make. I am really eager to listen. There's so much I have to learn about the job, especially about how to grab hold of the talents in the church, how to lift those talents up to help the church find out which direction it wants to go. One of the areas I sincerely hope to be able to develop is that of ministry. For example, I see Jubilee Ministry as an effort to make possible some of what I was talking about in regard to Roland Allen.

Even before Anaheim, I felt the Episcopal Church was moving in other significant ways, particularly in the direction of becoming a multi-cultural body. It's my hope that the multi-cultural expression can grow in the next 10 years, and whatever programs we design will emphasize enabling people to perform the kind of ministry that fosters freedom of expression and celebrates the wholeness of life. There's a real need to see a wider expression of that multi-cultural life in the decision-making areas of our church — I think we've got a long way to go on that. When I look at commissions, Ex-

ecutive Council and other church bodies, I'm not sure how much they truly reflect the diversity. We can make a difference if we are intentional about reflecting that diversity in all areas of the church.



# Womanbishop talk sparks debate

Don Wright's cartoon above, sketched to run after the Roman Catholic worldwide Synod ended in December of last year, may have longer life than the artist anticipated. A recently disclosed exchange of letters between Pope John Paul II and the Archbishop of Canterbury is expected to put pressure on Anglican primates to halt further moves toward the ordination of women in the Church of England and in other Anglican provinces, and toward the election of the first woman bishop in the United States, according to Herbert Williams, Religious News Service correspondent in England.

As of this writing, contents of the correspondence had not been made public, but the letters should also add fuel to an already fired up Movement for the Ordination of Women (MOW) to dig in its heels when it meets April 18-20 in Canterbury. The challenge facing MOW and its international visitors is formidable: The Church of England actively opposes the ordination of women. Archbishop Robert Runcie of Canterbury, who heads the Church of England and is also leader of the Anglican Communion, has said that a woman bishop would create "a serious rift" within the worldwide episcopate and be a major obstacle for those who are beginning to come to terms with women priests.

Archbishop Runcie and the Anglican primates were meeting in Toronto as this issue of THE WITNESS went to press. It will be interesting to track whether the Rome-Canterbury correspondence impacted that conclave.

Since the U.S. church may well have consecrated a woman bishop before Lambeth meets again in 1988, the all-male worldwide episcopate of the Anglican church is trying to avoid the "serious rift" in its ranks by an educational process. Those who support women's ordination present their views in open debate during pre-Lambeth meetings such as recently took place in Lima, Peru, and at the primates meeting in Toronto. Such supporters deem papal involvement in the subject of women's ordination unwelcome.

As countries line up, the Canadian church is not far behind

the United States. Canada will celebrate the 10th anniversary of women in the priesthood in November. New Zealand, Kenya, Uganda, and Cuba have added their names to a growing list where women may share in the threefold ministry of deacon, priest and bishop. For them, the election of a woman bishop is seen as a natural progression from their commitment to women in the ministry, as Bishop Browning indicates in his interview in this issue of THE WITNESS.

Some of these views, expressed recently at Lima, during a

LIMA. One of the topics discussed at the pre-Lambeth consultation of bishops from the Americas upon which there was sharp disagreement was centered on the election and consecration of women to the episcopate.

A special hearing was held at the request of the Episcopal Church to explain the U.S. bishops' recent decision that they would not withhold consent to the election of any bishop on grounds of gender.

Bishop Edward Jones of Indianapolis, who made the presentation on behalf of Presiding Bishop Edmond Browning, said the decison was based on two reasons — "upon 10 years of experience of women as presbyters and second, upon the conscience of a large majority of bishops who believe that in Christ, there is no Jew or Gentile, nor male or female."

Although it is evident that the U.S. church will move to consecrate a woman bishop in the future, he said the Episcopal Church is pledged to consult with others in the communion.

"We realize it will affect the lives of those throughout the Anglican Communion, as well as the churches with which we are having ecumenical conversations."

Bishop William Folwell of Miami told the bishops that the reaction from such a move will be felt within the Episcopal Church itself.

"We have already experienced some schism in the U.S. church. We can anticipate that a considerably greater number of people will leave the church, maybe even some bishops," Bishop Folwell said. "We need your understanding, support and prayers."

Lima: Women in episcopate?

Some bishops stated that the consecration of a woman to the episcopate will create serious tension within the Anglican Communion and a barrier to ecumenical conversations.

Bishop Drexel Gomez of Barbados said relationships within the communion would be seriously impaired. A woman bishop would not be recognized, nor allowed to preside at the eucharist, in the West Indies, he said.

Bishop Clive Abdullah of Trinidad and Tobago diocese said the question is whether the Anglican Communion will be able to survive a number of shocks that it will undoubtedly be subjected to in the next decade.

"Lambeth cannot simply stay as it has in the past," he said.

Bishop Christopher Luxmore of Bermuda said the consecration of a woman bishop "would erect an insuperable barrier to unity with the Roman Catholic Church."

But he was contradicted by Archbishop Michael Peers of Regina who said Roman Catholics had been present at every ordination of a woman at which he had presided and that all had found it a moving event.

Bishop Sumio Takatsu, one of five

consultation of bishops from Canada, Central and South America and the Caribbean, appear below. According to Jerry Hames, editor of the *Canadian Churchman*, who covered the event, many of the bishops there thought the response was surprisingly positive.

Hames' story, made available to THE WITNESS, follows. Incidentally, the *Canadian Churchman*, national newspaper of the Anglican Church of Canada, is considering changing its name to a more inclusive title.

> Brazilian bishops present, said the ecumenical consequences of taking such action would depend upon with whom the church was in dialogue.

> "Are we going to dialogue with the reactionary hierarchy (of the Roman Catholic Church), or with those in ferment who are working for the ordination of women as priests," he asked.

> Archbishop Ted Scott said the Canadian church is facing somewhat the same situation as the U.S. Episcopal Church.

> "Women have been approached, but none have allowed their name to stand (for election)," he said. "They have resisted (because they were) sensitive to the feelings of the Anglican Communion.

> "But there comes a point when you have to take a decision even if it will cause some difficulties."

> To a plea that archbishops could refuse to recognize an election of a woman, Archbishop Peers said it was not within his authority to do so.

> "If I were confronted with such a situation, I would have two considerations," he said.

> "The first would be the communion as a whole, and that would require consultation.

> "The second would be our Anglican ecclesiology and the constitution of our province. For me, that would take precedence. It is an integral part of our ecclesiology that a province is the unit and that there is no larger unit."

> > - Jerry Hames

### I write in the laundromat by Marcy Sheiner

I write in the laundromat. I am a woman and between wash and dry cycles I write.

I write while the beans soak and with children's voices in my ear. I spell out words for Scrabble while I am writing.

I write as I drive to the office where I type a man's letters and when he goes to lunch I write.

When the kids go out the door on Saturday I write and while the frozen dinners thaw I write. I write on the toilet and in the bathtub and when I appear to be talking I am often writing.

I write in the laundromat while the kids soak with scrabbled ears and beans in the office and frozen toilets and bathtubs and letters and in the car between wash and dry.

and your words and my words and her words and their words and I am a woman and I write in the laundromat.

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# 'Sometimes there's just no reasoning

The U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union was polite during most of our 40minute meeting at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow recently. But Arthur A. Hartman's civility soured when we mentioned our plans to stay in the embassy's political section to operate a disarmament desk from the ninth floor.

"You don't understand," said the tall silver-haired envoy as he stood up in his three-piece suit. "This meeting is over."

Anthony Guarisco, director of the International Alliance of Atomic Veterans, did not move from his seat. Neither did I. We had just handed the ambassador a statement denouncing White House refusal to reciprocate the Soviet nuclear test moratorium as "a tragic crime against humanity" — and explaining that as American citizens "we have come to the U.S. Embassy here in hopes of supplementing its activities on behalf of nuclear escalation with activities for nuclear disarmament."

A few minutes later we walked to the reception room next to his office and sat down. Hartman followed, looking a bit shaken and threatening to send for Marines to remove us from a "classified area." Then, apparently realizing that his visitors had no intention of voluntarily fading into Moscow's twilight, Hartman offered to let us stay in another reception area, down the hall, "as long as you like." Taking the ambassador up on his offer, Anthony and I moved to the outer waiting room and sat on a couch, our portable typewriter and lots of paper in hand. But Hartman's promise turned out to be no more trustworthy than his government's nuclear policies.

We used a lamp-table phone to provide an update to American news bureaus in Moscow. During our third call, the phone went dead. At about 6:30 p.m. — a few minutes after an Associated Press reporter arrived and about an hour after our meeting with Ambassador Hartman had ended — an embassy official ordered Anthony and me to leave the building. Normal office hours at the embassy, he repeated, are 9 a.m. to 6 p.m.

I replied that Mr. Guarisco and I would be pleased to leave the embassy if we could receive credible assurance that the U.S. government would not escalate the nuclear arms race after those same office hours. But unfortunately, Anthony and I noted, the U.S. escalation continues 24 hours a day.

Sometimes, however, there's just no reasoning with diplomats.

A few tall gentlemen in crew cuts arrived on the scene. Two of them, in sweat suits, grabbed me. While I slipped to the floor, they picked me up and put me on another fellow's shoulder.

Being carried to the elevator, I heard Anthony saying that he suffers from severe spinal ailments — a result of his participation, as a U.S. Navy seaman, in two nuclear bomb tests at Bikini atoll in 1946. As much as he would regret assisting in his removal from the embassy, Anthony said, he preferred to walk since being carried might make him a paraplegic.

Nine floors down, I was carried out of the elevator and through the embassy's front door, where I was dumped on the sidewalk of Tchaikovsky Street next to two astonished-looking Soviet police officers on routine duty. In the glare of Cable News Network floodlights (the CNN Moscow bureau later decided not to transmit the footage), a few reporters asked questions. Anthony, walking with his cane, emerged from the embassy minutes later.

Our Feb. 19 meeting with Ambassador Hartman had been a dialogue with madness. He hauled out all the old excuses for the Reagan administration's continuation of nuclear test explosions. We responded with evidence that nuclear blasts are unnecessary to assure "stockpile reliability" — and that compliance with a test ban can be easily verified through existing technical means.

But the ambassador added a new line of rhetoric: "Until there is elimination of nuclear weapons, we cannot ban nuclear tests." This contention prompted the International Alliance of Atomic Veterans to send Hartman a telegram later declaring: "Such an approach would insist that when constructing a house no foundation be laid until the roof has been installed. We found our meeting with you to be truly frightening for the prospects of human survival."

The nuclear veterans' group informed Hartman that "despite fierce competi-

Norman Solomon is director of the disarmament program for the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Nyack, N.Y. and co-author of the book, *Killing Our Own:* The Disaster of America's Experience with Atomic Radiation.

# with diplomats

tion from fellow members of the Reagan administration, you have won the first annual Dr. Strangelove Award of the International Alliance of Atomic Veterans."

Anthony Guarisco, a 58-year-old Arizona resident who coordinates the alliance of atomic testing veterans in the U.S., Canada, Great Britain and Australia, later commented that "it was Ambassador Hartman's complete lack of comprehension of present and past U.S. nuclear recklessness that made it impossible to reason with him."

An Associated Press dispatch, describing our disarmament action at the embassy, appeared in some daily newspapers in the United States. But the most prominent coverage was in the Soviet afternoon paper Izvestia, which published a lengthy interview with Anthony and myself, and followed up the next day with a story about our direct action at the embassy. In contrast with an article by the Chicago Tribune Moscow correspondent that confused Anthony's personal background with my own, the Izvestia accounts were fully accurate.

No one seems to remember any similar event at the U.S. embassy in Moscow. Anthony Guarisco and I believe that, at the very least, our actions there communicated to many Soviet people that the U.S. government's deranged nuclear policies are being resisted by American citizens who deeply appreciate the Soviet Union's bold new disarmament initiatives.

by Norman Solomon



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An interview with Anthony Guarisco, director of the International Alliance of Atomic Veterans, left, and Norman Solomon, of the Fellowship of Reconciliation's Disarmament Program, appeared in Izvestia following their civil disobedience in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

# The reproductive revolution: Ethics of assisted begetting

### by Charles Meyer

With all the begetting going on in the Bible you would think there would be more commentary on the use of donor sperm. Actually much is there, mainly focusing on the *method* of that procedure. But that was in the olden days when you had to have sex to produce babies.

Biomedical assisted reproduction techniques are now offering options that will determine the kinds of families we will *construct* and the kinds of children we will choose to have (or abort). While the legal and medical ramifications of these options are currently being debated around the country, the religious community has been reticent to study, evaluate and advise upon the ethical dilemmas inherent in them. One such area of discussion is AID — Artificial Insemination by Donor.

George Annas of The Hastings Center has noted that the technology of the '70s brought us sex without children and the technology of the '80s brings us children without sex. In addition, the '80s now offer women the option of children conceived from another man's sperm without committing what has been traditionally considered adultery.

Artificial Insemination by Donor

(AID) is now a relatively common method of circumventing male infertility. When the male of a couple is found to be oligospermic (he produces too few sperm), azoospermic (no sperm) or infertile for unknown reasons, the couple can choose to have the woman receive semen from a donor. When the woman's ovulatory cycle is ready, semen collected from a donor is placed into the woman through a tube, often with the husband present.

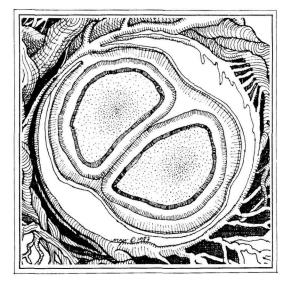
Until recently, those who have objected to the practice of AID have done so largely on the basis of adultery, the breaking of the fidelity bond of the marriage contract. Introduction of a third party into the intimacy of the marriage was considered to be intrusive and divisive, and to separate love making from baby making, an unnatural and unwarranted act.

Others argue that, since no sexual intercourse takes place, no adultery has occurred and no bonds have been broken. In fact, they contend that the marriage bond has been strengthened both by the decision to have the procedure and by the hoped-for result of desired offspring.

But "new occasions teach new duties" and the technology of In Vitro Fertilization and Embryo Transfer (IVF-ET) is offering expanded possibilities when combined with AID. To traditional critics, adultery is now the least of their worries. With AID and IVF-ET it is now possible for a child to have five parents: a genetic mother and father, a gestational mother, and a sociological mother and father (the ones who raise the child).

The following ethical dilemmas develop partly from the use of AID itself and partly from its use in combination with IVF. These issues bear careful scrutiny and cautious evaluation due to their far reaching (and as yet untested) individual and societal implications.

**Donor selection and screening:** Who ought to be chosen or accepted as appropriate semen donors? Many programs use medical students exclusively, claiming that they have "a better understanding of the process" than others. But is such an understanding required? Other programs without a pool of medical students often use law students. (Physicians



The Rev. R. Charles Meyer is Director of the Department of Pastoral Care at St. David's Community Hospital, Austin, Tex. He has also served as a prison chaplain and pastoral counselor, and is the author of several magazine articles.

are then in the rather ironic position of reproducing attorneys).

But restricting the groups which are "acceptable" as donors seems open to the charge of elitism at best and classism at worst. What makes the semen of a medical student (or law or seminary student) any more valuable or desirable than that of a poor person who also sells blood plasma?

As a rule, U.S. donors receive \$50 per donation. Ought there to be any payment at all? Does not, in fact, the word "donation" imply a free gift? How many persons would offer to go through the inconvenience of screening, selection and scheduling necessary to donate their semen without any prospect of monetary gain?

A recent report from Great Britain indicates that payment may, in fact, lead to the withholding of necessary medical or genetic information. The report recommends either no fees be offered the donor, or minimal payment of "transportation" expenses (amounting to less than \$20) be provided. The Australian system makes it illegal to accept payment for any body parts, including organs, blood or semen, thus demanding other motivations from donors. The French have designed a system where prospective AID recipients recruit general donors for a national program, from which pool semen is derived with no remuneration.

Screening for disease is another important factor. Some AID programs rely solely upon the statement of the donor for information regarding health and genetic history. In July of 1985, four Australian women reportedly contracted acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) through semen donors in an artificial insemination program. Many programs, therefore, and their government overseers, are beginning to require screening for genetic diseases as well as for hepatitis and the HTLV III virus responsible for AIDS.

The role of the donor is another ethical variable. Should the receiving couple be able to choose a particular person for this service? If a husband dies can a wife choose his twin brother to donate semen in order to produce a child with nearly identical genetic characteristics? Or should the donor always be anonymous? Some programs include a waiver of rights statement signed by the donor to avoid legal problems with visitation or paternity issues. In the 22 states that have legislation covering AID, the need for a waiver is usually precluded by laws that determine the father to be the husband of the woman who bears the child, thus also

"With the technology of In Vitro Fertilization and Embryo Transfer (IVF-ET) it is now possible for a child to have five parents: a genetic mother and father, a gestational mother, and a sociological mother and father (who raise the child)."

circumventing the necessity for legal adoption.

But other programs invite the full participation of the semen donor into the lives of the couple and offspring. His collaboration is public and made known throughout the process, from the artificial insemination, through the hoped-for pregnancy and birth, and often into the life of the child. Sometimes the donor is responsible for regular visitation and economic support of the child. Should this be made a requirement of donors in general?

Finally, unless a program limits the number of times a donor can provide semen, offspring produced by that donor may face the problem of unknown consanguinity. One donor in Washington D.C., who had provided a large number of semen samples for various programs there, advised his children not to marry anyone from the D.C. area for just this reason. Some legislators have suggested a national registry for the keeping of donor screening information so that consanguinity can be avoided to a great degree.

**Records and research:** What kinds of records should be kept? Unlike the parallel situation of adoption, AID records tend to be sparse, with little uniformity. This may be responsible, in part, for the fact that so few follow-up studies of donors, families or children exist.

Some have argued that no records should be kept at all, thus assuring the anonymity of the donor and extinguishing the possibility of family disruption caused from discovery by the child of the donor/parent. Others believe that files (including a photograph,) should be carefully kept, so that if the child does want to know who the biological/genetic father was, the information is available. Such data also would make follow-up studies possible.

Research that has been done, much in the last five years, reports mixed results. Some studies show positive benefits and little harm to the AID child and couple, while others indicate potential problems with paternity questions, as well as a nearly unanimous abhorrence to telling the child "the secret" of his or her origin. Apparently no long-term developmental studies have been done on the children of AID and, because the procedure is so new, none have been carried out on the use of AID with IVF-ET participants.

It may well be that we are now in the same stage as adoption was early on. Refusal to disclose origins, reluctance to talk to friends and relatives about the procedure, and denial of approval to participate in long-term studies may indicate the marginal acceptance of AID by society. But that hesitance may also indicate some psychological and societal disapproval that ought to be taken seriously and may even gravitate against use of AID or AID with IVF. Clearly, more studies are needed before either procedure is practiced with no restrictions.

**Couple selection:** Who ought to have access to the use of AID or AID with IVF? Everyone who desires it? Only those who can afford it? Those for whom all else has failed? Most medically accepted criteria indicate the use of AID for the treatment of male infertility: oligospermia, azoospermia, physiological impotence, sterility, or infertility of unknown origin. AID may also be considered where the male has a known inheritable genetic disease or disorder. In these cases, donor semen is used at the couples request and/or the physician's recommendation.

Similar criteria are used in selecting participants for the IVF-ET programs, though these mainly focus on female infertility. Few psychological guidelines for selection appear to be considered other than medical "necessity" and the willingness of the couple to accept either procedure.

Other countries (Netherlands, Australia, Great Britain) have noted the unknowns of combining these two technologies, and require that the couple be in active treatment for infertility for at least 12 months prior to the procedure. Some state that the physician treating them must not be the one carrying out the IVF process.

In nearly all recent studies and profiles of couples requesting AID (many with IVF), the need for psychological counseling is stated to be paramount. Before entering any program, couples must be confronted about infertility, the desperation they experience, the values motivating them, and the frequently inordinate hope (or need) to have their own genetic offspring. Should they be found acceptable (as adoption screening finds couples acceptable or unacceptable), further support counseling is needed during the process, preferably with other couples undergoing the same stress. Finally, after the procedure either fails or succeeds, counseling is needed to face the loss (like a death) or to follow up as the family grows and matures (again parallel to adoption).

Family structure: It is clear that the traditional family structure consists of two parents with children of their own gametes. Where that structure is changed by accident, death, disability or divorce, then other socially acceptable arrangements follow. Resulting family configurations include many variations on a theme of mixed or non-existent genetic relationships. Social vocabulary describes these mixtures as "half-brother," "stepsister," "stepfather," "adopted daughter," "ex-husband," "children by my first (second, third) wife."

In nearly all of these relationships there is some genetic investment (biological relationship) resulting from the broken bonds of the original family relationship. Supporters of AID and AID with IVF argue that using these procedures produces offspring with at least half the genes of the couple, thus bonding them closer than adoption might.

Critics counter that producing a child with half the genes of the parents results in an asymmetrical relationship. Only one member of the couple (the wife) is genetically invested and thus bonded to the offspring. In times of distress the husband may not feel responsible for "her child," or be told "It's not your child, anyway." With adoption, on the other hand, there exists a genetically symmetrical relationship. Neither parent has a genetic claim, and thus both are equally free to relate without the pressure of that claim.

The model for the traditional family is clear, though variations caused by unforeseen events are, of course, acceptable. Ought we, however, to deliberately restructure families away from that model by the planned introduction of a third genetic party into the couple's relationship? Does the intense desire for children with the genes of at least one parent offset the psychological and sociological implications inherent in the introduction of another's semen into the couple's family structure? Is it not the case that the desired family structure is that of two parents with children who are wanted and loved, regardless of genetic relationships? With this model as the goal, adoption and biological birthing are *equally* valuable and the pejorative nature of "infertility" itself is entirely circumvented.

As for the argument that the technologies are "unnatural," many people consider that all medicine is "unnatural" and thus immune from criticism on those grounds. But there does seem an immense difference between the replacement of a hip or knee joint with an artificial appliance, or the treatment of an epidemic with serum injections, and the use of AID with or without IVF. The social ramifications of most medical practices go no further than the effect upon the individual, or the individual and the family. The use of AID, especially with IVF, deliberately and consciously sets out to condone the restructuring of a long accepted societal norm.

As mentioned earlier, few long-term studies of AID and its effects on family life have been conducted and none on the use of AID with IVF. But even if sufficient data existed, ought we to participate in such technological restructuring, merely because it is possible? And does not that restructuring reinforce genetic replication as a higher value than the nurturing of children in general, thus judging infertile couples (and those who adopt) as "inferior?"

Justice: The medical community prefers to present AID/IVF only as the "treatment of infertility." Because they view AID as an "acceptable" standard for treatment, and IVF as becoming an acceptable standard for treatment, they largely see no reason for caution in combining the two. The technology is there, therefore it ought to be used.

But to see AID/IVF merely as an issue of infertility is evidence of professional myopia and cultural arrogance. It is, of course, true that some couples grappling with infertility feel damaged, cheated and unfulfilled. Such feelings are reinforced by a medical system that describes infertility as an illness to be treated and an abnormality to be overcome. Insurance companies also participate in this, paying for obstetrical bills (some even for several IVF attempts) but not adoption fees. Similarly, state and federal tax systems allow deductions for these medical bills but not for expenses incurred in adoption. Is such a heavy weighting in favor of novel medical approaches to infertility, and against adoption, just?

The justice issue also involves world demographics. The International Planned Parenthood Federation estimates that the population of the world in the year 2000 will be 6 billion, of which 590 million will be malnourished. Their report states that "even when every possible local and international effort has been made to develop agriculture, some checks on population growth seem inevitable. Those checks can take the human and voluntary form of coordinated population policies and family planning programs - or, if governments do not take timely action, then nature may impose crueler checks in the form of higher death rates."

Deliberations about the ethical nature of AID/IVF do not occur in China, where families are limited to one child so as to equitably distribute resources to young and old alike. Nor do they occur in Africa where about \$1 per year per person is spent on health care. The discussion is also moot in Nicaragua, Brazil, Mexico, Vietnam and India. Indeed, the nations where assisted reproduction issues are most vehemently debated (Australia, Great Britain, France, Netherlands, and the United States) seldom see the discussion as another cultural luxury item compared to the basic survival issues of the rest of our global village.

Given population projections, current food supply and the obvious surfeit of babies already living and available for adoption, is it just to expend increasingly precious health-care resources to produce even more babies? If the goal is parenting and nurturing, there are surely enough children to go around. If the goal is bearing and reproducing one's own gene pool, or even a portion of it, should limits be placed on the number of times and methods that may be attempted? Is it not, in fact, genetic as well as cultural arrogance to ignore the surfeit of available infants and thereby deny overriding responsibility to care for those already born?

Some have argued that it is unjust to the infertile male not to have access to AID, and unjust to the infertile couple not to provide AID with VIF. But while there is a desperate need to have children (often based on the erroneous learned belief that infertility is a sign of personal failure) there is no right to have them. One has the right to attempt to have them, but children - or resources to produce them - are not owed to anyone. As J.R. Nelson stated in The Christian Century as early as 1982: "Calls for federal funding of IVF based on rights are as persuasive as demands for printing presses to fulfill the right of free speech."

Others believe that the uncreated embryos are done an injustice by not permitting conception and birth into the world. It is better to be born they argue, than never to have existed. But since we have no direct experience with nonexistence, the question cannot logically be answered.

Finally, even if true, the argument that life is preferable to death or nonexistence is further evidence that we ought to take seriously our first duty to those who are alive already — and available for adoption.

The American Fertility Society sets the clinically accepted standards for programs of assisted reproductive techniques in this country. The AFS Ethics Committee (consisting mainly of physicians, and only one woman, an attorney) is currently drafting an ethics statement. While some believe that this arrangement keeps reproductive technology from being politicized, others convincingly argue that a national governmental body should debate the ethical, as well as the clinical guidelines for these programs in open forum. France, Australia, Great Britain and The Netherlands all have established blue ribbon commissions to study and offer legislative recommendations governing assisted reproductive techniques.

As Christians, we have an obligation to be informed about and come to an opinion regarding technology that may so drastically affect our family structure as well as our global village. Perhaps the church could lead where the government seems fearful to tread, by establishing a national commission for the study of assisted reproductive techniques. Such a group could offer legislative suggestions based on sound ethical deliberation. At the very least, these issues deserve careful scrutiny at the parish level.

One thing is clear. If we do not soon state our preferences regarding limits and boundaries appropriate for reproductive technology, the ethically unlimited and morally boundless technology will set them for us.

#### Resource

Good Genes: Emerging Values for Science, Religion and Society. A group study guide edited by David A. Ames and Colin B. Gracey, 1984. 140 pages. \$3.95 plus postage/handling. 10 or more, \$3 each. Forward Movement Publications, 412 Sycamore St., Cincinnati, OH 45202.

# Heterosexism: Enforcing male supremacy

### by Carter Heyward

Heterosexism is the structure of gay/lesbian oppression. To comprehend any act or attitude structurally is to realize that it is never simply a thing in itself, unrelated to the social fabric of the world we inhabit. A man is not thrown off a bridge in Bangor, Me., simply because he was an "effeminate" individual who had the misfortune of running into some particularly homophobic youth. Unless we perceive that Charlie Howard was killed because All-American kids are taught by church, synagogue and state to hate "fags," and that the three young men who killed Charlie Howard represented the dominant moral ethos of our mainline religions and our society, we will never understand why Charlie Howard was murdered.

To comprehend why the Christian churches have embraced heterosexism with a vengeance, I propose that we examine what power means in our society. We cannot make sense of either sexuality or theology unless we have some idea of how we experience power in the world.

In a profit-consumed economic order, the value of persons is diminished. The capacity to value our bodies, to enjoy a sense of self-esteem, to take pleasure in our work, and to love either ourselves or others is swallowed up in the competitive market. This loss of ourselves and one another is what Marx meant by alienation. In an alienated situation, no one can relate as humanely as he or she might desire. In the U.S. context of racial, economic and gender alienation, power has come to mean the control by a few over the lives, labor and relationships of all others. The food we eat, the air we breathe, the love we make, even the dreams we nurture, are controlled to a large extent by the structural configurations of power which have been shaped by affluent white males who often fail to see any more clearly than the rest of us the exploitative character of their lives.

Thus, we and those who have power over us have learned to assume that alienation is "natural." It is important that we recognize the extent to which acceptance of alienated power characterizes U.S. society in the late 20th century. In this society, any power that "pays" is that which we earn at the expense of others. Alienated power is not shared. It is a possession, not a resource; quantitative, not qualitative. Under modern capitalism, alienated power is symbolized by money, guns, missiles and penises; more and bigger is best.

We are turned on by the dynamics of domination and submission which are structured into the world we inhabit. As mirrors of the world, our bodies and psyches reflect the violence intrinsic to the dynamics of alienated power. What we know, what we feel, and what we believe is mediated by images, symbols, and acts of domination and violence.

We learn to associate survival itself with acts of power. Even children raised in homes in which tenderness and respect are demonstrated daily learn, through media and other forms of participation in dominant culture, that might does make right — or at least shows who is in charge.

### Heterosexism: an extension of sexism

In a sexist society, men take from women whatever they want and give to women whatever they choose. Sexism is a structure of alienated power. Sexism refers, specifically, to the historical complex of practices and attitudes which are essential to men's control of women's sexuality — and thereby, of women's lives.

Heterosexism is a logical and necessary extension of sex-

The Rev. Carter Heyward is professor of theology at Episcopal Divinity School, Cambridge and a contributing editor of THE WITNESS. Author retains copyright of this article.

ism, for it is rooted in the doubly false assumption that 1) male gender superiority is good; i.e., natural and normal and 2) in order to secure sexism in our social order, men must be forced, if need be, to control women's sexual activity. If women are to stay on the bottom of the male-female relationship, men must stay on the top. Men must be willing to do their part in preserving the structure of sexism; otherwise, the patriarchy would not prevail.

Heterosexist ideology strives to convince us that normal women are sexually submissive to men; and real men sexually dominate women. When heterosexism is understood as the fundamental means of enforcing sexism and intrinsically bound up in the oppression of women, we can begin to understand why the gay/lesbian liberation movement, historically, has been linked with the women's liberation movement. We can also see why it is clear to feminists that the "women's issue" and "gay issue" cannot be politically effective as long as their proponents attempt to keep them separate. The National Organization of Women in the early 1970s and the mainline Protestant denominations made this mistake. In attempting not to confuse women's liberation with gay/lesbian liberation, we disregard the deep connection between gender and sexual politics.

Understanding the link between sexism and heterosexism also may help illuminate why so many openly gay, selfaffirming men are feminists — and why so many frightened homosexual men are not. A gay man who understands the sexist character of his own oppression knows that those who govern the structures of patriarchal capitalism are determined to use his body to enforce the sexual control of women's lives. He is able to comprehend his homosexuality not simply as a private orientation or preference, but rather as a form of resistance to sexism, not necessarily chosen, but a form of resistance nonetheless.

On the other hand, men who experience their homosexuality as simply a private dimension of who they "happen to be" and what they "happen to like" fail generally to appreciate any sexual politics except those which help keep the cops out of the baths and bars and the public out of their business. Unable to make connections between their own hidden lives and the oppression of women, such homosexual men — frequently are not only indifferent to women's plight, but even hostile toward feminists and openly gay men for having made sexuality a matter of public interest.

Homosexual people, like everyone else in a heterosexist society, are homophobic. We are afraid of what our erotic involvement with members of the same sex may mean about us — that we are not quite "right" — and of what the consequences may be. (We may forfeit our job, marriage, children, ordination, respect, etc.) Many homosexual men and women are so terrorized by the meaning and potential consequences of their "sexual orientation" that they cannot let themselves see the sexual politics of their lives. Moreover, they fail to imagine the creative power inherent in community building and solidarity on behalf of others oppressed.

### **Ethics of duplicity**

In a patriarchal society where women's lives are devalued, it is impossible for anyone to act entirely free of a long-standing ethical premise that it is simply right for women to be sexually-constrained and governed. Female sexual passion is considered to be in bad taste. A sexually excited woman, one who lusts after sex, is by patriarchal definition, a whore.

Thomas Jefferson took a mistress and Benjamin Franklin produced a so-called "illegitimate" son, and these men are revered as "fathers of our country." If it is known that a woman has a male or female lover, or a child outside of wedlock, she is disparaged as "trash." The church has played no small part in maintaining this double standard, in which Christian moralists are more concerned with women's sex lives than with men's. As John Boswell demonstrates, the church traditionally has tolerated male homosexuality, provided it has been practiced with discretion. It is my thesis that this same indifference to "boys being boys" — whether gay or straight — might even now characterize Christian sexual ethics if the gay issue had not been raised recently in the struggle to liberate women's sexuality from male domination.

Today most mainline churches flaunt a heterosexist ethic



of duplicity. In variously worded declarations, they declare that only homosexuals who hide, or refuse to practice, their sexuality can be ordained. Translated into an ethic for *all* Christian homosexuals, this means that only those who are willing to live split lives (one private/one public) are living sexually *moral* lives.

This ethic of sexual duplicity is a grandstand play, attempting to restore some decency and order to the church in this era of feminism. The ethic creates an illusion that the feminist tide of gender and sexual liberation is being curbed. It is a morally vacant ethic which fails to command the respect of gay and lesbian seminarians and of any ecclesiastical authorities who possess a modicum of moral or intellectual integrity. Like many unjust laws, the church's heterosexist ethic may exist in the book, but it is ultimately doomed because those whose relationships and vocations it is meant to alter refuse to grant it *moral* authority. It is a contemptuous policy which should be circumvented, challenged, or ignored.

This same ethic allows for the ordination of closeted homosexual persons — thousands of bishops, priests, and deacons have been, and are, closeted homosexual men. Such ethical allowance is made because homosexual persons who live hidden, double lives represent (whether or not they wish to) the church's deep, historic hostility toward women's liberation from male control. This misogyny is entirely in keeping with Christian tradition. So too is the duplicity — the call to live double lives — which compromises any claim church leaders might wish to make on behalf of such virtues as "honesty," "wholeness," or "integrity."

Christian sexual ethics historically have been grounded in a duplicitous definition of sexuality, in which our sexual selves are split in two. The church has not helped us experience ourselves as whole, well-integrated persons, regardless of whether we are primarily homoerotic or heteroerotic. The so-called natural, and thus moral, split between male domination and female submission is the bottom line of Christian sexual ethics. The split between essence and activity (for instance, between "being" homosexual and "practicing" homosexuality) has served, theologically, to explain the conflict between the "human condition," which is experienced as "sinful" and beyond our capacity to alter, and human behavior, which must be constrained if it is to be morally good. The double standard in sexual ethics between the tolerance of male sexual activity and the sanctioning of female sexual behavior has been the church's means of creating and sustaining male sexual hegemony. The split between public and private sexuality has given men sexual license to create a separate, private space of discretion or concealment in which women, sex, and sin can be controlled and enjoyed by men, without their suffering any public consequences.

These splits, which render us broken people in broken community, are secured, and strengthened by the denials, silences, and lies which the church demands of those who are erotically involved with members of the same gender. In the context of a heterosexist society that kills dykes and fags, I believe that hiding in the closet is not, per se, morally wrong, What is morally wrong is for closeted homosexual persons to take potshots at feminists and openly gay/lesbian people. This horizontal violence must be stopped, and openly gav men and lesbians, together with our straight allies, must take steps together toward stopping it. We must be clear that the most misogynist, homophobic, duplicitous, closeted homosexual men in the church — often those who rant and rave vociferously about the absurdity of women priests and the sinfulness of homosexual activity - are themselves victims of the historic sinfulness of the church's teachings about gender and sexuality. Heterosexism is the church's great sexual sin, and all of us collude with it in one way or another. thereby perpetuating it. While no one individual can be blamed for the church's sexual sinfulness, no one can escape moral responsibility for participating in its sexual redemption.

In summary, the two fundamental aims of "Christian" (i.e., good or moral) sexual activity have been biological procreation and political control. Christians have been educated to embrace publicly that which the church has taught as essential to its own familial order: sex, if it is moral, is something that a man does privately to his wife. "Christian sex" means that he initiates, she responds. These are the parameters of "Christian sex" in all places, at all times, for all people who have to "do it." For the church to accept homosexuality as moral would be tantamount to a Christian proclamation that sexual activity need not be stimulated by sexist attitudes. Neither homosexual nor heterosexual sex is necessarily sexist. But Christian moralists traditionally have defined moral sex as sexist. In Christian thought and practice, nonsexist sex — in which man does not dominate woman — is un-Christian.

The gay/lesbian movement against heterosexism is a movement for a non-sexist moral order. Because in a nonsexist world and church, male superiority would be deemed morally wrong, men would not be forced to control women's sexualities and women's lives. In such a world and church, we would encourage one another to express our sexualities in relation to those with whom we were mutually empowering and empowered people. Unfortunately, most mainline churches have responded to this non-sexist, morally honest scenario with heterosexist, morally dishonest ethics and a lack of vision.

# Short Takes

### Pentagon on campuses

More than 230 state, private and religious colleges and universities, in nearly every state of the union, have Pentagon-sponsored contracts, according to *Uncle Sam Goes to School*, a report released Feb. 25 by NARMIC, a research unit of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC).

"Although many universities scaled back involvement in military-sponsored projects during the Vietnam war era, the Pentagon is buying its way back onto campus in a big way, mobilizing researchers for a quiet role in the arms race," said Thomas Conrad, an AFSC staff researcher.

Military spending for academic research topped \$1.06 billion in 1984, according to the NARMIĆ report. It also shows universities engaged in Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars) research and lists \$68.8 million in nuclear weapons-related contracts from the Department of Energy, which is responsible for the design and production of nuclear warheads.

Johns Hopkins University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) are the two largest recipients of Pentagon money. MIT projects include military-sponsored genetic research, support for nuclear testing facility in the Pacific and projects for the top secret National Security Agency.

> Kimberly Everett AFSC News Release

Nothing is really work unless you'd rather be doing something else. Sir James M. Barrie

#### Lotteries: tax on poor

Lotteries are a tax on the poor. Most tickets are bought by those living below the poverty level. It is the selling of an illusion to people who despair of being able, in any other way, to break out of the circumstances in which they are trapped. In most large state lotteries a person has three times as much chance of being struck dead by lightning as he has of winning the grand prize. Lotteries encourage crime, especially organized crime. In the long run they mean less money for the "good works" they are supposed to support. They encourage greed rather than social responsibility, a trust in fortune rather than hard work.

> The Rev. W. J. Lunny Forward Movement pamphlet



### Hell no, didn't go

White House communications director Pat Buchanan, who first called the contras "the moral equivalent of the Founding Fathers," missed military service with a bad knee. Georgia congressman Newt Gingrich, columnist George Will, Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle, Secretary of the Navy John Lehman — all unabashed advocates of protecting our interests abroad with the blood of American boys — ducked service in Vietnam with college deferments...

Sylvester Stallone, who embodies American valor in his performance of an angry Vietnam vet in *Rambo*, spent the Vietnam era teaching gym at an exclusive girls' boarding school in Switzerland, studying acting at the University of Miami and shooting a porn movie called *A Party at Kitty and Stud's*.

Summing up, Rep. Andrew Jacobs of Indiana, an opponent of Reagan's military buildup, and a veteran of Korea who is eligible for disability benefits from a war wound: "I doubt there are more than 20 of us in Congress who have ever faced a man with a rifle who was actually trying to kill you... When I hear these men, who have never been in such a circumstance, casually contemplate sending teenagers off to places like Lebanon and other troubled places, my nerves go cold."

> Jack Newfield in the Village Voice quoted in Utne Reader

#### Society of the future

What is the society we seek? We seek a society that affirms the values of democratic participation, of the equal value of all persons as the basis for their civil equality and their equal access to the educational and work opportunities of the society... a society that dismantles sexist and class hierarchies.

Rosemary Radford Ruether Sexism and God-Talk

### Challenger and SDI scam

The explosion that consumed Challenger should also re-ignite the controversy over the Star Wars nuclear defense system. President Reagan and the hi-tech freaks and hacks who are pushing the program have almost convinced the "opinion leaders" in America that it is logically possible and mechanically feasible to laser and pulse our way into nuclear primacy and national security. But any school kid in New Hampshire can now see that with a misfire rate no worse than the shuttle's, the Strategic Defense Initiative would be a dud or, worse, an engine of national suicide ... SDI is no more a miracle shield than the shuttle is a vehicle for space exploration. Sensors explore; astronauts tinker. One launch of the unmanned Voyager has produced more exploratory science than 24 shuttles. Both Star Wars and the manned shuttle programs are major military projects, lucrative corporate boondoggles and serious efforts in public relations and self-promotion for NASA. The tragedy is that it cost seven lives to reveal the scam.

The Nation, 2/8/86

### Power on behalf of

Inasmuch as (feminist) spirituality encompasses all, it has a word about power, relationships and oppression. That word is justice, right relations. Power, thereby, is not over-againstness, rather power on behalf of. One's power is not diminished as another's is enhanced. And women's power is affirmed rather than denied or negated.

This spirituality recognizes it is not enough to create a private functioning world view which sustains one personally while leaving untouched the oppressive and alienating realities which operate for most women in most parts of the world. "Sisterhood" becomes an emotional, intellectual, spiritual and political reality which unites women across racial, class, and national bounds.

> Patricia Broughton The Flyer 1/86

#### Quote of note

People in power do not generate serious literature. People in power send memos.

Prof. Walter Bruggemann Circuit Rider

# A Luta Continua - the struggle continues

by Barbara C. Harris

### Nibbling at the elephant

**S** o often we Christians find much to lament and agonize over and too little to rejoice and celebrate. There is some heartening news, however, in the growing divestment movement within the Episcopal Church that has emerged in response to the legislative action voted by its General Convention at Anaheim last September.

The Anaheim mandate, for those unfamiliar with the Convention resolution, called upon the church, its institutions and agencies to divest stocks in companies doing business in South Africa.

At its February meeting, the national Executive Council, thankfully, voted to instruct the church's Committee on Trust Funds to divest all holdings in such companies by June 30, 1986, thus adding a "time certain" missing from the original resolution. That same day, the Vestry of Trinity Church, Wall Street, also voted in favor of divestment. The Trinity action affects about 20% of the parish's overall stock portfolio with an estimated value of \$10 million. In addition, the parish has committed itself to fund indigenous church groups in South Africa working against apartheid with an initial pledge of \$250,000 and up to \$1 million to be given over the next four years.

Similarly in the Diocese of Pennsylvania, St. Thomas' Church, Whitemarsh, near Philadelphia, agreed to divest the parish of its holdings, worth almost onehalf million, in companies doing business in South Africa and Namibia, expressing "moral condemnation of apartheid" and "unwillingness as Christians to be complicit with the system which we find to be immoral and inconsistent with the Gospel." Among other institutions which have approved divestment, in accord with the General Convention action, are the General Theological Seminary, New York, and a number of individual dioceses around the country.

The Convention resolution, while a clear mandate to the church's institutions and agencie's, was somehow not binding upon the "granddaddy" of Episcopal investors, the Church Pension Fund, despite the fact that its trustees are elected by that same assembly. Thus the Pension Fund could only be *urged* to undertake divestment.

No steps in that direction could be discerned following the recent annual meeting of the Fund. Rather, emphasis seemed to center on "fiduciary responsibility" (which may soon become a fourletter word) that would preclude such action. Sensing reluctance on the part of the trustees to move toward divestment, the Diocese of Newark resolved at its recent annual convention to establish a voluntary escrow account into which clergy could direct regular pension payments if and when the Fund fails to comply with a specified timetable or if and when Bishop Desmond Tutu issues a call for economic sanctions.

The Newark action could have severe financial consequences for clergy whose pension payments fall into arrears. With this clear understanding, the vote of the clergy in support of the resolution was overwhelming. The Episcopal Urban Caucus, at its recent Pittsburgh national assembly, endorsed the Newark plan and resolved that its members urge their dioceses, through Convention or Council, to set up similar escrow accounts.

The Executive Council also has affirmed the Harare Declaration, which was adopted by U.S. church leaders after consultation with a broad spectrum of South African church leadership, including Bishop Tutu. The declaration calls for international pressure, including comprehensive economic sanctions, on the minority government of South Africa.

Small efforts, true — and not without their detractors in the church who argue that South African Blacks would be hurt most by our economic withdrawal from that country and that American financial interests quickly would be replaced by those of other nations. At least three things are not arguable: South African Blacks could hardly hurt *much more*; other national financial interests are already in place; but more importantly, perhaps, the only way to eat an elephant is one bite at a time.



# The seminary chapel windows

I studied faces in windows kings and prophets angels, bishops, saints and all the people in the Jesus tales.

It struck me, first that most of the faces wear beards. Just here and there a veiled head in the lower panels

women bowing, adoring.

### Then

it struck me that most of the faces are white. I searched the colored glass and found seven dark-skinned creatures. Two are turbanned slaves crouched before swords in Solomon's court. Two more have pointed ears, webbed feet offspring of Beelzebub's house. Two are the temptor offering bread and kingdoms spurned by Christ. The last is the leering head on the snake in the Garden.

I don't know what to do with these facts. Throwing stones does not change hearts.

I stammer and point and these images loom year after year above bowed heads learning priesthood, seeking the face of God. — Pamela W. Darling

### **Free AYH memberships**

In celebration of its 50th anniversary, the American Youth Hostel (AYH) organization is offering free memberships to churches and other non-profit groups. The free membership pass normally costs \$50 per year. Church groups can save even more by making AYH's 300 low-cost hostels part of their travel and retreat programs. Hostels are inexpensive overnight lodging and meeting facilities located throughout the United States and internationally in cities, resorts, and rural areas. Church groups interested in more information should contact: Kava Schafer, Weisel Youth Hostel, R.D. #3, Quakertown, PA 18951.

### Letters . . . Continued from page 3

were quite meaningful at the time but are so no longer to modern ears. This has caused the dilemma: dissident priests and religious use a political frame of reference, mainstream persons use a moral frame of reference, and they cannot communicate.

The political view tends to trivialize sexuality, using terms like "preference" and "life-style" to explain something abstract called "rights;" the theological mainstream uses a vocabulary of morals and decency which, for better or for worse, says nothing to the average person. One reads this view in vain for any practical reason why one should behave one way or another in this important issue.

This is not to say that I know how to behave but to suggest that if we would drop labels like rights and morals and instead ask questions like, what is the relation of the lifeforce to mankind's spiritual struggle? Where and how ought we try to master it?, there is a chance we could not only start talking to one another but work out together usable norms of modern behavior.

> Prof. Michael N. Nagler UC Berkeley

### Church can reshape

I'm sorry not to have been at the Episcopal Church General Convention in Anaheim. The events there have moved me more than any other in my ministry save two: the ordination of women to the priesthood, and the General Convention Special Program.

When Bishop Browning's opening words were that he would care for Black people in South Africa, and the inclusion of women and gays in the life and ministry of the church, I thought I was dreaming. When I read that the convention nearly passed a canon outlawing discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, I thought I heard the trumpets of the second coming.

Surely, this is a church which can renew itself. It is a church which can be reshaped for justice and mercy, and I rejoice in my association with it. The various crucifixions I've experienced within this ministry have, through God's love, yielded the gift of resurrection. Although I am not now "employed" by the church. I am employed in the priesthood of Christ. My healing work, particularly with people with AIDS is gaining power and will, eventually, contribute to the revolution in health care which is coming rapidly upon us. In any case, I want to share with THE WITNESS my profound joy, and, really, disbelief, that the Church of Denver could become the Church at Anaheim.

> The Rev. Richard Kerr San Francisco, Cal.

### He found it!

The Rev. Ronald S. Winchell of Roanoke, Va. has identified — sort of — the anonymous piece we ran in the February issue called, "If God were process oriented." The article appeared in *The Episcopalian,* which had noted: "Actually this piece was anonymously written about the Lutherans, but since they have no corner on the amount of time committees can waste, we asked to reprint it. Copyright 1982 *The Lutheran.* Reprinted by permission from the Sept. 15, 1982, issue."

**THE WITNESS** made a hasty call of apology to The Lutheran, lest it be sued, and was assured by an editorial colleague, "not to worry." The Lutheran over all these years still has not turned up the author, who remains shrouded in anonymity. We are grateful to Ronald Winchell, who had the piece on his bulletin board at St. John's for the longest; to The Episcopalian, to The Lutheran and to Ping Ferry of New York who sent it to Abbie Jane Wells of Alaska who sent it to us - in this ecumenical tour de farce which brought smiles to so many.

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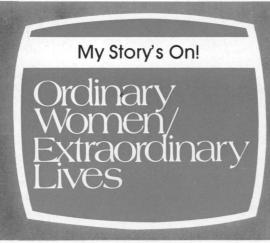
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Edited by Paula Ross, Berkeley, Cal.

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