

VOLUME • 69

NUMBER • 9

SEPTEMBER 1986

THE WITNESS

Toward abolishing torture

Way of the cross
for persons with AIDS

Nuclear camaraderie

Edmond L. Browning
on homosexuality



Letters

Missile article naive

Sometimes I wonder which is more dangerous: the Russian missiles aimed at my former Sunday School kids in the outskirts of the Black Hills or someone like Sam Day of Nukewatch.

If he could print maps of Russian missile sites as he does of those in the United States (May WITNESS) one might have more hope that his Nukewatch group might be doing some good. Undoubtedly Russian spy satellites have probably identified U.S. missile sites, but the map of Missouri could identify control centers that might not be identifiable to such a satellite. Do let us hope that he has not made it easier for Missouri school kids to be aimed at!

Perhaps the most frightening aspect of the likes of a Sam Day is the fatal naivete demonstrated. Unfortunately, while American school children may be able to influence and change the course of their government, the same cannot be said of the Russian children. Something far worse than Nazi Germany has now existed for 70 years.

Russian society is a totally new historical phenomenon, a stratocracy — a government directed entirely by military goals and whose only option is ultimately expansion by martial means (witness Afghanistan). The question to be pondered by THE WITNESS is not “if” but “when” the Russians will think they can win World War III.

**The Rev. Winston F. Jensen
Superior, Wisc.**

Day responds

Like missile launch sites, U.S. launch control centers are readily identifiable by Soviet satellites and presumably have been targeted for destruction in the event of nuclear war. The same may be said of missile launch sites and control centers in the Soviet Union. Ordinary Americans (and Soviet residents) are the ones in the dark. Those who stand to lose the most from not knowing the whereabouts

of missiles are the people who live closest to them — including the former Sunday School kids whom the Rev. Winston F. Jensen left behind in the Black Hills.

**Sam Day
Madison, Wisc.**

Quotas not the answer

The sidebar “What you should know about steel” in the May WITNESS suggests that import restrictions should be used to save the U.S. steel industry (“imports robbed the domestic producers . . . further weakening job and income security.”) It is my impression that such restrictions ultimately hurt workers.

For example, they served to raise the price of Japanese subcompact cars by 40% while lining the pockets of Chrysler executives. Quotas also serve to bring our problems back home to workers in other American export industries that suffer retaliatory restrictions.

Don’t quotas ultimately protect a system that is, at its heart, inequitable, often grossly corrupt (as the nearby General Dynamics has recently demonstrated), and blatantly colonial in its exploitation of overseas labor? To me quotas, like the Department of Defense’s decision to continue business as usual with General Dynamics, seem like chauvinistic manipulations of America’s working people.

Instead of quotas shouldn’t we be pushing for things like tax abatements to industries that convert to worker ownership and that shift from economically draining military business to production that is socially and fiscally beneficial to America and the world?

**V. Powell Woodward
Cambridge, Mass.**

(Michael Locker of Locker Associates told THE WITNESS that he could not agree more with the suggestions offered by Powell Woodward in the last paragraph of his letter. But import quotas

have been enforced because the steel industry has to deal with present realities, caused by the glut of steel on the world market:

1) Foreign countries can offer steel at reduced prices because of the low wages they pay to their non-unionized workers. Further, the built-in excess capacity in their plants allows them to export, which in turn helps them to pay for loans they made for the very plants they have built. The world banks have collaborated in this situation, hoping to collect on the loans.

2) The United States is the only steel industry without basic subsidies from its government (Japanese and European markets are subsidized).

3) Since the U.S. market is the highest priced market in the world, steel is “dumped” here. Imports are also favored in currency transactions by the devaluation of the dollar.

Therefore, while import quotas may not be the best way to deal with these problems, the programs suggested by Woodward are difficult to implement in today’s political climate. Meanwhile the U.S. steel industry is collapsing, and quotas supply an immediate remedy. The problem will only be resolved when government, banks, management, consumer and vendors join labor at the bargaining table, where all must make equitable material sacrifices. —Ed.)

New Zealand witness

Thanks for the copy of the request from Richard Peck to print my May WITNESS article in the International Christian Digest.

Thank you too for arranging for copies of THE WITNESS to be available for me at the Episcopal Church Center during my June visit to New York. I duly collected them and places where I have circulated them in New Zealand have commented favorably on the article, the layout and THE WITNESS generally. I even sent a copy to our Prime Minister

who needs all the support he can get with the continuing pressure from the U.S. government.

My time away convinced me of how important our stand is, especially when I heard just how locked in to the nuclear system the Northern Hemisphere is, and I was gratified to learn more of the high level of commitment to peace within church and community groups, of which THE WITNESS is an important part.

The Rev. Richard Randerson
Wellington, N.Z.

Seeks articles for study

I am writing to ask permission to photocopy the articles, "View from a Gay Person's Pew" by Louie Crew and "Enforcing Male Supremacy" by Carter Heyward, both of which appeared in recent editions of THE WITNESS.

I would like to distribute these articles to our National Coordinating Group for background reading and possibly also for more general distribution as an educational resource in the study/dialogue currently happening throughout the United Church of Canada on issues related to sexual orientations, lifestyles and ministry.

David Ewart
Toronto, Canada

Distrusts polls

Betsi Hollants with whom I work on problems of the aged in Mexico has generously shared her copies of THE WITNESS with me. Your magazine has been a great surprise. I used to think of the Episcopal Church in the United States as the one people went to because they would meet the "right" people. I never dreamed Episcopalians would concern themselves with the vital problems of the world, like poverty, racism, sexism, militarism, the economic system!

About that 70% of Americans being for Reagan's bombing expedition of Libya (June editorial) — I don't believe it. Ever since Reagan produced a poll in

Central America just before Congress was to vote on the \$100 million for the Contras, stating that without exception the Central American countries around Nicaragua supported the idea of the Contras and wanted them there, I have become even more skeptical about polls. At the same time I was reading in the papers here that Honduras and Costa Rica were both fed up with the Contra presence and wishing they could get rid of them. Even Guatemala was complaining that they were an unsettling force in the area and why couldn't we get on with the Contadora Peace process.

Heidi Brandt
Tepoztlan, Mexico

Flag day reflections

Today is Flag Day, and I sit here looking at my flag and thinking back to the May WITNESS. I am not surprised that 70% of the citizens of this country supported the bombing of Libya. This administration promotes the use of violence to solve problems. This regime embraces nuclear and conventional weapons with all of the lust of a wino grasping the first drink of the day.

Washington condemns the efforts of the people and government of New Zealand to create a nuclear-free South Pacific and condemns their ban on nuclear weapon-carrying ships in their waters. I can only say, thank you, New Zealand for your nuclear-free position. Yours is a voice of sanity for the United States, whose coat of arms should be the dollar sign and the mushroom cloud.

Jerry A. Boyd
Houston, Tex.

Kudos for DeWitt

Congratulations on Robert L. DeWitt's masterful piece "One pilgrim's progress" in the June WITNESS. In my opinion, it is one of the finest, soundest articles that has appeared in the magazine.

The Rev. William S. Hill
Dexter, Mich.

For women bishops

I am writing in response to the article in the April WITNESS concerning the election of women bishops in the Episcopal Church. I am the daughter of a priest who is a woman. I feel that if we in the United States are willing to ordain women, there is no reason why we should withhold the duties of the episcopate from them. The United States has been a leader in many things throughout our history in which we have set an example for the rest of the world. We should again take the lead in allowing women to become bishops.

Elizabeth Merriam
Austin, Tex.

For simple vestments

When one of our bishops came recently to All Saints parish, Pasadena, for Confirmation, it was refreshing to see him vested in classical Anglican rochet and red convocation gown instead of the ubiquitous cope and mitre.

With few exceptions, elaborate copes, and especially mitres, look somewhat awkward on most of our bishops. Mitres worn at the eyebrows or in a jaunty way at the back of the head present mixed images, particularly if several bishops are lined up side-by-side. The mitre is intended to represent the tongues of flame of Pentecost, but too often it takes on the aspect of an uncomfortable and ill-fitting crown.

If servanthood is to be the chief stance of the Anglican episcopate, then parading in gold and rich cloth projects something quite different: it suggests "upstairs" instead of "downstairs." At a consecration which I attended, the line of consecrating bishops, viewed from the distant location of my seat, looked for all the world like a scene from *The King and I*. If we mean servanthood, let us have our chief leaders in something at least faintly indicative of a servant's garb.

The Rev. Canon Noble L. Owings
Pasadena, Cal.

THE WITNESS

EDITOR

Mary Lou Suhor

SENIOR CONTRIBUTING EDITOR

Robert L. DeWitt

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

Richard W. Gillett

Carter Heyward

James Lewis

Manning Marable

J. Antonio Ramos

STAFF

Ann Hunter

Susan Small

PUBLISHER

Episcopal Church Publishing Company

ECPC BOARD OF DIRECTORS

CHAIR

Kwasi A. Thornell

VICE-CHAIR

J. Antonio Ramos

SECRETARY

Gloria Brown

TREASURER

Carman St. J. Hunter

ASSISTANT TREASURER

Robert N. Eckersley

John H. Burt

Otis Charles

Migdalia DeJesus-Torres

Steven Guerra

William W. Rankin

Chester L. Talton

Chris Weiss

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Barbara C. Harris

THE WITNESS



Table of Contents

6

Cozy nuclear camaraderie

Kevin Bean

9

Toward abolishing torture

Bernard Quick

12

Open Letter to the Presiding Bishop

THE WITNESS Editorial Board

14

Bishop Browning on homosexuality

16

Way of the Cross for persons with aids

Claudia Windal

Credits

Cover graphic by Robert F. McGovern, design by TSI Visuals; graphics pp. 6, 7 Peace Education, Inc.; photos p. 10 courtesy American Christians Against Torture; graphic p. 16, Robert F. McGovern; graphic p. 21, the Rev. William Myrick; photo p. 22 courtesy *The Anglican*, publication of the Diocese of Toronto.

THE WITNESS (ISSN 0197-8896) is published monthly except July/August by The Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Editorial office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler PA 19002. Telephone: (215) 643-7067. THE WITNESS is indexed in the American Theological Library Association's *Religion Index One: Periodicals*. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI, reproduces this publication in microform: microfich and 16 mm or 35 mm film. Printed in U.S.A. Copyright 1986. SUBSCRIPTIONS: \$15 per year, \$1.50 per copy. CHANGE OF ADDRESS: Please advise of changes at least 6 weeks in advance. Include your label from the magazine and send to: Subscription Dept., THE WITNESS, P.O. Box 359, Ambler PA 19002.

Nuclear war greatest polluter

by H. Coleman McGehee, Jr.

(Our guest editorial this month is by the Rt. Rev. H. Coleman McGehee, Jr., Bishop of Michigan and former Chair of the Board of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.)

On September 19, 1980, a worker dropped a monkey wrench in a silo containing a nuclear weapon located near Damascus, producing a large explosion. The nuclear weapon was an American one, a Titan II. This Damascus was not in Syria, but in Arkansas, U.S.A.

The citizens living nearby were anxious to find out whether any radiation had been released, and if so, what kind of health hazard it represented. The military arm of our government, you may remember, took the incredible position that it would neither confirm nor deny the reports that a nuclear explosion had occurred, nor that there was any danger of radiation fallout. Shades of the recent Chernobyl incident in the Soviet Union.

Richard A. Falk, a Professor of International Law at Princeton University, has stated the following thesis many times in the last five years. We should take note. "The

existence of nuclear weapons even without any occurrence of nuclear war, interferes with democratic governance in fundamental ways . . . we do not have to wait for Armageddon to begin paying the price . . . for a system of international security constructed around the central imagery of nuclear deterrence."

In other words, the United States with respect to our nuclear weaponry has established national security which threatens our democratic ways. This national security system has eroded the role of the judiciary and impaired the role of Congress. The basic constitutional doctrine of separation of power between the executive on the one hand and Congress and the judiciary on the other ("checks and balances"), has less force today in this regard than it did prior to the end of World War II.

Professor Falk has issued a warning when he writes: "The

insistence of our government that our national security dictates the necessity of secrecy about our nuclear weaponry is underscored by its equal insistence that no patriotic citizen should challenge the authority of government to engage fully in the (escalating) weapons race."

The present administration has asserted a governmental right of official secrecy and surveillance likened unto a "state of war" in order to protect our national security. Making a "permanent" state of war an institution of our government is nothing less than shredding democratic governance, and tearing the fabric of democratic institutions in a manner never before contemplated.

In a real sense it comes down to this. We should be as concerned with the existence of nuclear weaponry as we are with the possibility of nuclear war or a nuclear incident. ■

Connecticut: Arsenal of U.S.

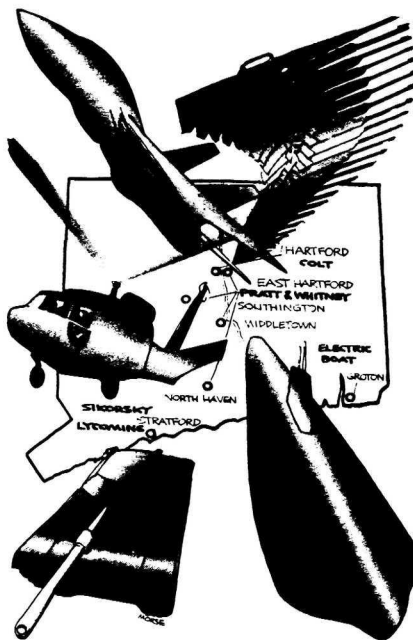
Connecticut — dubbed “the arsenal of the United States” — has been the most defense-dependent state in the country for some time now, as measured in defense contract dollars spent per state resident. Approximately \$1,730 for each person living in the state was spent for prime defense contracts in 1984. This figure is three times higher than the national average of per capita defense spending. The accompanying case study shows that this is no accident.

Connecticut weapons purchased by Pentagon dollars buy three basic types of weapons: 1) nuclear weapons systems, including production of Trident submarines, nuclear warhead components, parts of the B-1 B bomber; 2) dual capable aircraft and submarines, including production of the SSN-688 fast attack subs and engines and parts for F-16, F-15, F-14 aircraft; 3) non-nuclear conventional weapons, including helicopters, tank engines, aircraft engines and parts, half for the U.S. and half for foreign governments.

Many citizens believe that military spending has been and continues to be good for jobs and economy. The reality is that thousands of defense workers have lost their jobs in recent years despite the increase in military contracts.

Capital intense military production is more and more dependent on high technology, with less need for manpower. Even if Connecticut military contractors get all the increased awards included in President Reagan's proposed 1986 budget, they do not expect to hire a substantial number of new workers. Military spending creates work for the highly skilled but not for the unskilled and poor in the cities, one-industry towns, and rural areas. Hartford, New Haven and Bridgeport are the fourth, seventh, and 25th poorest cities in the nation, measured by the percentage of their population who live at or below the Federal poverty line.

Further, manufacturers of consumer and producer goods who need both skilled and unskilled workers are discouraged from locating near defense plants — often near Connecticut's largest and poorest cities — because they cannot compete for talent with weapons manufacturers who pay top dollar, but hire only skilled workers.



Actually, military spending costs jobs. A recent report by the Congressional Budget office showed that for every \$1 billion of military spending, at least 4,000 more jobs could be created by the same investment in civilian sector production.

Connecticut — as well as other states in the nation — needs a planning process for developing alternative uses of workforces and facilities in advance of changes in policies which may shut or slow down work at particular work sites. A number of people have already become involved in such a planning process — called alternative use planning. It is a method for retaining old and creating new jobs, as well as creating new uses for industrial plants.

Further information about economic conversion and developing industrial alternatives is available from Economic Conversion Task Force, Box 3128, Darien, CT 06820.

(Data quoted from *More Jobs, More Security*, a peace education pamphlet by Marta Daniels and Kevin Bean, available at address above for \$1.)

Cozy nuclear

“We’re merely doing what our customers ask us. If you don’t like that, change the government. Don’t bring it up at the annual meeting.”

— Harry J. Gray, Chairman
United Technologies Corporation
Annual Board Meeting 4/28/86

Harry Gray's recent response to shareholders who proposed a resolution seeking a detailed report of United Technologies Corporation's work on the Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars) is a prime example of the artful dodging of moral responsibility going on around the arms race.

UTC cedes to the government the moral responsibility concerning the type of economic activity in which UTC will engage — as do other corporations. Surely, UTC has made no critical effort to condemn the arms race. And it claims to make no effort to influence fundamental U.S. defense or foreign policy.

In fact, however, some of its paid ads have touted the “Peace Through Strength” message which so distorts the present equivalence of U.S. and Soviet forces, and neglects the de-stabilizing reality of new warfighting techniques such as the SDI. Yet in Harry Gray's words, it is not the duty of a company like UTC to consider the government's policy.

This highlights the issue of complicity in the arms race, and the need for exercising moral responsibility both at the individual and the corporate level, as well as at the national level.

The Rev. Kevin Bean is associate rector of St. Luke's Episcopal Church, Darien, Conn., and chair of the Economic Conversion Task Force of the Connecticut Campaign for a US-USSR Nuclear Arms Freeze.

Copyright 2020. Archives of the Episcopal Church / DFMS. Permission required for reuse and publication.

by Kevin Bean

UTC's willing abdication of its corporate moral responsibility is perhaps better understood when its relationship with the government and the Pentagon in the military-industrial complex is more closely scrutinized. Not only did UTC receive government procured after-tax profits of approximately \$800 million from 1981-85 while serving the public interest as one of the eight largest military contractors, it has also maintained a cozy, even incestuous relationship with the government and Pentagon — a relationship which has been sustained even through the spare parts pricing controversy, the “great engine wars” with General Electric, engine faults controversies and others.

UTC is among the top six corporate Political Action Committees (PAC) favoring with its contributions congressional members of Armed Services, Defense Appropriations, and Science and Technology committees and subcommittees. In 1979-80 the PAC gave \$140,000; in 1981-82 it gave \$204,000; in 1982-83, \$285,280; and in the first two months of this year alone, \$123,500 to congressional candidates, according to the Federal Election Commission. UTC has favored Republican candidates three to two over Democrats, and almost 40% of its total PAC giving has been to voting members of defense committees.

As Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole (R/Kans.) observed, "When these Policy Action Committees give money, they expect something in return other than good government."

UTC's Washington office is considered to be one of the most effective and sophisticated corporate lobbying centers. Headed by Clark MacGregor, the office

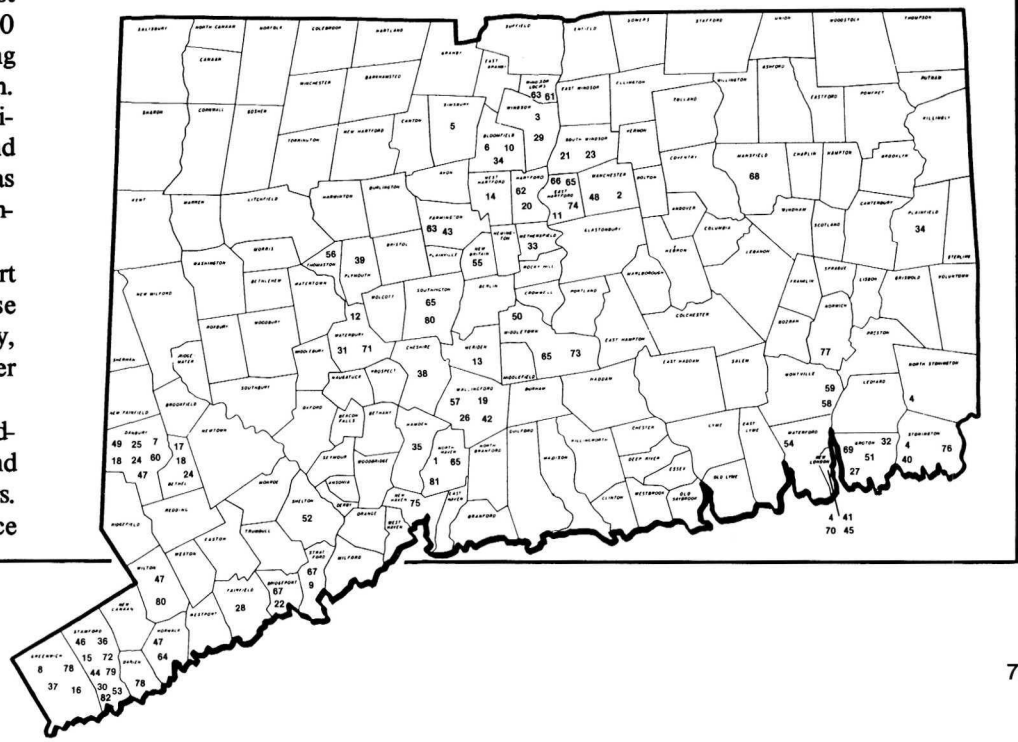
employs 41 professionals. MacGregor, a former Republican representative from Minnesota, was Richard Nixon's 1972 re-election campaign chairman, and has been described as "the prototypical Washington insider" by the *Wall Street Journal*. MacGregor directs the firm's PAC and is the principal adviser for the U.S. Chamber of Commerce PAC as well. His assistant, Hugh Witt, spent 18 years in the Defense Department before founding the Office of Federal Procurement Policy at the Office of Management and Budget. UTC also employs three outside lobbying firms to assist in its Washington efforts, two of which are

run by former members of Congress who were among UTC's major recipients of PAC money, according to the Investor Responsibility Research Center.

UTC has had several significant victories in recent Congresses as a result of these lobbying resources — such as the Army and Navy heavy-life helicopter programs in 1978, the Awacs sale to Saudi Arabia in 1981, and the engine cooperation with General Electric in 1984. UTC, has provided policymakers with information that the company believes is important; and even more so, it has fought hard in Washington for using its products in military systems, once the

Nuclear Connecticut

Numbers designate companies involved in nuclear weapons systems research, development, testing, evaluation, production, deployment, operations, maintenance, and corporate headquarters of nuclear weapons manufacturers. UTC is designated by numbers 62-67. Full code available from Peace Education Inc.; 55 Van Dyke Ave., Hartford, CT 06106. Also available: Space weapons and conventional weapons maps of Connecticut.



broader decision to produce these systems has been made.

UTC's PAC contributions and lobbying efforts have gone proportionately in the direction of key members of defense committees as well as to members of the Connecticut and California districts where it operates large plants. Many more members of Congress have been influenced by other intentional contracting and subcontracting which has gone to the company's plants in Maine and Florida and vendors in other locations — along with PAC donations and direct lobbying — according to former UTC President Robert Carlson.

Finally, interchange of personnel has been significant. UTC hired 68 mid- to high-level Defense Department employees, and three UTC employees moved to mid- to high-level positions in the Pentagon in the period 1977-81. A comparable interchange occurred in the years 1982-86.

The most famous beneficiary of the revolving door between the government and defense industry is Alexander Haig. Haig became President and Chief Executive Officer of UTC in 1980, after serving as Deputy Assistant to President Nixon for National Security Affairs, White House Chief of Staff, and Supreme Allied Commander in Europe. In 1981, he left UTC to become Secretary of State, only to return after his exit from the government in 1982 to become a consultant to UTC on domestic and foreign business policies.

Other noted former military officials now at UTC include Vice President William J. Evans, formerly Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Air Force in Europe, and Eugene V. McAuliffe, previously an Assistant Secretary of Defense and now president of UTC-Europe.

So when UTC cedes its corporate moral responsibility to the government, it might be considered to be yielding to its former self.

UTC is not alone in this cozy camaraderie; hundreds of other firms have similar relationships.

Individual citizens are not without blame. Those who choose to work for UTC abdicate moral responsibility to the corporation. Yet, in Connecticut, where UTC is the largest employer, there are few visible job alternatives for people whose bread and butter come from Pentagon dollars. That will remain a problem which all citizens must address as we seek arms control and feasible economic alternatives for defense-dependent firms, workforces and communities.

William Winpisinger refers to the vice-like grip in which the military-industrial complex holds workers as "job blackmail." He says: "Each time the military budget, or weapon system such as the MX missile, B-1 bomber or Star Wars comes before Congress — the Secretary of Defense, military contractors and affected members of congress and senators — all are certain to argue that we must spend the money or build the weapon because it means jobs, jobs, jobs. We call it job blackmail. We're treated as if we are interested only in our own economic existence, incapable of contributing to the dialogue of disarmament, ending the arms race, and to peace . . . I've never met a worker making weapons to kill and overkill who wouldn't rather be making implements of peace and prosperity."

And Douglas Fraser, former president of the United Auto Workers, has stated "it is not mere rhetoric to say that the very survival of our planet may depend on this nation's ability to reach judgments about arms limitation proposals on their own merit, apart from considerations of economic impact and self-interest. A meaningful and effective conversion program is a vital step toward creation of such a climate in the United States."

Beyond that, however, is the fact that

there are no "pure" commodities in an interdependent economy such as ours, so that no one can claim a moral purity above and against others whose direct incomes come from the military-industrial complex. We are all complicit and responsible, and these are basic starting points.

Mark Levy has written a poem to all the rest of us who do not work for, or invest directly in, United Technologies:

Who builds the H-bomb?

"Not I," says the miner. "I work underground. I really don't see where the ore is all bound."

"Not I," says the foreman at the enrichment plant. "We build no bombs here. We don't. We can't."

"Not I," says the metallurgist inside his shop. "We build the triggers, but that's where we stop."

"Not I," says the worker at the assembly line. "I weld and I solder. The blame is not mine."

"Not I," says the sergeant in charge of maneuvers. "They're already made when we test them. Disprove us."

"Not I," says the bombardier. "Not up in the air. My job is to fly and then drop them with care."

"Not I," says the taxpayer. "Don't look at me! I've no choice but to pay. Now don't you agree?"

"Not I," says the senator. "That you can quote! I'm only elected because of your vote."

"Not I," says the banker. "And I cannot stop it. So what is so wrong about making a profit?"

"Not I," says the physicist. "I just do research. Science is objective. I belong to a church."

"Not I," says the preacher. "It's all in God's hands. It's one of those things only He understands."

"Not I," says the Lord. "I gave you free will. Destroy my Creation, yourselves you will kill!"

Who builds the H-bomb?
It must be someone, and I have a feeling
it's everyone. All of us build it.
Yes all of us do. If you stop for me, then
I'll stop for you.

Toward abolishing torture

by Bernard Quick

It was the end of a hot, dusty day on Oct. 12, 1976. The screams of two women pierced the early evening stillness of Ribeirão Bonito, a small village in the rural outback of Mato Grosso province in Brazil. They were being tortured in the small jail so they would reveal the whereabouts of Jovino Barbosa, their brother and father-in-law. He had killed a policeman, a known torturer, who had arrested his two sons. The women had been chained to the wall without food or water. The torturers jabbed needles under Margarida Barbosa's fingernails and breasts while forcing her to kneel on soda bottle caps with arms outstretched, a pistol at each ear. The daughter-in-law, who had delivered a baby two weeks before, had been repeatedly raped by three policemen and two ranch foremen.

Hearing the cries of the women, a young teacher rushed to the parish house where the diocesan bishop Dom Pedro Casaldaliga, was staying having come to the village to conduct a baptismal service. The young man implored the bishop to intervene on behalf of these innocent victims. Bishop Casaldaliga knew

of the suffering the people had experienced from 1972 to 1976. Over 500 Indians and families with small farms in the area were deprived by wealthy landowners of lands they had cleared and villages they had built, with the military looking the other way. When the victims protested to the authorities, they were arrested, their homes were burned and many were tortured. Across the years Bishop Casaldaliga had been an outspoken advocate for their human rights, and he felt called to intervene.

"Dom Pedro," the young teacher insisted, "let me go with you!" The bishop declined, realizing that the young man would be a target of the police after the incident was over.

A Jesuit, the Rev. João Bosco Burnier, was accompanying the bishop on his way back to his parish where he had seen dehumanization of the Indians in his area many times. When he heard the plight of the women, he stepped forward and said, "I will go with you." For many years he had lived in solidarity with the Indians in their struggle to survive the brutal power of the big landowners. Surely Father Burnier would be safe, thought Bishop Casaldaliga. He isn't a part of the parish team. And two voices will have more effect than one.

In the dim light of dusk the two men walked the short distance in the dusty road to the small, stucco jail. When they

arrived they were unable to get an answer to their "hello." But in a few minutes a truck drove up with three policemen in it. The two men walked through the gate and were confronted by the police, who obviously resented the intrusion of their jurisdiction by two clergymen. The air was explosive. The bishop tried to speak calmly in behalf of the two women who were being tortured. The police insulted and abused the two clerics calling them "commies." The bishop pleaded, "What you are doing to those women is not worthy of the uniform you wear. I protest in their name and in the name of the Gospel." One of the men raised his pistol and told the two men to get out.

Father Burnier stepped forward and said, "We are going to report you to your superiors!" The policeman sneered, "Our superiors are miles away, commie!" "I will be going through Cuiabá on my way home." Father Burnier answered, "I guarantee you that I will report your arbitrary actions to your superiors." In an instant the officer slapped the priest on the face and then, as he moved back, hit him on the right cheek with the butt of his pistol. The gun went off and Father Burnier slumped to the ground, blood gushing from under his right ear.

They were able to get him to a hospital by plane the next day but he died on the operating table. His last words were Jesus's words from the cross: "Consum-

The Rev. Bernard E. Quick, a former United Presbyterian minister in Egypt, recently returned from travel in Costa Rica and Nicaragua under the auspices of EPICA's North/South dialogue program.



Inset: Joao Bosco Burnier, a Jesuit priest killed by police when he protested the torturing of two jailed Brazilian women. **Large photo** shows the jail after it was destroyed by natives of the area with their bare hands, sticks and axes. They had planted a memorial cross, left, where the priest had been murdered.

matum est" . . . "It is finished." He offered his life as a sacrifice for the Indians he had come to serve.

According to the local tradition of the people, a cross is erected on the spot where someone has died a violent death. After a mass was celebrated in honor of Father Burnier, the people marched in procession to the police station.

When they reached the courtyard, they planted a cross on the spot where the murder occurred. In the intense fervor of the moment they rushed to the building and literally demolished it with their bare hands, sticks, and axes which some had retrieved from their homes. One year later the people held a festival in his honor and dedicated a new church which they had built themselves.

The experience of the Ribeirão Bonito community is not an isolated event. In Brazil and throughout Central and South

America, people have been suffering the violence of landowners and multinationals for decades. Violence is a growing reality among the nations of the world, including the socialist states. Torture is usually a strategy employed by those in power as a brutal form of intimidating the weak and powerless. According to Amnesty International, it is practiced in over one third of all nations.

This was certainly true in Brazil under military rule in the years between 1964-79. It has been documented by a book published in Brazil in 1985. *Brasil: Nunca Mais* (*Brazil: Never again*). This is a comprehensive documentary on institutionalized torture committed by the military and local police when the military was in control of Brazil. It was the best selling non-fiction book in Brazilian publishing history. An English version, titled *Torture in Brazil*, is scheduled to

appear Sept. 26 (Vintage Books).

Brasil: Nunca Mais is the result of a clandestine work carried out by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Sao Paulo with the cooperation and support of the World Council of Churches over a period of nearly six years, beginning in 1979.

Jaime Wright, Brazilian Presbyterian minister and a coordinator of the project which produced the book, said that "the military establishment had been using the accusation of *revanchismo* or revenge to intimidate civilian efforts to bring those responsible for the 1964-79 repression to justice, as happened in Argentina. The irrefutable objective documentation of the book has virtually buried this accusation, making it clear that seeking justice for those who committed crimes against humanity is a far cry from *revanchismo* — a desire to torture the torturers."

The period of repression, Wright pointed out, marked the first time in Brazil's 486-year-old history that documentation from a given repressive period was not only not destroyed, but also made available to the general public. Historians say they know of no parallel in any country where repression has taken place at the initiative of a dictatorial government.

Similar projects in other countries have no access at all to official military documents and have to rely entirely on testimonies from victims, their friends and relatives and human rights organizations.

Brasil: Nunca Mais released a list of 444 torturers. 234 were members of the civilian police. The remaining 210 were military men of various ranks, including General Octavio de Aguiar Medeiros, chief of the National Intelligence Service from 1979-85.

In the transition from military rule to a civilian government, Brazil's politicians agreed with the military not to mention the human rights violations of the former

regime during the elections. After the inauguration of a new civilian government in 1979, an amnesty law was passed for those who had engaged in torture and other human rights abuses. In contrast with Argentina where a former president and an admiral were given life imprisonment for their part in the "dirty war" disappearances and killings between 1976-1982, the military in Brazil are being exonerated. This doesn't bode well for the success of democracy in Brazil if such injustice and the abuse of human rights can be dismissed with a wink.

Because of the amnesty law there is little chance that torturers in the military will be removed from their posts and many civilian police are still engaged in the practice.

The human rights issue remains unsolved in Brazil. This, in turn, raises the fundamental question of whether the military will be controlled by the civilian government or not. If the elected administration of this government cannot impose controls on the military to curtail human rights abuses, it will be very difficult for democracy to co-exist with the most powerful arm of the government beyond the control of its citizens.

Torture in any form is one of the most serious human rights abuses practiced in the world today. It is even more heinous when it is the policy of a government to maintain control over its citizenry by intimidation or fear.

On Dec. 10, 1984 the United Nations Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment was passed by a unanimous vote. The United States indicated its support for this convention by voting for it yet when 21 nations came together to sign the convention on Feb. 4, 1985, the United States was not among them. Nor have we been among the 23 countries which have signed it since then — including Brazil.

As the church throughout the world becomes the champion of the poor, the

marginalized and those who are victims of torture, it will be persecuted.

The church in the United States, where these kinds of human rights abuses are relatively rare, can be in solidarity with the victims of torture in Latin America and other parts of the Third World. As the World Council of Churches put it, "Torture breeds in the dark, in silence. We call upon the churches . . . to break the silence."

In order to urge our government to act on its vote for the UN Convention against Torture . . . leaders of 11 churches, including the Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church, Edmond Lee Browning, signed an Open Letter to President Ronald Reagan and sent it to him on Good Friday, 1986.

Among other things, this letter said, "On this day we as Christians feel an awesome responsibility to speak out against torture. By his willingness to submit to death by a particularly heinous form of torture, our Lord entered into solidarity with all those who in any age are tortured. When they suffer, he continues to suffer. As his followers, we cannot be silent when we confront this loathsome inhumanity, for the torture of one is the suffering of all. In seeking to be faithful to the Crucified One, we know ourselves summoned to a continuing defense of human dignity by affirming in word and action that those created in God's image may not be treated with such malice."

On April 10 the State Department answered the Open Letter saying, in part, "The Open Letter points out that the United States was not among the 21 nations which came together to sign the convention on Feb. 4, 1985, nor is it among the 25 which have signed the convention since then. We have tried to learn from the problems we encountered trying to obtain Senate advice and consent to the Genocide Convention . . . We anticipate moving forward on this

issue in the near future, and we welcome the support and encouragement of organizations and individuals concerned about eliminating the occurrence of torture."

On Oct. 12, the organization called *American Christians for the Abolition of Torture*, is commemorating the 10th anniversary of the martyrdom of João Bosco Burnier in Ribeirão Bonito, Brazil.

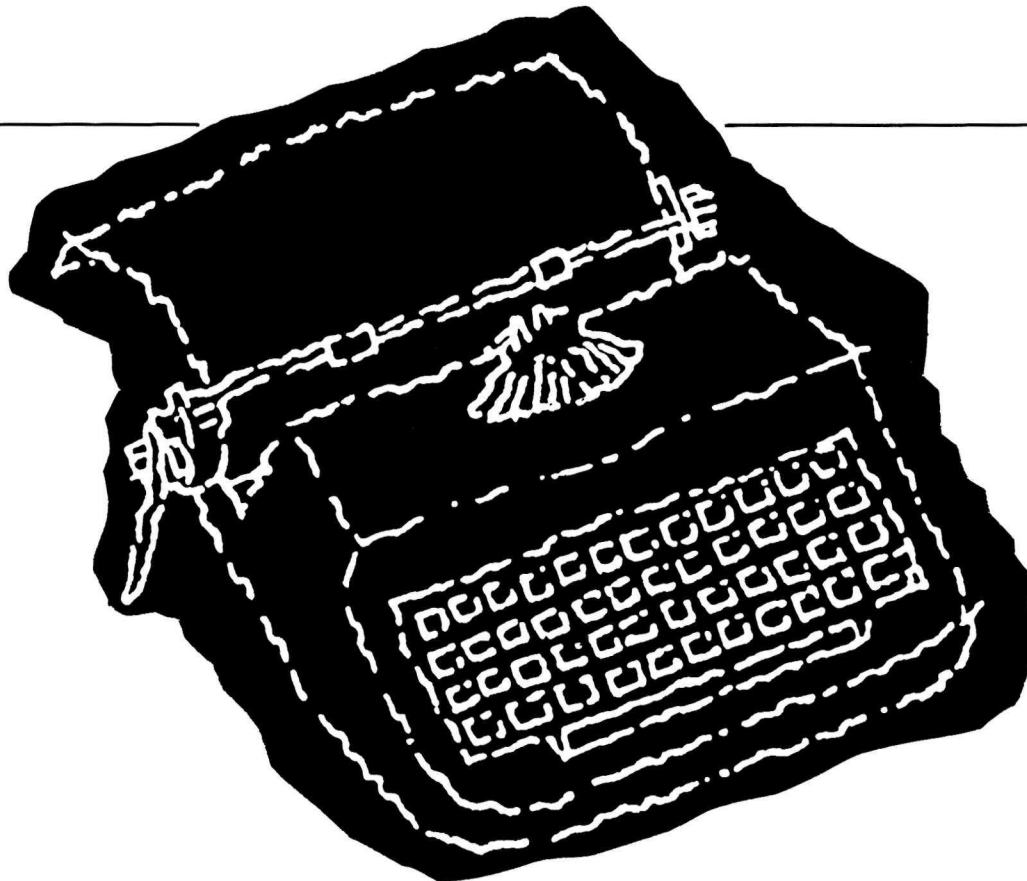
It is calling all Christians and churches to join the fight against torture and to defend human dignity, seek laws against arbitrary government behavior, minister to those who are the victims of torture, endeavor to remove the root causes of torture, and intercede, as Father Burnier did, before governments on behalf of those being maltreated. Let us "break the silence" of the churches.

Resources

Amnesty International USA, 322 8th Avenue, New York, NY 10001. About 50,000 people belong to the Urgent Action Network worldwide, 5,000 of whom are Americans. Surveys show that 40 to 45% of prisoners are either released or treated better when the Network is mobilized on their behalf. Amnesty membership, \$15.

American Christians for the Abolition of Torture, 6117 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19144 (215-849-7450). An ecumenical movement for human rights. Preparing bulletin inserts, background literature and sermon notes on the martyrdom of Joao Bosco Burnier, asking Christians to commit themselves to fight the growing use of torture throughout the world. Packet \$5.

Torture in Brazil, English translation of the best selling Brazil publication, *Brasil: Nunca Mais*, the most comprehensive account of torture in the period of military rule ever made public in Brazil. Raises the question of what should happen to the torturers who played a key part in the repressive machinery designed by the military to protect "national security." Vintage Books/Random House \$9.95. Available Sept. 26.



Open letter to the Presiding Bishop

Continuing concern for the rights of gay men and lesbians in the Episcopal Church motivated the Editorial Board of THE WITNESS to write to Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning recently, urging him "to encourage bishops to accept, ordain and employ persons who are qualified, irrespective of their sexual preference."

THE WITNESS pointed out that "sexual preference, be it heterosexual or homosexual, can lead to expressions of fear and faithlessness or of love and faithfulness. The difference

lies not in sexual orientation, but in the moral commitments of the individuals involved. Over the centuries, up to and including today, countless ordained homosexual persons have served God faithfully and honorably. The church is greatly in their debt."

Bishop Browning's pastoral response included an explanation of his vote opposing legislation at the 1979 General Convention which prohibits ordination of practicing homosexuals. He cited the duties of the Diocesan Commission on

Ministry as outlined in Title III of the church Canons as the rationale behind his vote. Bishop Browning said, "I believe that these Canons give ample guidance to an ordination process that encourages all parties to seek God's call and will, and that should not be encumbered. I continue to hold that position."

The exchange of correspondence follows.

THE WITNESS urges readers to enter the dialogue as the Presiding Bishop suggests. Please let us hear from you.

THE WITNESS

P.O. Box 359 ■ 119 East Butler Pike, Ambler, PA 19002 (215) 643-7067

An Open Letter to the Presiding Bishop

The Most Rev. Edmond L. Browning
Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church
815 Second Ave.
New York, N.Y. 10017

Dear Bishop Browning,

As you may be aware, the Rev. Zal Sherwood, a parish priest, and Anne Gilson, a postulant for Holy Orders, recently have been stripped of their ecclesiastical standings in the Episcopal Church because they revealed in THE WITNESS that they are gay/lesbian. This is only the latest evidence of a type of ecclesiastical discrimination which is eroding the Episcopal Church's pastoral integrity.

The current stance of many church bodies, including the Episcopal Church -- that it is "forgivable" to be gay provided one does not "practice" one's sexuality -- is both duplicitous and ignorant. Sexual preference, be it heterosexual or homosexual, can lead to expressions of fear and faithlessness, or of love and faithfulness. The difference lies not in sexual orientation, but in the moral commitments of the individuals involved. Over the centuries, up to and including today, countless ordained homosexual persons have served God faithfully and honorably. The Church is greatly in their debt.

The Episcopal Church is again in danger of continuing too long on the wrong side of a fundamental moral issue. For example, Absalom Jones, a Black man, was ordained a priest in the Diocese of Pennsylvania in 1804, but only with the accompanying proviso that his Black church not send a clergyman or deputies to the Convention. Again, a decade ago, women were ordained priests in the Episcopal Church, but their ordination was not recognized by the Church for several years. Indeed, women's ordination still is not recognized as valid and legitimate by some Anglicans. In the cases of both Black and female priests, the Episcopal Church has recognized, only over time, the rightness of such ordained vocations. In both cases, a Spirit-filled reading of the will of God prepared the way for a more faithful position on the part of the Church at large.

It is not the Episcopal Church alone but the Church Ecumenical whose confusion over this moral scandal cries out for leadership. That leadership the Episcopal Church is peculiarly qualified to provide. The House of Bishops at the 1985 General Convention supported a more just resolution concerning the role of homosexual persons in the Church, even though the House of Deputies by a narrow margin failed to concur. This is the repetition of a pattern seen in the issue of the ordination of women, where favorable votes in the House of Bishops anticipated by some years the positive position the Church finally took.

For these reasons, we, the Editorial Board and Staff of THE WITNESS, call upon you, as the Presiding Bishop and Chief Pastor of the Church, to lead the way

in correcting this pastoral scandal. Pursuant to that, we urge you to communicate to all Bishops of the Church the immediate need for a just and humane dealing with gays in the Church, and to encourage the Bishops to accept, ordain and deploy persons who are qualified, irrespective of their sexual preference.

Sincerely,

Editorial Board
THE WITNESS

The Rt. Rev. Robert L. DeWitt
Senior Contributing Editor
Isle au Haut, ME

Samuel H. Day, Jr., Associate, Nukewatch
Promotion Consultant
Madison, WI

The Rev. Richard W. Gillett, Director
Work, Economics and Religion
Los Angeles, CA

The Rev. Carter Heyward
Professor of theology/Episcopal Divinity School
Cambridge, MA

The Rev. E. James Lewis, Director
Coalition for the Homeless
Charleston, WV

Dr. Manning Marable
Professor of sociology/Purdue
W. Lafayette, IND

The Rt. Rev. J. Antonio Ramos, Assoc. Dir.
Latin America & Caribbean
National Council of Churches
New York, N.Y.

Mary Lou Suhor, Editor
THE WITNESS
Ambler, PA

Bishop Browning's response

My Dear Friends:

I am happy to respond to your Open Letter and hope that the publication of our correspondence will lead members of the Episcopal Church into intentional prayer and careful consideration of homosexuality and the attendant issue of the ordination and deployment of homosexuals.

Your letter points to a number of specific instances with which I am not familiar, and about which I know no details. My public comment on them might detract from the larger question you have asked me to address. I will assume that the persons you mention have established pastoral relationships with their bishops, and that all parties are being led into an understanding of God's will for both their individual ministries and that of the

whole church.

It is my experience that little is really understood about homosexuality. There is diverse professional opinion about its genesis, and there are historic myths about the homosexual condition. The persistent lack of real communion on this human condition has fostered mutual distrust between heterosexuals and homosexuals. This distrust has caused separate communities and created walls of misunderstanding. No ghetto is spiritually healthy, and that includes the sexual ghetto.

We cannot ignore nor treat lightly the fact that the church has understood and taught that marriage is the norm of sexual expression. Roger Shinn, the noted Protestant theologian, has stated it suc-

cinctly: "The Christian tradition over the centuries has affirmed the heterosexual, monogamous, faithful marital union as normative for the divinely given meaning of the intimate sexual relationship." In the New Testament selected passages seem to pass judgment on homosexual actions and relationships. I am well aware of those who are ready and armed with these proof texts when discussing this subject. There are many within our Anglican tradition, as well as the other Christian traditions, who can speak with authority on the biblical and theological aspects of homosexuality. There are many exegetical approaches and conclusions about the total witness of Holy Scripture on this subject. I hear you asking me for a pastoral response.

First, I believe that no one should stand between a person and our Lord Jesus. I have tried to establish a pastoral ministry which brings people to Jesus. It is in relationship to Jesus that we find our true selves and know God's will for us. The Christian must be careful not to call into question another's faith by prejudicial harshness. It is our apostolic ministry of compassion which fosters relationship with God through the love and forgiveness of Jesus.

Second, I believe that the church must foster reconciliation. Through word and sacrament, the church can be a loving and reconciling force in the world. Every human being needs love and reconciliation. We must never assume that any one of us is without sin or above the need for penance and reconciliation.

Third, I believe that Jesus' sacrifice for our sins put our guilt and self-rejection

within the healing presence of hope and grace. My vision of our church is that of a community where love and grace abound.

The church is well aware of my participation in the statement of conscience in response to the resolution concerning the ordination of homosexuals which was passed at the 1979 General Convention. Few, however, have heard all my reasons for opposing the legislation adopted. I have been consistently on record in the House of Bishops opposing those attempts to constrict the established canonical processes granted to the dioceses. In the matter before the General Convention in 1979, I believed that the freedom of the Diocesan Commissions on Ministry was being circumscribed. The duties of the Diocesan Commission and the Bishop are clearly outlined in Title III of the Canons. I believe that these canons give ample guidance to an

ordination process that encourages all parties to seek God's call and will, and that should not be encumbered. I continue to hold to that position.

I look forward to growing more conversant with this issue, and I encourage the Episcopal Church to gain a greater perspective on homosexuality and to explode and transcend the myths and phobias which impede our common life.

I welcome this opportunity to share these thoughts with you. I hope that they will contribute to a reasoned reflection and discussion within our church. I do not believe the issue will be resolved quickly, but I pray that the process ahead will be conducted with the awareness that it is done in the presence of our blessed Lord.

**Faithfully yours,
Edmond Lee Browning
Presiding Bishop**

Care and prayer

The Supreme Court's recent decision affirming the right of states to criminalize private homosexual acts now leaves gay men and lesbians especially vulnerable in a hostile political climate. Twenty-five states carry anti-sodomy laws carrying prison sentences, some as high as 20 years. The following prayer, published by the Gay Christian Movement of England, is especially significant today as it calls its members to pray for homosexual persons "throughout the world, especially those facing hatred, injustice or imprisonment."

God, whose love and compassion extends to all
without distinction of sex or sexuality
We offer you our lives and experiences
as gay men and lesbian women

Help us to play our special part in your work
of redeeming love for all people

Give us strength to carry your love into a world
that may reject or ignore us

May we journey with Christ in faith and truth and justice
trusting in your eternal love

We remember in prayer—

The church—that your concern for love, justice and freedom
may be honoured by the community of faith

Lesbians and gay men throughout the world, especially
those facing hatred, injustice or imprisonment
the lonely, isolated and confused
the poor and hungry
the elderly, the sick and the bereaved

that they may know themselves to be acceptable and accepted

Those we love, especially our partners, our parents
our families and friends that our love may
be a reflection of yours

Those who seek to hurt us, that their hearts may be changed

Ourselves—that we may be ready to respond in love to the
needs of our gay brothers and sisters and all your creation

Lord in your mercy
Hear our prayer.



Station IX/Robert F. McGovern

The Way of the Cross for persons with AIDS

by Claudia Windal

The Rev. Claudia Windal is rector of Emmanuel Episcopal Church, Alexandria, Minn. and a member of the Bishop's Advisory Commission on AIDS. She wrote this piece after attending the National Episcopal Church Conference on AIDS earlier this year.

***J**esus, I look at you as you move through this time of trial and I realize the similarity of our situations. I will accompany you on this journey and I ask you to be with me and help me learn your way that I may make it mine as well.*

I

Jesus is condemned to die

Jesus, in deepest humiliation you remained silent. Help me to so bear my humiliation of derogatory name calling, of my failing body, mind, and spirit, and of my need for assistance with the most simple and private tasks. In silence let me know strength.

II

Jesus takes up the cross

You calmly opened your arms to embrace the cross. Help me put aside the angry words and the questions of "Why me?" and "But I'm too young to die," and in so doing utter, "Your will be done" and embrace my cross.

III

Jesus falls the first time

Jesus, you stumbled under the weight of the cross, yet regained your composure and without complaint continued the journey. How I feel the weight of this cross causing me to stop often to rest or to sleep for a while. I often wish this could be the end and yet I struggle to get up to resume my journey. Jesus be with me — your example always before me.

IV

Jesus meets his mother

When it seemed that no one along the way cared, your eyes met those of your mother. Let this remind me not to lose hope . . . that my eyes too will meet those who care and give their love and concern to relieve the suffering, to halt this disease, to educate others; whose eyes say, "I care."

V

Simon takes up the cross of Jesus

Despite his protests, you were filled with love as Simon assisted you in carrying the cross. Fill me with love as doctors and nurses grumble, as social workers become impatient, as friends, lovers, families, show the stress of their efforts to assist me.

VI

Veronica wipes the face of Jesus

Veronica's selfless compassion was rewarded by an imprint of your face on her towel. Help me also to make a lasting imprint on society; not of bitterness and anger, but of calmness and fortitude in these times of peril.

VII

Jesus falls the second time

A second fall and once again you resumed your journey. It's difficult for me to falter, for when I do I enter into increased dependency; I move from self-ambulation, to cane, to walker, to wheelchair, and eventually to total dependence with confinement to bed. Be my example to continue no matter how difficult the way becomes.

VIII

Jesus meets the women of Jerusalem

Jesus, here in your greatest tribulation and suffering, you looked beyond your needs to those of others. I know that I will not be cured but that this disease is preventable. Help me speak to others, Jesus, not so much to tell them my story but to focus on prevention and reduction of the spread of this disease.

IX

Jesus falls the third time

Another fall . . . and so near the end of this long and painful journey. Jesus, keep me from despair as I become aware of further losses; especially my memory. The journey has been long, the end is in sight, and I must not give up here.

X

Jesus is stripped of his garments

Your destination reached, you were cruelly stripped of your clothing. I too, have few possessions left. I have been evicted from my apartment, the hospital wants nothing here that can't be sterilized. I am relegated to a hospital gown that scantily covers me. Help me understand that these possessions are not essential to my salvation; that in your love I have everything.

XI

Jesus is nailed to the cross

Jesus, you were placed on the cross and nailed to it, and still you spoke no harsh words and you uttered no complaints. I feel so helpless. I want to escape and yet I am bound. How easy it is for me to strike out at those nearby; to shout, "How dare you? . . . Why me?" Be my example of silent endurance. Let me ventilate my anger, my fears and anxieties to you, and to one or two close friends as I am certain you did to Almighty God.

XII

Jesus dies on the cross

Even with your last breath you were forgiving, "Forgive them for they know not what they do." Let those be my words also when I hear AIDS jokes which reflect prejudice and lack of concern; as my lover and my friends are kept from my bedside when I need them the most; as I overhear comments about "those" people, and as I wonder if my parents can dismiss their anger and see me one last time. "Forgive them for they know not what they do."

XIII

Jesus is taken down from the cross

Your sacrifice had ended Jesus, and your lifeless body placed in the arms of your mother. Strengthen me with the knowledge that I will not be alone; that I will be placed in your outstretched arms and welcomed.

XIV

Jesus is laid in the tomb

At last, your suffering ended and in three days you rose triumphantly from death promising eternal life to each of us. I am frightened of death, Jesus. There is so much that I had hoped to accomplish and to experience, yet I am comforted in the knowledge that my pain and suffering will come to an end and that I will enter eternal life where sickness, suffering, discrimination, and prejudice will be no more.

America is losing its European friends

by John Harriott

John Harriott, based in London, is a regular columnist for the Canadian Churchman, national newspaper of the Anglican Church of Canada. The following appeared in the June-July issue, and is reproduced with permission.

No event has driven such a sharp wedge between American and European opinion as the bombing of Libya.

In America, it appears, the public greeted the action with enthusiasm and applauded Mr. Reagan en masse. In Europe it aroused widespread anger, bitterness and shame.

As for Mr. Reagan, whose reputation has always been low outside his own country, he is now regarded even by people who previously gave him the benefit of the doubt as the ignorant and dangerous mountebank his critics have always claimed.

No president since the war has been held in such poor esteem. It has been his singular achievement to drain the capital of pro-American sympathy even in the United Kingdom, and to project America as rivalling Soviet Russia in the threat it presents to world peace.

It is a feat which historians will regard with wonderment.

Not all this anti-American sentiment has noble motives. Some stems from an endemic and rather patronizing distaste for American popular culture, some from the same kind of pouter-pigeonish national pride that offends European feelings in its American version.

Immediately, a good deal stems from simple fear that Europe, which has suffered the worst effects of international terrorism, will now suffer much more.

Among what are known locally as the chattering classes, that is people who read and talk about serious matters, there is a more sophisticated anxiety; namely that the American bases and weapons in Europe are to all practical purposes outside the control of the host countries.

A good deal of propaganda in recent years has encouraged the contrary view.

But even Mrs. Thatcher's Conservative diehards are now beginning to look at the American military presence in a less friendly light.

These precise anxieties apart, there is a deeper and more general disquiet about certain characteristics of American society, at least as it is perceived from abroad, which have been high-lighted in a political form during the Reagan administration.

The first is the obsession with military power and weaponry. More and more people begin to doubt whether this has anything to do with Western security, and to wonder whether its real motive is to keep the armaments manufacturers and their scientific and technical back-up operations in business.

To outsiders the insistence on arming far beyond the point of rational necessity is inexplicable.

Or is it, they wonder, a political reflection of the endless TV series where everyone is gun-happy, and shooting 'em up is the answer to every problem. Do American politicians begin to believe their own fictions?

Deeper still is a growing anxiety about the evident ignorance of American politicians and public alike about the outside world.

Mr. Reagan's personal inability to distinguish between countries and continents, and his dim historical sense even for recent events like the Second World War, used to be treated as a joke.

Now they look not funny but alarming, and not just a personal foible but all too typical of American society as a whole.

More Europeans travel to America; and most return shocked by the staggering ignorance of the outside world among the American public, and the equally staggering failure of the Ameri-

can media, with some rare honorable exceptions, to report that world.

They are not alone.

A Canadian broadcaster recently told me that travelling through the Midwest down to Florida and California she repeatedly had to tell the Americans she met where Canada was.

It is a bad business for any populace in a democratic country to be as ignorant as that. When they are the populace of a superpower the implications are hair-raising.

Small wonder that ordinary Americans are so easy to gull, so vulnerable to Mr. Reagan's weird nonsense when he talks of foreign affairs.

Finally, and worst, Mr. Reagan's philosophy of "my country first and last" is seen not only as destructive of the already frail apparatus of international law and of international institutions working for better co-operation and mutual help between states, but destructive of the moral foundations on which the democratic world rests.

Threatening to slap the rest of the world into line may inflate American egos but it reduces international morality to "might is right."

Grossly dishonest propaganda is the trademark not of democracies but of totalitarian states. Callous disregard for the world's poor, hungry and oppressed not only dishonors America but blurs the democracies' sense of moral purpose.

The Reaganites' nastiest legacy has been to cheapen words like freedom, justice, peace and democracy which are the soul of the free world. In the narcissistic world of Reaganite Washington such European perceptions may be thought not to matter. But America needs friends. And it is losing them fast. ■



Reagan's spacey drug solution

When I reflect on some of the vocations I might have tried in life, I guess I'm thankful most of all that I never sought to be a school teacher. I hold great respect, but even greater sympathy, for any stalwart soul in that field who has the temerity to try leading youngsters, or oldsters for that matter, in a classroom discussion of current events, especially on the domestic scene.

Even a cursory glance at any major daily newspaper or a few minutes in front of the TV during the 6 p.m. "news" is enough to boggle the mind.

Case in point: A recent news story with the headline "Reagan joins fight against drugs." Terming drug smugglers and pushers "as dangerous to our national security as any terrorist or foreign dictatorship," the President called for "community-based solutions" to the drug problem. In a speech to a group of service organizations, he declared: "We must make it clear that we are no longer willing to tolerate illegal drugs or the sellers or the users."

White House spokesman Larry Speakes said Reagan was getting more involved in the issue because he believed there was "a major change in (the public) attitude that we must do something about drugs and we must do it now." Where has the President been? Some folks have been crying for a long time for the government to help rid their communities of drugs, but it seems that it is not until someone prominent dies or something like "crack" hits the middle class that those in authority get sufficiently exercised to respond.

If drug smugglers and pushers are a

threat to our national security — which, along with other things, they are — then it would seem that a major responsibility to protect that security lies with the federal government, not with "community-based programs." The President, however, convinced that the best way to eradicate the problem "is to reduce the demand side of the drug equation," proposes to take the "potential user away from drugs in schools, the workplace and athletics." I'm for taking the potential user away from drugs, but I'm more for taking the purveyors of drugs away from the schools, the workplace, etc.

The administration is looking at the possibilities of expanding drug testing through such options as urging private employers to adopt mandatory testing; requiring tests as a condition for sensitive government jobs or all federal employment and requiring military contractors to test employees involved in critical jobs.

Legal and constitutional arguments aside for the moment, mandatory testing would indeed show drug use, but perhaps would be about as effective in reducing drug demand as sex education has been in curbing teen-age pregnancy. Why not make it harder for those on the supply side of the equation to do business as openly and flagrantly as they do — turning poor neighborhoods into virtual war zones as dealers, pushers and others involved in the deathly transactions fight for turf, customers and free access for trade? How about some tougher federal statutes with teeth that carry some stiff mandatory sentences like those meted out to political dissenters? How about

the same kinds of federal sweeps that net thousands of undocumented workers, who are, at least, trying to make an honest living, and haul them off to those remote detention centers to which the INS quickly and quietly whisks innocent political refugees?

Sure their places would be taken by other foot soldiers in the vast drug army, but the replacements should be rounded up as well. This is war! In addition to knocking out the infantry, go after the supply lines and the fat generals who command these troops. But "Ah," as old Will Shakespeare said, "there's the rub." The drug trade could not flourish without the tacit approval and support of law enforcement agencies and other highly placed individuals who stand to benefit financially from the misery drug use and addiction generate.

White House officials indicate that the President's recommendations would not require additional federal spending. Now, I could get excited about the government spending some funds to eliminate this menace to our society as opposed to appropriating my tax money to subsidize killing in Central America or to manufacture unnecessary weapons of war.

Community-based solutions might have more chance of succeeding if community people felt they had some meaningful support from their government and not just lip service as the President joins his wife in a high profile campaign that factors in only one side of the drug equation. ■

Does the church need Black liturgy?

Does the church need Black liturgy? That question, much probed in our inner city parishes, surfaced again recently in *Urban Vision*, a new publication launched by Matthew Lawrence, midwest executive secretary of the Episcopal Urban Caucus.

My response is that we do need Black liturgy — but not just for our Black members. We need some of the principles of Black traditional worship to be incorporated into the liturgical renewal of the whole church.

In the years that I've been attending meetings of the Association of Diocesan Liturgical and Music Commissions, I have seen only one or two Black musicians, and no Black clerics. Apparently few Blacks serve on such commissions except in token membership. In a few of our parishes, choirs have attempted "soul" or "gospel" offerings. The Church Hymnal Corporation in 1981 published *Lift Every Voice and Sing*, subtitled "a collection of Afro-American spirituals and other songs," but it was generously fleshed out with gospel songs from non-Black 19th century Protestant evangelical and social gospel hymns.

The spirituals and Black gospel songs, furthermore, require a special style for their rendition, which cannot be captured in notation in the same way that the more sterile and hackneyed gospel songs of Fanny Crosby, for instance, can be frozen into print, and recognizably reproduced on a piano by almost anyone. Some "oral tradition" may be needed to catch the spirit of Black song. Those who attended

the Episcopal Church Publishing Company's banquet at General Convention heard a rather astonishing illustration of this when Black musicians Deborah Harmon Hines and Dana Rose sang the 18th century music for the 19th century hymn, "Come ye disconsolate." It was "soul," not in source, but in style! This suggests also that there may be considerations of "style" in responding to, "Does the church need Black liturgy?"

Many North American Christians have wondered about another question: How do we apply liberation theology in our situation? One of the ways is to liberate our Sunday mornings from the baroque court ceremonial of another age. Such ritual style does not image for us "the beloved community," but an obsolescent patriarchy and class society.

Baroque and Gothic aren't the only styles of church architecture, nor of ceremonial structure. To retire them is not to abandon structure for slapdash. Remember the difference between extemporaneous and impromptu? Extemporaneous means appropriate to the time and place, but it does not mean unplanned and unprepared. That's impromptu. Black worship, like most organized worship, is planned and prepared, but it is not straitjacketed. The Prayer Book does not intend straitjacketed worship anyway. It's just that some folks find straitjackets easier — especially for maintaining control — than planning and preparation. So straitjackets are enlisted to freeze up the participants and make them manageable. Some people apparently like wearing them, as well, and do so, sometimes under their chasubles.

Black worship may be impromptu, but it rarely is so during scheduled times of

worship. Impromptu worship does indeed have its place — in a street, around a South African consulate or a red-lining realtor's office, in a courtroom or board room — when without prompting, the resources of the community are called into witness and worship. But the Sunday morning event is normally, as the universal notice boards outside ghetto churches announce, an Order of Worship. The order is simply not a straitened or rigid one. Our Prayer Book rubrics are notorious for their own permissiveness, as they should be. The fact that many Episcopalians have opted for some small beer imitations of British court ceremony (for some, Italian basilica ritual) in their interpretation of the rubrics does not make that the only legal way, or even the best way. It's probably the worst way, given the circumstances of our contemporary American urban life, and our current political drift into the imperialism of the British and Roman past.

American Black worship has the heritage of Africa, but it also has the heritage of indigenous American worship. As has been many times remarked, since Dvorak, Black music is the chief gift in the treasury which American music has to share with the world. And there are natural congruences with liturgical worship in the very style of African religion. Its call and response and repetition motifs are similar to those of our Prayer Book worship which demands leader/people dialogue in litanies and suffrages and versicles with their responses (so loathsome to the Puritans who likened them to tennis games!).

There is no need whatever for people to be bound to reading from books in order to participate. Good liturgists do not throw curves at participants, but use

The Rev. Grant M. Gallup is vicar of St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Chicago, Ill.

by Grant Gallup

thoroughly familiar elements — at least, for the peoples' parts — so that everyone is free to celebrate, and not bungle and faffle through the service. Every Episcopalian knows how to respond to "The Lord be with you," just as every Black chorister knows the reply to "Didn't my Lord deliver Daniel?"

Surely one of the central principles of Black worship is the indispensable role of *song*. It is integral to Black religion to *sing*, not only at church services, but in all occasions of prayer, and even in social witness. Worship and witness without song are abnormal in the Black church. "Low mass" is an anomaly. Chicago's retired Suffragan Bishop, Quintin E. Primo Jr. taught thousands of us to sing the table grace at diocesan banquets and breakfasts and to sing a doxology at councils and commission meetings. "Lift ev'ry voice and sing" is the bidding of the Black Christian experience to all of us. We have too long thought it better to lower every voice and mutter, as being more pious.

Mahalia Jackson echoed the words of St. Paul when she said that the yearnings of her people were often expressed in the *moan*, because, she said, the often un-

lettered people had no words for their prayers. Their moan became a song — a spiritual song.

Worship for Black people needs to be as freed up as it should be for everybody else. There needs to be a place for the people's responses: not expecting Black people (or anybody else) to respond as if they were British gentry of 19th century England. All good liturgy — needs to have a preferential option for music: familiar music. This does not mean that nothing new can be used, it means that the music needs planning and practice, and it needs to honor not only what the people know but what they can do, and what they can be challenged to learn, not simply what someone "likes." Choirs have a tendency in all churches to become performers instead of the leaders of the church's musical offering. Preachers have become performers, too.

Another principle of Black worship that needs to be shared more fully with the whole community is its option for inclusiveness. There should be a place for lay people to read the Bible in church, to pray in church, to "deacon" in church, to report to the church on their social justice ministries — to have all their work honored in the community gathering which is "church meeting." Carrying a Bible to church is still a custom amongst many Black churchgoers, as it once was for most Protestants. Everyone needs to be encouraged, and why not encourage Bible-toters to stand up and read the lessons at the ministry of the Word.

It is unfortunate that the clergy co-opt the reading of Bible lessons. (Even the Gospel lesson was stolen from the laity, early on in church history, and ought to be given back.) But it is especially out-

rageous that the clergy co-opt the Prayers of the People, or have them recited by altar assistants, or leave no room for the peoples' prayers. The Prayer Book rubrics do not insist upon the use of set forms. This could be a place for the kind of extemporaneity that encourages the people to pray aloud, for the rubric allows that so long as the bases are covered (prayers for church, nation, world, community, etc.) you've got a ball game.

The prayer leader's task is to move the peoples' prayers gently so that the bases are touched, not to do all their praying for them.

I have never been in a Black church of any variety — from little missionary Baptist storefronts to large and prosperous A.M.E. congregations in great stone edifices, where I was not noticed in my clericals and invited to the pulpit to give greetings, remark upon a Scripture, or to offer prayer. The ecumenical style of Black churches is grassy and rooty. Black churches have been sharing across denominational lines for a long time, and do so easily and comfortably.

Surely another element of a Black liturgical style is that it is somewhat more "laid back" than the militaristic sharp corner punctuality of court ceremony. Why start at 10:30 a.m. and 10 seconds exactly if only half the congregation has arrived? Mussolini made the train runs on time, we are told. As we say on the West Side, "So?" Worship that starts when the people get there is likely to be saying to them, "This is your event," and does not treat them as latecomers to a theater piece, with seating at intermissions only.

Extemporaneity, relaxed style, familiar content, inclusiveness and responsibility spread around, an easy ecumenical flavor, music as the essential vehicle of worship — it is these principles of Black liturgical life that we need to incorporate, and be careful not merely to substitute foot-tapping for genuflecting — and exchange one stereotype for another. ■



Short Takes

SALT position unsavory

We are deeply disturbed by the Reagan administration's announcement that it no longer feels bound by the SALT framework, and that later this fall it intends to exceed the nuclear weapons' limits established by SALT II. This decision reverses a commitment and policy of four previous presidents, and it promises to have a substantially adverse affect on our national security, on relations with our NATO allies, on the stability of the nuclear balance, on relations with the Soviet Union, and on any prospect for future accords with the Soviets on strategic arms.

Why does the President expect that the Soviets will stop their arms control buildup because we increase ours? And how does our rejection of arms control, implicit in this decision, induce the Soviets to negotiate seriously on arms control?

The Rt. Rev. John T. Walker
Bishop of Washington

Quote of note

Love as a substitute for justice is odious, but love as a supplement to justice is an absolute necessity.

Reinhold Niebuhr

Disobedient daughters

Many of us remember the heroines of Exodus 2, when by canny smuggling, the baby Moses became a basket case and the revolution was on. But do you remember the heroines of Exodus 1? Here's the story. The Egyptian king, fearing a slave revolution, ordered the Hebrew midwives Puah and Shiprah to kill all male babies at birth. "But the midwives feared God and did not do as the king of Egypt commanded them, but let the male children live" (Ex. 1:17). When confronted by the king, they explained that the Hebrew women were so vigorous in birthing that they and the babies were gone before the midwives could get there! What we have here is civil disobedience/divine disobedience by women who appeared to be powerless. Their yes to God's command required no to the king's command. They embodied and engender in us today, a spirituality of resistance. A spirituality with biblical integrity must include resistance.

Robert A. Raines
In *The Ridgeleaf* (Kirkridge)



M. Elizabeth Kilbourn

Next shot at bishop

A Canadian woman may be the first female bishop in the Anglican Communion if she wins the election in the Diocese of Toronto Sept. 11. She is the Rev. Elizabeth Kilbourn, above, coordinator of chaplaincy services for the diocese.

Canadian bishops declared recently that "there is no legal or theological impediment to the consecration of women as bishops." U.S. bishops have declared by a 112-31 majority their intention not to withhold consent from a woman priest properly elected to the episcopal office. The Rev. M. Chotard Doll narrowly missed being named a bishop in the Diocese of Washington, D.C. in recent elections.

The Rt. Rev. John S. Spong of the Diocese of Newark said in August that "the full recognition of women as deacons, priests and bishops in all branches of the Episcopal Communion is inevitable. The only question is when, not if."

In a related matter, correspondence between the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury made public recently expressed the Pope's opposition to the ordination of women and suggested that this would create a major barrier to ecumenical relations.

"The record of the Roman Catholic Church on the issue of women in many areas including ordination is not positive," Spong said. "Part of our ecumenical responsibility is to challenge them and expose the stereotypes in which so often they seek to define women."

For prisoner exchange

The American hostages in Lebanon are being held hostage not only by their captors but by a rigid policy. The policy under President Reagan has been no negotiations, no concessions. If the administration were consistent, I could accept that, but it's only being rigid in the case of this particular group of hostages. In the TWA Flight 847 hijacking we quietly worked out an exchange of those hostages for the Lebanese detainees in Israel. Moreover, Israel negotiates and makes deals — exchanges — for its civilians held hostage. Our hawks like to say we're in a war against terrorism. Well, in a war, you exchange prisoners.

Jerry Levin, ex-hostage
Quoted in *ADC Times*

42% of victims children

Especially shocking to me as a pediatrician is this heartrending fact: Nearly half the Contras' victims — 42% — have been children.

The Reagan administration conjures up scary pictures of "Cuban-Soviet expansionism" — when the military intervenor in the region is the U.S. government itself. They never mention the 6200 Nicaraguan children who have been orphaned.

Dr. Benjamin Spock



Rochester Patriot/Cpf

**"Let's divide the earth up
into little squares and sell them."**

Order versus Orders

by J. Antonio Ramos

Twelve years ago, on the Feast of Martha and Mary, I traveled from San Jose, Costa Rica to Philadelphia to join three other bishops, 11 women and many other hundreds in that historic event at the Church of the Advocate — the ordination of the first Episcopal women priests.

For the past dozen years I have reflected repeatedly on that event. Why did I go? Why was I led there? Did we serve God's purposes in obeying our own consciences? Was it proper to give primacy to Grace over Law, to the Orders of the church over the Order of the church?

One thing is now clear in my own mind and in my own conscience. I responded to Bob DeWitt's call and invitation without much hesitation and without much questioning and reasoning. I went there, moved by the Spirit of God, because it was the *right* thing to do in spite of the pain suffered by all of the participants and the church at large.

In spite of the anxiety that the ordinations in Philadelphia unleashed; in spite of the turmoil created in our church and the worldwide Christian community, I am grateful that I went and that we shared in an event whose significance and prophetic nature God and history will judge. For, as Christians we are children of the promise and "for freedom Christ has set us free, not to submit again to a yoke of slavery" (*Gal. 4:1*).

As I reflect again on that event and as I anticipate the next logical step, the ordination of women to the Episcopate, I

am the more convinced that what was then and is at stake now is the primacy of Grace over Law, of Orders over Order.

On July 29, 1974, I disobeyed the established Order of our church for the sake of the Orders of the church. In that sense, those of us who chose to participate in the Philadelphia ordinations, chose to be "children of the promise," chose to be in the company of Jesus, who gave primacy to the person over the Sabbath; in the company of St. Paul in his stubborn actions and deeds as an apostle to the Gentiles; of Martin Luther King, in his day, and Bishop Desmond Tutu, in our day, in their struggle against racism. "For as many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female" (*Gal. 3:27-29*).

When one takes a hard look at the Gospel narratives, it is quite clear that, in his Messianic vocation, Jesus gave primacy to the person over the established traditions of his days, over the laws and the customs which he inherited. And in so doing he gave us an example for our own actions. Because he acted on the principle that "the Sabbath was made for the person and not the person for the Sabbath" (*Mark 3:27*), Jesus was an iconoclast in his own time. He broke down the walls of discrimination and segregation, and inveighed against the insensitivity which denied persons their dignity. Those of us who are baptized in Christ are called upon to do the same.

Is not that the message of the dream which Peter had regarding Cornelius in *Acts 10*, when he later acclaimed: "Truly I perceive that God shows no partiality, but in every nation anyone who fears God and does is acceptable". And that is the fundamental issue in Paul's arguments in the letter to the Romans and

Galatians regarding the requirement of circumcision for the Gentiles.

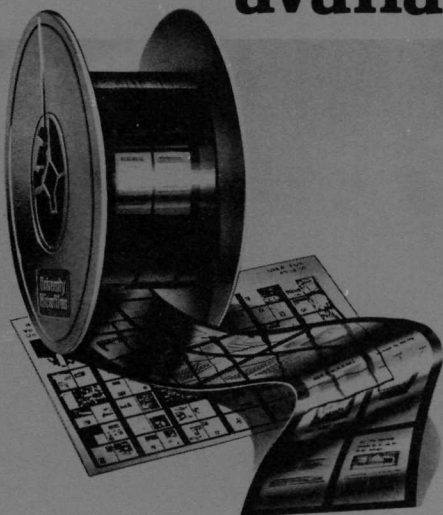
The question before us is: Is maleness a precondition for full ministry in the life of the church? We said *no* then and we say *no* today. Neither is race, nor ethnic considerations, nor social status, for we are children of the promise, and the "Sabbath was made for the person," not vice versa. The law of the land, or the law or canons of the church which become "Sabbaths" and deny persons their inheritance as children of the promise, must be disobeyed in Christ's name. And the Christian community has the moral responsibility to be in the forefront of such struggles. It must be, in its own life, a sign and parable of the kingdom of God.

The issues of race and of "social requirements" are not yet settled in our own days. South Africa clearly speaks to that. The issues of sexuality and maleness are still very much with us even after Philadelphia, in our own Episcopal Church. Gender remains a problem in other parts of the Anglican Communion (for example, in the Church of England which refuses to ordain women or allow women ordained in other member churches to celebrate the Eucharist in England); and in other Christian bodies.

Will a head-on confrontation ensue when the first woman is elected bishop by one of our dioceses? Will maleness be the criterion for the constitutional and canonical consents required? Will that person be denied Episcopacy because of her femaleness? If that be the case, we will be confronted with a "Sabbath" and once again we will be faced with the choice of Order versus Orders in the life of the church. The first woman bishop-elect merits our enthusiastic support. Philadelphia was a traumatic experience. There is no need for another one. ■

The Rt. Rev. J. Antonio Ramos is associate director of the Caribbean and Latin America for the National Council of Churches, former Bishop of Costa Rica, and a contributing editor of *THE WITNESS* magazine.

THE **WITNESS** is available in microform.



University
Microfilms
International

University Microfilms International reproduces this publication in microform: microfiche and 16mm or 35mm film. For information about this publication or any of the more than 13,000 titles we offer, complete and mail the coupon to: University Microfilms International, 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. Call us toll-free for an immediate response: 800-521-3044. Or call collect in Michigan, Alaska and Hawaii: 313-761-4700.

☐ Please send information about these titles:

Name _____

Company/Institution _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Phone () _____

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

NONPROFIT
ORGANIZATION
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
Permit No. 121
North Wales, PA