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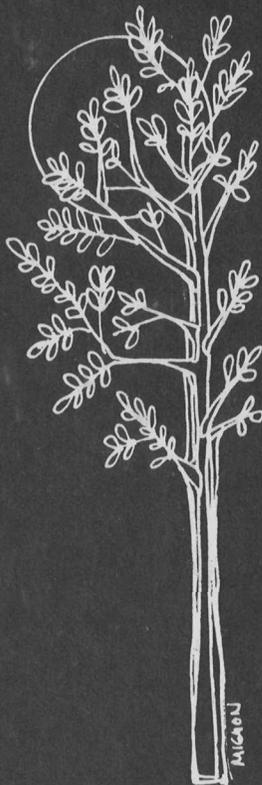
NUMBER • 2

FEBRUARY 1987

THE WITNESS

Reports from abroad

Contra ambush: Lucy Phillips-Edwards
A.N.C. in Zambia: Kwasi Thornell
English bishops: Peter Selby



the
Lord
will
show
the
nations
of the
world
justice.

ISAIAH 62:11

Letters

WITNESS as resource

A special thanks for your excellent November issue on the Soviet Union. As a fellow sojourner on the trip last June, I welcome it as a resource for interpreting the many levels of our experience in the U.S.S.R., and would like to make it available to the groups going to the Soviet Union in 1987 under sponsorship of the National Council of Churches. Please let me know if it would be possible to order 100 copies.

Kathy Todd
NCC Travel Seminar Office
New York, N.Y.

Insights into U.S.S.R.

"God and Mother Russia" is a great issue. The articles provide insight into the Soviet character and raise some of the continuing questions we need to be concerned about as well.

We live in a complex world; so do Soviet citizens. The trouble is that U.S.S.R. complexities are shaped and focused differently than ours, and therefore are more difficult for us to grasp. However, we must continue to make the effort to understand, and the November issue of THE WITNESS will contribute to that task.

I distributed copies to each of the U.S.S.R. seminarians who visited the United States recently, and also gave them copies to take back to the various offices they represented.

The Rev. Don Nead
John T. Connor Center
for U.S.-U.S.S.R. Reconciliation
W. Lafayette, Ind.

Issue affirms dedication

Since my return from the Soviet Union I have shared my impressions with a wide and diverse audience. There's always one person who asks, "But did you see just what they wanted you to

see?" The answer is "No," but sometimes it's hard to be a lone, small voice when surrounded by Rotary Club and Moral Majority folk, among others. Reading the stories of my fellow travelers (if you'll pardon the expression) in your November issue reaffirms my dedication to spreading the news that the Evil Empire may be a different place than we've been led to believe.

I use six minutes of slides of children in the U.S.S.R. in my presentation. I have come to feel close to those little faces and find myself smiling every time I show them. I hope to be able to return in 1988 to sing in the Soviet schools and negotiations are underway now between the Friendship Society in Moscow and the Citizens Exchange Council in New York to make that happen. Meanwhile, I'll work here to try to help our children to get a different picture of the U.S.S.R.

Mary Lu Walker
Corning, N.Y.

Building bridges

Thank you for your excellent issue concerning U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations. WITNESS readers may be interested to know about the Bridges for Peace program which conducts exchange visits between U.S. citizens and Soviet citizens with the purpose of building better understanding between our two nations.

Our congregation participated in this program over the past year. We are still identifying the wonderful gifts we have received because of it. We welcomed two Russian Orthodox priests, the Rev. Boris Udovenko, from Kiev, and the Rev. Victor Petlyuchenko, from Odessa.

Our guests stayed for one week. They attended dinner parties in private homes, had lunch in a fast food restaurant, toured Washington, visited a

shopping mall, attended a community potluck dinner and square dance in the church, toured a high school and a college, saw a farm, met with local clergy, went to a dinner theater, toured Washington Cathedral and met with Bishop John Walker, had a TV interview and a press interview, and went on a picnic to a local state park. Our week ended with worship service on Sunday morning, including a Baptism, followed by a farewell brunch and a tree-planting ceremony.

We sent two of our members to the Soviet Union in September. A major benefit has been increased understanding. But even more, there has been a growing sense of community in our congregation and a shared concern for Christian responsibility in the world around us. We know more clearly than ever that the world belongs to God and we are stewards of it.

Information about the program is available from U.S.-U.S.S.R. Bridges for Peace, The Norwich Center, Inc., Box 710, Norwich, VT 05015.

I thoroughly enjoy THE WITNESS and find myself both better informed and often inspired by its articles. Thank you for a fine contribution to Christian journalism.

The Rev. Karen B. Johnson, Rector
St. Anne's Church
Damascus, Md.

Extolls women's view

The November issue of the Witness has helped to restore my faith in the telling of the news about women and our issues and perspectives. The articles about Russia and the *A Luta Continua* column by Barbara Harris help to support the efforts of the Women in Mission and Ministry unit at the Church Center in its struggle for women's issues and equality.

Mary Lou Suhor's article, "The Double

Burden of Peace" beautifully told the story of my ecumenical colleague and kindred soulmate Sister Marjorie Tuite. Whenever our work brought us together in women's meetings she always asked me the same question: "Why are you always smiling when I see you?" My constant reply was that I was among women who, although not necessarily agreeing, spoke the same language. She also asked me how we could get other women to become active against sexism, racism, poverty and violence.

THE WITNESS' love and respect for Marge came through your words. She touched many lives and gave so much. Oh how I miss her, and wonder who will take up her charge.

Ann Smith
Coordinator for Women
in Mission and Ministry
Episcopal Church Center

Big stick, few carrots

I enjoyed very much Mary Lou Suhor's article, "Mother Church, Mother Russia: The Double Burden of Peace." I have known for years that in many lands, "Mother" is used instead of "Father," but had not taken time to make a comparison between Uncle Sam, the Founding Fathers, Rambomania, and "a macho President who plays out High Noon in foreign policy."

The president's behavior is exactly what one might expect of a former actor whose films always saw the good guys win over tremendous odds. That is what worries me about our leader — big stick but not very many carrots.

My second comment concerns Barbara Harris' description in the same issue of the mental and physical needs that our first female bishop might need on her first appearance in the House of Bishops. I believe Harris has painted things correctly. But I would venture that at the *first* meeting, and possibly

the second, the first woman bishop might be treated courteously, even pleasantly. After that she should be on the alert for the barbs and arrows.

In our secular world Geraldine Ferraro might be a classic example. She was greeted with open and enthusiastic arms when she received the vice presidential nomination, but it wasn't long until she had to exhibit her fighting claws to escape annihilation.

Charles Corwin
Colonial Beach, Va.

Positive search

The November issue is here and it is wonderful. The burden of death caused by American policy is heavy on my heart, but hope springs forth from your issue of sharing with those who need to hear we can be positive. Forty years of manufactured negatives have driven us away from our directive of liberty and justice. Thanks for the other view — a positive search for truth. It can be found when hatred is abandoned.

Gay Anderson
Bloomington, Ind.

Hands across the world

The other night I could not sleep, so I curled up in a comforter and read the November WITNESS cover-to-cover. I don't always have time to read as much as I'd like and skim much too often. Your Mother Russia issue is soul-searching and poignant. How little do we really know about the lives of people very close to us, much less of those half a world away. Thank you for helping those of us who may never travel very far from the ground we were born and for those hands and hearts who touch hands and probe minds of others across the world. Something of us goes with you.

Sara Morrison
Washington, Iowa

Antidote for AMERIKA

New WITNESS readers may wish to order the November WITNESS, "God and Mother Russia," as a resource and antidote to the TV miniseries AMERIKA — the Right-wing fantasy about the occupation of the United States by the "evil Soviets" and their "obedient and brutal" United Nations troops, scheduled for February. Send \$1 to THE WITNESS, Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002.

Woman priest new dean

"Where are the women rectors of cardinal parishes?" Sue Hiatt asked in the December WITNESS.

Answer: In Louisville, Ky., where the Rev. GERALYN WOLF, vicar of St. Mary's in Philadelphia, has been called to become dean of Christ Church Cathedral. We can't wait!

Sue T. Chapman
Milltown, Ind.

(THE WITNESS rejoices in GERALYN WOLF's appointment — announced after our December issue had gone to press. Wolf, 39, who was ordained in 1978, becomes the first woman in the Episcopal Church to be named a Cathedral dean. — Ed.)

December outstanding

As an appreciative subscriber, I have valued each issue of your journal for its insights into the current religious issues and trends.

The Christmas issue was no exception. The views expressed in articles by Suzanne Hiatt and Ed Kinane, as well as the column by Barbara Harris, struck a very responsive chord. As did the poems by Michael Parenti, Patricia Broughton, and Aurora Camacho de Schmidt. These I will share with others.

Louis C. Bryan
Columbia, S.C.

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THE WITNESS



Table of Contents

-
- 6** **Aftermath of a Contra massacre**
Lucy Phillips-Edwards
-
- 9** **'You A.N.C. Nothing Yet'**
Kwasi Thornell
-
- 12** **WITNESS 70th year mementos**
-
- 16** **The feminist dimension of the Social Gospel**
Mary Sudman Donovan
-
- 22** **Why a bishop must choose**
Peter Selby
-

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Back to the future?

Digging through old WITNESS files from 1917 to 1926 for gems to report during our 70th anniversary year has proved an enlightening and somewhat frightening experience. When we compared secular and church history of the first decade of the existence of THE WITNESS to the present day, disturbing parallels kept emerging.

Our fears were confirmed when a recent article was called to our attention — Gregory Bergman's "The 1920s and the 1980s" (*Monthly Review*, 10/86). Among the striking similarities he points out are the following:

- An increasing polarization of wealth and poverty was taking place from 1919 to 1929. Some 60% of U.S. families had less than the \$2,000 annual income then needed for the basic necessities of life. "With a simple adjustment of figures to match today's poverty line, this report could serve as well for the years of Reagan prosperity," Bergman says.

- Farmers and workers were notably excluded from the prosperity of the '20s, as in today's two-tiered economy. Debts owed the United States by European nations after World War I added to the purchasing power gap, much as Third World debts today inhibit those nations.

- In 1919, the U.S. Catholic bishops were attacked by the National Association of Manufacturers for their pastoral letter entitled, "The Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction." In

it the bishops urged minimum wage legislation, unemployment benefits, health and old age insurance for workers, and an age limit to child labor, Bergman reports. The NAM said the letter was "a covert effort to disseminate partisan, pro-labor union, socialist propaganda." In the 1980s the Catholic bishops' letter on the U.S. economy was attacked by *Fortune* as leaning to "a planned economy . . . socialism gives them the role to play while capitalism — reliance on impersonal market forces — leaves them out in the cold."

- Both Protestant and Catholic church officials protested the invasion of Nicaragua in 1928 when Coolidge conducted a "private war" to support the regime against a liberal uprising. Although isolationism characterized the nation's attitude toward the League of Nations, foreign policy was interventionist when national security or economic interests were concerned, an obvious parallel to today.

- In the '20s, the Republican Party was "completely fused with business," as the *Wall Street Journal* exulted. The administration was openly hostile to organized labor, and union membership dropped from 4.5 million in 1920 to 2.7 million in 1928. Today union membership is down from 25% of the workforce to 17%.

- The Ku Klux Klan, quiescent before World War I, revived to direct its message in the '20s to financially troubled farmers in the Midwest and the poverty-

stricken Deep South. The Klan allied itself with fundamentalism and inveighed against Catholics, Communists, Jews, foreigners, unionists, bootleggers, loose women and Indians as well as Blacks. Preaching a return to WASP supremacy, wrapping itself in the flag, and holding the cross as its symbol, it proclaimed itself the guardian of the nation's morals and traditional values. While the Klan is not the large mass movement it was in the '20s, there has been a resurgence in its ranks today. More disturbing, the electronic preachers who are far more respectable, today trumpet the Klan's ideology of 100% Americanism and the free enterprise system, Bergman points out.

- Tennessee put John T. Scopes on trial in 1925 for teaching the theory of evolution, now rivaled by the attempt to make creationism a compulsory part of public school curriculum.

We are grateful to Gregory Bergman and *Monthly Review*, if grateful is the word, for underscoring our worst fears about the signs of the times. If our recounting of the history of THE WITNESS is to be more than a nostalgia trip, we must be keenly aware of the mistakes of the past, which led to the great depression of 1929 and another World War, lest we be destined to repeat them. Those who profess a serious faith in a God of justice and peace have at least one major moral and civic duty this year — to work for a reversal in our national priorities at home and abroad, acting for the common good. ■

'Risking lives for peace'

Three weeks after Lucy and James Phillips-Edwards were married, they began their assignment as long-term Witness for Peace Volunteers in Nicaragua.

It was hardly a honeymoon, since their roles meant spending eight months in the war zone, documenting attacks against civilians.

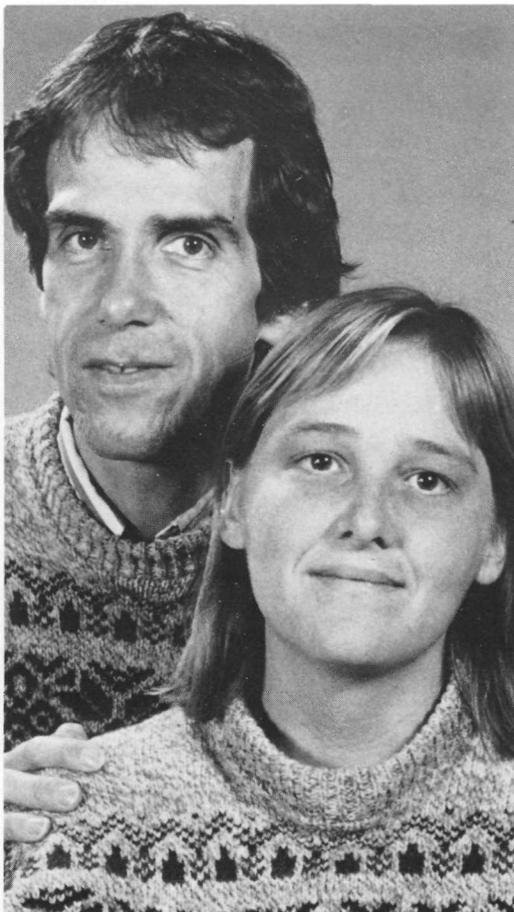
"We were simply accompanying the Nicaraguan people in their suffering," Lucy said. "People have always been willing to risk their lives for war. We thought it made sense to risk our lives for peace."

The couple returned to the United States recently on a two-months' speaking tour about their experiences, attacking U.S. support of the Contras. They carried documentation and detailed reports about Contra torture, atrocity and slaughter, along with slides of mourning families and orphaned children.

Lucy, a 28-year-old Episcopalian who grew up in California, is former senior foreign correspondent for The Other Americas Radio, an international public radio enterprise. Jim is a 41-year-old former Jesuit seminarian who has taught cultural anthropology and lived and worked in Central America. Both are back in Nicaragua for another 6-month stint. But before they left they had toured coast-to-coast, speaking to church and secular audiences from Brooklyn, New York, to Santa Barbara, Cal., and in the halls of Congress as well.

An example of the stories they

©The Muskegon Chronicle



James and Lucy Phillips-Edwards

told about the Contras, being supported as "freedom fighters" by the Reagan Administration, appears at right. It details the Contra massacre of six civilians in a raid on Somotillo, this month marking the anniversary of that raid. Among the victims was a Swiss Catholic volunteer, a friend of Jim and Lucy's.

While in Nicaragua the Phillips-Edwards documented the deaths of 30 civilians, all but one of whom

was killed by the Contras. For the latter death, a Sandinista army officer is serving a 25-year-prison term, they said.

The first assignment of their previous tour of Witness for Peace duty was to gather affidavits from residents near Achuapa about the massacre of 11 farmers. These were among 20 unarmed farmers kidnapped in the countryside by the Contras. Nine were released, but the others were found in a ditch, all showing signs of torture: Tongues cut out, empty eye sockets, knife wounds, castration. Acid had been poured over their faces.

It was concern for "very basic issues — such as the death of innocent people" which motivated Jim to go to Nicaragua, he said.

"We've learned more in Nicaragua about the resurrection and our faith than we ever could have in the United States," Lucy said. "We've seen that life can come out of death. It is our privilege, a painful privilege — to share their suffering," she added.

Lucy and Jim have supported themselves in Nicaragua on their own earnings, which are now exhausted. They are appealing for contributions through the Institute for Global Education in Grand Rapids, where Jim was onetime director.

Before returning to Nicaragua, Jim and Lucy wrote their friends:

"We have so many things to thank you for. We have stayed in your homes, slept on your floors, driven your cars, and raided your fridges. You have filled our teeth,

cured our parasites and forced your chocolate chip cookies upon us. We are grateful for the warmth and caring with which we have been welcomed, for the thought you have put into listening to our testimony, for sharing your ideas

and energy in organizing.

"We are returning because we love Nicaragua, and because we really believe in the work Witness for Peace is doing. We are going because we love our own country and want to be part of a project

which leads us as a people away from death and back to life."

Tax deductible checks for their support can be sent to Institute for Global Education, 415 Ethel S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich. 49506, earmarked "Lucy and Jim fund."

Where our Irangate money goes:

Aftermath of a Contra massacre

by Lucy Phillips-Edwards

It was just a year ago this month — on Feb. 17 — that I was preparing to leave for a northern border town in Nicaragua to say goodbye to a friend, Maurice Demierre, a Swiss volunteer whose large body had absorbed eight bullets several hours earlier. He and five Nicaraguan women, aged 15 to 60, had been killed in a Contra ambush.

Before we left, 20 of us Northamericans gathered in a circle on the porch of the Witness for Peace house in Managua. Our arms held each other as we raised our voices in prayer for strength, compassion, grace. Then it was time to go.

I climbed into the truck with three other volunteers from the Witness for Peace long-term team. All of us knew and loved Maurice. We admired his work as an agronomist and Catholic lay teacher with peasant farmers in Northwest Nicaragua. We knew his 26-year-old wife, Chantal.

I was alone in the back of the pickup for much of the four-hour ride to Somotillo. I remembered meeting Chantal and Maurice in Achuapa in December, when my husband Jim and I had gathered affidavits and documentation of a massacre the Contras carried out on 11 Nicaraguan peasants a few months earlier. We rode with

them back to Esteli, where they spent the night with us at the Witness for Peace house. Chantal's family was visiting from Switzerland and went to bed early after an exhausting day of travel. The rest of us settled comfortably into a corner with hot tea and the excitement of new friends. Chantal talked with animation about their work with the Christian Base Communities of the rural Northwest. Maurice and Chantal had been in Nicaragua three years and planned to return to Switzerland in May, 1986. But Maurice was to stay, his blood spilled on Nicaraguan soil, his body planted there. . .

It was early afternoon when we arrived at the Christian Base Community house in Somotillo, 17 hours since Maurice's death and 30 hours since I had slept last. Chantal bit her lip as she approached; her eyes fought back tears as mine flowed. We embraced.

Chairs lined the periphery of the main room of the house. The simple wooden coffin rested at the front surrounded by flowers, which did little to disguise the smell of decay. A chalkboard listed the names of the dead and wounded in the attack. I stepped around the coffin to view Maurice's rugged, handsome face. But the face was cut and bruised, all of life's energy gone,

spirit now in communion with our God of Life.

Outside, my eyes were assaulted with the sight of the yellow Toyota pickup. Methodist minister Jake Golden stood by the driver's door, counting 104 bullet holes which punctured the steel sides. Although the truck had been washed down, blood was still smeared where women had frantically jumped off, trying to avoid the barrage of gunfire. The front tires were blown apart from the Claymore anti-personnel mine which the Contras detonated manually as the truck passed. I hid behind my camera lens, subconsciously absorbing the tremendous violence of those few minutes it took to destroy six lives.

The wake lasted through the night and members of the Base Community served hot sweet coffee and bread. At 3 a.m. I found a corner in the smoky kitchen to stretch out on a blanket and sleep. Three hours later I awoke refreshed, as if I had slept an entire night.

At 9 a.m. we piled into pickup trucks and headed towards the community of Jinocua to bury four of the women. The temperature rose to over 100 degrees as five priests celebrated a Requiem Mass for the women. Husbands, mothers, sisters and children

wept with grief; several passed out and were carried to shade by family members. Then the four coffins were lifted and carried a mile to the cemetery where they were buried side by side.

Back in Somotillo we prepared to bring Maurice's body to the church. His coffin was placed into the red truck which I had always seen him driving. Then the flowers were arranged and the wooden cross Maurice had carried in a Via Crucis (stations of the cross) procession in the days before his death stood next to the coffin. It read *Por la paz, por la vida*. "For peace, for life."

Chantal and Maurice had participated in a five-day Via Crucis reenacting the 14 stations which commemorate Christ carrying the cross to his crucifixion. The walk had ended on a Sunday morning and the community celebrated the Resurrection Sunday night.

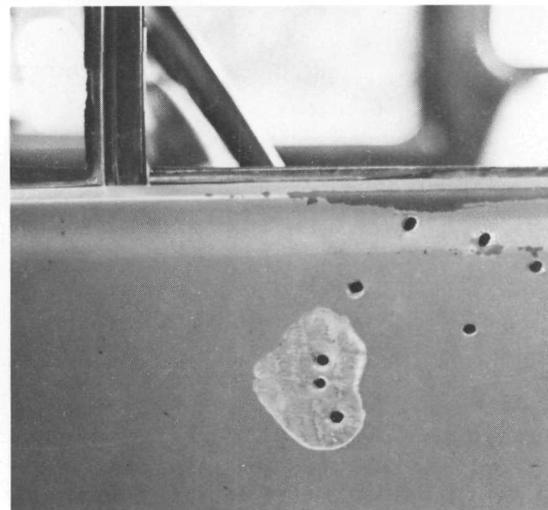
Now Maurice and my Nicaraguan sisters were dead.

We all gathered behind the truck and began walking, singing the Nicaraguan folk mass: "You are the God of the poor, the human, simple God, God who works in the streets, worker Christ."

In the church, peasant farmers who worked with Maurice gave testimony to his dedication and love for life. After Mass, his body was buried in the central park, across from the church.

That February night clouds burst into rain, virtually unheard of during that dusty time of year. The air was cleansed, the ground swept, and the seeds of the lives of Maurice and the Nicaraguan women were planted.

Chantal later told me, "This power of violence, this project of death which takes the lives of so many innocents can never succeed. You have a death, and another death, and another death, and then a resurrection, and another resurrection, and another resurrection. The spirit of our God of Life rises and gives breath to those who suffer." ■



Episcopalian Witness for Peace volunteer Lucy Phillips-Edwards took these photos in Somotillo, Nicaragua, top clockwise: Women's bloodsmears on truck after Contra ambush; tire of Christian Base Community truck, blown by mine; eight (of 104) bullet holes in truck, these on driver Maurice Demierre's door; women's coffins being carried to cemetery.



Africa National Congress in 75th year:

'You A.N.C. Nothing Yet'

by Kwasi Thornell

South Africa is full of contradictions. The city of Capetown, with its modern urban beauty, underground shopping centers, and seeming tranquility stands in sharp contrast to the barren land surrounding it. That land, once home to many Black South Africans, has been "cleared" by the government under various pretexts. Black people have been moved to other areas — now tent cities or overcrowded townships. Forcibly removed from their homes near Capetown, they live like refugees, the townships not much better in quality than the tent cities. Both entities have little plumbing or electricity and lack municipal services such as trash collection or recreational facilities. Both have schools that are not functioning, a reality suggesting that an entire generation of future leaders will be lost. Fear from all sides is palpable and well-founded.

It was within this atmosphere that a few words scribbled on the side of a building in a Capetown suburb caught my eye: *You A.N.C. Nothing Yet.*

Graffiti about the African National Congress took on a new meaning for me when, while I was attending the enthronement of Archbishop Desmond Tutu, it was announced that an ecumenical delegation would travel to Zambia to meet with A.N.C. leaders in exile in Lusaka. My bishop, the Rt. Rev. John Walker of the Diocese of Washington asked me to attend, representing his office. I looked forward to meeting with those whom many perceived to be the visionaries and molders of change, and — in the minds of most Black South Africans and an increasing number of Whites — the future leaders and principal architects of the new structure of South African society which will replace the apartheid system.

Oliver Tambo, A.N.C. President, Alfred Nzo, Secretary General, and Johnny Makhatini, former United Nations observer and current International Relations official for the A.N.C. were among the delegation with whom we met.

I was amazed at the warmth with which they received us and their undisguised responsiveness to our questions.

The Rev. Kwasi A. Thornell is Canon Missioner at Washington National Cathedral and Chair of the Board of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

Clearly these leaders not only wanted us fully to understand their history and purpose but also to become advocates for their cause. In essence, their aim is the total destruction of an apartheid government and the structures that created it, and the setting up of a new government which would allow for the development of a free nation where all could participate in its operation and governance.

When we asked direct questions they responded openly and without rancor. For example:

- "*Are you Communists?*" They replied that they accept in their membership anyone who commits himself or herself to, and abides by, the A.N.C. Freedom Charter.

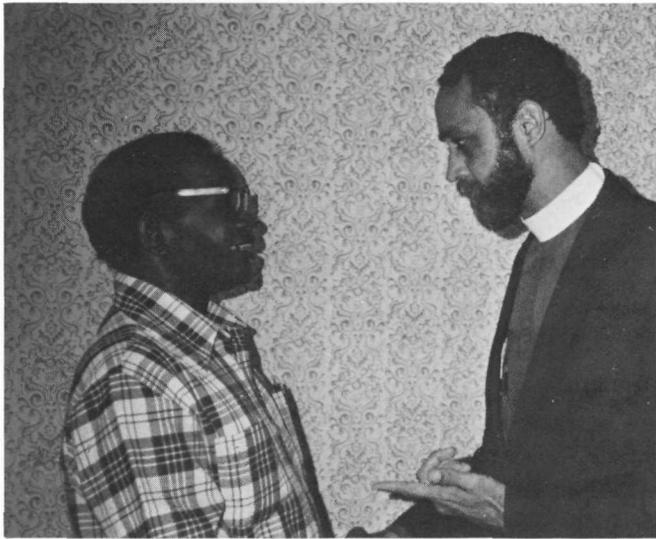
- "*Will there be room for Whites in the new government?*" Their answer was that they were working toward a non-racial democracy, a country which includes anyone working toward freedom and rights for all South Africans.

- "*What role will the church play in your organization and new government?*" The church, they said, will play a role similar to the role played in any democratic society. It will function as an independent and free institution. The A.N.C. has appointed a leader whose responsibility is to deal with church relationships.

The A.N.C. is 75 years old this year. Its formation was largely a consequence of colonial rule, which prevented any Black Africans from participating in the political and economic structures of the country.

Originally, the A.N.C. called for the many tribes and other Black African groups to solidify by uniting and working for equality in government and business. In 1913 the South African parliament legislated the Land Act which divided the land between Whites and Blacks. White South Africans would occupy 87% of the land and Black South Africans only 13%. Until 1949, the A.N.C. relied heavily on diplomacy in their negotiations with the British government and the Afrikaners. Then, after years of little progress, the A.N.C. boldly restructured its methodology and developed a political strategy for mass demonstrations, using a model of nonviolence. At that time Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu were leaders in the A.N.C. youth corps.

In 1950 the first nationwide workers' strike was called. Two years later, a Defiance Council was formed and people



Oliver Tambo, A.N.C. president, left, converses with the author, the Rev. Kwasi Thornell, in Lusaka, Zambia.

were asked voluntarily to break unjust laws as a continued means of nonviolent protest.

In June 1955, the various South African protesting groups came together to form a united front, out of which emerged a Freedom Charter.

Basic tenets of the charter stated that South Africa belonged to all of the people who live in it and that the future government should be nonracial and democratic in form. All groups represented at that organizing meeting were invited to sign the charter on Sept. 6, 1956. The apartheid government of South Africa subsequently arrested 156 of the signers and charged them with high treason. Most were detained from four to five years. In April 1960, the African National Congress was officially banned.

Today it is still outlawed, but it is very active internally and externally. With offices in most of the front line countries bordering South Africa, and in Europe and in the United States, it continues to build its movement. White South African businessmen break the law with regularity by coming to Lusaka to meet with A.N.C. leadership. Representatives from the university systems in South Africa also meet with the A.N.C. to design educational programs and curricula for the future training of Black South Africans. In various South African townships, A.N.C. organizes on all levels, and sets up cooperatives and schools.

Tambo said that what the A.N.C. needs at this critical point is external support from the U.S. government and other institutions, particularly the churches of America. Churches could be most helpful, he said, in encouraging

the U.S. government to recognize the legitimacy of the African National Congress. One form of recognition is engagement in constructive dialogue to bring apartheid to a peaceful and equitable end.

Tambo was optimistic. "There is a feeling that the people are indeed winning," he said. "This may seem strange to say when so many are dying, that we are still winning."

As I left South Africa, along with my colleagues, there was a strong sense among us that A.N.C. was indeed winning. It may take five, ten, fifteen or even twenty years, but yes, the A.N.C. is winning. ■

Who is 'Christian' in South Africa?

At odds in South Africa is a "state theology" which invokes the Gospels to preserve the apartheid system, and a theology of liberation which gives legitimacy to Black militants striving for a more just social order.

The word *Christian*, then is equivocal, a group of South African Black clergy and theologians pointed out recently: "There we sit in the same church while outside Christian policemen and soldiers are beating up and killing Christian children and torturing Christian prisoners to death, while yet other Christians stand by and weakly plead for peace."

Allister Sparks in a *Washington Post* article alluded to the Christian overlay of the Africa National Congress, which the Botha regime equates with terrorism. "Oliver Tambo, like many of the Congress' founders and early leaders, was the product of a missionary school," he wrote. "Before he took over the exiled movement he had hoped to become an Anglican priest."

Sparks pointed out that a group of South African businessmen who met with A.N.C. leaders in Zambia were startled when Tambo insisted on saying grace before lunch.

Albert Luthuli, A.N.C. leader who won the Nobel Prize in 1961, was a Methodist lay preacher. And Nelson Mandela, the most famous A.N.C. leader now serving life imprisonment, regularly receives Holy Communion. The Rev. Dudley Moore, his chaplain, has portrayed him as a man of deep faith.

Mandela, an attorney before his imprisonment, helped draft the A.N.C. Freedom Charter. When he was tried along with eight others in June 1963, as the leader of the A.N.C.'s militant wing, he opened the defense with his now famous speech, "I am the first accused." Excerpts appear on the following page.

Nelson Mandela's defense speech

I am the first accused. At the outset, I want to say that the suggestion made by the state in its opening that the struggle in South Africa is under the influence of foreigners or Communists is wholly incorrect. I have done whatever I did both as an individual and as a leader of my people, because of my experience in South Africa and my own proudly felt African background, and not because of what any outsider might have said.

In my youth in the Transkei I listened to the elders of my tribe telling stories of the old days. Amongst the tales they related to me were those of wars fought by our ancestors in defense of the fatherland. . . . I hoped then that life might offer me the opportunity to serve my people and make my own humble contribution to their freedom struggle. This is what has motivated me in all that I have done in relation to the charges made against me in this case.

Having said this, I must deal immediately and at some length with the question of violence. Some of the things so far told to the court are true and some are untrue. I do not, however, deny that I planned sabotage. I did not plan it in a spirit of recklessness, nor because I have any love of violence. I planned it as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of tyranny, exploitation, and oppression of my people by the Whites.

We of the A.N.C. had always stood for a non-racial democracy, and we shrank from any action which might drive the races further apart than they



Nelson Mandela

already were. But the hard facts were that 50 years of non-violence had brought the African people nothing but more and more repressive legislation, and fewer and fewer rights. It may not be easy for this court to understand, but it is a fact that for a long time the people had been talking of violence — of the day when they would fight the White man and win back their country — and we, the leaders of the A.N.C., had nevertheless always prevailed upon them to avoid violence and to pursue peaceful methods. When some of us discussed this in May and June of 1961, it could not be denied that our policy to achieve a non-racial state by non-violence had achieved nothing, and that our followers were beginning to lose confidence in this policy and were developing disturbing ideas of terrorism.

At the beginning of June 1961, after a long and anxious assessment of the South African situation, I, and some colleagues, came to the conclusion that

as violence in this country was inevitable, it would be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue preaching peace and non-violence at a time when the government met our peaceful demands with force.

This conclusion was not easily arrived at. It was only when all else had failed, when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to us, that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle. We did so not because we desired such a course, but solely because the government had left us with no other choice.

Already scores of Africans had died as a result of racial friction. In 1920 when the famous leader, Masabala, was held in Port Elizabeth jail, 24 of a group of Africans who had gathered to demand his release were killed by the police and White civilians. In 1921, more than 100 Africans died in the Bulhoek affair. In 1924 over 200 Africans were killed when the Administrator of South-West Africa led a force against a group which had rebelled against the imposition of dog tax. On 1 May 1950, 18 Africans died as a result of police shootings during the strike. On 21 March 1960, 69 unarmed Africans died at Sharpeville.

How many more Sharpevilles would there be in the history of our country? And how many more Sharpevilles could the country stand without violence and terror becoming the order of the day? And what would happen to our people when that stage was reached? In the long run we felt certain we must suc-

Continued on page 23

In the first full decade of publication, THE WITNESS delivered its message of social responsibility and egalitarian concerns to a society entranced by materialism and “the good life.” By 1919, Americans were weary and disillusioned by war and international politics. They rejected Woodrow Wilson’s dreams for world peace through the League of Nations and concentrated on “getting ahead” in a national economy marked by mass production and easy credit.

The 1920s ushered in the era of Prohibition, gangsters and speakeasies. For working people, it also heralded a time of struggle for social change against a pro-industry, reactionary government. The successful Revolution in Russia inspired American workers and frightened industrialists, prompting the U.S. Justice Department to conduct mass arrests and deportations of political and labor activists — dubbed the “Red Raids.” Socialist Eugene Debs, arrested in 1918, was serving a 10-year prison sentence for denouncing government persecution of labor activists and leftists. To stifle foreign competition, the United States imposed strict tariffs on imported goods.

Fear of foreign ideas, of the powerless gaining power, fueled an ugly and violent upsurge of racism. From 1921 to 1924, the U.S. government enacted an increasingly restrictive series of immigration bills — the 1924 bill excluding any Japanese immigrants. Two immigrant Italian laborers were arrested in 1920 on charges of robbery and murder in Massachusetts. Many people felt that Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were in fact innocent victims of prejudice because they were foreigners and professed anarchists and had refused, on ideological grounds, to fight in World War I. Despite a public outcry, they were sentenced to die in 1921 and executed in 1927.

Racism reached new heights as the Ku Klux Klan, a remnant of Civil War days, reappeared. By 1921 the Klan was growing stronger and more violent, routinely destroying property, and whipping, branding and lynching Blacks. By 1923, the Klan had gained political power and had a membership of 5 million. In 1921 an economic recession set in, throwing 4,750,000 people (in a population of 107 million) out of work. Farm failures and foreclosures soared and tenant farming became more and more common. Black sharecroppers suffered most of all — on average, a

Black sharecropper in the South gave up to 75% of his crop to the landlord, and his total income was less than \$350 a year.

Though sentiment at home was anti-foreign, U.S. colonial ambitions flourished as troops occupied Nicaragua, Haiti, Honduras and the Dominican Republic through most of the 1920s. By 1929, 29% of all U.S. direct private investment abroad was in the sugar industry in its de facto colony, Cuba.

While Americans were being entranced by jazz, bathtub gin and motion picture shows, two influential world leaders were beginning their rise to prominence. In 1923 in a Munich beerhall, Adolph Hitler made his first bid for power. His attempt failed, and he was sentenced to prison, where he wrote *Mein Kampf* — his outline for revenge and world domination. (In the same year of Hitler’s putsch, the KKK had become so dangerous in the United States that martial law was declared in Oklahoma to protect people from Klan attacks.) Meanwhile, in India, Mohandas Gandhi, a proponent of non-violent social change, emerged as the leader of his nation’s struggle for liberation from British rule.

In the United States, some strides were made in the ’20s. Women got the vote in 1920, and Jeanette Rankin of California was serving as the first woman in the House of Representatives. Progress in the secular sphere came for women before they achieved decision-making power in the churches as Mary Sudman Donovan points out this issue in “The feminist dimension of the Social Gospel.”

The two presidents in power during the first decade of THE WITNESS, Harding and Coolidge, are not remembered for their great skill in governing. It was said of Warren G. Harding that he never let the problems of high office ruffle his good nature. With this philosophy, he managed to ignore the corruption in his administration. It finally became a national outrage, erupting in the Teapot Dome scandal, after Harding had transferred supervision of the naval oil reserve lands from the navy to the Department of the Interior. Harding saved himself from being implicated in the deals by dying in office.

Another Republican, Calvin Coolidge took over the presidency in 1923, and led according to the gospel, “The business of America is business.”

Some disturbing parallels to the 1980s

But the prosperity of business had a dark side, which foreshadowed the great economic crisis to come in 1929. We will continue the history of THE WITNESS; meanwhile some excerpts from early issues when Bishop Irving Peake Johnson was editor and William B. Spofford, managing editor. In 1926, Episcopal communicants numbered

Editor predicts Reagan?

Addressing the Bar Association of the State of Colorado recently, the Rt. Rev. Irving Peake Johnson, editor of THE WITNESS, said:

"One wonders how films produced, even when censored by such an astute politician as Will Hays, can turn Fatty Arbuckle, Douglas Fairbanks and Charlie Chaplin into great moral leaders; Mr. Volstead and John Galen Locke (Colorado Ku Kluxer) into spiritual uplifters; William Jennings Bryan and Mary Baker Eddy into expounders of scientific truth, and the local ministerial association into lawmakers and moral scavengers. I maintain that these are honorable folks, but that the people have mistaken their calling. As long as we continue to select our governors, legislators and judges because they have the same prejudices as ourselves, hell is around the corner. The great mistake of modernism is the assumption that it is a success, whereas it has turned our legislative halls into low comedy, our homes into high tragedies and our religion into a fair basis for comic opera. We have been stampeded by a generation of reformers who are not experts, by men with a vision and a challenge who need to take lessons in Christian charity, and by political and religious buncosteersers.

"So long as American people get their spiritual inspiration from Holly-

wood, their theology from the Rockefeller foundation, and their legislation from pan-Protestant ministers, we shall continue to grope for light and walk in the darkness." (10/15/25)

Koo Koo Kluxers

Bishop Cheshire of North Carolina recently received a nasty letter from the Koo Koo Kluxers. He replied, publicly, as follows: "I wish to take this opportunity of saying to my unknown correspondent and to his fellow K.K.K. on the police force and off, that I consider the Ku Klux Klan, in its principles, methods and organization, absolutely inconsistent with the Christian religion, which many of them profess; a menace to good government and a disgrace to our civilization. And it seems to me the duty of all good citizens to give open expression to the indignities they must feel at being restrained in the free use of the public streets of the city in the interest of men who are ashamed to let their faces be seen." (12/10/25)

No to women deputies

"Votes for women" agitated the convention of the Diocese of West Missouri. They were denied seats by a narrow margin, the men, according to reports, being afraid that if the women were seated, in a short time the convention would be solely a woman's affair. (1/28/26)

1 million and the overall church budget was \$40 million: \$30 million for "parochial machinery; \$6 million, "diocesan organization;" and \$4 million, "national program." THE WITNESS, which had switched to magazine format, was published weekly from Chicago for \$2/year.

Radical Episcopalian?

Bishop Manning of New York, in his address at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine on Thanksgiving stressed the breaking down of intolerance and prejudice in religious life and also the growth among the American people of sentiment for the World Court.

Hope he is right. Sometimes have doubts about that breakdown of religious prejudice myself. For instance the other day I was talking with the president of a cooperative apartment in Chicago that shelters 24 American families, including my own. He said: "No use for any Jew, Catholic, radical or foreigner to try to get in this building." Of course I got smart and told him that it was a good thing folks didn't feel that way a few years ago. If they had his father and mother would probably have been turned back at Ellis Island. He then defined a foreigner as a person coming from the south of Europe. Then I got smart again and said: "Glad I got my apartment before you had anything to say about it, since I'm a radical." His reply was brief: "You're no radical. You can't be. You're an Episcopalian parson." (William B. Spofford 12/10/25)

'Disarmament' in 1924

An advance step was taken in the movement toward international friendship and world peace when more than 2,000

people, representatives from France, England, Czechoslovakia, Norway and Germany met in Berlin for the Peace Congress.

The opening session was held Oct. 5 in the *Reichstagsgebäude* — the meeting place of the German Reichstag. Senator LaFontaine of France, President of the Congress, presided.

For two days previous to the formal opening of the Congress, delegates met in smaller commissions: on Actualities, on Disarmament, on Economic and Social questions, on Propaganda, on Education and on the League of Nations.

The question of disarmament was faced very frankly. It was repeatedly argued that total disarmament was more desirable and practicable than a gradual reduction. A telegram of encouragement was sent to the Parliament of Denmark which was at that time considering complete disarmament of that country. (11/20/24)

Falwell predecessor?

Mr. L. E. Morgan, who in his spare time sells real estate down in Dothan, Ala. has sent us a leaflet called, "The Hour Strikes." In it he tells us all about the evils of these people who are not of his particular stripe of fundamentalism. He calls for a line up . . . his followers on one side and all others arrayed against him. "Rank heresy stalks abroad and boldly raises its hydrahead in church and school. Behind the preacher and professor teaching modernism, the scientist with the brute ancestry theory, the infidel and agnostic, there is silhouetted the silent, invisible, but dreadful personality of Satan, whose connection with our human race is one of the strangest and most mysterious things in our history." More just like that. Those of you who want to leave the Episcopal Church for it please write to Mr. Morgan. (8/27/25)

Some people's children

The children of the Episcopal Church gave over \$400,000 to the work of the church last Lent. They are going to make it half a million in 1925. . . If you are interested in the facts about child labor send to the Federal Council of Churches, 105 E. 22nd, New York City for a pamphlet telling of the million or more children at work in America. It will make you want to help ratify the federal amendment. (11/20/24)

On real democracy

President Pott of St. John's University, Shanghai, is discouraged over the political situation in China. He thinks it will be a long time before there can be real democracy there. Some of us feel the same way about America. (11/20/24)

WITNESS 10th birthday

This fact which I relate both about my grandfather and my children is interesting merely because it illustrates a general condition. The former died when he was close to a hundred, and I have a vivid recollection that the last dozen years of his life were lived chiefly for the purpose of observing birthdays. My children, very young, likewise rejoice greatly as a birthday anniversary approaches; rejoice, I fear, a bit selfishly.

THE WITNESS is to be pardoned therefore, being very young, for calling attention to a 10th Birthday. Mortality is greater in infants . . . this is even a recognized principle of the great American government. We rejoice therefore on being alive after 10 years of existence in a church that has a reputation . . . an unfair reputation I think . . . for not doing so well by her church journals. (William B. Spofford 9/30/26)

(Contributing to the 70th anniversary story were Susan Pierce, researcher and free lance writer; Mary Lou Suhor, WITNESS editor; and the 1917-26 editorial staff of the magazine.)

Back Issues Available:

● **Central America:** Major stories on Nicaragua, Honduras and Costa Rica. Bishop Sturdie Downs of Nicaragua tells WITNESS readers, "If you only knew about the interventions by the United States, how your country created a National Guard and how the multinationals exploited us, you would be in the streets protesting" and analyzes the economic interests behind his statement. Jim Levinson adds a Jewish perspective on Nicaragua. Jim Lewis gives an eyewitness report on the militarization of Honduras. Anna Grant Sibley describes the de-neutralizing of Costa Rica.

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

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

To order, fill in coupon below and mail to THE WITNESS, P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002.

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EUC to probe future

This time last year we expressed our hope that the Episcopal Urban Caucus would stir to life again and get on with its mission of advocacy with and on behalf of the poor and dispossessed in our cities. To some degree that has happened, but the Caucus still seems to be casting about for a viable organizational structure and operation model that will get to the heart of its concerns.

Nevertheless, the EUC has made great strides following a highly successful February 1986 national assembly at Pittsburgh. In a recent memo to members and friends, the Caucus reported on its external involvements, programmatic efforts and the work of its Task Force, which has taken over most of the nuts and bolts functions previously handled by a large and cumbersome Governing Board.

Externally, EUC has continued to make its presence felt in a number of activities relevant to urban ministry, including membership in IMPACT, the Coalition for Abortion Rights and the Episcopal Church Center Public Policy Network. The Caucus, which was a catalyst for the review of the national church's Washington Office, is represented on the Restructure Committee overseeing that effort by former president Byron Rushing of Massachusetts. Other board members sit on the Advisory Board of Jubilee Ministries and the Steering Committee of The Consultation, a coalition of 11 progressive, church related organizations.

Programmatically the Caucus has given financial support to 12 projects

representing a wide variety of ministries on the local level, including a much needed Task Force on AIDS in the Black Community, sponsored by the Union of Black Episcopalians. In another significant area, the EUC has moved to organize an urban diocesan staff network to assist maturation of the faltering Jubilee Ministries program. "Jubilee" has yet to approach its potential for encouraging and supporting meaningful approaches to urban ministry.

The Caucus will hold its Seventh National Assembly Feb. 18-21 in St. Paul, Minn. Theme for this year's gathering is "City Planning: Building a New Jerusalem." Attention will focus primarily on the urban church between now and the year 2000, and those attending will learn first hand about ministries among urban Native Americans. Keynote speakers will be Prof. Lisa Peattie of the MIT City Planning Department and the Rt. Rev. John T. Walker, Bishop of Washington.

In a continuation of last year's highly successful Assembly feature, conferees will have the opportunity to participate in "Vision Quest II." In 1986, Caucus members, in the presence of then newly elected Presiding Bishop Edmond Browning, presented their views on how the Episcopal Church could respond to issues on the urban scene and in today's interrelated world. They will have a chance this time around to offer their vision for the church in the next decade to guide the Caucus in planning for the future.

EUC continues to fulfill an important function, primarily through its Assembly, in providing a voice to the voiceless and a forum for controversial and cutting edge issues in the church. Its role will remain meaningful as long as it can keep that focus clear and refrain from putting more on its plate than it can say grace over.

In announcing last year's Assembly, the Rev. Ed Rodman, Canon Missioner for the Diocese of Massachusetts and Caucus coordinator/consultant, stated: The continued viability of the Caucus will be in direct proportion to the degree of commitment, time, energy and money all can give to its agenda, which must be clearly articulated and presented on a "take it or leave it" basis. The wisdom of that observation holds true, particularly as the church moves into the waning years of this decade.

This means, however, that the Task Force must come to the Assembly with a carefully thought-out, well-designed structure and fundraising scheme to support it. Organizational structure cannot be developed in plenary with on the spot input from a "cast of thousands." More importantly, those whose primary issues are only tangential to the EUC focus and who cannot buy into the design, might well direct their efforts through other channels and leave urban ministry to those with a demonstrated concern for the future of the church and the city. ■

How women transformed the church

The early decades of the 20th century were dramatically influenced by the Social Gospel movement, which in turn shaped the history of THE WITNESS. Episcopal Church women played such a prominent role in that movement that Mary Sudman Donovan in her new book, *A Different Call: Women's Ministries in the Episcopal Church 1850-1920* (Morehouse-Barlow) devotes a whole chapter to their efforts.

Among names readers will meet in the accompanying excerpts are Vida Scudder, who worked closely with William Spofford in the Church League for Industrial Democracy; Ellen Gates Starr, co-founder of Hull House; Harriet Keyser and Margaret Lawrance, co-founders of the Church Association for the Interests of Labor; and Emily Malbone Morgan, whose life centered around the welfare of working women and the Companions of the Holy Cross.

"The work of Episcopal women from 1850 to 1920 transformed the church," Donovan emphasizes. "Many of the women served out of a deep commitment to a Gospel they perceived as egalitarian. And that egalitarianism was part of the message they proclaimed to the people with whom they worked — the sick, the poor, the uneducated, and those in foreign lands."

Yet, Donovan points out, "there comes a time, especially for a women's organization within a larger institution, when it must see that women are allowed access to the controlling power . . . otherwise it runs the risk of imprisoning women in a restricted sphere within the institution and rendering the work increasingly marginal."

When the 1919 General Convention perceived the Episcopal Church as hierarchical, not egalitarian, and defeated both the suffrage resolution and the plan to elect women to the Board of Missions, women were confronted with their marginal position. So emphatically was their position solidified that "the next 50 years saw few changes in the official status of women in the Episcopal Church," Donovan reminds.

"Episcopal Church women of the 19th and early 20th centuries recognized and responded to a different call; they chose to enter social service ministries, and with very little support from church authorities, they developed their own ministering vocations. In the process they shaped a church that was responsive to social needs and involved in the community. Ordained women who today continue social service ministries are following a tradition forged by their antecedent sisters," she concludes.



The feminine

The first two decades of the 20th century saw Episcopal women making the social gospel a reality. As volunteer parish workers, deaconesses, nuns, matrons and principals of a wide variety of hospitals and schools, these women, motivated by a spirit of Christian love, were caring for the sick, the poor, the uneducated, and the dispossessed. In developing church work as a profession for women, they had chosen subservient models, focusing on the goals they wanted to accomplish rather than on their own needs or requirements.

The concept of the social gospel, however, entails more than the delivery of services to those in need; it also entails a recognition of the corporate nature of sin and the radical demand that society restructure itself to respond to the inequities it has created. In one sense, many of the women workers were reshaping the limited spheres in which they worked — requiring their parishes to respond to immediate needs, demanding more services from the Bureau of Indian Affairs on the reservations, providing vocational training for Appalachian women. By living in disadvantaged communities, they also were gaining experience about the nature of poverty, racial discrimination, and economic exploitation. But to move from these limited activities to a more direct challenge to the system itself was inconceivable to many. One reason was the relative isolation of most of these workers. City workers lived and worked at the institutions they served, most of which had very small staffs. Rural workers were geographically isolated. Foreign missionaries were far from the office that deployed them. The women workers had no place in the

Mary Sudman Donovan is lecturer in history at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock. She is co-initiator of the Episcopal Women's History Project, and currently serves on its Board. The above article is excerpted from Chapter 10 of her book, *A Different Call* (\$19.95). Reprinted with permission from Morehouse-Barlow.

dimension of the Social Gospel

by Mary Sudman Donovan

church structures that governed the institutions; though many of the trained workers (especially the deaconesses) felt their vocations were similar to those of priests, the latter generally did not share their opinion and made no effort to include them in clergy conferences or diocesan conventions.

It was their affiliation with another group of women — the settlement-house workers, similarly isolated because their residence was also their place of work — that began to break down this separation, establishing an informal network of women involved in social service. A significant number of the first settlement-house workers were Episcopalians, including Ellen Gates Starr of Hull House (Chicago), Helena Stuart Dudley of Denison House (Boston), Mary Kingsbury Simkhovitch of Greenwich House (New York), and Vida Scudder and Mary Van Kleeck of the College Settlement Association. Several of these women had first experienced social work through volunteer activities in their local parishes, and they continued to maintain strong church ties.

Many of the first social settlements were begun by Episcopal churches (and some continued under church sponsorship), whereas others were intentionally founded as non-denominational institutions. Of the 38 religious settlements established before 1900, 11 were Episcopalian. By 1910, of the 167 religious settlements, 31 were Methodist, 29 Episcopal, 20 Presbyterian, and 10 Congregational. Women at the Church Training and Deaconess House in Philadelphia studied social-work methods at St. Martha's House, a settlement established in 1901 and directed by Deaconess Jean W. Colesberry. Graduates went on to work at other settlements, such as St. Agnes House in Philadelphia, St. Monica's Home in Des Moines, and the Neighborhood Settlement in Los Angeles. Many of the women workers found in social settlements another place to invest their energy and altruism — but with a higher degree of pro-

fessional reward. Lavinia Dock, whose later efforts as founder and editor of the *American Journal of Nursing* would shape that profession, first applied for a job as a visiting nurse at Grace Church, New York. When she informed Dr. Huntington that she could not live on the proposed salary of \$300 per year, he asked her whether she was working for money or for the Lord. She merely observed how unjust it was that “the employers of poorly-paid agents should pride themselves on philanthropy or charity when it is really the worker who is the philanthropist.” She moved instead to Henry Street Settlement and continued nursing from there.

Though settlement workers in voluntary church-sponsored programs and church workers at settlement houses forged links between the two areas of employment, the most important connection was an unusual organization, the Society of the Companions of the Holy Cross. The driving force behind it was Emily Malbone Morgan, who, with Harriet Hastings, organized the group in 1884. The only daughter of a wealthy family in Hartford, Conn., Morgan grew up with a strong religious conscience. Influenced by the works of John Ruskin and Sir Walter Besant, she visited Toynbee Hall in London and was very impressed with what she saw there. She returned home determined to help working women. Adopting a simple lifestyle, she poured all her resources — family income and royalties from several books she wrote — into the purchase and maintenance of vacation cottages for workers. The remainder of her life was centered around her two consuming interests — the welfare of working women and the Society of the Companions of the Holy Cross.

Morgan organized the society as a group of laywomen dedicated to maintain a Christian lifestyle with an emphasis on intercessory prayer. Its members were Episcopal women who agreed to certain central ideals — the Way of the Cross, the Life of Intercession, Social Justice, Christian

Unity, Simplicity of Life, and Thanksgiving.

The first Companions were from New England, but the society gradually grew to include many of the leaders of the settlement movement as well as Episcopal church workers (both at home and in the mission field), deaconesses, and even a few Episcopal nuns. By 1894 Ellen Gates Starr of Hull House, Chicago, had joined. Women were accepted as members, after a year's probation, on another Companion's recommendation to Emily Morgan. Vida Scudder directed the probationers from 1909 until 1942, whereas Morgan remained Companion-in-charge until her death in 1933, summarizing each year's activities in an annual letter sent to members around the world. By 1897 there were 143 members, with chapters in Hartford, Boston, Philadelphia, and San Francisco; by 1908 there were 252 members. Several Black women were among the early Companions. Missionaries such as Margaret Waterman in the Philippines and Dr. Marybai in India spread word of the order to other lands. An English society was also formed. Others were in China, Puerto Rico, and Alaska.

Central to the society's life was its annual conference, which brought the scattered Companions together for 10 days each summer. Though guest speakers such as Jane Addams, Walter Rauschenbusch, James O. S. Huntington, and Emily Greene Balch were often invited, the programs were primarily offered by the Companions themselves, who shared their intellectual and social concerns. Vida Scudder presented her research on the social commitments of St. Francis; Genevieve Cowles spoke of her work for prison reform, and Maud Foley, a member of the Garment Workers of Boston, urged other Companions to join the Women's Trade Union League. From Vida Scudder comes this picture of Adelynrood during the conference:

In the little house oratory, a half-dozen women cherishing devotional methods accredited by the ages would now and again supplement the required chapel offices of prime and compline by the use of terce and nones. . . . At the same time, another group sitting peacefully on the wide porches looking westward might be holding a prayer meeting, studying the Greek Testament, or practicing the Quaker method of silent fellowship. . . . Here, a group might gather around a Companion, recounting her adventure in addressing a strike meeting—possibly that of 1912 at Lawrence; on another occasion people might listen to a passionate appeal from someone who had been visiting a mining area, or to report a strike in Chicago. E.M.M. [Morgan] tells gleefully in 1915 of her bewilderment on hearing that the socialist Companions, of whom there were always a few, were meeting to discuss vestments; and of her relief when it turned out that their topic was investments, and the possibility of a white list to salve the Christian conscience.

For the Companions, these annual conferences and the conferences led by the Committees on Social Justice and Christian Unity were a time of reflection and recreation —



Photo (1922) shows attendants in the nursery of New York's St. Barnabas' House, a temporary shelter for women and children, staffed by Episcopal women workers. (Episcopal Church Archives, Austin, Tex.)

a chance to integrate their spiritual life into social action. The yeasty mixture of women who were employed as professors, doctors, social workers, and religious workers, whose common ground was their membership in the Episcopal Church, led to stimulating conversations and a collective impulse to reform both the social order and the church. A high percentage of the Companions were professional women, and many were forging new opportunities for women in their chosen fields. For the unmarried members, the society became a supportive family; for the missionaries, it became a home to which to return in the United States. The roll of members was a veritable *Who's Who* of professional women . . .

Although some Companions probably regarded the society primarily as a spiritual resource for busy women, the interaction between the various disciplines they represented forged an understanding of the social gospel unique in the Episcopal Church in the early 20th century. That understanding not only inspired the Companions to individual and corporate activities in their own fields but led them on several occasions to challenge the Episcopal Church to come to terms with social issues. For example, in 1907 Harriette Keyser (co-organizer with Margaret Lawrence of the Church Association for the Interests of Labor) shared with the annual conference her dismay that the Committee on Capital and Labor, which had been appointed at the General Convention of 1901, had never even issued a report or brought before the convention any consideration of the labor unrest then prevalent in America. Jane Addams, who was one of the guest speakers at the conference that year, described her experience in dealing with labor problems at Hull House and her conviction that the church must address those issues. The ensuing discussion led to a petition to the General Convention that

the church "take some action which shall bring [it] into fuller knowledge and closer truth with the industrial and social problems of the day." Specifically, the document requested the reappointment of the Commission on Capital and Labor, with the stipulation that it bring suggestions for specific action to the next convention.

Bishop Arthur Hall agreed to present the petition to the House of Bishops, and some Companions lobbied for the bill through correspondence and meetings with deputies to the General Convention. Cognizant of the importance of their activities, the women wrote, "In venturing so serious a step as bringing itself to the notice of the church, the society realizes that it has reached a new stage in its corporate life, but it was felt that our pledge to constant prayer for the reconciliation of classes inevitably led to this step, at a juncture when there seems a real chance of quickening the social conscience of the church." The petition was successful. The commission was reappointed and in 1910 became the Joint Commission on Social Service, stimulating and coordinating social-service programs throughout the church. Significantly, this was the first commission of the General Convention to include women as members; Deaconess Knapp, Vida Scudder, and Mary Simkhovitch served along with Robert A. Woods, Seth Low, J. M. Glenn (whose wife was a Companion), and several other clergy and laymen.

In 1909 the Companions devoted their entire annual conference to the subject of "The Church and Social Justice." The conference committee, led by Anna Whitcomb, summarized the social-action programs of six other Protestant denominations, the Roman Catholic Church, the Federal Council of Churches, the YMCA and the YWCA, and suggested areas of cooperative action. Harriette Keyser reported on programs in the Episcopal Church, including the Church League for Industrial Democracy, the Girls' Friendly Society, diocesan social-service commissions, and the Church Association for the Interests of Labor. Both documents were reprinted, widely circulated in the Episcopal Church, and used as guides for developing diocesan social-service commissions.

In 1916 some of the Companions sent another petition to the General Convention, urging

that the service of the community and the welfare of the workers rather than private profits should be the aim of every industry, and the test of its value; and that the church should seek to keep this aim and this test constantly before the mind of the public; and that Christians as individuals are under the solemn obligation on the one hand, conscientiously to scrutinize the sources of their income, and on the other hand, to give at least moral support and prayer to every effort to secure fair conditions and regular employment for wage earners, and the extension of true democracy to industrial matters.

With only a few stylistic changes, the resolution was adopted by the entire convention. Later it formed the basis

for an expanded resolution adopted by the Bishops of the Anglican Communion meeting in Lambeth in 1920.

Some Companions also worked for minimum-wage and hour laws to protect working women and for anti-child-labor legislation. During the 1911 coal strike, Companion Margaret Shearman moved into the coal camps near Pittsburgh to help the miners' families.

On another issue, several Companions — Helena Dudley, Vida Scudder, Florence Converse, Geraldine Gordon, Lucy Sturgis, and Grace Hutchins — sent a strong protest to the House of Bishops committee that had recommended censuring Bishop Paul Jones. (Jones was the bishop of Utah whose staunch antiwar statements and support of the pacifist movement during the saber-rattling period just prior to the United States' entry into World War I angered many of his diocesan leaders. In 1917 Utah requested that he be removed as bishop. The House of Bishops discussed the case at two successive meetings, finally resolving the situation by both affirming Bishop Jones's freedom to express his opinion *and* accepting his resignation.) But many of the Companions continued to believe that the bishop's pacifism was thoroughly consistent with his Christian beliefs and that he ought to be lauded rather than censored.

In 1918 they wrote to President Wilson, requesting a new trial for labor leader Thomas J. Mooney. The next year they petitioned both the president and the attorney general, asking for the immediate release of conscientious objectors serving prison terms.

Far more could be said about the Companions as initiators of social-service programs, as champions of inter-denominational cooperation, and as advocates for social justice. One has only to begin to read the biographies of these women to be impressed by their commitment to, and their realization of, social-gospel ideals. Their accomplishments in terms of meaningful social change would easily stand alongside the work of such social-gospel reformers as Walter Rauschenbusch and Richard T. Ely. Their long-term dedication to the Episcopal Church is ample evidence of the important part their religious convictions played in shaping their dedication to an improved society. And yet, because of the privacy of their religious life, their work has been neglected by church historians; and the religious dimension of their concern for social justice has been ignored in historical studies of the progressive period. Through both their individual commitments and their corporate activities as Companions, these women voiced a strong social conscience within the Episcopal Church, a conscience that often pushed the church into social action projects. As educated professionals pursuing careers in social work and as active, involved churchwomen, they played a significant role in shaping the Episcopal Church's response to the demands of the social gospel. ■

Elie Wiesel's blind spot

by Norman Solomon

The winner of the 1986 Nobel Peace Prize has proven that even a great visionary can have a blind spot.

As a survivor of Nazi death camps, Elie Wiesel wrote many books testifying that the human spirit can endure in the face of ghastly barbarism. Wiesel has done much to remind humanity that — as he put it in his Nobel acceptance speech — “If we forget, we are guilty, we are accomplices.”

With a global spotlight on him in Oslo, Wiesel presented a powerful affirmation of moral strength and spiritual renewal. But his message faltered when he spoke of the Middle East.

Wiesel's moral vision suddenly went out of focus. He mentioned “the Palestinians to whose plight I am sensitive but whose methods I deplore when they lead to violence.” Yet there was no mention of Israel's violent methods: “I trust Israel, for I have faith in the Jewish people. Let Israel be given a chance, let hatred and danger be removed from her horizons, and there will be peace in and around the Holy Land.”

Such faith can be moving — but it can also become immovable. Many Palestinian people, made homeless by Israeli policies, have felt the double-edged sword of faith in Israel as they experience a Diaspora of their own.

“I am profoundly Jewish, and therefore I am profoundly linked to the Jewish people,” Wiesel told a news conference in Oslo. When reporters pressed him about Israel's treatment of Palestinians, however, Wiesel complained: “You are asking me things

which you would not have asked of me if I was not Jewish.” Wiesel, like quite a few other American supporters of Israel, wants to reserve the right to have it both ways — endorsing a militarized state and disclaiming it too.

Those who believe in “Israel, right or wrong” sometimes respond to criticisms by contending that the country is unfairly held to a higher moral standard than other nations. Yet Israel's backers are apt to claim that the Jewish homeland — founded in the wake of the Holocaust as a refuge for Jews — is in a special spiritual category. And the implication, all too often, is that Israel can do no wrong.

As an American Jew, I had hoped to be proud of Elie Wiesel's Nobel speech. Instead I was appalled at his evasions, and alarmed at the extent of his ethical nearsightedness. Wiesel is so focused on those closest to his heart that the human dignity of Israel's current victims seems like a blur in comparison.

“We must always take sides,” Wiesel pointed out in his speech. “Neutrality helps the oppressor, never the victim. Silence encourages the tormentor, never the tormented.”

But Wiesel has failed to take sides as Palestinians undergo oppression and torment. At best, Wiesel is neutral as Israel tightens its grip on the West Bank. And he has remained silent as high-tech Israeli air strikes, in Lebanon and elsewhere, inflict the kind of human misery among civilians that would rightly be denounced as terrorism if perpetrated by an Arab group.

What's more, there was a terrible irony when Wiesel told his Oslo audience and the world that “apartheid is, in my view, as abhorrent as anti-Semitism.” Israeli collaboration with

South Africa has become well-documented if not well-publicized.

Israel buys most of its coal from South Africa. Annual trade between the two countries adds up to a lot more than the \$142 million listed by the International Monetary Fund, since much of it goes unreported — including \$350 million in arms. Evidence indicates that Israel is South Africa's biggest trading partner. In effect the two nations are close allies, with ties extending to joint military projects.

Meanwhile, Israel has been funneling armaments to the Contras at war with Nicaragua, and to repressive regimes in Latin America. Israel is able to finance these endeavors because the U.S. government provides several billion dollars in aid each year.

There is no justification for trying to absolve Israel for its cruelties and cynical alliances. It is wrong to carry belief in any government, or faith in any people, to such an extreme that trust becomes gullibility and faith turns a blind eye to injustice. When that happens, no amount of past anguish or present eloquence can make up for what is left unsaid.

In the here and now — at any time in history — to “take sides” can be difficult and hazardous. In the late 1980s many Palestinians, and many Black South Africans, desperately need us to take risks on their behalf as they struggle to survive predicaments that are imposed or aggravated by Israel.

What “victims need above all,” Elie Wiesel said at the close of his Oslo speech, “is to know that they are not alone; that we are not forgetting them, that when their voices are stifled we shall lend them ours . . .”

Nobel laureate, heed thyself. ■

Norman Solomon is a free-lance writer living in Portland, Ore. He is co-author of *Killing Our Own: The Disaster of America's Experience With Atomic Radiation.* (Dell).

Short Takes

Vatican justice

Margaret Hebblethwaite, wife of Vatican affairs writer Peter Hebblethwaite, attended a papal audience Dec. 10. When Pope John Paul neared, she took out a poster that said, "English Catholics Support Hunthausen."

Policemen grabbed the sign and tore it in two, without looking at it. Then they grabbed Margaret and carried her out horizontally. Margaret said she was placed on the floor in the foyer. A cop stood over her and cried, "Get down! Do not move!" She asked, "Why are you afraid of me? I have come in peace. I have done nothing more than hold up a piece of paper."

They led her to the police office inside the Vatican, saying demonstrations are not allowed in the Vatican. Margaret asked, "Is not the pope allowed to know what Catholics around the world are thinking?" The cop replied, "The pope knows everything." After an hour, one of the cops brought a statement for her to sign. She said she noted inaccuracies and asked the police to rewrite it. She was threatened with a trial and possible imprisonment if she did not sign the statement. Eventually, they permitted her to add a few explanatory phrases but refused to give her a copy. She was then escorted across the square by a cop, who wished her "buon appetito."

Tom Fox

National Catholic Reporter 12/19/86

Orthodox to Reagan

We, the children of the Russian Orthodox Church and all Christians of the Soviet Union, are particularly conscious of the great responsibility of religious people these days for the preservation of the sacred gift of life against nuclear disaster . . . It will not be rhetoric if we exclaim: Where, Mr. President (Reagan) is the limit to this thirst for armaments? What are the means that can arrest this insane movement toward the triumph of death? How has it happened that love has been lost for fellow creatures, for neighbors, when we Christians regard every human being as such, without which, as the Apostle Paul said, "all other spiritual gifts are nothing?"

**Pimen, Patriarch of Moscow
and all Russia
Quoted in *The Churchman***



Rini Templeton

In memoriam

Word of the death of Rini Templeton, noted movement artist who devoted her life to social justice issues, reached THE WITNESS last month. The news was late to arrive in the States, since she was house-sitting in Mexico when she died at the age of 54 of heart failure.

Templeton received public acclaim for her illustration of John Nichols' book *The Milagro Beanfield War*, soon to be made into a movie. But Native Americans and Chicanos best knew her selfless dedication to justice and minority issues. She contributed to *El Grito del Norte* and illustrated *450 Years of Chicano History in Pictures*.

Templeton worked four years in the literacy campaign in Cuba, after which she was not allowed to return to the United States. When the ruling was changed, she settled in New Mexico. Nichols wrote of her:

*She lives on the mesa
where the road rises out of the Rio Grande
Gorge
Her house has no running water
but it has large windows and sunshine
In a twisted tree by the door,
hot breezes stir a vague wind chime.
She is earthy, passionate, political.
She calls herself cojo, manco, tuerto
drinks sherry, works very hard, loves very
hard
absorbs landscape with desperate
beautiful joy,
lives alone.*

Templeton illustrated *Must We Choose Sides*, the first of two volumes on Christian Commitment for the '80s published by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company. (See Back Cover.)

Predicts \$1.5 trillion debt

Former budget director David Stockman, accusing President Reagan of continuing to wage a "phony war against spending," claims Reagan will have left a \$1.5 trillion legacy of red ink by the end of his second term.

"The next president will inherit a publicly held federal debt nearly triple that accumulated by all of Ronald Reagan's 30 predecessors," Stockman contends in the paperback edition of his book, *The Triumph of Politics*.

The paperback was scheduled for release four days before the president submitted his \$1 trillion fiscal 1988 budget to Congress.

Associated Press

Quote of note

You shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you odd.

Flannery O'Connor

8,800 children detained

Some 8,800 children are among the 22,000 people who have been detained and held without trial at the whim of security police since the State of Emergency imposed by the South African government in June, 1986. A child is defined by law as a person under 18 years. Many have been tortured.

These facts about Pretoria's treatment of Black South African youth were published under the auspices of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee, which has been active in the monitoring, care and treatment of detainees and their families.

The 220-page DPSC document examines the political context of repression, the complex web of laws under which Black people suffer, citizenship laws which dispossess people, the powers of banning, the role of South Africa's inferior schooling system in igniting Black youths' resistance to apartheid, and the damage suffered by children because of the brutality to which they are subjected.

Human rights groups in South Africa are drawing urgent attention to the children being detained, and Pretoria has responded by attacking those pressing the campaign. Officials of the Black Sash and the DPSC have been given banning orders.

**Newsletter: Episcopal Churchpeople
for a Free Southern Africa**

Why a bishop should choose

“I have a concern that the U.S. bishops and the Episcopal Church in your country know that some of us are grateful for the leadership (in support of women’s ordination) that we’ve had from you all,” the Rt. Rev. Peter Selby, Bishop of Kingston upon the Thames, wrote THE WITNESS recently. He enclosed a piece he did for the London Times following the controversial celebration of Communion by the Rev. Joyce Bennett at Church of England headquarters at Westminster last year.

Selby was the only bishop to receive communion at the service conducted by Bennett, who was ordained in Hong Kong. Moves to allow women ordained abroad to celebrate communion in England were effectively turned down last summer by the church’s general synod, which has opposed women in the priesthood to date. Bennett’s service angered staunch opponents of women priests, who called it “a challenge to the authority of the Church of England.” Selby’s article, “Why a bishop should choose,” below, applies not only to the ordination of women priests, but also to other justice issues requiring a prophetic stance.

The hardest moment of the annual meeting of the Movement for the Ordination of Women at Church House did not come in the Eucharist; on the contrary, that was a natural, restorative and healing event, and the promise of a better future.

The hardest moment for me, the only bishop present, came when members staged two dramatic “role plays” depicting encounters between movement delegates and their bishop. One “bishop” was portrayed as a most enthusiastic supporter of women’s ordination, fulsome in his approval of and interest in what the group was doing.

The purpose of the imaginary encounter, however, was to find out what *he* was doing or proposing to do, and he became pretty short on content. It was all very realistic and, for me, uncomfortable. The giveaway line for the “bishop” was, “I am pastorally responsible for *everybody*”. So he could not ally himself clearly and firmly with the cause he claimed to support, because of the reaction of opponents.

In nearly two years as a bishop I have found nothing harder to struggle against than that debilitating view of pastoral responsibility. There are several parts to it: a desire to love, which in-

volves reaching out to people who differ from you; the tradition that to be out of communion with your bishop is to be outside the Church — and that seems to impose an obligation on bishops to avoid, at almost any price, putting people in that position; an instinct that conflict is bound to be a sign of sin; and the belief expressed in the bishop’s function in service after service, that the bishop is representative of the *whole* Church.

It is a view summed up in the often used phrase “focus of unity”, embedded deep in the episcopal culture and popular expectation. It does not take long to acquire.

In the Church of England that view of pastoral universality as the ideal derives support from a long tradition, very explicit in the Prayer Book and certainly not expunged in recent liturgies, of assimilating God, and then all authority, to the image of the English monarch; that personage whose life, lived above the flux of social conflict, is conducted in a manner all can esteem, and from which none need feel alienated.

During periods of agreement, such “monarch figures” can exercise their universal pastorate with relative ease. In a fragmented society, and especially

one which reaches the point where some — because they are poor or because they are black — are not even included, the position of “the universal person” becomes immensely precarious.

In relation to many groups and individuals, and in particular in relation to women with the grace and calling of priests or bishops in them, the Church is such a society. So what is to become of the ideal of universal pastor?

The role-playing bishop expressed the anguish very well. Was he not behind the ordination of women all the way? Was there really anything else he could do, given his position and his responsibilities? He had indeed done what he could, except for the one thing which was needed, and that was to opt for them.

His difficulty was that to opt for the women seeking ordination meant leaving behind not merely other people (“I am pastor to everybody”) but a whole set of deeply ingrained ideas and perceptions. And he would have been accustomed to a style of praying which subtly presupposes a unity of mind and heart, and a view of holiness excluding tension, anger and conflict.

When he was ordained and undertook the various obligations of ministry

there was no suggestion that they might at some point conflict with one another and that he would have to choose. So he undertook "to have a special care for the outcast and needy" and to uphold ecclesiastical discipline; perish the thought that they might ever pull in opposite directions.

Most of the time the "outcast and needy" are far more silent about their claim than are ecclesiastical authorities, and so the choice (and it is a choice) goes in that direction unnoticed. It is at times such as ours, when the cry of a suppressed vocation can be ignored no longer, that he has to choose openly and accountably, and for that he finds himself — I found myself — very ill-equipped.

That is not all his fault, and the difficulty is not the bishops' alone. They are that way because that is the way the Church wants them to be: if they do not choose maybe the Church will also escape without choosing, which all of us would rather do if we happened to be the beneficiaries of the way things are.

Last Saturday the cruel fantasy was exposed: that you can be for women's ordination and for the Church of England's present way of doing things. The reality is that Anglican women priests are not a future hope but real people already live among us, and we all have to recognize them now or deny them now.

As for bishops, one thing they could do is give up the phrase "focus of unity"; bishops do focus the Church, but what they focus is the Church as it is. Being a focus of disunity is not therefore in itself a sign of pastoral failure.

The components of the "universal pastor" view are, taken individually as I described them, a rich inheritance of love and concern; taken together, they have come to form an encumbrance which we, like the rich ruler, may sometimes be called to dispose of if we are to choose for Christ.

**The Rt. Rev. Peter Selby
Bishop of Kingston
upon Thames**

Continued from page 11

ceed, but at what cost to ourselves and the rest of the country? And if this happened, how could Black and White ever live together again in peace and harmony? These were the problems that faced us, and these were our decisions.

I turn now to my own position. I have denied that I am a Communist, and I think that in the circumstances I am obliged to state exactly what my political beliefs are.

I have always regarded myself, in the first place, as an African patriot . . . Today I am attracted by the idea of a classless society, an attraction which springs in part from Marxist reading and, in part, from my admiration of the structure and organization of early African societies in this country. The land, then the main means of production, belonged to the tribe. There were no rich or poor and there was no exploitation.

It is true, as I have already stated, that I have been influenced by Marxist thought. But this is also true of many of the leaders of the new independent states. Such widely different persons as Gandhi, Nehru, Nkrumah, and Nasser all acknowledged this fact. We all accept the need for some form of socialism to enable our people to catch up with the advanced countries of this world and to overcome their legacy of extreme poverty. But this does not mean we are Marxists.

I have been influenced in my thinking by both West and East. All this has led me to feel that in my search for a political formula, I should be absolutely impartial and objective. . .

Our fight is against real, and not imaginary, hardships or, to use the language of the state prosecutor, "so-called hardships." Basically, we fight against two features which are the hallmarks of African life in South Africa

and which are entrenched by legislation which we seek to have repealed. These features are poverty and lack of human dignity, and we do not need Communists or so-called "agitators" to teach us about these things.

Above all, we want equal political rights, because without them our disabilities will be permanent. I know this sounds revolutionary to the Whites in this country, because the majority of voters will be Africans. This makes the White man fear democracy.

But this fear cannot be allowed to stand in the way of the only solution which will guarantee racial harmony and freedom for all. It is not true that the enfranchisement of all will result in racial domination. Political division, based on color, is entirely artificial and, when it disappears, so will the domination of one color group by another. The A.N.C. has spent half a century fighting against racialism. When it triumphs it will not change that policy.

This then is what the A.N.C. is fighting. Their struggle is a truly national one. It is a struggle of the African people, inspired by their own suffering and their own experience. It is a struggle for the right to live.

During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against White domination, and I have fought against Black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die. ■

CORRECTION

A Soviet woman was identified incorrectly in a photo on page 19 of the November WITNESS. Her name should read Tatiana Volgina, not Tatjana Orlova.

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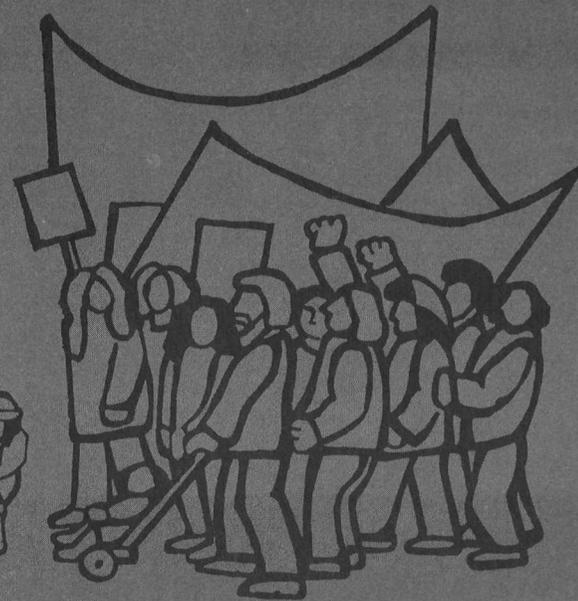


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