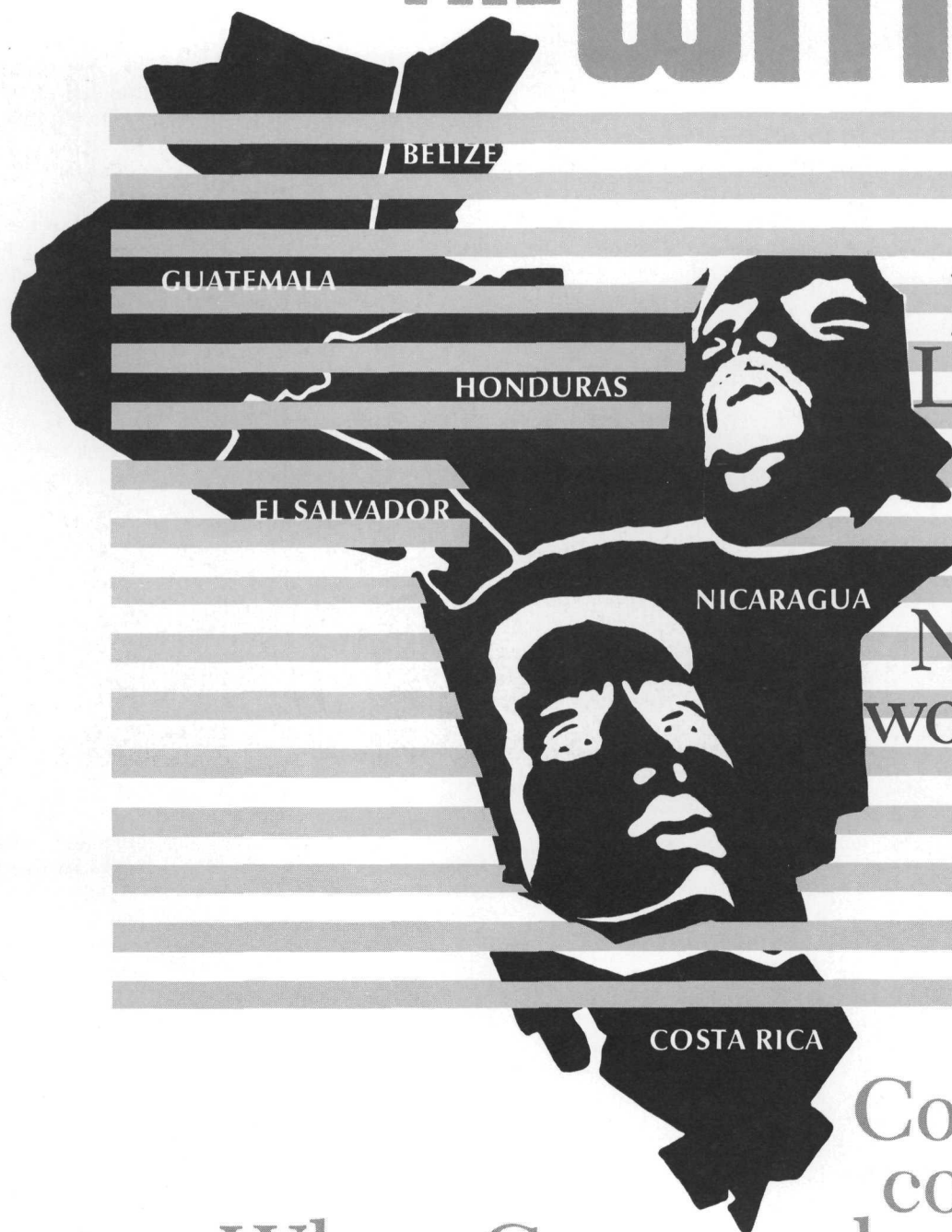


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THE WITNESS



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Letters

Wrong end of telescope?

The Rev. Richard Mansfield's article "Holding Canterbury accountable" (March) is looking at the problem through the wrong end of the telescope. Indeed there is a major division within the Anglican Communion, but it is the American/Canadian/New Zealand/etc. provinces which have caused it, not the Church of England. *We* are the ones who have changed the nature of the sacramental ministry, and we should not be surprised when other portions of the church refuse to recognize the novelty. Indeed, many of our own members do not recognize it either. If people are starting to worry about disunity and division, I suggest they were warned about it long before the change, and they chose to ignore the warning.

And when Canon Mansfield says "a bishop celebrates Holy Communion by the fact that he is ordained a presbyter as well as a bishop" he has it backwards again. A priest celebrates, holds office, exercises oversight, only because he is ordained by a bishop, as a deputy of that bishop. Bishops came before presbyters in the church, and the latter order developed only as a necessity when the burden of oversight grew to be too much for one bishop in an area.

When he says "There are no women bishops (yet)..." he is obviously expecting it to happen soon. Dissention and disruption will only be multiplied in this case. A number of bishops throughout the Anglican Communion have said they cannot attend Lambeth if a woman claiming episcopal orders is present; if this happens, it will be her novel ministry which has disrupted things, not long held beliefs of others. The Church of England has not said it does not recognize the orders of men ordained in the historic ministry even from provinces which have changed the nature of that ministry, but when

the time comes of recognizing the orders of men "ordained" by women, there will be total disruption and ecclesiastical integrity will have disappeared. And the burden of such disruption will be on those who have made the change, not on those who cannot accept it.

**Dorothy W. Spaulding
McLean, Va.**

Mansfield responds

I understand that the Church of England's Synod has just approved the ordination of women as priests. The Church of England has now joined "the American/Canadian/New Zealand etc. provinces" in recognizing this "novelty." Surely now the Church of England should be able to remove the restriction against women Anglican priests practicing their sacramental ministries in England. The word "novelty" is Ms. Spaulding's unsuccessful attempt to trivialize the growing and significant realization by our church of our oneness in Christ. The nature of the sacramental ministry has not been changed. It has only been fulfilled by making ordination a possibility for all God's people regardless of gender.

Bishops in our church today first were enabled to celebrate the eucharist as priests. I hope that neither priests nor bishops in our church will celebrate communion in the Church of England when some of their ordained colleagues are unable to do so. That is a real issue of "ecclesiastical integrity."

I am not surprised by, nor do I fear dissension or disruption. But I do challenge those who espouse our Anglican Communion and Christian unity through acceptance of each other's orders when one of the provinces in our communion refuses to accept the orders of some clergy in other provinces. Mrs. Spaulding suggests that some bishops will not attend Lambeth if there

is a woman bishop present. I suggest that our bishops should stay away from Lambeth because it is being held in a province of the Anglican Church that refuses to accept the orders of some of the priests that they have ordained. But if they do attend, I certainly hope they, in solidarity with our sisters, will not practice their sacramental ministry while they are in that province.

**The Rev. Richard H. Mansfield, Jr.
Hartford, Conn.**

Harris columns powerful

Kudos to the Rev. Barbara Harris for her consistently provocative, profound theological message. She tackles the tough issues with verve, tenacity and integrity. She makes us *think*. Her January and March columns have been especially powerful. Thank God and THE WITNESS for her.

**Nell Braxton Gibson
Executive Assistant
to the Bishop of New York**

Meese threatens freedom

Bishop Coleman McGehee's guest editorial in the March issue of THE WITNESS astutely spotlights a fact of which many church leaders in this country seem unaware: the policies of Attorney General Edwin Meese pose a danger to the religious freedom of us all.

As the Bishop points out, Meese's apparent lack of understanding of the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution is leading him to dismantle some of our most important rights, as well as the wall of separation between church and state. By his support for government-sponsored school prayer he denies the basic tenet that even the most vocal opponents of church/state separation recognize in the First Amendment: a prohibition on establishment of religion.

Meese stands, however, as a representative of the entire Reagan administration, which seeks to have the government support religious education through tax deductions and direct subsidies, leading to destructive entanglement between church and state and the destruction of public education; and which wants to legislate religious morality through the constitutional amendment process. Nothing could be a greater threat to the vitality of the church; nothing could be more destructive of the freedom of conscience we all enjoy under the Constitution. Bishop McGehee deserves our thanks for his timely warning. Let us hope it is not too late.

Dr. Robert L. Maddox
Executive Director
Americans United for Separation
of Church and State

Stimulating thoughts

Charles Meyer's essay, "Eleven myths about death" in the March WITNESS was the most thought-stimulating piece I've read in many moons.

Nowadays the optimist/pessimist dualism seems intensified to harsh polarity in our society. We are tempted to opt for the here-and-now of material things, rather than ardently seek spiritual insight.

"We are poor, silly animals," reflected Horace Walpole. "We live for an instant upon a particle of a boundless universe, and are much like a butterfly that should argue about the nature of the seasons, and what creates their vicissitudes, and does not exist itself to see an annual revolution of the sun."

What a glaringly optimistic contrast is contained in Joseph Addison's familiar lines:

"It must be so; Plato, thou reasonest well, / Else whence this pleasing hope, this fond desire, / This longing after immortality? / Or whence the secret

dread and inward horror / Of falling into nought? Why shrinks the soul / Back on itself, and startles at destruction? / 'Tis the divinity that stirs within us; / 'Tis heaven itself that points out an hereafter / And intimates eternity to man."

William Dauenhauer
Wickliffe, Ohio

Negative models in control

I have consistently enjoyed THE WITNESS copies supplied to me by a San Diego subscriber, so I now wish to subscribe on my own. Excellent articles! I am a Roman Catholic priest who has had salary cut off because of my constant sermons on women priests. I hope a retired Catholic bishop will soon ordain some Catholic women. Through the Holy Spirit the feminine will save the church and this planet.

Negative masculine models are in control everywhere. Male and female alike need feminine consciousness; soul intuition! We have no feminine theology so we don't know what a female priest or bishop would look like. Let us imagine together so we can hope.

The Rev. Neil Voigt
San Diego, Cal.

For spiritual people only

When I first read a flyer covering your publication it seemed worth while to see what might be written in it and so I subscribed. Yesterday the first issue came and I found that you write about the same things as all religious publications. That is you are only interested in the world, things like peace, treatment of homosexuals, etc.

Jesus recognized that those people who had been given to him by his Father were not of the world. Spiritual people are not of this world but almost no one is concerned or interested in spiritual things.

Arndt & Gingrich wrote that a spiritual man "possesses the divine pneuma, not beside his natural human soul, but in place of it;" This can be the case only when a person has laid down his life so that God can make his crucifixion with the Anointed One reality, and having been reborn he is filled with all the fulness of God.

Nothing else matters in a person's life until he has allowed God to bring him to this state. It is therefore useless to consider anything else until people are in this state. God can do his will only in these spiritual people. Anything done by, in, or through unspiritual people is of the evil ones and has the nature of sin.

Charles H. Bergsland
Sequim, Wash.

WITNESS to archives

As archivist for the Society of the Companions of the Holy Cross, I want to express my appreciation for the reprinting of excerpts of Chapter 10 of Mary Sudman Donovan's book, *A Different Call*, in the February WITNESS ("The feminist dimension of the Social Gospel"). I would like to order two copies for our Adelywood Library.

Ruth S. Leonard
Boston, Mass.

Kudos on anniversary

For the last five years I have subscribed to your magazine. Yours is perhaps the only national publication in the Episcopal Church educating our society on the many issues confronting it and our church in particular.

Whether I agree or not on your approach I always read your publication with interest and expectation. In this your 70th anniversary my most heartfelt congratulations.

The Rev. Canon Herbert Arrunategui
National Hispanic Officer
Episcopal Church Center

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Losing our own country

"Some Episcopalians — such as Vice-President George Bush, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, Rear Admiral John Poindexter, Lt. Col. Oliver North — all of whom are members of our church, support our government's efforts (in Nicaragua). What we must remember as we seek to understand the situation is the fact that the Episcopal Church in Nicaragua is a part of our church community, as much as the Diocese of Vermont or the Diocese of Maine. Thus, when we speak of the Contra war supported by our government, we are speaking of a war prosecuted against another country, Nicaragua, which includes a diocese of our own church. I can think of no more important task for the Standing Commission on Peace for the Episcopal Church to address than that situation in which Episcopalian is killing Episcopalian.

— The Rev. Nathaniel Pierce, Chair
Episcopal Church Standing Commission on Peace

Nat Pierce, reflecting on the "Episcopalian connection" to Contragate, above, points out an anomaly in the present debacle where government officials are secretly funding terrorist warfare — in essence, Christians are helping to kill Christians. Pierce and other Peace Commission members met in Managua in March and visited with human rights, church and press representatives, including those who supported and those who opposed the Sandinista government. Afterwards, Pierce reported:

I could find no one who felt that conditions under the Somoza regime were better than what people were experiencing under the Sandinistas. Clearly the poor are better off today than they were 10 years ago and the government continues to place a high priority on dealing with problems of housing, hunger and illiteracy.

I could find no one who supported the war of the Contras. (Emphasis his.)

The present leadership of the Nicaraguan government is intensely patri-

otic. As one person said, "This is not a Marxist revolution, it is a Nicaraguan revolution run by Nicaraguans.

I returned to the United States with a keen awareness that we are not receiving a clear picture of the situation from our own press. On several occasions, we were told of the importance of visiting church groups who then returned to the United States to give a first hand report of what they had seen and heard.

Nicaraguans, even while engaged in war, have patiently and graciously hosted church and other U.S. people-to-people groups which have traveled in great numbers to establish what is truth and what is propaganda. But when U.S. citizens have to venture overseas to search out facts, a second anomaly surfaces — and that is the use of the codename, *Project Democracy* by the National Security Council for its bizarre, immoral covert operation.

As Ron Goetz pointed out in a recent issue of *The Christian Century*, "Government via covert activity is inherently

undemocratic . . . Policies arrived at and carried out in secret make an intelligent exercise of one's franchise to vote in a liberal democracy as impossible as the communists claim it to be — for in such a situation one can never know what the real issues are. Democracy requires that the state's powers be severely limited. There are things that a democracy must forego which a totalitarian state can — indeed must — do. For the sake of democracy we must sacrifice such 'guarantees' of state security as secret police, political arrests, secret trials and torture, and even the macho self-image we conjure up for ourselves by means of covert activities."

Heretofore, U.S. peace delegations have gone to Nicaragua in droves, fearing that Nicaraguans might lose their country under present U.S. policy. But the recent revelations about U.S. military adventurism reveal a different scenario: It is we in the United States who are in danger of losing our own country. ■

Acting on faith, not fear:

When Congress had courage

by F. Forrester Church

Watching the Iran-Contra affair unfold, I cannot help but wonder what my father, Frank Church, for 24 years a senator from Idaho and outspoken critic of covert actions, would be saying if he were still alive. My guess is that his response would be little different than it was 12 years ago, when he chaired the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. "The United States must not adopt the tactics of the enemy," he wrote in his introduction to the committee's report on assassinations. "Means are as important as ends. Crisis makes it tempting to ignore the wise restraints that make us free; but each time we do so, each time the means we use are wrong, our inner strength, the strength which makes us free, is lessened."

In 1974, during my first year in the doctoral program at Harvard, my father and I spent an evening discussing theology and history with George Huntston Williams, Hollis Professor of Divinity and my faculty advisor. Shortly thereafter, one theme that Williams identified as recurring throughout the ages emerged as the cornerstone of Frank Church's own critique of corporate and governmental lawlessness during his investigations of multinational corporations and of the American intelligence agencies.

"George Williams, one of the much beloved professors of theology at Harvard Divinity School, once said to me something that I have always remembered," Church said during an interview for *Parade* magazine. "'Choose your enemy very carefully, for you will grow to be more like him.'" After World War II the Soviet Union became our perceived enemy and we undertook to contest with the Russians everything in the world. To justify emulating their method we said we had to treat fire with fire. And in the process, of course, we've become more like them. In a

free society that can go only so far. We become our own worst enemy if we bring down a free society in the very name of defending it."

Church applied Williams' principle first to illegal and immoral corporate business practices abroad. In 1975, he conducted the first in-depth investigation of illicit connections between multinational corporations and foreign governments. In a series of blockbuster revelations, his Subcommittee on Multinational Corporations exposed the following:

- Exxon parceling out \$27 million in illegal political contributions in Italy in return for economic favors from the government;
- Gulf Oil doling out \$4 million in illegal corporate contributions in Korea;
- Northrop paying an agent \$450,000 for the purpose of bribing Saudi Arabian generals;
- United Fruit slipping the president of Honduras \$1.2 million to lower the export tax on bananas;
- Lockheed making illegal payments to government officials in countries around the globe — in Europe, in Asia, in the Middle East, and in the Far East — amounting in the aggregate to many millions of dollars.

In addition, Church released a complete list of U. S. firms on the Arab boycott list.

One after another, corporate executives confessed the truth of the committee's findings. There was a notable lack of contrition. As my father noted at the time, "All of this wrongdoing is acknowledged by straight-faced executives who say they had to break the law in order to get the business. The excuse, after all, is written plainly in the adage, 'When in Rome . . .' But the excuse is hollow. The bad habits of Rome were brought home to America. The roster of companies that made illegal corporate contributions to the Nixon campaign in 1972 includes many of the companies which have turned to bribery abroad. If we condone bribery of foreign officials we will sow the seeds of corruption in our own land."

F. Forrester Church, newly named weekly columnist for the *Chicago Tribune*, is pastor of the Unitarian Church of All Souls, New York City. He is the author of a personal biography of his father, Sen. Frank Church, entitled *Father and Son*. His latest book, *Entertaining Angels*, was released last month by Harper & Row.

Again, the Williams principle pertains here. In Church's own words, "We must never accede to the rationale, in foreign policy or in business, that we must become as corrupt as those we come up against."

The bridge from Church's chairmanship of the Multinational Subcommittee to that of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence was his investigation of ITT's secret offering to the CIA of a million dollars to prevent Salvador Allende, lawfully elected by the people of Chile, from becoming president. As Jerome Levenson, chief counsel for the Multinational Subcommittee, observed, "Church knew they weren't going to do a damn thing on [CIA Director Richard] Helms or [Secretary of State Henry] Kissinger, but he pushed it. The rest of the committee just wanted it all to go away. He was the only guy who pressed on. The State Department and everyone was urging him to stop and he just blasted them all to get where we did. The net plus is we exposed as issues things that had previously been sacrosanct."

My father's single most important and sensitive assignment during his 24 years in the Senate was the chairing of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. "It's not at all clear that the public will fully appreciate the need for an investigation of this kind," he said in May, 1975, just after the committee's work had begun. "It's necessary for us to look very closely and critically at some of the activities of the CIA and FBI and other agencies," particularly covert activities of the sort that had been "glamorized after a whole generation [fed] on a constant diet of Missions Impossible."

Vice President Rockefeller published his own report, assuring the American public that the CIA's transgressions were "not major." Senator Church disagreed. He said that he and Rockefeller both had hard evidence of CIA assassination plots. Church preferred the word murder. "I don't regard murder plots as a minor matter," he said. "Ours is not a wicked country and we cannot abide a wicked government. If we're going to lay claim to being a civilized country we must make certain in the future that no agency of our government can be licensed to murder. The President of the United States cannot become a glorified godfather."

The last week of November, 1975, the Church committee released its findings on CIA assassination plots. Drawing on nearly 10,000 pages of sworn testimony taken from more than 100 witnesses over 60 days of closed-door hearings, the report outlined five CIA attempts, all unsuccessful, upon the lives of foreign leaders: Cuba's Fidel Castro, the Dominican Republic's Rafael Trujillo, Vietnam's Ngo Dinh Diem, Congo's Patrice Lumumba, and General Rene Schneider of Chile. The methods used by the CIA in



The late Sen. Frank Church and President Jimmy Carter

these attempts, as well as its agents' ineptitude in carrying them out, lent a kind of amateurish James Bond quality to its exploits. In the case of Castro, for instance, there were poison cigars, skin-diving suits dusted with lethal powder, even seashells charged with explosives to be laced in Castro's favorite diving grounds.

Church characterized the CIA as a "rogue elephant." Though there was little clear evidence either way, most in

the press and the agency itself argued that the CIA was just following executive orders and would be both constitutionally and practically incapable of initiating policy on its own.

The committee was unanimous in its findings, but Senators Barry Goldwater of Arizona and John Tower of Texas did issue a minority report dissenting to its publication. "The wholesale foraging of the Congress into the details of foreign policy and the intelligence services upon which it depends can only serve to give comfort to our opponents and to embarrass our friends," Goldwater said.

Church disagreed. "A basic tenet of our democracy is that the people must be told of the mistakes of their government so that they may have the opportunity to correct them. We believe that foreign peoples will, upon sober reflection, admire our nation more for keeping faith with our democratic ideals than they will condemn us for the misconduct itself. Moreover, whatever the possible short-term detriment to our reputation abroad, it will be far outweighed by the constructive result at home of enabling the American people to fully understand what was done secretly in their name. Revealing the truth will strengthen our political system, which depends upon an informed public, and will help reestablish the trust of the American people in the candor of their government."

Among the other abuses of power within the intelligence services Church uncovered during the course of his investigation were the use by the Internal Revenue Service of a staff to gather intelligence on American citizens simply because they disagreed politically with the Nixon administration; the illegal accumulation by the CIA of 7,200 files on American citizens because they dissented on the Vietnam war; and illegal mail-opening programs by the CIA directed against Americans between 1950 and 1973. In his own file, Frank Church was surprised to find a letter that he had written to his mother-in-law from Moscow in 1971.

Though my father managed to enact a law against assassination by any agency of government, most of the reforms he recommended, including radical limitations to be placed on covert action, were scuttled before his legislation reached the floor.

Openness, of course, is inconvenient, especially to people in power. Conservative philosopher Sidney Hook laments "how fragile a self-governing democratic society is . . . For its very own rationale encourages a constant critical approach that its enemies can exploit to weaken it." In his book *How Democracies Perish* Jean-Francois Revel warns that not only is a democracy "not basically structured to defend itself against outside enemies, [but also] democracy faces an internal enemy whose right to exist is written into

the law itself." We are frequently told that the U.S. press is insufficiently patriotic, insufficiently anti-Soviet, and too objective. Such critics would feel right at home in the Soviet Union, where the press filters current events through a red lens as suits its ideological taste.

New Republic columnist Michael Kinsley sums up the "new Patriotism" and its accompanying argument in favor of a new *Realpolitik* in these words; "nations like America are too decent and humanitarian for our own damn good." He goes on to add, "I wish that the putative defenders of American liberty and democracy would show a bit more enthusiasm for these fine things. Instead, they criticize America's openness, its idealism, its raucous dissent as unsuitable to this cold world."

Because of my father's Intelligence Committee work, he was unable to enter the 1976 race for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency until early Spring. Though he won four primaries, his late successes were insufficient to stem the Jimmy Carter tide.

But I do remember so well that crisp day in March, when, standing on the steps of the historic red brick courthouse in Idaho City, Frank Church announced his candidacy for President. His supporters, many of them clad in blue jeans and wearing cowboy hats and boots, went wild. More than 2,000 of them cheered and waved placards that read: RETURN TO GREATNESS, and A TIME FOR OLD-FASHIONED HONESTY and CHURCH FOR PRESIDENT. "The pioneers of the early west were men and women of uncommon strength and faith," Church said. "They had the strength to endure the hardships of life in the wilderness. And they had faith enough in themselves and the future to overcome their fears."

Much of Church's announcement was a point-by-point rendition of the liberal agenda, complete with a few of the "small is better" twists that distinguished the new Democratic rhetoric from that of the Great Society days. But he opened and closed with his one distinctive and most cherished theme.

It was 1976, the Bicentennial year. Church's obligatory invocation of the Founding Fathers called forth the vision of a very different America from that traditionally celebrated in Fourth of July speeches. "In stark contrast with contemporary Presidents, our Founding Fathers were a different breed. They acted on their faith, not their fear. They did not believe in fighting fire with fire; crime with crime; evil with evil; or delinquency by becoming delinquents. They set themselves against the terrors of a totalitarian state by structuring a government that would obey the law. They knew that the only way to escape a closed society was to accept the risk of living in an open one." ■

- Democratic government under Jacobo Arbenz overthrown in CIA-backed coup (1954).

- U.S. military aid, cut off in 1977 by Carter Administration because of human rights violations, resumed under Reagan Administration — \$35.3 million in 1986-87.

- Guatemala has only 3% of Latin America's population, but it has 40% of Latin America's disappeared — 40,000 by the end of 1986.

- Two percent of the landowners own 70% of cultivated land.

- 15,000 non-combatants were killed between 1978-86.

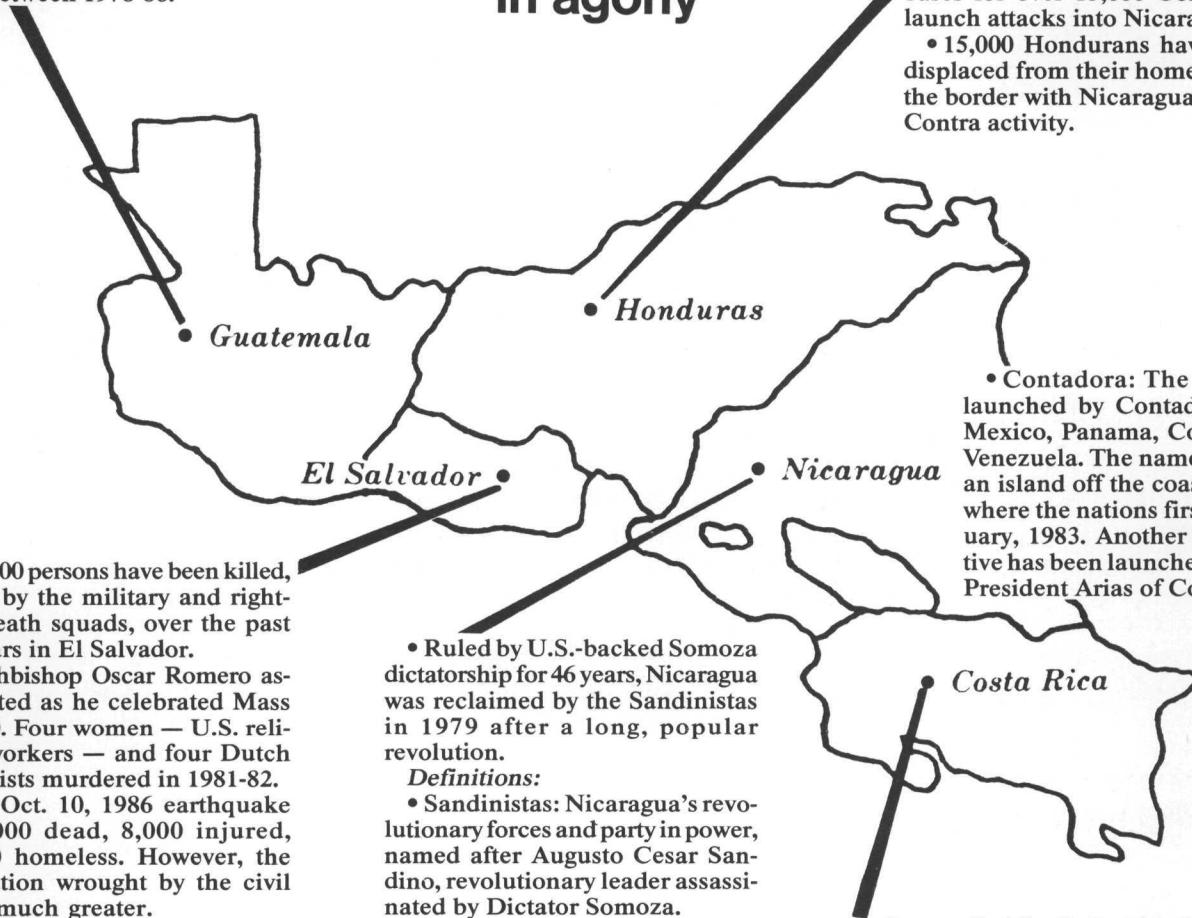
U.S. intervention, Central America in agony

- Honduras is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, except for Haiti. Per capita income is \$162/year. The top one-fifth of the population commands 70% of the national income.

- Honduras is the center of U.S. military operations in Central America. Between 1983-87, 70,000 U.S. troops have been trained in military maneuvers there.

- The U.S. has helped to establish bases for over 15,000 Contras to launch attacks into Nicaragua.

- 15,000 Hondurans have been displaced from their homes along the border with Nicaragua, due to Contra activity.



- 50,000 persons have been killed, chiefly by the military and right-wing death squads, over the past five years in El Salvador.

- Archbishop Oscar Romero assassinated as he celebrated Mass 3/24/80. Four women — U.S. religious workers — and four Dutch journalists murdered in 1981-82.

- An Oct. 10, 1986 earthquake left 1,000 dead, 8,000 injured, 200,000 homeless. However, the devastation wrought by the civil war is much greater.

- The Reagan Administration has given over \$1 billion in economic aid and over \$700 million in military aid to El Salvador, which is bombing its own people.

- Ruled by U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship for 46 years, Nicaragua was reclaimed by the Sandinistas in 1979 after a long, popular revolution.

Definitions:

- Sandinistas: Nicaragua's revolutionary forces and party in power, named after Augusto Cesar Sandino, revolutionary leader assassinated by Dictator Somoza.

- FSLN: Acronym for Frente Sandino de Liberacion Nacional, the army which toppled Somoza.

- Contras: The forces backed by the Reagan Administration, which calls them "Freedom Fighters." Largely comprised of former National Guardsmen from Somoza's regime and known for their violence and brutality, they are trying to recapture Nicaragua from the Sandinistas.

- Contadora: The peace effort launched by Contadora nations: Mexico, Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela. The name comes from an island off the coast of Panama where the nations first met in January, 1983. Another peace initiative has been launched recently by President Arias of Costa Rica.

- Once called the Switzerland of Central America, Costa Rica is facing runaway inflation and the worst economic crisis in its history. Some 70% of the population lives below the poverty line.

- Costa Rica has a \$4.1 billion foreign debt.

- Costa Rica abolished its army in 1948; however, the U.S. has been pressuring it to re-establish an army.

- In May 1985, U.S. Green Beret advisors began training units of the Costa Rican Civil Guard on a base 10 miles from the Nicaraguan border.

Why Ben Linder is dead

by Norman Solomon

Ben Linder has been laid to rest in far-off Nicaragua. Here in his home town of Portland, Ore., mourners are struggling with intense grief and seething anger.

Media coverage has described how Benjamin Ernest Linder, 27, was working as a mechanical engineer at a rural hydroelectric project when he died April 28 at the hands of Contra guerrillas fighting against the Sandinista government.

But as the glare of publicity fades, those of us with personal memories are left to ponder the meaning of Ben's death. The night before he was buried in the Nicaraguan countryside, we were among a thousand Oregon residents who gathered to light candles at dusk in front of the Federal Building in downtown Portland. Together we sang, we listened to speeches, and we cried.

I met Ben in 1977, when he participated in protests against a nuclear power plant near Portland. At age 17, he conveyed gentleness and a quiet determination that remained with him. When our paths crossed again in the early '80s, he said he'd become very concerned about the situation in Central America.

For people who knew Ben even slightly, the media accounts inevitably seem pale. No narrative can dispel the painful noncomprehension of his death.

Why would anyone want to kill Ben for working to provide electricity to a small village in an impoverished country? In a personal context, it makes no sense. At a political level, however,

it is part of a grim reality: Unable to gain much of a foothold, the Contra forces — termed “the moral equal of our Founding Fathers” by Ronald Reagan — have increasingly turned to terror tactics and disruption of the already-destitute Nicaraguan economy. Contras purposely target health-care workers, teachers, clergy and engineers laboring in the provinces to help peasants learn how to make progress against grinding poverty.

With a degree in civil engineering, Ben Linder went to Nicaragua in 1983 to begin working on small-scale electrical projects. His salary amounted to \$13 a month. “He brought electricity to clinics to keep vaccines cold, to light schoolhouses and to light farmhouses,” recalled a friend who had visited him.

Of course he knew that he was in a war zone. And he knew that the area had become a war zone because of U.S. government policies. He became the first U.S. volunteer to share the fates of many thousands of Nicaraguan civilians murdered by the Contras.

Such carnage is likely to increase during the next several months. Early this year, Contra leaders say, their troops were down to a few bullets per week. But a new infusion of U.S. aid has brought a wealth of ammo and much else. Now the blood will flow again in torrents.

Ben Linder caught some of the first shrapnel of the resupplied Contra army. We may never know whether the fusillade that killed him was financed by profits from the U.S. arms sales to Iran, or one of the private funding sources from North America, or a CIA conduit developed by Lt. Col. Oliver North when he was running amok in the



Ben Linder at work in Nicaragua.

White House basement.

Six months into the Iran-Contra arms scandal, it's all too easy to forget that — far away from Washington — real people are suffering and dying now because of White House policies in Central America. Congressional hearings promise to be exciting and suitably dramatic. But while past malfeasance undergoes scrutiny, large quantities of weapons and ammunition are moving from the United States into Contra base camps.

Those who still support aid to the Contras may not have given much thought to John Linder's words: “The U.S. government killed my brother. The Contras killed my brother. Ronald Reagan says he is a Contra. My brother's death was not an accident. His death was policy.”

Yet Contra boosters may find it more disquieting to consider the statement issued by former Contra leader Edgar Chamorro in the wake of Ben Linder's death.

“The Central Intelligence Agency is very much in control of the Contras,” Chamorro said. “The CIA is sending a message to those in the international community who provide political support for Nicaragua that they are no longer safe there. The CIA and the Contras are killing the best, the people who want the best for Nicaragua.”

Ben was one of those people. That's why he's dead. ■

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

Nicaraguan women, and children, too:

When tears are not enough

by Mary Lou Suhor

We were headed from Managua to Yalí, near the Nicaragua-Honduras border, on March 6, and had stopped at the fourth military checkpoint enroute to see if any Contra activity had been reported in the area.

A bearded Sandinista, rifle in hand, circled our van bearing an AMNLAE insignia, designating it as a vehicle of the Nicaraguan women's association. Examining its passengers, he showed no outward curiosity, but must have wondered why an international delegation of 20 women, most from the United States, was heading deeper into the war zone. As we proceeded, some soldiers waved back at us; one spit at the van.

The angry soldier could not know how much we *gringas* on the van understood his gesture. No matter how peaceful our intentions, that Nicaraguan soldier would be protecting us from Contras outfitted by our own country to carry on a bloody war.

Our destination was a war orphanage in Yalí, where we would be distributing toys and supplies. We were a delegation of church women in Nicaragua to bury the ashes of a remarkable U.S. feminist and ecumenist, Sister Marjorie Tuite, who had befriended Nicaragua during 14 visits and was much loved in that country. But activist that she was, Marjorie would never have brought an ecumenical delegation to Central America just to bury her remains without putting us through the paces of an unforgettable six days.

At the end of our brief stay, we had not only met the war orphans, but also with women's delegations from Matagalpa and Yalí; attended International Women's Day activities in Managua; visited a Granada law office named after Tuite which advocated for women's rights; stayed in a barrio and shared the plight of the people who were without water for three days; visited Christian base communities which hosted Margie's ashes; met with women in government structures; and oh, yes, participated in Marjorie's burial. She would have loved it.

Marjorie Tuite, a Dominican nun, was ecumenical action officer for Church Women United and coordinator of the National Association for Religious Women when she died in June of last year. She had a reputation for making connections to help women understand how various types of oppressions are linked. She was a good judge of their political awareness, and would lead them to more sophisticated levels of analysis.

For example, she launched a U.S. appeal to help the 15,000 war orphans in Nicaragua, to which there was little objection. Then she could raise the question — Why do war orphans exist? — and move on to enlightening audiences about the role of U.S. intervention in Central America.

Her consciousness raising was so successful that church women were eventually to provide funds for a new Toyota van for AMNLAE, which, coincidentally arrived during our visit. We were told by Silvia McKewans of the AMNLAE directorate that on its first journey it transported Miskito women from the Atlantic Coast to Managua's International Women's Day festivities.

Our delegation was also donating a \$5,000 check for war orphans, boxes of furry toys, and school supplies.

Youth is a hallmark of Nicaragua. Even its revolution is only in its eighth year. Nicaragua has a population of 3½ million people. The *median* age is 15, and 1 million are under 8 years old. The Contra war has orphaned thousands of those children. It has also been responsible for 2,000 amputees, the majority of whom are women and children.

In Yalí we caught up with some of war's victims. Since the school year was between sessions, children converged around us, clowning for the cameras.

Then Maria Lourdes Taleno, the psychologist in charge



Nicaraguan war orphans anticipate contents of gifts being opened by U.S. women's delegation. See reactions next page.

of Yali's orphanage, appeared. She is 25 years old, and when construction on the site is complete, she will be supervising a project caring for 150 boys and girls, aged 7 to 15, orphaned by war. Forty children have already arrived. Administered by the Nicaraguan Department of Social Welfare, the project offers total care as well as part-time care for local children who have family in the area but need supervision while adults work. Psychiatric treatment is provided for children traumatized by the death of one or both parents, or by torture, or by some other war horror. Children relate to families in the area in a process similar to adoption, and their progress is monitored for six months. Clearly, at 25 Taleno faces a situation that would challenge an experienced senior in her profession.

Before leaving, we presented our gifts. The children's faces, the wonderment in their eyes when the furry animals appeared, will live with us forever. But even as I photographed the happy scene, tears threw me out of focus as I realized that a teddy bear would never replace a lost parent. And we strongly needed to press Marjorie's question, Why, indeed, are there war orphans?

Enroute back to Managua we discovered Juana Centeno, 52 years old and the mother of 13 children (the average Nicaraguan woman has between five and six). Juana is one of six women who launched a restaurant in Matagalpa named "Heroes and Martyrs Anonymous," in honor of those who died and are still dying for their country.

She quietly appeared before Mireya Silva, our AMNLAE guide, and asked if she might tell how she and her friends had set up the people's *comedor* in which she had just served us a lunch of tortillas, beans and salad.

Juana's daughters had gone to the mountains with rifles to fight with the Sandinistas against Somoza. She lost one of her 13 children in the revolution. Each member of her restaurant collective had experienced personal losses during the war, and had made a pact to take care of each other. "From that moment, we took our place in the new society," she said. They received some financial aid from Holland, thanks to workers from that country who stopped in to eat. "We work from 6 in the morning to 8 at night, and we have been so successful that we are about to open another business," she said. She made a plea to our group: "In each country where we live there has to be a light for those who live in darkness. Transmit that light. Do not accept bad government or you will become part of the human evil. Carry the message to your people from this collective that here we have all kinds of freedom, including religious freedom. No one here manipulates anyone."

It was apparent that Juana was not accustomed to



Top to bottom: Toys from U.S. women delight orphans, as Maria Lourdes Taleno, their director, distributes furry animals; Juana Centeno and son Guillermo, 13; in sociodrama, Nicaraguans tell U.S. visitors, "all we hear is blah, blah, blah and the war goes on."



addressing visiting delegations from abroad. Her voice trembled throughout, although she spoke without hesitation. A member of our group commented, as we left, how Juana Centeno was typical of the women we had met whose message compels them to speak out. "Two buttons were missing from her blouse, her hair was a bit disheveled from long work hours. Compare this to the women who meet foreign delegations in the States — concerned about their appearance, well-groomed, anxious about their self-image. I think of Nancy Reagan as the anorexic, well coiffed symbol of these women," she said.

The next day we had a dramatic meeting in Matagalpa with women who painfully shared their stories of death, mutilation, torture, and kidnapped loved ones at the hands of the Contras. Most of us had heard or read such accounts, but to look into the eyes of our Nicaraguan sisters as they described their grief — one had lost six sons — was like being operated on without anesthetic. Josefa Echevarria, Angela Justan, Soltera Martinez, Esperanza Cruz and a long litany of others testified to war's demonic manifestations.

Then the meeting took a surprise turn. The Nicaraguan women put on a sociodrama that anticipated our response — portraying caricatures of women who had come their way before, had promised to go home and work for peace — yet the war raged on. The stereotypes of the sincere activist, who vowed opposition to U.S. intervention; the copious note taker who put down every word, pledging to publicize Nicaragua's plight; the ethnic radical who declared solidarity — were all acted out by the women with such amazing accuracy that we could recognize them in Spanish before our interpreter translated the dialogue. "All this blah, blah, blah," our translator ended, "and the war simply continues."

And when the delegations returned to the safety of the United States, the Nicaraguan women had only to look forward to further visiting delegations to whom they were invited to tell their painful stories all over again — only now the stories recounted additional deaths, more women widowed, further destruction.

We responded as best we could, with nervous laughter during the drama (I recognized myself as the copious note taker) and later with tears, sharing stories of our own arrests, civil disobedience, participation in demonstrations, as we tried to convey how much of a struggle this was, trying to change U.S. policy. The sociodrama unzipped a lot of frustration about the war, both from us and from them.

In welcome contrast, International Women's Day in Managua uncorked an air of festivity as womanspirit

soared. Here we reveled, watching trucks and buses and vans disgorge women in droves from every province who had come to celebrate their unity, strength, sex, and the fruits of their work.

The women carried banners and slogans and many provinces brought musicians to announce their arrival. Our group, carrying tiny flags reading "Delegation Marjorie Tuite," had seats of honor among visiting international delegations.

Music and chanting rocked the sports coliseum where the event was held. A dancer supporting a 12-foot papier maché figure of a woman entertained the crowd. Nicaraguan officials headed by Tomas Borge, minister of the interior and last living member of the FSLN, filed in with women delegates. Sandinista Council member Bayardo Arce left the procession and danced through a selection with an AMNLAE official, to the crowd's delight. But the festivities had a more serious side.

Nicaraguan women had comprised more than one third of the Revolutionary Sandinista Army which toppled Somoza. Yet they still experience job discrimination, violence in the home and sexual abuse in a traditionally *macho* society. The Sandinistas have done much to transform Nicaragua since Somoza's overthrow — women have benefited most from literacy programs, health care and day care. But they still work a double day, inside and outside the home, and many have been deserted by their men. Overall, 48% of families are headed by women; in urban areas, the figure rises to 60%. Some 85% of single mothers work.

While women presently hold down a majority of health care and civil defense jobs, they are underrepresented in government leadership posts, filling only 31% of these positions. One of the most notable women leaders is Commander Doris Tijerino, head of the Sandinista police force and Vice Minister of the Interior.

Women comprise 25% of the unionized Nicaraguan workers, but focus their concerns differently. In a recent study by the Rural Workers Association, (ATC) one woman worker expressed it this way: "Men want pay raises to drink more or to keep a mistress. Women are concerned about social wages, distribution centers to provide basic goods for their families, health clinics, schools and running water so they don't have to walk miles to a river to wash clothes."

Part two of this article will describe the latest Sandinista proposal to bring about a more just society for women; the work of the women's law office in Granada, and the burial of Marjorie Tuite's ashes in a Nicaraguan cemetery of heroes and martyrs. ■

A Nicaraguan History

15 B.C.	Nicaragua is settled by Indians from Mexico and the Caribbean who live together in racial harmony for 1500 years.
1502	Columbus lands in Nicaragua and claims the west coast as a colony of Spain. The English colonize the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua.
1500-1800	Nicaragua lives under colonial rule. Most of the native Nicaraguan population is wiped out by disease, killed in conquest, or traded to other countries as slaves by Spanish and British colonists.
1821	Nicaragua gains independence from Spain.
1838	The present day Central American nations of Guatemala, Honduras, El Salvador, Costa Rica and Nicaragua unite to form a short-lived republic.
Mid 1800s	United States seeks exclusive rights to build an interoceanic canal across Nicaragua. U.S. mining and fruit companies appropriate land and set up multinationals.
1856	William Walker, a U. S. military adventurer from Tennessee, leads a force of mercenaries into Nicaragua and proclaims himself president--a presidency which the United States government recognizes as legitimate. Eventually, Walker is run out of Nicaragua by populist forces.
1909	400 U.S. Marines invade Nicaragua to overthrow its president--Jose Zelaya--and to install Adolfo Diaz, the United States' choice for president.
1912	U.S. marines occupy Nicaragua for 20 years to keep Diaz in power. A peasant, Cesar Augusto Sandino, leads popular opposition to the marines presence, challenging the U.S. forces until they finally leave in 1933.
1933	Before the marines withdraw from Nicaragua, they train an armed native Nicaraguan National Guard and set up Antonio Somoza Garcia as its commander.
1934	Somoza executes Sandino and 300 prominent Sandinistas and assumes total control of Nicaragua.
1934-1956	Somoza takes personal ownership of most of the resources of Nicaragua. As he builds up his family wealth to an estimated \$500 million dollars, Nicaraguan peasants become some of the poorest people in the world.
1956	Anastasio Somoza is assassinated. Luis, his oldest son, takes power.

Source: Quixote Center, Hyattsville, Md.

1961	The Sandinista National Liberation Front (F.S.L.N.) forms. The party is named in memory of Cesar Sandino. Catholic Delegates of the Word and local peasants join FSLN members in peaceful protests against Somoza rule across the countryside. Peaceful protests are brutally repressed by the National Guard.
1967	Ambitious Anastasio Somoza, Jr. takes power from his older moderate brother, Luis. He claims the presidency and resumes the tight control his father exercised.
1972	An earthquake destroys the capital city of Managua. Foreign relief pours in from all over the world. The money never reaches the victims of the quake. Somoza and the National Guard keep most of it for themselves.
1977-1979	Hatred for Somoza grows in all sectors of Nicaraguan society. The FSLN peasant-based resistance becomes full scale armed rebellion. The National Guard massacres civilians, bombs schools and hospitals and destroys factories, following Somoza's orders. Casualties from the war climb to 100,000.
July, 1979	Opposition by peasants gains support of business, labor and church people. This broad-based coalition forces Somoza out of the country. Members of the National Guard also flee, but not before looting the National Treasury and leaving Nicaragua with a huge foreign debt.
1980	People form New Nicaraguan Government of National Reconstruction. UNESCO and World Health Organization praise Nicaragua's efforts to improve health care and literacy levels.
1981	Bands of counter-revolutionaries, largely consisting of Somoza's former National Guard, begin attacking Nicaraguan border villages. The "contra" army is conceived, directed and armed by the United States Central Intelligence Agency.
1984	Nicaragua holds its first free elections.
1985	The U.S. government appropriates \$27 million in "humanitarian" aid for the "contra" army attacking Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan government responds by filing against the United States in the World Court.
1986	Numerous reports surface of gross human rights violations by the "contras." The U.S. government appropriates \$100 million in logistical military aid for the contras. Meanwhile, the World Court rules in favor of Nicaragua in their case against the United States.

'Come and get me'

If there is one thing I learned about myself during the Vietnam experience it is that I'll be damned if I'll send my son to die on foreign soil for some political notion of the party in power. Believe me, this has nothing to do with lack of patriotism. In fact, it has everything to do with patriotism. I can show no greater love of my country than by fighting to keep its young alive.

At the same time, I know myself, I'm anti-war, but I'm not a pacifist. If it's Dec. 8, 1941 -- I'm there. But Vietnam? Laos? Cambodia? Nicaragua? El Salvador? *Hah!* Come and

get me, coppers, you'll never take me alive. Call it being selective, call it common sense, call it the legacy of Vietnam.

Clark DeLeon

The Philadelphia Inquirer 1/5/87

Quote of note

I believe that if we had and would keep our dirty, bloody, dollar-soaked fingers out of these nations so full of depressed, exploited people they will arrive at a solution of their own . . . and if unfortunately their revolution must be of the violent type because the "haves" refuse to share with the "have nots"

by any peaceful method, at least what they get will be their own, and not the American style, which they don't want and above all don't want crammed down their throats by Americans.

General David Shoup
Commander, U.S. Marine Corps
1960-63 and winner
of Congressional Medal of Honor

Surprising statistic

By the year 2000, 83% of all young people between ages 15 to 24 will be living in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Maryknoll 3/87

Quixote Center's 'Quest':

Waging peace in Nicaragua

A group which takes its name from an "impractical" dreamer is waging a peaceful campaign against the Reagan Administration's policies in Nicaragua. The Quixote Center — named after the great romantic figure of Spanish literature, Don Quixote — is carrying out an ambitious program of humanitarian aid to the people of Nicaragua.

The program — Quest for Peace — is a massive relief effort, coordinated by the Center, and designed to counteract U.S. support for the Contra rebels, whose constant attacks have caused widespread suffering and destruction of civilian lives and property in Nicaragua.

According to staffer Kathy Lewis the Quixote Center, based in the Washington, D.C. area, is "a broad-based faith-oriented organization involved in making connections with people in Nicaragua." A program like Quest for Peace, whose current goal is to match the \$100 million in recently appropriated Congressional aid to the Contras with food, clothing and medical supplies, is "an opportunity for people of faith to resist U.S. government policies in creative and productive ways." As of May 1, the Quest had received \$35 million in donations towards the \$100 million goal, Lewis told THE WITNESS.

The Quixote Center first appealed to U.S. groups and concerned individuals to donate medical supplies for shipment to Nicaragua in 1983. By 1984, \$2.4 million in donated supplies had been sent to Nicaragua. In the summer of 1985, when Congress voted to send \$27 million in aid to the Contras, the Center launched Quest for Peace, and collected \$27 million in donated sup-

plies by June 1986.

Today, donations toward the new \$100 million goal come from all over the United States. At the Center's warehouse, the supplies are gathered and shipped to Nicaragua. To handle the flow on the other side, the Quixote Center built two warehouses on the campus of the Jesuit University of Central America in Managua. Distribution of supplies throughout Nicaragua is coordinated by the University's Institute of John XXIII.

The aid is chiefly destined for Nicaragua's rural poor, who most often bear the brunt of Contra attacks. And the supplies are distributed directly to those in need, instead of being passed through agencies or government offices. Typically, a person connected with a church or community group is responsible for delivering the supplies to his or her village. Small regional warehouses and resource people have also been established throughout the countryside, so that aid can be rushed as quickly as possible to rural communities after a Contra attack.

Quest is careful to consider needs and to give aid that is appropriate. For example, Nicaragua suffers from a chronic shortage of medical supplies due to the Contra war, the U.S. trade embargo against Nicaragua, and lack of foreign capital to buy supplies. In 1985, it was reported that there was almost no aspirin to be had in Nicaragua.

The Quixote Center immediately started a campaign to ship 5 to 10 million aspirin tablets to Nicaragua. Donations poured in from people throughout the United States, and over



Staffer Kathy Lewis
Quest for Peace

80 million aspirins, along with basic medical supplies like gauze and bandages, were distributed among Nicaragua's poor.

The Quixote Center also gives assistance to self-help projects in Nicaragua. When the Center learned that 70 Nicaraguan women were trying to operate a pottery co-op and fruit canning factory outside the city of Estelí, the Center helped them find materials to build kilns and contributed \$8,000 to the project. The project's aim is to build a facility that will produce ceramic canning pots to use in preserving the tons of fruit produced yearly that would otherwise rot. The pots and also ceramic tableware will be produced using appropriate technology. Since the war makes the supply of electricity unreliable, the factory will use manually-powered potters' wheels and wood-fired kilns and stoves.

The Center has also collected seeds and other agricultural supplies to enable the people to grow their own food, and has helped build medical clinics and hospitals throughout Nicaragua. The Center constantly solicits donations of medical supplies of anything from blood bags to centrifuges to keep the hospitals and clinics operating.

Other programs coordinated by the Center include "Project: Clean Your Desks," which asks U.S. students to donate spare school supplies such as paper and pencils, which are so scarce

in Nicaragua that students must often take notes in the margins of old newspapers.

The work of the Quixote Center and the Quest for Peace has received support from religious groups across the United States. Roman Catholic Bishop Thomas Gumbleton of Detroit is a national spokesperson for Quest for Peace, and Quest has received endorsements from prominent Episcopalians. Kathy Lewis, herself an Episcopalian and the daughter of WITNESS contributing editor Jim Lewis, noted that Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning and Bishop Paul Moore of New York and John Walker of Washington have all been supportive of Quest for Peace.

Quest for Peace recently got a big boost from religious and peace groups during the April 25 Mobilization for Peace and Justice in Central America and South Africa in Washington, D.C. A caravan of 42 trucks, filled with donations, traveled from 21 states to be part of the protest against Reagan Administration policies. The trucks, some from as far away as Alaska, drove along the Mobilization march route and then delivered their cargoes to the Center's warehouse.

The resulting "packing party," which yielded three tractor trailer-sized loads

of supplies, was "a wonderful celebration," said Lewis. "It was very empowering to put action behind the protest in a concrete way. Bishop Gumbleton blessed each load before we sent it," she said.

While the Center serves as a clearing house and shipping point for Quest for Peace donations, Lewis explained that the staff would also like to see groups shipping donations themselves.

"We find that it's not hard to raise humanitarian aid. People can raise that more easily than money," she said. But she pointed out that the cargo containers necessary to do the shipping are expensive — \$6500 a piece — and fund raising is necessary to get the aid to Nicaragua.

Sometimes even when supplies are found, controversy arises when funds are solicited to ship them. Lewis cites the example of what happened when her father found a donor with a warehouse full of medical supplies in North Carolina.

"He got \$5,500 towards shipping costs from Episcopalian donors, but there was some controversy. After all, North Carolina is Jesse Helms country", she said.

The U.S. government has cast a doubtful eye on the Center and Quest for Peace activities. The Internal Revenue Service has audited the Center,

and questioned its right to a non-profit status. In December 1986, two U.S. Customs agents armed with subpoenas appeared, demanding all the records — financial, shipping and correspondence — of Quest for Peace on the grounds that they were searching for evidence that Quest was a cover for arms smuggling to Nicaragua via Costa Rica.

The Center staff — with the help of the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York City and U.S. Congress people Steny Hoyer and Barbara Mikulski — was able to head off Customs seizure of the records. When Customs finally reviewed the inventory of supplies, it was found that none of the items violated the U.S. embargo on shipping to Nicaragua.

The Center eventually wants to become less involved in the shipping of supplies to Nicaragua and more involved in helping groups do their own shipping and keeping track of Quest activities around the country. The Center is always in need of donations to carry on its work. Monetary contributions, or questions about materials to be shipped to Nicaragua (do not send *any* supplies without querying about packaging) can be addressed to: The Quixote Center, P.O. Box 5206, Hyattsville, MD 20782. (301) 699-0042. ■

Vignettes from recent sojourners to Nicaragua

A visit to Radio Insurrección

Before the earthquake in 1972, houses stood in the now empty lot across from the Cathedral in Matagalpa. Somoza didn't bother rebuilding the damaged areas and, since the revolution, Daniel Ortega has had other priorities. Today the cleared lot is an early morning marketplace.

After a 6 a.m. weekday Mass, I stood on the Cathedral steps noting the patience of those who waited to buy oranges, onions and carrots. Then, looking toward a row of nearby buildings, I saw an antenna and a sign: *Radio Insurrección*. For me it was a

magnet.

I entered the lobby, introduced myself and asked to speak to the station manager. He came at once, an obliging gentleman who, without hesitation, accommodated my request to see the broadcasting facilities.

A young woman engineer was transmitting a taped newscast. The control room was tight and the small studio was dark.

Javier Ramos Rugama had studied communications at the Sandino Institute. After graduation 15 years ago he worked in radio, and is now with the state-owned radio station in Matagalpa — one of 17 syndicated

stations, boasting a union with 850 working members.

The station broadcasts 24 hours. Its programs include international, national and local news, music, practical information for women and for campesinos. Some programs are educational and informational. One, for example, stresses the importance of punctuality and time management. Another focuses on health care. In general, the station aims to advance the policies and goals of the Sandinista government.

Consonant with that is the station's effort to discover local artists, poets, crafts ex-

perts. Reporters from the radio stations attend festivals in the towns and countryside to identify people who contribute to the culture or who are able to share the collective memories of a region. Those individuals are invited to the radio station to express their interests. From 1 to 3 p.m. members of the audience are encouraged to call in their questions and reactions — perhaps to debate. According to Ramos Rugama this participatory radio allows Nicaraguans to air their tensions, to recognize their own creative citizens and to learn from the experience of publicly voicing their opinions.

"You look across the open lot to the Cathedral," I said. "What is your relationship with the Catholic Church?"

"It depends," he answered. "The pastor, Padre Guillermo Frenzel is of German descent, but was born here. When he has time on Sundays, he has access to the station. In the program Christ Today, he speaks about the Scriptures. He announces the sacramental events and church activities for the coming week."

"What about the claims by Cardinal Obando y Bravo that the church is experiencing censorship and persecution?" I pressed.

"I respect the cardinal," he replied. "I don't see him as an enemy. The cardinal and other members of the hierarchy have their own interests to protect. Their primary interest is the institutional church. We understand that."

The political clash between the Catholic hierarchy and the Sandinista government is undeniable, he explained. "But that does not affect my relationship with God or lessen my faith. I am solidly with the revolution, but I go to Mass and practice my religion. The priests are themselves divided. Some see religion as a form of liberation; others as a way of controlling the faithful."

— **Camille D'Arienzo, R.S.M.**
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Marjorie Tuite Delegation 3/5-10, 1987

Searching for water

Too often we find ourselves at Nicaraguan wakes, funerals or memorial services, and the painful process of taking testimonies from survivors often follows. Some days we spend looking for water. . . .

The first day we experienced a water search was last March, the hottest, driest month of the Nicaraguan year. We were in the Witness for Peace house in Estelí. At 9 a.m., Frank, Sara, and Bob (three WFP

longtermers) arrived from six dusty days without lights or water for showers in San Juan del Rio Coco. When we opened the door, Bob said not a word but marched past us for the shower like a man possessed. He was lucky — 15 minutes later the lights went out. On subsequent occasions we would be wiser, rushing for the nearest water faucet, buckets in hand, the moment the lights failed. We just forgot that the water in Estelí is pumped electrically! The Contras blow up an electric tower and our priorities quickly present themselves with great clarity. First and most important is water to drink. After that, everything is luxury . . . clean clothes, clean dishes, clean bodies, clean floors, clean toilets . . . all so much vanity except for the blessed liquid which heals the dusty, parched throat.

Estelí is a city of 70,000 people, in a region of 320,000, all without lights or water when the power lines are blown. So, the next morning at five, off we went bleary-eyed in a neighbor's truck with pails and buckets from the entire neighborhood. A relative of our landlady had a small farm on the outskirts of the city. The farm had a hand-drawn well. People face days without lights or water by sharing and organizing in their neighborhoods.

Our most recent (and fourth) such experience was this March, again during the hottest, driest month. When the Contras blow up electric towers, it just makes life tougher here. People must use the river, which is a cesspool in the dry season. Children get sick. Coffee processing plants stop. Gas stations can't pump gas. Health problems, more transportation difficulties, more economic losses. All of this becomes for the Nicaraguans not a prelude to surrender or revolt but rather another opportunity for more sharing, organizing, ingenuity, patience, determination, heroic deeds by ordinary workers . . . and even more humor.

— **Jim & Lucy Phillips-Edwards**
Estelí, Nicaragua
Witness for Peace

With La Posolera refugees

From Waslala we traveled about 7 kilometers to a refugee resettlement village of La Posolera. The village had about 300 people, at least half of them must have been under 12. For some, this was the third village they had moved to in hopes of protection from the Contras. While in La Posolera we lived with families, interviewed — as always — and did some physical work.

Many memories of La Posolera stand out vividly. Our meeting base was a school — a one-room building with simple desks, and a small blackboard. The school windows were covered with chain-link fencing so that grenades could not be thrown in. I recall seeing the face of another member of our delegation drop as we heard this. His face reflected the pain I felt in my gut. On the walls of the school were the names of "the fallen," seven killed in a Contra attack on the village last April, and in a Contra ambush of one of the village trucks in September. One of the victims of the April attack was a 70-year-old man whom the Contras took while he was bathing just outside the camp. He was later found beheaded and dismembered in the hills outside the village. We were free to move about the area, but were cautioned to keep aware of the nearest bomb-shelter. One family had two bomb-shelters, one was obvious, and one was hidden from view — this was because in the past the Contras had been known to throw grenades into bomb shelters with women and children.

With all these emotionally packed days behind us, it was good to do some physical work. One morning we stacked truckloads of lumber where the villagers were planning to build new houses and a day-care center. The government had dropped the wood off, but we had to carry it to the building sites. The next day we helped villagers clear shrubs, grass, and small trees off the hill that led down into the village. The Contras had come in from these hills during the April attack, and the villagers wanted to clear away any cover the Contras could use.

Our last morning in La Posolera, we took part in their Sunday liturgy. As part of the service, our delegation made crosses which we carried to the places where the men had fallen during the attack, and to the homes of those killed in the ambush of the village truck. As we prayed, accompanied by many of the villagers, I became aware of how real this "way of the cross" was for these people, our friends, the families of "the fallen." The reading of the Gospel that Sunday was from the first chapter of John, where the Baptist points out "the Lamb of God," the innocent lamb whose suffering would bring redemption even to those who put him to death. Perhaps, I thought, the innocent suffering of the people of Nicaragua might help bring redemption to the people of North America.

— **The Rev. Mike Fedewa**
Battle Creek, Mich.

WFP Delegation 1/10-22, 1987



Human suffering — new growth industry

Let's hear it for that good old American entrepreneurial spirit that has spawned myriad business ventures from A to Z: art-by-the-yard, belly button brushes (mink), frisbees and hula hoops to mini-marts, porn palaces, tanning salons and zip-lock freezer bags, which neither zip nor lock. That spirit is alive and well and currently thriving on human suffering.

Two of the latest fast buck enterprises on the American scene vie for top honors in the area of gross insensitivity. Prime candidates for the "Marie Antoinette Let 'em eat Cake Award" are the creator and marketer of Bag Lady Dolls and the whiz kids who are trying to sell reassurance to an AIDS-worried heterosexual community with questionable testing schemes and state of the art "AIDS-safe" dating services.

The Bag Lady Doll scam purports to raise consciousness about the plight of the homeless while charging anywhere from \$40 to over \$100 for shabbily dressed caricatures of a growing number of women in this country. The Boston-based manufacturer, his own consciousness presumably heightened, even sent a whopping \$100 contribution to Rosie's Place, a local shelter for the homeless. With equal aplomb, Rosie's Place returned his largesse with a thanks, but no thanks.

Meanwhile, in the brave new world of AIDS entrepreneurs, posh offices house such outfits as suburban Detroit's Peace of Mind Club, Ampersand on

New York's Upper East Side, Chicago's American AIDS-Free Association, Compatibles of South Burlington, Vt., and Adults in Distress (AIDS, get it?) in suburban Dallas.

Peace of Mind Club offers an AIDS testing package for \$99 which includes a red-plastic laminated card with photo ID and reads AIDS Tested Only. A white card, however, which sells for \$349 indicates that the person has been tested for AIDS and ten other social diseases. A top of the line gold card shows that the person has been tested for all diseases every three months. Cost, a modest \$649.

A Detroit barmaid found that her \$99 Peace of Mind card also entitles her to a minimum 10% discount at more than three dozen area merchants, including a popular local bar, a tanning salon and a limousine service. The outfit, in business a little over three months, already has held a full scale social event and slated for the future are Peace of Mind Cruises, rafting trips and holistic health services. Six percent of all revenues, Peace of Mind owners claim, will be donated to AIDS research.

The National Voluntary Immune Registry in Tacoma, Wash. will ship a "specimen mailer" to anyone who sends them \$30. The idea is that a sample of blood sent back to Tacoma is tested for the presence of the AIDS anti-body. If the test results are nega-

tive, the person's name will be entered on the "national registry" and he or she will be sent a laminated card with name, specimen date and validation number. "AIDS-safe" is emblazoned on the card.

By contrast Ampersand does not hand out cards, offers no discounts nor does it organize any social events. In this dating service, applicants fill out a five-page biography and make a videotape of themselves that other Ampersand members can watch. The only difference is that to become a member you must bring a statement from your doctor attesting that you have tested negative to AIDS within the last six months. Cost — only \$600.

Holding to the private enterprise theory that bigger is better, these fledgling operators are already talking franchise operations and cartel. For \$25,000, prospective investors can own 49% of a Peace of Mind chapter with 51% retained by the Detroit owners. Says one of the owners, "Once we put together a cartel we can open up a city in 29 days."

As with any marketing transaction — caveat emptor. Who does the testing? How private are the results? What's to stop someone from sending in someone else's specimen or simply printing up a batch of phony cards?

Such marketing schemes seldom, if ever, are guided by ethical concerns, and this should give the community much pause. ■

Honduras: Launchpad for war

by Denise Stanley

The continuing war in Nicaragua between the Sandinistas and the U.S.-backed Contra forces has exacted a heavy toll from the Nicaraguan people. But the Contra war has also drawn in neighboring countries. One of these is Honduras — often looked upon as a U.S. puppet in Central America. I believe that the Honduran people have received insufficient attention as pawns in the geopolitical conflict. In this article, I will address three controversial political-economic issues, from the perspective of one who has served in the field as a missionary. They represent common misconceptions often portrayed in the media, or by the Administration and lobby groups.

Myth #1: The U.S. military presence is helping the Hondurans.

Americans have traditionally reached out to those in need. Our country has provided aid to Central Americans for many years. But more recently, under the premise of providing protection from “communist” Nicaragua across the border, there has been a growing U.S. military presence in Honduras. As a missionary concerned about peace and justice, my interest lies in how best to support the impoverished campesinos. And the vast sums of money the United States is pouring into the local economy through military exercises and civic action programs is not an effective way to help the rural poor.

In the past six years, Honduras has received over \$325 million in U.S. military aid, with another \$61.2 million set for 1987. Since 1981, the United States and Honduras have conducted some 55 joint military exercises, and more than 70,000 U.S. Army and National Guard troops have “toured” Honduras. About 5,000 U.S. military personnel remain in Honduras at any given time, but that number grows during maneuvers — as when 40,000 U.S. troops are scheduled to participate in the 1987 Solid Shield exercises off the

Atlantic Coast. And the 1987 General Terencio Sierra exercises involve National Guardsmen, U.S. Army regulars, and Honduran personnel. The National Guardsmen will come from 11 states in groups of 500-600 to serve in two week rotations, involving some 5,000 U.S. Guardsmen.

Explaining the need for a large military force in Honduras, U.S. Gen. John Galvin said, “Our presence is necessary to demonstrate to the Sandinistas that they should stay at home. U.S. forces are ready to fight shoulder-to-shoulder with the Hondurans.”

The object of joint exercises, says the military, is to “acclimatize U.S. troops to the zone and improve cultural relations between the two countries.” Improving relations is achieved by providing medical services to nearby villagers and undertaking small community projects such as digging wells and repairing roads.

In spite of goodwill gestures, Honduran reactions to the U.S. soldiers are mixed. In Comayagua, near the Palmerola base serving as coordinating center for U.S. military activities, prostitution has increased, there are rumors that soldiers engage in sex with minors, and the spread of AIDS has scandalized the nation. Protest marches and denunciations by public figures against U.S. military presence are more frequent. In the village of Yoro, where I lived for some time, U.S. soldiers and helicopters frightened some villagers and offended others, but many of the village children played war games, imitated the soldiers, and learned to panhandle money from foreigners.

Despite problems, a recent Gallup-U.S. Embassy poll showed that 65% of urban Hondurans favored the U.S. military presence. Also, many rural Hondurans consider anything from the United States to be superior to what Honduras offers. Historically, the United States has dominated Honduras socio-economically for years, so the arrival of the U.S. military does not surprise people.

On the surface, due to U.S. concern about poverty and possible communist influence in the region, military exercises with a humanitarian component appear logical.

But as thoughtful Christians, we must look at long-term effects — how the United States has militarized the country and created dependence on U.S. charity. Self-help strategies and long term solutions are the most effective

Denise Stanley has lived and worked for several years in Honduras as Missionary Associate with the United Church of Christ, and is currently a volunteer with CODE — an Ecumenical development agency founded in 1982 by several Honduran evangelical churches. CODE's community development work concentrates on areas of health, agriculture, small industry, and training of village leaders, evangelical pastors, and Catholic lay workers.

answers to Honduran problems, but increasing military dominance has made this impossible. For example, I worked with a development program in Yoro which tried to train local health workers. But the campesinos said it was better to visit the American doctors at the nearby Oso Grande Military camp. What will the people do for health services when the Americans leave?

Civic action programs are part of an overall military strategy in Honduras — a public relations effort to win “the hearts and minds of the people.” From living among the campesinos, I know that most rural people look up to the U.S. military and the handouts. This, combined with the popularity of violent movies like “Rambo” and “Top Gun,” and little exposure to newspapers or radio, has conditioned the impoverished and mostly illiterate campesinos to accept U.S. demands. Now with increasing weapons stockpiles, the availability of airfields, and transport facilities, Honduras is an ideal place from which to launch a war. Forced recruitment of Honduran youth, taken from movie houses, street corners, buses, and even church services, has increased. Further, the Honduran military-defense budget continues at \$135 million per year, 10% of the budget, while health services are being cut, and Honduran poverty worsens.

And human rights organizations state that the militarization of Honduras has produced greater repression. Kidnappings, death threats, bombings, and torture of “communist subversives” or those critical of the U.S. presence now appear in the news. Reports of the arrest of Catholic Delegates of the Word (lay catechists) who were critical of the U.S. military have been filed as well.

If the U.S. presence leads to war, and Honduran blood is shed, the responsibility will be ours as American citizens. Christians should be studying the legality of U.S. military presence, the use of National Guard units in Honduras, the funding of military construction sites. Study, prayer and church reflection can be the first steps toward moving beyond the myth of military presence as a positive contribution to peace in the area.

Myth #2: U.S. economic aid has helped the Honduran poor.

The second poorest country in Central America and a key U.S. ally, Honduras seems to be crying for U.S. aid. In rural areas, approximately 70% of the people are malnourished, infant mortality is 128 per 1000, life expectancy is age 60, 55% are illiterate and the average per capita income is \$162 (U.S.) per year.

To enhance stability and democratization of the region, the Kissinger Report on Central America recommended increased aid. From 1981 to 1986 Honduras received

\$638.9 million in economic aid, administered by the Agency for International Development (AID).

AID claimed that by 1986, its programs had helped thousands gain employment, increased agricultural production, and vastly improved education, health, housing and business. U.S. funding now exceeds 10% of the Honduran gross national product.

However, despite massive amounts of aid, the average farmer and urban dweller are poorer than they were 10 years ago. Between 1981-86, per capita income fell 14%.

From personal experience, I know that many families in the poorest regions eat only tortillas with salt, augmented, if at all, by a few beans. Honduran agriculture and livestock yields are among the lowest in Latin America. Housing loans are out of reach to the majority. An education beyond the third grade is only a dream for most children, and poor health is an accepted fact of life.

Several reasons account for the large gap between the upbeat AID statistics and grim reality:

Corruption and biases in AID programs have been condemned by Honduran government officials, now questioning why the funds do not go to programs for the poor, but instead to wealthy private schools and business associations. Reportedly, as much as 50% of the aid is skimmed off for private gain, and ex-presidents and ministers have constructed luxurious homes with the funds.

AID's philosophy of emphasizing supply-side economics and free enterprise also does not benefit the rural and urban poor. Agricultural exports and duty-free zones are promoted instead of basic food production and Honduran government budget priorities are heavily influenced by AID's National Development Plan for Honduras.

The final blow to the Honduran economy is the continuing regional crisis. The Contra presence along the border with Nicaragua has caused displacement of thousands of people and the loss of millions in coffee revenues. The Contras and U.S. troops in Honduras have tarnished the country's image abroad and diverted foreign investment. National savings have decreased, while capital flight to banks in Miami and Europe has increased.

Basically, there is a large gap between AID's desired goal of economic stability and the increasingly disruptive influx of military aid and troops to the region.

Myth #3: The Contras are not a major problem in Honduras.

Americans are now familiar with the effects of the Contras on Nicaraguan people. Human rights organizations have denounced and documented the numerous destructions of property, tortures, and murders carried out by the Contras

in Nicaragua. This Contra activity alone leads one to question U.S. financial support of these so-called "freedom fighters."

Often North American and European observers blame the Hondurans for "renting out" their territory for Contra excursions. Internationally, the Honduran government denies the Contra presence. But increasing numbers of Hondurans are becoming anti-Contra as the negative effects of the 15,000 Contra presence in their country become more obvious.

For example, the Contra presence has caused the displacement of thousands of Honduran families along the border, created more corruption in the Honduran military, and contributed to the rise of terrorism and human rights violations.

The plight of the displaced has received much press coverage in Honduras. By late 1986, over 15,000 Hondurans had fled the zone along the Nicaraguan border. This area was called "New Nicaragua" due to Contra military control, land and business purchases, and even the changing of village names in the zone. Few government officials complained, as the continued flow of U.S. aid was considered essential. Finally, the displaced coffee growers of the zone began to organize, and are planning to visit Washington, D.C. to demand indemnity for losses in the war zones.

The social effects on the Hondurans in the war zones have been great. Some 40-50,000 Nicaraguans have actually moved into deserted houses; this civilian population — mostly Contra families — are considered refugees while the Hondurans remain displaced. Honduran farm families have had their livestock and crops stolen by the Contras, while some Hondurans have been killed or maimed by mines placed in the zone.

Earlier this year, the Honduran press ran contradictory stories on the departure of Contras in this zone, reporting that 400 Contras had moved back to Nicaragua and that the Honduran army now controlled the area. However, the local Board of the coffee producers and the Committee of Displaced People denied that the zone was clean of Contras and fit for rehabilitation. Most of the displaced Hondurans remain without adequate food, shelter and assurances that it is safe to return to their borderlands.

With regard to military corruption, recent revelations in the U.S. press and publication of the Tower Commission Report have created controversy within Honduras. In August, 1986, Honduran security forces stormed the house of Nationalist Party deputy Rodolfo Zelaya. This led to investigation of his profitable supply network of "humanitarian aid" (clothing, food, and some arms) to the Contras through his Supermarket Hermano Pedro and the desire

of the Honduran Army officials to get a piece of that business. This was followed by U.S. Rep. Michael Barnes' revelation that two large checks (one for \$450,000) of the Contra humanitarian aid funds had been endorsed directly to the Honduran Army.

Further, in late December, the *Miami Herald* revealed that Israel had shipped arms to the Honduran Armed Forces, who then sold them at a higher cost to the Contras. It was estimated that over \$3.3 million in arms sent to Honduras were routed to the Contras.

The Contras are now very disliked within Honduras. Almost every government official, church worker, urban professional and farm leader with whom I have spoken is critical of the Contra presence. Paid advertisements by peasant organizations and worker unions against the Contras are common in the newspapers and three peace marches have taken place this year. Despite security risks, Hondurans are expressing their opinions on the issue of sovereignty.

As U.S. Christians, we must continue to protest the destruction and loss the Contra war is causing to the Nicaraguan people, but we should also include the effects the war has had on Hondurans. In both countries, innocent victims abound, and the present stalemate does not paint a bright future. ■

HOME

The following was written by Anna Lee Stedman, a member of the Whitefish Peace Alliance in Columbia Falls, Mont., after she spent five weeks in Nicaragua with groups of performing artists there.

Home.

I am here. Maybe

and I feel as though I will suffocate in the blubber
of words around me

or drown in a vat of attitudinal twinkles . . .

These saccharine motives around me

seem so whimsical that bitterness etches
a smile on my mouth

How I want to leave again. Just leave.

Home.

And when I try to say what I've seen and heard
it is often dismissed
blankly

missed and changed with the subject . . .

not always, but more often than not.

And me feeling like a fish with the guts split open
spilling on the rocks

nerves flailing and banging away

As though clinging to a past life, I lay
peering at the knife with a glazed eye.

Anna Lee Stedman

By the end of the 1930s, the shadow of war was spreading across Europe and Asia. Americans watched with increasing apprehension as Hitler's armies swallowed up country after country and the Japanese pushed further across China. The United States hoped to stay out of war, comforted by the fact that it was separated by two great oceans from the troubles abroad. This country had its own problems to deal with. Unemployment was still widespread, a legacy of the Great Depression. Thousands of dispossessed farmers and agricultural workers, as those immortalized in John Steinbeck's 1939 novel, *The Grapes of Wrath*, drifted across the West in search of a chance to make a living.

Labor was still struggling for workers' rights. During the winter of 1936-37, over 500,000 workers engaged in the new, and illegal, tactic of sit-down strikes. In the violent Republic Steel strike, four workers were killed and 84 injured in a confrontation with police and company strong-arm men. The Roosevelt Administration, over the objections of conservatives and big business, began to respond to workers' needs. The Fair Labor Standards Act, which raised the minimum wage, set lower maximum work hours and banned child labor, was passed in 1938.

If fascism comes to U.S.

If fascism comes to the United States it will not come through the action of the German-American Nazis or any other group of hyphenated Americans, charmed by foreign ideologies. It is more apt to come from men who boast of being 100% Americans. Our economic system breaks down. The government steps in to provide relief to the millions who suffer. The cost runs into the billions. Taxes mount to cover the costs. Increased taxes threaten profits. The time then comes when leaders of business must choose between profits and democracy. If they choose profits, which I reluctantly say is probable, we have fascism, whether we call it by that name or not. If they choose democracy and freedom we will have more "New Deal" rather than less — and surely

everything indicates that the tide is running the other way today.

Fascism will not come to the United States through the preaching of Hitler's doctrines by German-Americans decked out in uniforms and sam-brown belts. The leadership will be in the hands of those who, preaching an undefined "Hundred Per Cent Americanism" will probably vigorously denounce both Hitler and Mussolini, the while leading us into their camp. (William B. Spofford 3/23/39)

Re Dollars and sense

R. Stanley Dollar, shipping magnate, gave away his daughter in marriage in an Episcopal Church in San Francisco the other day and before the service expressed the wish that the seamen's strike might end in order that she and

THE WITNESS continued its tradition of informing readers of social, religious and political conflicts and of the movements to address those wrongs. The magazine also kept a watchful eye on the growing fascist movements around the world. It exposed the propaganda of lies and hate propounded by anti-Semites like Charles Coughlin, a Roman Catholic priest from Detroit whose radio sermons and writings railed against an "international Jewish conspiracy."

Editor Bill Spofford also educated his readers about the activities of the Dies Committee, the earliest form of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). HUAC, which was set up to investigate "un-American" activity by Communist, Fascist, Nazi and other organizations, became a vehicle for "red-baiting" and harassing those who supported Socialist movements or stood up for workers' and minority rights. Spofford, himself, was to be hounded by HUAC.

But one of the greatest issues of the day, which pitted the forces of progress against the forces of reaction, was the Spanish Civil War. This conflict began in 1936 when right-wing forces rose up to overthrow the republican government which had replaced a monarchy. It divided Amer-

the bridegroom might enjoy a happy honeymoon trip to the Orient. This brought a letter from John Schomaker, striking seaman, who addressed Miss Dollar as follows: "The striking maritime workers are much interested in your father's public announcement expressing the hope that the strike may be settled in order that you and your husband may have a honeymoon to the Orient. Although none of us have plans for extended honeymoons at sea, we do have reasons of our own for wanting strike settlement and we join your father in his wedding wish to you. We would like to get back to work and those of us who are married would like once again to be able to supply our wives and children with adequate food, clothing and even some of the minor comforts and luxuries of life. If you

The roar of bombs

by Susan E. Pierce

icans politically, socially and emotionally.

The Spanish Civil War was almost a holy crusade. The Republicans or Loyalists stood against Hitler and the Franco Fascists, corrupt priests of the immensely powerful Catholic Church, landowners, the military elite, and other privileged. The Nationalists or Fascists were against Marxism, labor, the landless and opponents of the Church. *THE WITNESS*, fiercely Republican, recorded the sufferings of the Spanish people and called on its readers to send aid and support to the Republican cause.

Through reports of missionaries in the field, *THE WITNESS* brought news of the devastation wrought by the Japanese Army in its conquest of China. The magazine repeatedly called on the U.S. government to end its profitable trade in munitions and goods with Japan, and warned readers that they could not ignore this conflict taking place in distant countries.

Always a staunch advocate of peace, *THE WITNESS* tracked the growing evil of the Nazi empire and came to the sad realization that peace was no longer possible. Spofford was particularly shaken by the arrest of Pastor Martin Niemoller, a German Protestant theologian who

could persuade your father to grant our minimum demands we could get you to sea in a hurry, and we believe it might increase the happiness of your trip to know you had helped 40,000 maritime workers back to work, including the very workers who will be making your trip a safe and pleasant one." (2/11/37)

Seeks Negro vote at GC

The Negro went to General Convention with high hopes. He knew that the Bishop of Southern Ohio, and the committee that worked with him, had opened the doors of Cincinnati to the Negro so that the most gracious hospitality greeted all delegates and visitors with a Christian love that is seldom enjoyed in public places.

As I heard testimonials of faith I

thought of the 50,000 hearts that beat for Jesus Christ behind black faces that cry for a chance to go on. They know they have churches of their own. They know they have here and there a representative field worker. They know that the church has opened schools for them in the South which have blessed many a young life with hope and courage. I thought not only of those 50,000 Negroes, but I thought of *not one* in General Convention, save Bishop Demby — without a vote and with little voice. It was impossible to miss the surprise, the dismay, on the faces of the people to whom I called attention to this fact. They could not believe that no Negro priest, no Negro layman, was in the House of Deputies to represent 50,000 loyal church people.

More Negroes attended these sessions

spoke out against the Nazis. He followed Niemoller's case and urged his readers to be aware that there were many others like Niemoller, interned in concentration camps because of their resistance to the Nazi regime.

By 1940, *THE WITNESS* was openly calling the American people to wake up to the atrocities of the Fascists in Europe and the Japanese in Asia. Spofford condemned America's "look-the-other-way" isolationist stance and U.S. industry's willingness to make a quick buck by selling arms and supplies to aggressor nations. *THE WITNESS*'s pleas to Americans echoed the words of British author George Orwell, who wrote in 1937 after returning from fighting with Republican forces in the Spanish Civil War:

"Here it was still the England I had known in my childhood . . . the familiar streets . . . the red buses, the blue policeman — all sleeping the deep, deep sleep of England, from which I fear we shall never wake until we are jerked out of it by the roar of bombs."

In 1941, the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor and America awoke to the roar of bombs. Once again, *THE WITNESS* watched attentively as the world went to war. Excerpts from *THE WITNESS* follow:

of General Convention than we have ever known. Clergy and laity were there from the tip of Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, from New Orleans, Chicago, Detroit, New York, as far east as Cambridge, Mass. It represented sacrifice.

Let the new Commission on Negro Work make an impartial and devoted survey and evaluation of our present work and future possibilities. But above all, let representation and franchise and counsel be forthcoming now. (Sheldon Hale Bishop 12/2/37)

Slum house in nave

A typical New York slum house has been lifted bodily from its drab surroundings and set up in the nave of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York, as a witness to the need of slum

Continued on back cover

clearance. Under the leadership of Bishop Manning an effort is being made to unite religious and welfare agencies to press for a demand of the elimination of slums, and a conference was held at the Cathedral from Feb. 28 to March 1 toward that end. The slum exhibit, which is described as "a museum of human misery," is the largest and most comprehensive of the kind ever assembled. (3/4/37)

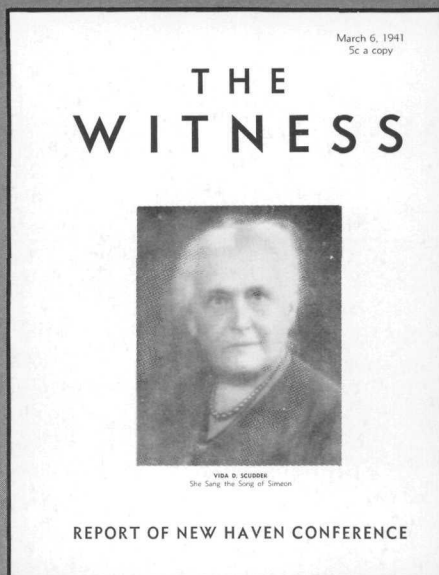
War, pots & Seminoles

The genial chairman of the local committee to collect aluminum pots and pans to further national defense called this morning. But her timing was bad. I had just read in the paper that the Aluminum Corporation had made profits out of defense orders running as high as 169% . . .

The draft boards in Southern Florida are having trouble with the Seminole Indians. These Indians have disregarded all government calls, declaring that they are not citizens and that the medicine men have answered, "No, No," to all inquiries. This has caused a great problem in that state, for the young men of draft age seem to ignore the whole question. (7/24/41)

Plight of migrant kids

At least one-third of the 2 million migrants seeking a living in agriculture are children. That means more than half a million of the nation's children under 16 years of age are living as mi-



grants, uprooted from all ties and associations with normal home or community life, their education and training in citizenship neglected.

For these children, equal breadwinners with their fathers and mothers, any chance at education must necessarily be regarded a luxury. A school superintendent in a Florida county where there is a heavy migrant concentration admitted, "Education is in competition with beans here and beans are winning out." When a freeze destroyed all the growing beans in this area last winter, many Negro children went to school for the first time. Attendance at one school with 280 desks soared to 503

pupils. For a couple of months, the school went double shift. Then, the beans ripened and the next week, the school had 20 pupils. (Jack Bryan 3/6/41)

Better 'red' than wrong

Remember way back when those of us who supported Loyalist Spain were charged with being "reds"? Now Hitler's troops are said to be in there to take Gibraltar, if they can, and Franco, the great humanitarian defender of God and the Church, has killed a few hundred thousand workers. And all Protestants are persecuted as "reds," which avoids the charge of "religious persecutions" and yet accomplishes the same results. Franco has confiscated and ground into pulp 110,000 copies of the Bible for fear the people will get ideas. He has closed all Protestant churches except one in Madrid and one in Barcelona. I don't know how much a peseta is worth in present-day American money but, whatever it is, the dictator is giving 60,000,000 of them annually to the Roman Church in Spain. He has also given the Church complete charge of education. If you want to get married in Spain you are married by a Catholic priest or not at all. *The Living Church's* Clifford Morehouse told me how wrong I was at the time for standing by the Loyalists. Maybe he was right, at that, from his point of view. But I am making no apologies in view of subsequent events. (William B. Spofford 11/7/40)

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