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THE WITNESS

Be the People...

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exposes secret war
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SHREDDDED RIGHTS

Letters

No anomaly here

Your June editorial quotes Nathaniel Pierce: "Some Episcopalians -- Bush, Weinberger, Poindexter, North -- support our government's efforts in Nicaragua . . . the Episcopal Church in Nicaragua is a part of our church community . . . 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 editorial said, "Pierce points out an anomaly in the present debacle where government officials are secretly funding terrorist warfare -- in essence, Christians are helping to kill Christians."

Queries: Does being an Episcopalian necessarily prove that one is a Christian? Would it be a less important task if the Episcopalians (or Christians) were killing folk that were not Episcopalians (or Christians)? Since when is it an anomaly for Christians to kill one another, for Episcopalians to kill Episcopalians?

The U.S. Civil War, World Wars I and II, the Bay of Pigs, the invasion of the Dominican Republic, Spanish American War, invasion of Grenada, Vietnam War, etc. back through the endless wars between and within Christian countries were presided over and blessed by Popes, "Protestants" and kings and princes crowned and blessed by the church. Christians and Christian churches, at least from the Constantinian settlement, have identified themselves with the political unity within which they found themselves.

Christians have deluded themselves as fully as Marxists or Communists have deluded themselves. Workers of the world marched off to kill other workers just as cheerfully as Christians and Episcopalians have marched off to kill Christians and Episcopalians. U.S.

unions were racist, sexist and indifferent to low yield folk such as migrant labor and domestics.

Episcopalians were (and are) racist, sexist and indifferent to low yield economic groups. Indeed, there is a continuing indifference by bishops of the church to racist, sexist and economic practices. The "unity" of the House of Bishops has been more important than the unity of the Body of Christ. The House of Bishops found unity with the Church of Rome and the Church of England more important than unity with the women of the Body of Christ. So when Bush, Weinberger, North and Poindexter act the same way, why should such be an anomaly? They have learned from their Fathers in God which unity is more important.

Christians or Episcopalians killing Christians or Episcopalians an anomaly? Shucks, 'tis as Christian as Holy Communion!

The Rev. McRae Werth
Blue Hill, Me.

Pierce responds

The spectacle of Christian killing Christian and Episcopalian killing Episcopalian in Nicaragua is not unique, as McRae Werth notes. War is rarely a solution to anything, and at some point the Christian community must rise up and say "ENOUGH!" Killing is indeed seen as being compatible with Christianity in our time; that is something worth pondering, even praying about.

The Rev. Nathaniel Pierce
Brookline, Mass.

(THE WITNESS applauds Pierce's response. Actually, the choice of the word "anomaly" was the editor's, not Pierce's, and was, perhaps, misleading. But in the true definition of Christianity, the killing described in the June editorial would, indeed, be anomalous. -- Ed.)

CA issue priceless

The June 1987 issue of THE WITNESS is priceless, and I need five more copies. We have a Peace Coalition here in Erie and I want to share this information about Central America -- as our members are eager to learn facts. Thanks for THE WITNESS. We read every word.

Martha Kate Barnhart
Erie, Pa.

Issues widely read

We definitely would be poorer without THE WITNESS. We are a small church in rural Utah, where few current social issues are readily apparent, but each copy of THE WITNESS is read by several people. Our Sacramentalist reads it. My husband, a lay reader who is licensed to preach, reads it. I read it, and it helps me to be more articulate in working with the vestry and writing for our diocesan newsletter. Especially since we do not employ seminary-trained clergy, we need THE WITNESS to broaden our understanding of what the church can and should be. Thank you for your fine magazine.

Ruth Thurston
Moab, Utah

Applauds column

Whenever I receive THE WITNESS I am programmed to turn immediately to *A Luta Continua* by Barbara Harris. While I am never disappointed, I felt that I was especially rewarded when I read her column in the June issue. Not only was her rapier wit at its very best, but the subject matter addressed ("Human suffering -- new growth industry") was one whose significance might well have escaped the notice of even the most sophisticated readers.

These are indeed strange times in which we live. Thanks for reminding us who profess and call ourselves Chris-

tians just how very bizarre they are. Our work is clearly cut out for us!

The Rev. Canon Harold T. Lewis
Staff Officer for Black Ministries
Episcopal Church Center

Add gay bashing

I would add to the May *A Luta Continua* column by Barbara Harris, increasing violence to gays and lesbians. Going along with the religious right are their fellow travelers -- the U.S. Supreme Court and the Roman Church.

Last summer's court decision in the Georgia sodomy case and recent pronouncements from Rome seem to have infused some with a patriotic and religious zeal to attack gays and lesbians. AIDS gives the bigots another excuse to attack.

From the gilded throne and TV pulpit and political stage, "I do not condone violence," has a worse than meaningless sound to me.

Jerry A. Boyd
Sacramento, Cal.

Bless gay relationships

What a joy to receive the May issue of THE WITNESS and realize that I have been a subscriber for two years. In that time, the overall quality of the magazine has improved, from good to excellent.

With THE WITNESS I share the hope of seeing a woman bishop soon, the belief that apartheid will end, and the commitment for a more just society. Furthermore, I am encouraged by THE WITNESS' commitment to gay/lesbian rights. Just as the church must be prodded, albeit gently, gay/lesbian persons must be challenged as well. Church-people must be reminded of Bishop Browning's position that there will be no outcasts in this church; likewise, gay/lesbian people must be challenged

to express their sexuality responsibly.

The Episcopal Church should bless committed faithful relationships of gay/lesbian persons. If two people are willing to dedicate their lives to each other permanently, then they should be encouraged in their decision to marry, regardless of orientation. I have experienced the incredible power of God's love with my own spouse, Joseph. The challenge, then, to the gay/lesbian community is the lifting up of this type relationship as a responsible use of sexuality. THE WITNESS' advocacy of this issue and other issues of social change exemplifies its integrity in following Jesus' call to be fishers of all (Mt. 18:19).

Patrick Schwing
Notre Dame, Ind.

What if women left?

In the reflecting occasioned by the news that some of our family is choosing to be separate from us (or else) there is a bittersweet strain of historically familiar paranoia. As a mother, whenever pint-size hitlerisms cropped up I knew how to deal with them and make them go away. But of course, in the church, we are all adults and everyone is free to tell everyone else where to get off. John Steinbeck once wrote of a bunch of overtired, overstressed journalists that there was no one there to spank them and send them to bed. But combined with my memories of coping is a kind of universal guilt unique to womanhood in this matter before the church. The problem is Female. All nurturing mothers share the knowledge that we could, if we chose, make this problem go away. By going away ourselves.

Think of it.

Women have always dared to hear and respond to a Call. But not until 1976 has the church believed that Jesus

gives women the same invitation He gives males. And even in Minneapolis in 1976 it was obvious that many were more comfortable with a Jesus firmly nailed to the Cross where He would stay put, not step down and interfere. Although the women had won the right to be priested, and took Jesus into places He'd never gone before where He could heal and comfort and be heard, many continued to suffer for the privilege.

So, supposing, today, if all women of the church, priested and lay, took it into their heads at the same time to be nurturing mothers in order to help the church out of its present dilemma? Supposing that without fuss or rancor and in the interests of peace, they left the church? And very quietly and peacefully worshipped by themselves? What divisive issue would be left? The squabble about the 1928 Prayerbook could be resolved by letting everyone use any form they wished simultaneously. The great raised din of male voices competing for the religious edge would be something to hear, but I would be far away. Most women would be. Although, I daresay a few might sacrifice and stay, not trusting the altar linens to anyone else (no lipstick on those purificators would be a compensation).

Still, a healed, though womanless, church could present some problems. Over one half -- 63% in fact -- of church membership is at present female. Women tend to live longer and leave bequests. They have built up quite a cushion of contribution to the church through the years. Suppose they were to take the United Thank Offering with them when they left, considering their own requests for granting? Or the Church Periodical Club? Suppose they withdrew the Triennial Meeting from the vicinity of General Convention --

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THE WITNESS

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THE WITNESS

We the People...



SHREDDED RIGHTS

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Elda Sanchez, age 7

Those wishing to help purchase artificial limbs for Nicaraguan amputees can write to "Walk in Peace," Box 68, Comer, Ga. (Photo by Paul Jeffrey/CEPAD, courtesy *Sojourners* .)

The cost of Contra aid

Colonel North, did you say that you bought your daughters leotards with those traveler's checks you got from the Contras?

Next time you go to buy pantyhose, think of 7-year-old Elda Sanchez of Pantasma, Nicaragua, whose leg was blown off when the truck she was riding in hit a landmine planted by the Contras.

Other casualties in that explosion: six dead and 12 others, who like Elda, had one or both legs amputated. Elda's father, Amancio, also lost a leg in that explosion. Contra mines have produced 2,000 amputees -- mostly women and children.

President Reagan declared in his August speech to the nation, "I am totally committed to the democratic resistance -- the freedom fighters -- and their pursuit of democracy in Nicaragua."

For those who might lend *any* credence to the President's words that the Contras are dedicated to freedom and democracy, have we got a story for you! It's about a lawsuit initiated by the Christic Institute, a faith-based public policy network in Washington, D.C. against assorted CIA agents, military adventurers, drug lords and right-wing soldiers of fortune -- a "Secret Team" that has supported the Contras through arms sales and drug dealing.

We presume that our readers, after reading our lead story, will run, not walk, to the nearest phone, contact their Congressional representatives and insist that they stop Contra aid and support the Central American presidents' peace plan. ■

Christic lawsuit exposes secret war

On a May evening in 1984, ABC cameraman Tony Avirgan lay covered with blood, severely wounded, surrounded by dead and injured fellow journalists. A bomb blast had ripped through the small hut in La Penca, a Contra base camp in southern Nicaragua, moments before Contra commander Eden Pastora was to make a statement to the assembled press. Pastora, a former Sandinista military officer and then leader of the Costa Rican-based Revolutionary Democratic Alliance, (ARDE), was about to denounce a rival Contra faction, the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN) and the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency for trying to force ARDE to join the CIA-dominated FDN.

Three journalists died in the bombing -- including Linda Frazier, a Religious News Service correspondent from the United States. Pastora and Avirgan were among the 20 seriously injured. After three months in the hospital, Avirgan returned home to Costa Rica, and joined his wife, U.S. journalist Martha Honey, in the investigation she had initiated of those responsible for the La Penca bombing.

Meanwhile, in Brownsville, Tex., attorney Daniel Sheehan came across some disturbing allegations while preparing the defense for Stacy Merkt, a Catholic lay worker, and others involved in the Sanctuary Movement, who were on trial for helping undocumented refugees fleeing persecution in El Salvador. Sheehan, chief legal counsel for the Christic Institute, a faith-based public policy law group situated in Washington, D.C., had been visited by a local Methodist minister who said an FBI agent had warned him to stay away from the Sanctuary Movement and the Catholic Church because, the agent said,

Christic
Institute's
Daniel Sheehan
& Sara Nelson



both were responsible for bringing in Central American refugees who were "known communist terrorists" and posed "a potential threat to the national security of the United States ... in the event that President Reagan had to initiate a direct military action by U.S. forces into Central America." Sheehan first laughed at the accusations, but soon realized that they were not a joke. He launched an investigation to find out what the government was planning.

Although Sheehan was tracking leads hundreds of miles away from Avirgan and Honey, their separate quests converged. They eventually found themselves on a single trail leading into the shadow world of the "Secret Team," a group of U.S. military and CIA officials. This team, according to the Christic Institute, acting alternately with government approval and on their own, for 25 years "have waged secret war, toppled governments, trafficked in drugs, assassinated political enemies, stolen from the U.S. government and subverted the will of the Constitution, the Congress, and the American people."

Sara Nelson, the Christic Institute's executive director, is currently traveling around the country to raise public consciousness about the Secret Team and the lawsuit the Institute is directing on behalf of Avirgan and Honey against the Team. Filed in May, 1986, in a Miami Federal Court, the suit named many key suspects in the Iran/Contra arms deal six months before the scandal surfaced in the press.

"What we're looking at is a renegade foreign policy," she said, "that's out of control in our democratic institutions. We are confronting a growing national security state apparatus that wants to control things no matter what our democratic institutions say."

Nelson explained that the case against the Secret Team, due to go to trial around Easter, 1988, is complex and immense. Twenty-nine defendants are named in the suit, ranging from media darlings like Maj. Gen. Richard Secord to secretive international drug dealers, shady businessmen and soldiers of fortune, all wrapped up in a fanatical crusade to destroy the bogeyman of "world

by Susan Pierce

communism." Reading the affidavit set forth by Sheehan is like climbing down into a dank demimonde whose denizens traffic in human lives and the fate of countries to gain power and wealth.

But the Christic Institute is used to fighting for social justice against the powers that be. It was founded in 1980 by the team that organized the Karen Silkwood case. Silkwood, a union organizer at the Kerr-McGee Nuclear Corporation plutonium plant in Oklahoma, died in a mysterious car accident on her way to meet a reporter from *The New York Times*. Her family recently won a \$1.8 million settlement from Kerr-McGee after proving the company was responsible for Silkwood's severe plutonium contamination.

Nelson, at the time a labor coordinator for the National Organization for Women, helped get the Silkwood case rolling and became its key fundraiser. Sheehan, chief legal counsel on the case, was a Harvard Law School graduate who, after working on Wall Street and for flamboyant defense lawyer F. Lee Bailey, turned to his faith after being disillusioned by his experiences in the legal profession. He attended Harvard Divinity School and was working for the U.S. Jesuit Office of Social Ministry in Washington, D.C. at the time he joined the Silkwood case.

Sheehan's commitment reflects the Institute's philosophy which, Nelson said, "is motivated and based on Judeo-Christian values. We only take cases that set important precedents for the social justice community."

The name Christic comes from a concept expressed by the noted Jesuit paleontologist Pierre Teilhard de Chardin.

"He talked about a bonding phenomenon in the universe, that he called a Christic force, that holds everything to-

The CIA/Contra drug scam

Perhaps the most suppressed story in the Iran/Contra hearings has been the CIA/Contra drug scam -- a sordid tale involving a Secret Team of intelligence agents, military personnel, drug lords, and sundry right-wing soldiers of fortune.

Sara Nelson, executive director of the Christic Institute, a faith-based policy center in Washington, D.C., electrified an audience of Episcopal activists at the Under One Roof conference in St. Louis recently when she described the lawsuit the Institute has filed against a Secret Team of 29 defendants, described in the accompanying story.

THE WITNESS has kept a file on the case, and when Nelson and Daniel Sheehan, Christic's chief legal counsel, were in Philadelphia recently, Susan Pierce and Mary Lou Suhor contacted them for an update.

If the government-in-shadows outlined in this article is to be exposed and the Secret Team prosecuted, the Christic Institute will need financial support and prayers. Key witnesses have been known to be kidnapped, tortured and murdered by the merchants of heroin and terrorism.

For further information write the Christic Institute, 1324 North Capitol St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20002, (202) 797-8106. The affidavit on the case against the Secret Team is available for \$10.

gether in harmony. He was hopeful that our ability to comprehend this phenomenon would develop, and that our evolving capacity to understand our oneness would win out in a race with our evolving capacity to destroy ourselves; we share his hopeful vision," said Nelson.

The Institute is an interfaith organization. "We have Jewish, Catholic and

Protestant supporters as well as people who don't identify with any denomination but share a common morality in the area of social justice and public policy ethics," Nelson said.

The La Penca bombing lawsuit is the largest and most ambitious case the Institute has ever undertaken. Sheehan is a veteran of social justice trials -- he defended the Berrigan brothers for anti-Vietnam activity; defended *The New York Times* in the Pentagon Papers case; defended American Indian Movement leaders Russell Means and Dennis Banks, and represented inmates at New York's Attica Prison on the day of the riots.

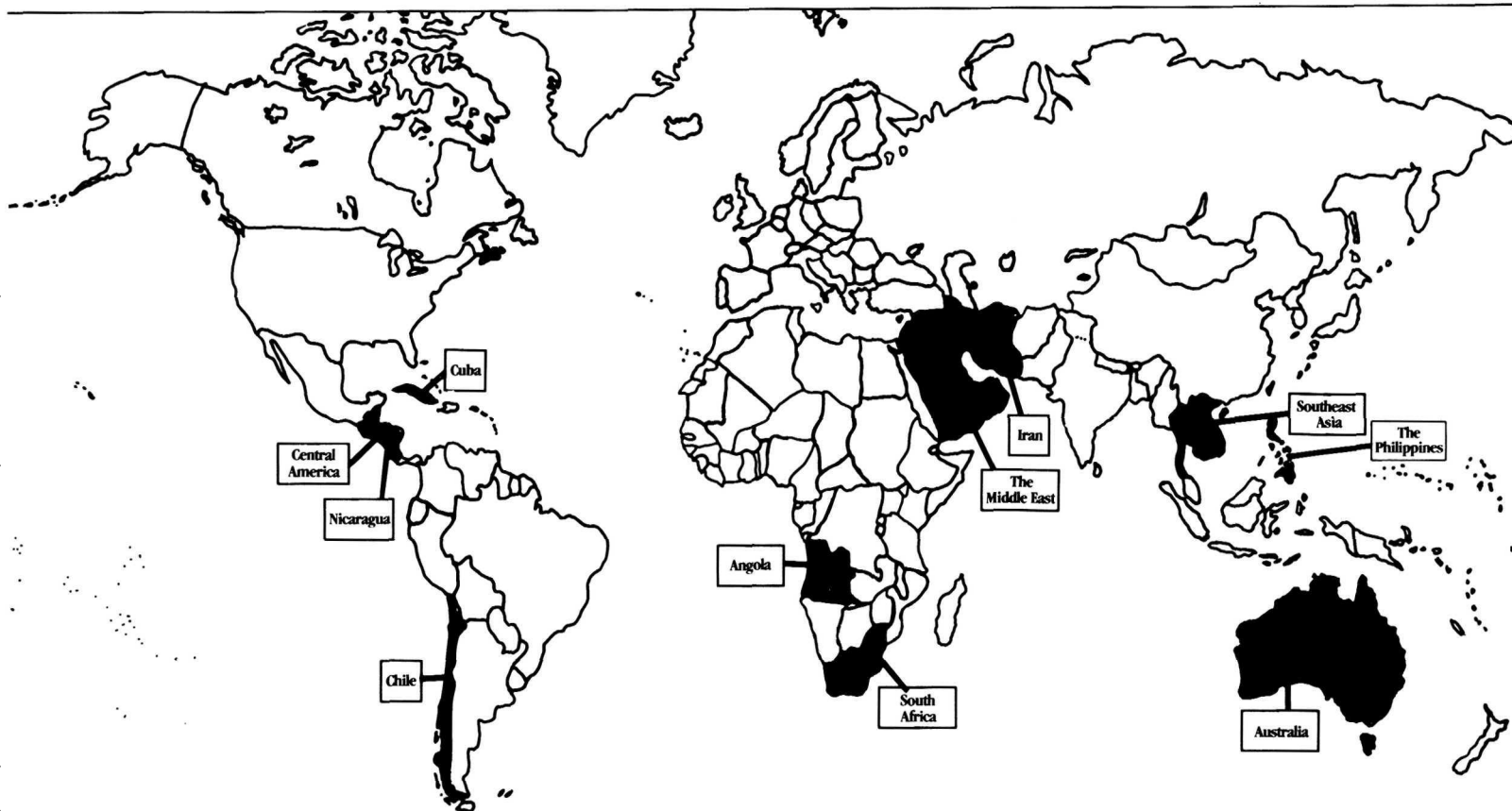
The Institute is prosecuting the 29 defendants under the RICO (Racketeer Influence and Corrupt Organization) Act, which is the cornerstone of an effort to prove a 25-year history of racketeering and bring to justice the members of the illegal Contra support network involved in gunrunning, drug smuggling, murder and other crimes.

What Sheehan, Honey, Avirgan and other Christic investigators uncovered is absolutely chilling. When her husband was injured at La Penca, Honey was determined to find the perpetrator. Reports blamed a Basque terrorist working for the Sandinistas, but she soon discovered he had been under arrest in Europe at the time of the bombing.

The big break came when Avirgan and Honey were contacted by a source named "David," a young Nicaraguan Contra who was part of the group responsible for the bombing. David wanted out because the group was planning to blow up the U.S. Embassy in Costa Rica, kill U.S. Ambassador Lewis Tambs and then blame the Sandinistas.

David told them the La Penca bomber was a professional hit man, a Libyan named Galil Amac, who had gained admission to the press conference by posing as a Danish journalist. Hired from

Twenty-Five Years of the Secret Team



Cuba: 1959-1965

First "contra" war — code-named "Operation 40" and later "Operation Mongoose" — is mounted under direction of Vice-President Nixon. Nixon and Mafia "Don" Santo Trafficante set up private "sub-operation" to assassinate Cuba's revolutionary leaders. Members of "Shooter Team" include Rafael Quintero, Felix Rodriguez, Luis Posada, and future Watergate burglars. Operation is supervised by Shackle and Clines.

Southeast Asia: 1965-1975

Shackle, Clines, Secord and Singlaub direct the CIA's secret wars. In Laos, Shackle and Clines back Vang Pao, a major opium trafficker. Drug money used to train indigenous Hmong tribesmen in guerrilla warfare, including political assassination. 100,000 non-combatant "communist sympathizers" are assassinated in Laos, Cambodia, and Thailand. Shackle and Clines direct the Phoenix Project in South Vietnam in 1974-5, a program that killed some 60,000 Vietnamese civilians. Operation is financed by Vang Pao heroin sold in the U.S. by Mafia "Don" Santo Trafficante.

Chile: 1971-1973

Shackle and Clines direct the CIA's "Track II" strategy, supervising the 1973 overthrow of Salvador Allende's democratically-elected government. Later, in 1984, Secret Team members recruit right-wing terrorist Amac Galil from Chilean military police to execute the La Penca bombing.

Iran: 1976-1979

After Vietnam, Shackle's Secret Team — including Edwin Wilson — move to Tehran to conduct private, non-CIA activities to help the Shah's dreaded secret police identify and assassinate opponents of the regime.

The Middle East: 1976 - Present

In the late-1970s, then-Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Secord supervised the sale of U.S. weapons to Middle Eastern nations. Using middleman Albert Hakim, Secord buys U.S. weapons at the low manufacturer's cost and sells them to countries at the much higher replacement cost, illegally depositing the extra profits into private Secret Team bank accounts. The same practice is used by Secord and North during Reagan's arms sales to Iran.

Australia: 1970s-1980

Vang Pao opium funds from Southeast Asia and illegal weapons profits from the Middle East are secretly deposited into bank accounts at the Nugen Hand bank in Australia. Shackle and Secret Team members are implicated in destabilizing the Australian Labour government in 1975.

Nicaragua: 1978 - Present

Shackle and members of Secret Team arm dictator Anastasio Somoza after President Carter and Congress ban such aid. After Somoza's overthrow, members of this team arm and advise the dictator's ex-National Guardsmen until the CIA takes over running the contra war against the Sandinista government. When Congress cuts off CIA contra aid in 1984, Lt. Col. Oliver North, under the direction of Reagan, Bush, Meese, and Casey, reaches out to the Secret Team to illegally recommence funding and resupplying the contras.

Central America: 1979 - Present

Secord, Hakim, Quintero, Singlaub, Owen, Hull and others use Central American countries as logistical rearwards to support the contra war. Major contra supply bases include Aguacate airport in Honduras; Ilopango air force base in El Salvador; Puerto Barrios in Guatemala; and a large dirt airstrip and private ranches in northern Costa Rica.

South Africa: 1983 - Present

Former CIA Director William Casey reportedly arranges deal for South Africa to fly weapons to the contras. Safair Freighters, a South Africa cargo company, provided planes to Southern Air Transport, a company used by the Secret Team to ferry arms to the contras.

Angola: 1984 - Present

In return for the South Africans providing assistance to the Nicaraguan contras, CIA Director Casey asked Saudi Arabian King Fahd to provide aid to the South African-backed UNITA rebels fighting the Angolan government. Iranian arms profits may also have been diverted to UNITA.

The Philippines: 1986 - Present

Singlaub encourages and organizes right-wing para-military groups to threaten, kidnap and kill individuals advocating land reform, labor rights, and the removal of U.S. military bases in the Philippines. President Reagan simultaneously authorizes large-scale funding and increased CIA presence for "unconventional warfare" programs throughout the country.

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(202) 797-8106

DINA, the dreaded Chilean Secret Police, Galil allegedly worked out of an estate in Costa Rica owned by a wealthy, conservative rancher named John Hull, who maintained dual U.S./Costa Rican citizenship. Hull's ranch, reportedly, was a base for Contra terrorist activities. David's story was borne out when the Costa Rican police raided a ranch managed by Hull and captured a group of mercenaries and a cache of weapons.

With David's help, Avirgan and Honey learned that Hull's ranch was also a mini-airport and major conduit for drugs and weapons. Cocaine, sold in the United States to fund the activities, was funneled through Costa Rica via planes that allegedly landed at an airstrip on the ranch. The drugs were then either flown directly to the U.S. or transferred to boats carrying frozen shrimp and taken to Miami, where, Nelson said, "they were unloading over a ton of cocaine a week."

The investigation also revealed that arms were being shipped through the ranch -- in a guns in, dope out arrangement -- as well as C-4 explosives such as Galil used in the bomb. But as Avirgan and Honey got closer to the truth, the merchants of death lashed back. David was kidnapped and murdered; Avirgan and Honey began receiving so many death threats that they sent their children to live in the United States.

They published a report on the La Penca investigations and were immediately sued by Hull. But the Costa Rican Supreme Court threw Hull's case out. Then Avirgan and Honey were the victims of a crude and somewhat ludicrous attempt to implicate them as drug dealers for the Sandinistas by sending them a package filled with cocaine, purportedly from a high ranking Sandinista official -- Tomas Borge, minister of the interior.

After David was killed, Avirgan and Honey went to the Christic Institute for

help in filing a lawsuit to stop the network responsible for the La Penca bombing and David's death.

Sheehan's own investigation had uncovered other alarming information which threatened a democratic mode of U.S. government and set the stage for a military takeover. He discovered that the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), authorized by President Reagan, was "actually planning how to control domestic dissent in the event of an invasion in Central America by the United States," said Nelson.

If there were an invasion and should Reagan declare a "State of Domestic National Emergency," the plan, called REX '84, provided for the creation of "State Defense Force" units, a national police force superceding all other law enforcement agencies. Also 10 detention centers would be refurbished to incarcerate undocumented Central American refugees. Civil liberties would be suspended under this "shadow government." And Sheehan found that three states -- Alabama, Louisiana and Texas -- had established "State Defense Force" units, but that the only people who knew about them and were signing up were "ultra right-wing, paramilitary types."

The disturbing information uncovered by Avirgan and Honey and enlarged on by the Institute, revealed how deeply the network or "Secret Team" was involved in the drug trade. They learned that Colombian drug lords offered the Team \$1 million to assassinate Ambassador Tambs because when he was ambassador to Colombia, he lobbied for a treaty that would allow the drug lords to be extradited and tried in the United States.

Some of the defendants named in the suits are old hands at drug dealing. According to the Institute's information, Maj. Gen. John Singlaub and Secord of Iran/Contra hearings fame, plus Theodore Shackley and Thomas Clines,

shadow figures who directed illegal CIA activities around the world, backed the drug warlord Vang Pao in Laos during the Vietnam War.

From 1965 to 1975, the Team allegedly got Van Pao's product to the United States where it was sold through Mafia connections. The profits were used to train Hmong tribesmen in anti-communist guerrilla warfare, which included political assassination. According to the Institute, thousands of civilians suspected of being "communist sympathizers" were assassinated in Laos, Cambodia and Thailand.

"During the Vietnam War, there was at one point an influx of pure heroin into the United States, especially into the Black community. It was so pure it was killing people. It was also killing American soldiers in Vietnam," Nelson pointed out. She emphasized that because the Reagan Administration has so many connections to the Secret Team, its much-publicized "Say No to Drugs" campaign has a hollow ring.

Southeast Asia is not the only area the trail of the Team twists through. "It's a global investigation," said Nelson. Since 1959, when then Vice-President Richard Nixon and the National Security Council directed a covert war against Cuba, including attempted assassinations against Fidel Castro, the Team has been busy around the world. A figure who pops up again and again is Theodore Shackley.

Shackley was CIA station chief in Miami during the covert war against Cuba from 1959 to 1965. After working in Southeast Asia, he and Clines coordinated the 1973 military coup of the socialist Allende government in Chile. After Vietnam, Shackley and the Team moved to Iran, where they worked in a private, non-official capacity as consultants to the Shah's brutal secret police.

Shadow figures like Shackley are elusive and hard to trace because, Nelson

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Faith of our fathers?

Constitutional wrongs

by Charles V. Willie

We the People...

of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

The Constitution was enacted in convention by the unanimous consent of the states present on Sept. 17, 1787 and became the law of the land when New Hampshire became the ninth state to ratify on June 21, 1788. Let us briefly analyze the Constitution in terms of the principles on which it is based.

First, the Constitution of the United States is, in essence, a religious document as well as a political instrument. The preamble tells us that the Constitution was written to establish justice. Justice, according to Joseph Fletcher in *Situation Ethics*, is love distributed. Martin Luther King said, "Love is the most durable power in the world . . . the only force capable of transforming an enemy into a friend."

Love is a basic concept of religion; it is what religion is all about. If justice is love-in-action and the Constitution establishes justice, then the Constitution is essentially a religious document, despite the first amendment which proscribes Congress from making any law respecting establishment of religion. In fact, it was unnecessary for Congress to favor any particular religious group for it had incorporated love and justice, the foundation of all religions, into the basic law of the land.

The Constitution not only identified the establishment

of justice as a goal of our nation-state, it prescribed how to achieve justice by means of a system of checks and balances. Reinhold Niebuhr said "a simple Christian moralism counsels (people) to be unselfish; (but) a profounder Christian faith must encourage (people) to create systems of justice which will save society." The system created by the Constitution to establish justice was the Supreme Court and a network of lower courts. The purpose of the Court, according to the Constitution, is to achieve "equity" which Webster defines as a "state or quality of being fair."

The Court enforces the law. But it must enforce the law in a way that is fair. A court that is unfair is unjust. Such a court would be in violation of the Constitution. By creating a system of courts to achieve equity, the Constitution fulfilled its religious commitment to justice.

The Constitution ventured its own definition of equity — the entitlement of each citizen to all privileges and all immunities. This means that there cannot be any official privileges of a majority to which a minority is not entitled. There cannot be lawful rights of Whites to which Blacks and Browns are not entitled. There cannot be immunities for the rich, sanctioned by public law, to which the poor do not have access.

Public sentiment may endorse inequity and a legislative majority could enact an inequitable public law. But the system of courts must strike such laws down, for the courts were created as a means of achieving constitutional justice — a justice which is fair.

What does this say to us today, two centuries after the Constitution was ratified? What does the Constitution as a "religious" document mean? If its goal to establish justice had been religiously followed, would this nation have experienced the Watergate and Iran-Contra affairs?

Recognizing that power is potentially demonic, the writers of the Constitution separated powers among three branches of the federal government, between federal and state governments, and between lower and higher federal courts. This separation prevents the demonic possibilities of an all-powerful person or agency.

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South Africa is a contemporary example of the demonic actions that tend to flow from an all-powerful White population unchecked by a Black population. Nazi Germany is a past example of demonic actions that tend to accompany an all-powerful Aryan population unchecked by a Jewish population. Unshared power always is potentially demonic.

The system of checks and balances prescribed in the Constitution is a check against demonic rule unconcerned with justice.

From time to time, government officials have forgotten that there is a holy presence in government. The separation of church and state never was intended to be a separation between government and religion. Good government without religion is impossible.

The Watergate and Iran-Contra affairs have raised lying, deception, and dishonesty to lofty levels that have been justified as appropriate means to an end. There can be no trust between people who lie to each other. In his testimony before the Congressional Committee investigating the Iran-Contra affair, Secretary of State George Shultz said, "Trust is the coin of the realm." Trust, of course, is another basic religious concept.

Lt. Col. Oliver North admitted that he lied to the Congress regarding the Iran-Contra affair and Admiral John Poindexter reported that he withheld information from the President of the United States. These were acts of deceit. Both claim that they are proud of what they did. But they circumvented the Constitutional process designed to prevent the clustering of demonic power.

Sen. Daniel Inouye asked: "How could this ever happen in the United States?" My answer: It happens when the nation forgets its religious foundation. Whenever this occurs, the nation has reaped a whirlwind of public chaos and social disorder.

When the United States was founded, the framers of the Constitution lied to themselves. They said that they were forming a democratic nation. But they also sanctioned slavery and by law made it impossible to consider any proposal for the abolition of slavery during the first 20 years of the nation's existence. Slavery, of course, is unjust; it is not love-in-action. For this miscarriage of justice, the nation paid dearly. Four score and seven years after its founding, it fought a Civil War to end slavery, which should have been abolished when the Constitution was written.

Church people and religious institutions could have influenced the Constitutional Convention to eradicate slavery and could have dispelled the delegates' illusion that they could form a more perfect union that was estab-

lished on justice, but embraced slavery.

Dwight Dumond has written that "slavery was said to be a political question. Having once taken that position, Southern churchmen shunned like the plague all discussion of the sin of slavery . . . Having surrendered their time-honored function of condemning both private and public immorality in this area, the Southern churches sprang to the defense of the system." Dumond reported that "the Baptist churches in their corporate capacities owned 125,000 slaves that were hired out to support their pastorates and foreign missionaries." He concludes, "the Christian churches sanctified a system lacking in justice and equity, and then surrendered up the duty to direct moral reform." It was Dumond's belief that "the failure of the churches finally forced antislavery people to turn to political action." Fifteen members of the Constitutional Convention, including George Washington, owned slaves.

The domestic tranquility was shattered by Civil War, leaving more than a half million dead, because the nation failed to abolish slavery when it was founded.

Another act of self-deception and lying to ourselves came during the first half of the 20th century. The Supreme Court ruled in the *Plessy* decision of 1896 that racial groups in this nation could be required to use separate public facilities including those that were supported with common tax funds. The nation again fooled itself into believing it could be a democratic union, divided by race.

Eventually, segregation resulted in discrimination, a gross miscarriage of justice. For such injustice, the nation paid dearly three score years after the *Plessy* decision. Riots, rebellions, and civil disorder prevailed in the streets of every major city. Property and lives were destroyed.

Now, during the closing years of this century, we have been told that the foreign policy of our democracy can be based on lies and implemented in a deceitful way. Some have advocated making the liars national heroes. But others have contested such action, believing it would be detrimental to the nation.

What is the role of the church in public-policy making that is based on lies and deceit? What is the role of the church in helping the nation to achieve justice?

When the church fails to speak out against those who lie, cheat, deceive and are unjust in government it becomes an accomplice to their actions, which can only bring great harm to the nation. The church must recognize that justice is love-in-action. A government that seeks to achieve justice is a government that needs religion. The church and state should be separate but religion and government should not. ■

Our not so free press

by Michael Parenti

What does it mean to say we have freedom of speech? We talk of this freedom as an abstract right which is enjoyed by all persons in our society or should be enjoyed by all because the Constitution says so. But there is no such thing as freedom of speech as such, a freedom abstracted from the social and economic realities in which it takes place.

Speech is a form of human behavior, which means it occurs in a social context, in interaction with other people, in homes, workplaces, schools, and before live audiences or to vast publics via the print and electronic media. Speech is intended to reach the minds of others; this is certainly true of political speech. But some forms of political speech are allowed to reach mass audiences and others are systematically excluded from the mass media.

People like George Will, William Buckley, Robert Novak, William Safire and other conservative commentators and editorialists reach tens of millions of people each day. Even that right-winger who has made a career out of complaining about the media's liberal biases — Reed Irvine of "Accuracy in the Media" — writes a column that appears in 100 newspapers around the country, does a radio show that reaches 70 stations, and is a frequent guest on TV talk shows.

Less exposed are the more liberal commentators. A few of them are

carried in the *Washington Post*, *New York Times* and some other major newspapers, but given the conservative ideological biases of the owners of most newspapers and radio and television stations, they are not likely to get as wide a syndication nor have as much access to broadcast media as the conservatives. Thus Ralph Nader, who has been around much longer than Reed Irvine, has a syndicated column that reaches only about two dozen small circulation newspapers and has no regular radio or television show.

Least exposed of all are those of left political persuasion, who differ from the liberals because they openly say that the revolution in Nicaragua is good for that country and would be good for other Third World countries. They talk about the negative aspects of capitalism and what it does to people at home and abroad. People of that ideological persuasion are not allowed any regular access to the major media. Their views are systematically suppressed or frequently grossly distorted when given passing mention.

So it seems some people have more freedom of speech than others. We on the left are free to talk to each other, although sometimes we are concerned our telephones might be tapped. We are sometimes free to teach in universities if we are careful about what we say and what we assign. Even so, many of us are purged from university positions. We are free to work for labor unions, but we usually have to keep our politics carefully under wraps. We can speak publicly, but usually to small audiences of a few hundred, and we are

free to write for publications on the left, which lack the promotional funds to reach other than small readerships, publications that are often teetering on the edge of insolvency for want of rich patrons and corporate advertisers.

If I were to write and speak for the next 20 years the way I have been for the last 20 — at quite an active pace — I will reach about 5 or 10% of the people that the network news pundits reach in one evening. When it comes to freedom of speech, some people are on the fast track and some have been put on a very slow track — if it can be called a track at all. Some have their voices amplified tens of millions of times, while others must cup their hands and shout at the passing crowd.

We are taught to think of freedom as something antithetical to power — that the people's rights act as a restraint on the arbitrary power of rulers. This is true only to the extent that the people have some power to check rulers. Freedom and power are not antithetical, they are symbiotic. If one has no power, one has no freedom.

The reason Robert Novak has the freedom to appear on three different television shows in an average week and have his column (along with collaborator Evans) in several hundred newspapers is because his ideological perspective is more acceptable to those who have the great wealth — that is, the economic power — which enables them to own and control the mass media in the United States. We on the left have freedom only to the extent that we have won certain gains and rallied our forces, have agitated, educated, and

Michael Parenti is author of *Inventing Reality: The Politics of the Mass Media*, and *Democracy for the Few*. He is currently writing a book on U.S. foreign policy, *The Sword and the Dollar*.

organized strikes, boycotts, demonstrations, and have fought back against the economic royalists so that they must take some account of public opinion. We have the freedom to speak to relatively small audiences because we have fought and developed enough power to make that freedom a reality. But we have no freedom to reach mass audiences because popular power has not penetrated the corporate citadels that control the mass communication universe.

Our freedoms are realities only so far as we have the democratic power to make them so. We were never *given* our freedom, certainly not by the framers of the Constitution. In this year of the bicentennial it is worthwhile to recall that the Bill of Rights was not part of the original Constitution. It had to be added on after ratification — as ten amendments.

When Colonel Mason of Virginia got up and proposed a bill of rights at the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787, it was voted down almost unanimously (Massachusetts abstained). Popular protests, land seizures by the poor, food riots, and other contemporary disturbances made the men of property who gathered in Philadelphia very uneasy, *but such fomentation also set a limit on what they could do*. The framers gave nothing to popular interests, rather they belatedly and reluctantly agreed during the ratification struggle to include a Bill of Rights, a concession made under the threat of democratic rebellion and in the hope that it would augment the popularity and acceptability of the new government.

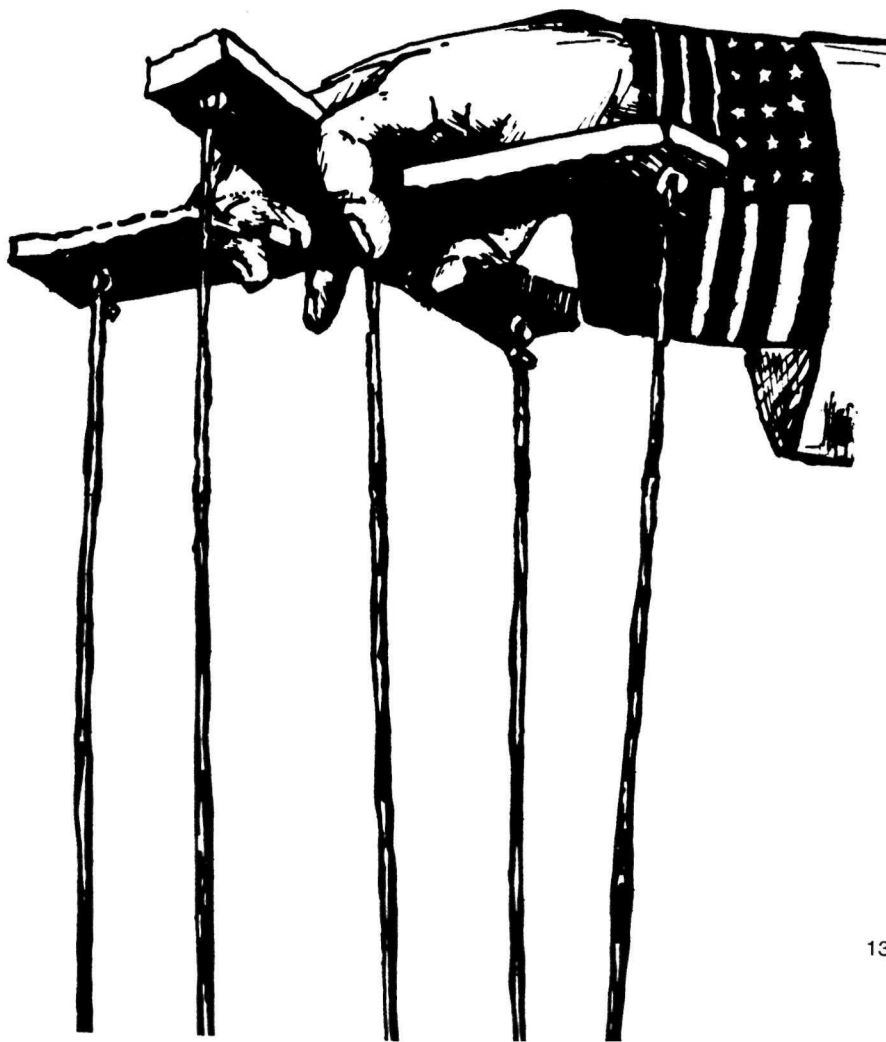
In other words, the Bill of Rights was not a gift from our illustrious "Founding Fathers" but a product of class struggle. The same was true with the universal franchise. It took agitation from the 1820s to the 1840s by workers and poor farmers to abolish property qualifications and win universal White male

suffrage. Almost a century of agitation and struggle was necessary to win the franchise for women, and a bloody civil war and subsequent generations of struggle to win democratic rights for Afro-Americans, a struggle still far from complete. It took the "Wobblie free speech fights" during the earlier part of this century and the industrial struggles during the Great Depression to bring freedom of speech to thousands of local communities, where police had previously made a practice of physically assaulting and incarcerating union organizers, syndicalists, anarchists, socialists, and Communists.

And so it went with other freedoms and democratic gains like the eight-hour day, Social Security, unemployment insurance, disability insurance, and the right to collective bargaining. All such economic rights, even though

they may be seriously limited and insufficiently developed, exist because of popular struggle against class privilege and class power.

Hence, freedom of speech is a situational thing. It exists in a social and class context, not in the abstract, which is also true of democracy itself. And once we understand that, we can avoid the mistaken logic of a Nat Hentoff who attacked Amy Carter and Abby Hoffman and all the other people who committed civil disobedience protesting CIA campus recruiters. Hentoff said they interfered with the freedom of speech of those students who wanted to talk to the recruiters (as if students had no other opportunity to do so). Hentoff's view of freedom of speech has no link to the realities of human suffering and social justice, no connection to class realities, to the demo-



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cratic struggle against the murderous power of the CIA. Hentoff says nothing about the gains that might come by putting the CIA and the social forces it represents in retreat, especially the lives saved and the freedom won in Third World countries that feel the brunt of the CIA onslaught.

By coercively limiting CIA recruitment, the demonstrators made a statement that went beyond discourse and became part of the democratic struggle. By dramatically questioning the CIA's legitimacy on college campuses and thereby weakening (even in a small way) its ability to promote oppressive political orders around the world, the demonstrators were expanding the realm of freedom. This has to be measured against inconveniencing some upper-middle class kids who wanted to ask CIA recruiters about pursuing a career of crime.

If the Reagan years have taught us anything, it is that none of our freedoms are guaranteed, none are secure. And if democratic struggle has taught us anything, it is that our rights are *not* things which must be "preserved." Rather, they must be vigorously used and expanded. As with the physical body, so with the body politic; our capacities are more likely to grow if properly exercised and developed. Freedom of speech needs more militant application and less abstract admiration. Democracy is not a "precious fragile gift" handed down to us like some Grecian urn. Rather it is a dynamically developing process that grows out of the struggle between the popular interests of the people and the inherently undemocratic nature of capitalist politico-economic power.

Rather than fear an "excess of democracy" as do some of our academic and media pundits, we must struggle for more popular power; more victories for labor, more victories against racism, sexism, and class bigotry; more

Letters . . . Continued from page 3

and their persistent, mournful refrain that the church is one family, isn't it?

Let's not even go into what withdrawal would do to the parish and the parish budget!

Yes, it might be a terrible thing if women left. And yet, isn't this the perfect solution? Priested women could continue priesting. Male priests who, for whatever reason did not consider women as valid responders to God's Call, could happily tend their all male flocks. The Archbishop of Canterbury could relax. The Bishop of London could stay home. The male hierarchy could vest for one another on male saints' days and bake their own cookies and would, I am sure, find all of these things most pleasant. And someday, some day, there might be a dim little tentative offering of ecumenism. But let's not think of that now.

We have to dust off some suitcases and look for the exit signs.

**Judy Holofernes
Tulsa, Ok.**

(THE WITNESS does not usually print letters written under an obviously assumed name without knowing the identity of the author who has requested such. But the points made through the satire above were too tempting to disregard. -- Eds.)

victories for peace — and against militarism and capital's ability to destroy our environment. We must push for more not-for-profit economic development; more democratic dissidence in the mainstream media, more and better application of the Fairness Doctrine, and more listener-controlled access. In every field of endeavor we must learn to see the dimensions of a struggle that advances the interests of the many and opposes the interests of the exploitative and outrageously privileged few; in other words, a struggle for more democracy and more freedom. ■



Anglican alphabet soup thickens

A couple of items in a recent issue of the *Christian Challenge* reported a movement toward unity that could lead to merger or at least a joint venture among some of the Anglican rite churches that have evolved over the past 10 years in this country and have provided a haven for disaffected Episcopal clergy and laity. Growing out of the 1977 Congress of Concerned Churchmen in St. Louis, the "continuing church" has divided like some ecclesiastical amoeba into at least six bodies.

The Anglican Catholic Church (ACC) and the American Episcopal Church (AEC), "giants" of the break-away bodies, have appealed to the Bishop of Chichester (England) for his help in uniting their two jurisdictions. It is hoped that the Diocese of Christ the King (DCK), the other major break-away group, will participate in the effort toward unity.

Meanwhile, the Anglican Rite Jurisdiction of the Americas (ARJA) and the Anglican Episcopal Church in North America (AECNA), which recently held overlapping synods, similarly are entertaining a proposal that might lead to unification of their jurisdictions, along with the United Episcopal Church of North America (UECNA). The Anglican Episcopal Church in North America has been suggested as the name for the united body which could emerge in about two years.

In commenting on the ACC/AEC move, the latter's Primus, Bishop

Anthony Clavier, said: "Everybody is realizing that our divisions have no theological basis. We can't expect to be taken seriously until we take ourselves seriously. If we have a *worldwide responsibility*, then this must be demonstrated by our willingness to bury the mistakes of the past and get on with being *the Church*. (emphasis added) Few, if any, of the matters which divide us are of the essence of the faith."

These chaps are playing for the long haul — I'll give them that. With an eye toward eventual recognition by the Anglican Communion, the bodies seem to be abandoning their doctrinal and procedural version of "button, button, who's got the button?" (or in this case, the traditional faith) and are getting a bit more chummy. This takes on an interesting twist as emerging issues in the Episcopal Church give them a new rallying point and a fresh focus for attracting members to their ranks.

Having individually worked at flogging dead horses for so long — Prayer Book revision, ordination of women and other so-called diminutions of the traditional faith — the breakaway boys now have a chance to build some strength through unity around the current scare issues of women in the episcopate and sexual morality (the latter translated "homosexuality.") They could provide an eventual home for those in the Dallas-Fort Worth axis and the biretta belt brigade who can find no grounds for accommodation on the former issue and are probably scared out of their wits at having the

covers pulled back on the latter.

The well-financed, well-oiled machinery of traditionalist groups that have, so far, stayed "in the Church" could be enlisted. With a traditionalist seminary or two in place and scores of nervous feet waiting for the ultimate drum beat — the election and consecration of a woman bishop — to march out of Episcopal pews, a cohesive, determined and respectable new American church might well make some impact on conservative Anglicanism outside the U.S.

Playing out the scenario of worldwide responsibility, its missionary zeal could translate into much-needed dollars for the exponentially growing Church in Africa, most of which does not count such issues as women's ordination a priority. Its leadership, understandably, is wrestling with such problems as clergy development, polygamy and the instability of government.

Here at home, the traditionalists would no longer have to be embarrassed by their denomination's participation in such "politicized" bodies as the National and World Council of Churches, nor would they have to put up with bishops who have the audacity to openly suggest the *study* of changing patterns of sexuality and family life. Moreover, they could public opinion-poll themselves into Nirvana, that blissful state of oblivion to care, pain or *external reality*. ■

The twilight of patriotism

by John S. Spong

Throughout the summer of 1987 we have seen a version of "patriotism" extolled by a series of witnesses in the Iran-Contra hearings. The star "patriot" was surely the beribboned Marine, Lt. Col. Oliver North. His words had an old-fashioned ring and the patriotism he espoused sounded like something out of the 19th century, when national self-interest was almost always identified with divine providence or manifest destiny.

But this is the 20th century and patriotism, despite the Norths and the Poindexters, is no longer a virtue; indeed, patriotism has become a destructive force that cannot be allowed to survive. These are startling words that just a generation ago would have surely brought a sharp and hostile response. Indeed they still will from those whose consciousnesses have not been raised by the necessities of the human struggle for survival — those who still divide the world into "us" and "them." For this same patriotism that once served as the means for romanticizing the life and values which bind a people together must now increasingly be seen as undergirding a view of reality that is

destined to die.

In the early days of civilization, the human family lived in small nomadic tribal units where the struggle for survival demanded a division of labor among the tribal members. Life was hard and insecure. Food could not be preserved so it had to be found daily to feed hungry mouths. Enemies, both human and subhuman, had to be fought off on a regular basis. Death was ever present. Preserving and defending the corporate life was a tribal responsibility.

In that era no sense of individualism could be encouraged or sustained. The individual was too fragile, too susceptible to disease, infection, accident, or to an overtly hostile act to be the important unit of life. Value could not be placed on the individual. Rather, it had to be vested in the tribe whose corporate preservation was the overriding human concern. The tribe alone provided its members with identity, worth and the ability to cope in a dangerous environment. Loyalty to the tribe was thus the essential key to survival, so this value was placed at the very heart of the human emotions. That was the origin of what we now call patriotism, and it accounts for the continuing power and emotional hold of patriotism on life.

As the patterns of society became more and more intricate and complicated, tribal units came together to form larger entities, first organized as cities and later as nations. But the emotions originally attached to the tribe were always transferred to the larger unit for there identity and security could be found. To the nation fell the traditional tribal responsibilities. Survival was the first task, and the need to defend itself against all external threats still lies behind every nation's armed forces and arsenals. The second task was to insure the well-being of the tribe's internal life. Today's various national social welfare programs are the modern versions of this ancient tribal duty.

In the sweep of human history, the emergence of trans-tribal nations is a relatively new experience, starting no earlier than 1000 years ago, and continuing even today. The United States was born near the end of the 18th century. Italy and Germany did not become nation states until well into the 19th century. India and Pakistan were born after World War II. As the era of western colonialism died, new nations roughly determined by ancient tribal boundaries were born in Africa and other heretofore underdeveloped regions of the world.

The Rt. Rev. John S. Spong is Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Newark.

Most people cannot imagine a world without nations. We are unable to define identity apart from the ingrained feeling of the tribe. Our citizenship tells us who we are, determines in large measure our values, sets our limits and shapes our world view.

However, slowly but surely, the necessity that created tribes and nations in the first place is fading. Modern technology has linked the world more deeply than our grandparents could ever have imagined. Television has brought such things as the tragedies of Vietnam, African starvation, and the international scope of our covert operations into our living rooms daily. We have been made to understand our human interdependence in the oil crisis of the '70s and the terrorist activities of the '80s.

Organizations have been established, such as the European Common Market, in which smaller nations have allowed their economies to become so interdependent that regional thinking has begun to replace national thinking in those areas. Businesses the world over have become multinational. Jet travel has brought the diverse continents of the world together in a way that even neighboring kindred tribes were not linked in the past.

The final human bonding experience that will apply the coup de grace to nation states will be an awareness of the threat to the environment that will dawn as we recognize that all human beings share a common destiny in the air we breathe, the water we drink, and the oceans that feed us, and that no nation state is capable of addressing these concerns alone. When the world's ozone layer is damaged by the chemical gases from the industries of any nation, all life is at risk. When a nuclear accident occurs in Pennsylvania or in the Ukraine, all the people of the world are endangered. When polluted rivers empty their poisons into the oceans, the abil-

ity of the sea to feed the world's population either directly or indirectly is called into question. Suddenly, we begin to be aware that nation states cannot fulfill their purposes. They can no longer do the things they were created to do.

When any institution loses its purpose it is doomed to death. The death of nation states will not be instantaneous because deeply ingrained cultural needs attached to that institution will continue to carry the concept for some long time, but death is nonetheless inevitable.

"No nation today can guarantee its people protection against the threat of an enemy. My life and survival are now radically dependent on someone else in a nation halfway around the world."

Nation states will quickly become an anachronism and will not survive in a radically interdependent world. As states' rights gave way in this country to national needs, so national sovereignty will finally give way to international needs.

All wars of the past have been fought to insure the vested interests of the tribe or the nation states. Today, however, no nation's vested interests can be served by a war. No nation today can guarantee its people protection against the threat of an enemy. There is no one villain we can oppose when destruction comes to our environment, our atmosphere, our food supply and even to the safety of a nursing mother's milk. A nuclear accident pours radioactivity into the common atmosphere.

This means that my life and my survival are now radically dependent on someone else in a nation halfway

around the world. My destiny is human destiny; it is no longer an American destiny.

Patriotism, that emotion that feeds our tribal thinking, must die if the human enterprise is to survive. What we need is a world consciousness, a world agreement, a worldwide security system, a sense of human interdependence that transcends nation, race, ethnic origin, religion and every other defining human barrier by which we have in the past determined who we are. To achieve that requires an enormous leap of consciousness that will ultimately be required of all of us. The ability on the part of all the people of the world to make such a leap is the prerequisite to survival of the human enterprise.

Throughout history it has often been a disaster that has caused the development of such new consciousness and created the context in which new values can arise. We have now had Three Mile Island and Chernobyl to jolt our security. The AIDS epidemic shows a capacity to leap every barrier that we hoped would enclose it. Scientists warn us that the earth's atmosphere is heating up at an alarming rate due to the burning of fossil fuels and the release of chlorofluorocarbons into the ozone.

Inevitably, another devastating ecological disaster will afflict the earth; a disaster severe enough to create a worldwide willingness to lay aside the barriers of the past and to seek a new understanding of our common destiny. The victims of that disaster may not be able to rejoice in this benefit but perhaps in time those who survive will begin to realize that this is one world, with one human family, in which all nationalism is simply inappropriate. It is strange to imagine that only an ecological calamity might save a portion of humanity. It is also a depressing prospect. I wish I thought my government in Washington had even the slightest inkling of this reality. ■

An Irish sickness

by Michael Hamilton

Every now and then a person arises who speaks for his or her nation, the words discerning the nature of its culture, its sickness and health, and those guiding forces which underlie the contradiction of its daily events. Such a one was an anonymous, seventh century Irish bard who interpreted his times and people through the figure of mad King Sweeney. Sweeney had sinned, he had struck a holy man who then cursed him: "May the mad spasms strike you until time dies away."

Listen to Sweeney's plight, as translated by the contemporary poet, Seamus Heaney:

*His brain convulsed,
his mind split open . . .
he staggered and flapped desperately,
he was revolted by the thought of known places
and dreamed of strange migrations . . .*

*God has exiled me from myself,
I have lived among the trees,
between flood and ebb tide,
growing cold and naked,
with no pillow for my head,
no human company.*

— From *Sweeney Astray* by Seamus Heaney

I have just returned from living and working in Belfast, a community also in the grip of madness. I happened to have been born and raised there; I know those people and I love them. I love their individual kindness, their refreshing wit and laughter; but they are lost in a strange migration from reality, they are exiled from godliness and from their true selves. They stagger and flap seeking, yet rejecting, solutions to their political and religious divisions.

I criticize primarily my own tribe, the Protestants. The key to understanding them is that they are fearful of losing their place in the United Kingdom and being absorbed into what they believe is a hostile, Catholic Ireland. Catholics in Northern Ireland used to want a united

Ireland; not all of them do now because their welfare has vastly improved. But if they do not want to be part of a united Ireland, they do want a full implementation of their cultural and civil rights in Northern Ireland. In the last 50 years of Protestant majority rule, instead of being compassionate and fair to the Catholic minority, the Protestants harassed them and discriminated against them in housing, employment and access to the government. Ironically it has been the former colonial British who, since taking over direct rule of Northern Ireland in 1972, have introduced and are enforcing laws providing equal opportunity for all. It is also the presence of the British army that prevents the paramilitaries on both sides from inciting a civil war.

But while the laws have changed, the enmity and spiritual problems remain. The fanatical Catholic Irish Republican Army and the Protestant paramilitaries continue trying to achieve their contradictory goals by terrorism and intimidation. In a small country of only 1½ million people, in the last 17 years over 2,500 men, women and children have been killed. Many more thousands have been injured, kneecapped, or forced to flee their homes. Political moderates are threatened and isolated and, despite many courageous and gifted individuals, despite excellent reconciliation centers like Corrymeela, despite the united voices of the Catholic and Protestant leaders of the major denominations, the hate and violence goes on. While both sides have suffered legitimate grievances and injustices, they scapegoat the other instead of being honest with themselves.

Protestant intransigence and conservatism are, in my judgement, to blame for the present political stalemate. Believe it or not, they prefer economic ruin to social reform. They say they want peace, but they will not make the sacrifices for reconciliation. They are willing to endure violence rather than change their hopes. As one of their political leaders said: "We will eat grass before we accept the Anglo-Irish agreement."

All of these incidents indicate a deeper sickness, a sickness of the soul which has infected both Catholics and Protestants, Unionists and Nationalists. The sickness is not wishing to hear anything good about their adversaries.

The Rev. Michael Hamilton, a canon at Washington Cathedral, was born in Ireland and recently spent a year working with church and reconciliation organizations in Belfast.

The sickness is not wishing to love their neighbors or be concerned for their welfare. The sickness is not being able to recognize the wounds of others because of their own suffering. The sickness is the meanness of spirit preferring to hate rather than understand. And the sickness is self-righteousness, not realizing that they and all people, all nations, all human institutions, both secular and religious, participate in human sin.

The former Moderator of the Presbyterian Church was willing to sit down and have tea and biscuits with a Roman Catholic bishop. At the end of the meeting, however, he refused to pray with the bishop lest that be seen as his approval of the Catholic religion.

There was a friendly old Methodist minister's widow who lived opposite us on our street. One morning after a particular nasty Irish Republican Army bombing which killed some Protestants, she said, "I wish all the Catholics were dead."

The Rev. Ian Paisley, political leader and Protestant church leader, stormed St. Anne's Church of Ireland (Episcopal) Cathedral in Belfast with 200 of his demonstrators to disrupt an ecumenical service because a Roman Catholic cardinal was preaching.

At a Church of Ireland diocesan convention discussing community relations, an older delegate stood up and said, "We all want peace and justice, but not at any price." One wonders what price he was selling God's justice for that afternoon!

Some symptoms of the Catholic sickness: An Irish Republican Army Catholic supporter speaking about government and police in Northern Ireland, said to me, "I am against all political parties, and when anyone puts on a uniform, that's a declaration of war to me."

A divorced Roman Catholic is forbidden to receive the sacraments, but gunmen and known leaders of the IRA participate openly in the mass.

The police stopped a recent rock throwing in a Belfast street between Catholics and Protestants; the oldest person involved was ten and the youngest was four.

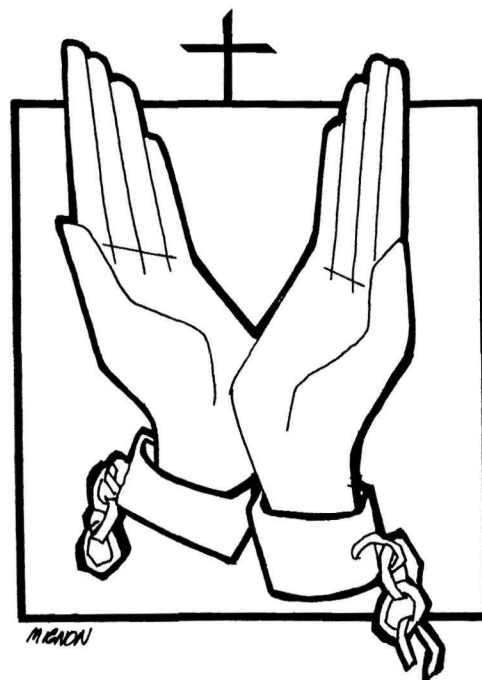
It is too easy to believe that these spiritual ills are to be found chiefly in Ireland. However, they are all too common in the conflicts in the Middle East, South Africa and — let me suggest — here in the United States. For instance, reflect on our attitudes to the Soviet Union. Are we glad to hear of their stumbling reforms under Gorbachev? Do we not often scapegoat the Russians as if they were the cause of most international problems? Do we understand Soviet privations, their fears born of having been invaded from the West so many times in their history? And is there wisdom to be found in our policies of national self-

righteousness? This disease is pervasive — mad Sweeney is a universal king.

I learned three important things from living in Ireland. First, terrorism poisons the atmosphere for political reconciliation. Civil wars to overthrow a tyrant which have a realistic hope of success may be morally justified; but bombs and assassinations stem from weakness and result in greater intransigence, less likelihood of the victims' negotiating for peace.

Second, I discovered the value of church infrastructure. All the institutions for reconciliation, peace, spiritual growth, parish organization, adult education programs emanating from national and diocesan offices which we in the United States take for granted, were in very short supply in Ireland. There was simply no tradition of congregations exploring the moral dimensions of political and social issues, and there was no local follow-up to church leaders' pronouncements condemning violence and calling for compromise. I learned that worship is no substitute for education; both are needed for a healthy church.

Finally, I discovered afresh the profundity of Christ's teaching that worship of God and loving one's neighbor are integrally connected. Northern Ireland Protestants study the Bible, pray and go to church twice on Sundays, but they do not recognize their obligation to work for social justice. So if any Christian anywhere wants to take the temperature of his or her spiritual health, let them reflect on how they treat their adversaries and the poor around them. ■



THE WITNESS CELEBRATES **70** YEARS

Remembering

I am not sure that a son is the best historian of a person, since memories are always involved in the intimate plus-and-minus vagaries of the Oedipus complex. But, to his son and others, Bill Spofford's letters always concluded with "Cheerio" and were signed, The Old Man; and invariably added was a smiling face, long before that symbol became a bumper sticker on automobiles.

The Pauline "Old Man" indicated that he knew that the world, including himself, was awry and fallen. And he had a deep conviction that each individual, working through relationships, could do something about that. He was, if anything, an Anglican Pelagian. For himself, relationships, rather than institutions, were the essence. His beliefs and experiences indicated that all institutions, whether of the state or business or church, dealt with power that corrupts.

His ministry, from 1914, when he went to Berkeley Seminary following Trinity College, through 1972, when he died, was dedicated to persons, individually and collectively. Graced by a sense of humor and a decidedly open personality, The Old Man is generally thought of as a prophetic figure. We are sure that he understood faith more in terms of Amos and Hosea than in light of personal piety or institutional form. Thus, it is undoubtedly a good thing that most of his ordained ministry was on the edges of the institutional establishment, as editor of THE WITNESS and, for most of that time, also as ex-

ecutive secretary of the Church League for Industrial Democracy. He understood that prophets live, move and have their being on the edges of institutions and, we presume like most prophets, he lived uncomfortably with the title!

Yet, when he had the chance to function as a priest and a pastor, he did it uncommonly well. His sermons from Christ Church, Middletown, where he was basically non-stipendiary rector from 1936-1948, indicate that he understood the pressures and needs of the parishioners of this old Queen Ann church in what was then rural New Jersey. It was a congregation, for the most part, of wealthy commuters to New York City, with offices on Wall Street and Madison Avenue. Then, he daily commuted to his dingy and crowded WITNESS office on Liberty Street, and he did much of his pastoral work on the New Jersey Central, going and coming, and sharing coffee on the ferry boat from Hoboken to Manhattan.

Since Middletown, at that time, was a community of but 500 persons, it didn't have much going for it in the way of excitement for youth. So he had the vestry purchase a Church House where the young people of the village could meet and recreate. He organized ball-games and tennis tournaments on a regular basis, and periodically took groups, along with mother, Dot, to Asbury Park or Palisades Park on the Jersey Heights. So, too, (meeting his own needs as a devout Yankee fan), many jaunts to the Stadium were carried through. Also, he encouraged liturgical and other drama in the church and community and, in years since, many of the youngsters in that con-



William B. Spofford, Sr.
by artist Sy Wallack

gregation found themselves working in movies, television and other dramatic enterprises.

(The late Dean Paul Roberts, whose glory days were at St. John's Cathedral in Denver, validated the story of going on the trolley to a Wesleyan-Trinity baseball game in 1914 with Dad. In his pocket, apparently, Bill had a potential contract as a singer and actor with Billy Minsky, the burlesque impresario. At the same time, he was wrestling with a vocational call to priesthood. Said Dean Roberts, they bet on the game: If Wesleyan won, Dad would enter Berkeley; if Trinity won, it would be Minsky's. Wesleyan won — I think he said 7 to 3 — but at the age of 92, Paul Roberts apologized for not remembering who the pitchers were. As the Bible says, there were giants in those days . . . and perhaps the incident proves

The Rt. Rev. William B. Spofford, Jr. is retired Bishop of Eastern Oregon and retired Assistant Bishop of Washington.

'The Old Man'

by William B. Spofford

that God has both a sense of humor and works in very mysterious ways.)

Liturgically, The Old Man was evangelical and low-key. His friends in the church, and on THE WITNESS board of editors, were invariably of that persuasion — folk like Arthur Lichtenberger, later Presiding Bishop; Lane Barton, third bishop of Eastern Oregon; Joe Titus, rector of Grace Church, Jamaica, L.I.; Roscoe Faust, Louis Pitt, Sr., and Hugh McCandless, rectors in New York City; and Ted Ludlow, Charles Street, and Charles Gilbert, bishops in Newark, Chicago and New York.

Yet, at the same time, he was a friend, and in some sense editor, for three of the outstanding liturgical scholars of the Episcopal Church. The first, and long-time friend and co-social activist, was Bishop Edward L. Parsons, of California, who for years was president of the C.L.I.D. The second was Dr. Massey Shepherd, who wrote regularly for THE WITNESS as professor at both the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge and at the Church Divinity School of the Pacific in Berkeley. The third, and perhaps most seminal, was William Palmer Ladd, sometime dean of Berkeley Divinity School in Middletown, Conn. which in the mid-1930's moved into affiliation with Yale Divinity School in New Haven.

When Bill went to Berkeley in 1914, Ladd was a young tutor and deeply involved in issues of war and peace, and social justice. Bill, Sr., drew him as a mentor and, when Dad refused to take Hebrew classes because he couldn't understand what this would add to his ability to minister, they made a deal.

Ladd suggested that instead, he commute a day a week to the New School for Social Research in New York City and study with another young activist teaching there by the name of Scott Nearing. (Dr. Nearing became a sort of cult-figure by living off-the-land in rural New England and acting as a guru for many environmentalists.) And, then, each week Ladd and The Old Man would discuss and share what was being learned.

At any rate, from these three persons, significantly, Bill understood the living liturgy, and that the Prayer Book had many inter-leaves and the sacraments were to be celebrated and used as a community, as well as for individual, enrichment.

Copes and mitres were not Bill's things, but the living quality of the spoken and written Word and the drama of the worship acts were important to the community of God, as well as for individual development process. (Parenthetically, when I was ordained as Bishop of Eastern Oregon, Dad refused to come to the service in the Ontario, Ore., high school gymnasium, not because of the setting, but because he felt that perhaps this was not a step into a stronger ministry. He was taking a cue from Dean Paul Roberts who, when I asked him what a Cathedral dean was replied: "A dean is someone who is too dumb to be a rector and too smart to be a bishop!")

Among ordained clergy, perhaps the closest of Dad's friends, for most of his life, was Joseph F. Fletcher, who developed as an important ethicist, seminary professor and, currently, serves as honored professor-emeritus of the

Virginia University Medical College in Charlottesville, Va. In the early 1930s, Joe was studying in England and became acquainted with the then Archbishop of York, William Temple. Joe believed that this prelate was setting forth significant insights as to the role of the Christian Church, in England and the world. (Temple of course served as Archbishop of Canterbury during World War II; was chair of the Malvern Conference of 1940 during which the assembled Christians sought to develop plans for the post-war world, and, unfortunately, died before his ideas could be nurtured or emplaced. His classic lectures, "Nature, Man and God," are still considered important theological contributions and his meditations on the Gospel of St. John are used widely.)

At any rate, Joe Fletcher, who was the first director of the Graduate School of Applied Religion in Cincinnati (meeting in the home of William Keller, M.D. in its early years) was an important institution in relating ministry, the church and social justice and community issues, along with helping to develop the Clinical Pastoral Education movement in theological training. Among its graduates were John E. Hines, later Presiding Bishop; Brooke Mosely, sometime Bishop of Delaware and dean of Union Seminary in New York City; and many others who understood the Christian gospel as relating the individual and society in a vital manner.

In some senses, my father was a mentor to Joe Fletcher, by helping find him a position early in his ministry and, then, by giving him an outlet in

THE WITNESS. In many letters and late-night conversations, we know that they shared insights into the nature of history, economic structures, theological understandings and issues of justice and truth.

When Billy Ladd, as Dad always referred to him, was tutoring at Berkeley, two other seminarians, Charles Collett and Horace Fort, on occasion would meet with Dr. Ladd and my father. Evaluating their faith and the world, they came to the conclusion that, with the developing urban-industrial culture, and the crises that it would develop world-wide (all of them saw the first World War as a historic disaster), the ministry in the church would, perhaps, best be done in a semi-monastic and collegial manner, with some ordained persons working in the secular world and supporting the broader community with their income. In their senior year (1917), they wrote many bishops of their plans and insights.

Bishop Randall of Chicago, a close friend of Bishop Irving P. Johnson, who had already started THE WITNESS was the only one to reply. He wrote that he had small St. George's Church in south Chicago, that wasn't doing too well, and if they wanted to try a corporate and non-stipendiary ministry there, it would be all right with him. So, The Old Man, in 1921, (following some teaching at St. Paul's School in Concord, N.H., in his home diocese) went to the "Second City" as pastor, as a job-seeker and as a point-man for a new style of ministry. Perhaps, since many of the ideas in back of that ministry are now reasonably standard in both urban and town-and-country dioceses, it triangulates The Old Man's prophetic insights with his priestly and pastoral vocations.

It was from such a position that he was called into his central vocation, as an editor and a writer. But, that is another story for another time. ■

Continued from page 9

said, "They have been 'official' for part of their lives and conducted both 'official' and 'non-official' operations. We are trying to unpack what was officially sanctioned and what was not." That hazy distinction may explain much of the appalling memory loss suffered by many of those testifying at the Iran/Contra hearings as investigators try to make connections between, or separate, U.S. funding and private fortunes.

By delving into the activities of the Secret Team, the Institute may have come across evidence that explains why, after a period of seeming indifference, the Reagan Administration was so eager to trade arms to free the hostages in Iran.

"When James Buckley was taken hostage, there was more hoopla in the government about him than any other," said Nelson.

"First they said he was a businessman, then admitted he was a CIA agent. What they didn't say is that Buckley was head of the world-wide anti-terrorism program, which is an assassination program. When they got Buckley, they got a lot."

Buckley died while in Iranian custody, but the Iranians allegedly obtained a 400-page confession from him.

"How much does that have to do with tractor trailer loads of TOW missiles to keep the Iranians quiet? They may have information that if released could be very disturbing to the American people," Nelson observed.

The Iran/Contra hearings have ignored much of the information uncovered by the Institute. That is why Nelson and Sheehan have been stumping across the country getting the facts out to the people.

Asked why he thought the drug connection to the Iran/Contra affair could be exposed now, when evidence of drug dealing was so successfully suppressed during and after the Vietnam War, Sheehan told THE WITNESS, "No one was

looking during the Vietnam War. Although the major journalists knew about it, there were no major lawsuits, no committees investigating it, and the rise in the consciousness of the U.S. public had not yet occurred.

"But now stories are gradually being released by the media. The TV show West 57th Street has done two segments about dope running, and *The Nation* and *Mother Jones* have reported on it, among others. Other investigations are underway, in many instances verifying our findings. I testified behind closed doors recently before the House Select Committee and for the Foreign Relations Committee. We have also had testimony during recent Congressional hearings from George Morales, a major drug runner for the Contras, who was interviewed on West 57th Street as well. All this has raised the consciousness of the American people."

Nelson urged all concerned people to take action against the covert warriors and the shadow government: "Collectively as a people we have to shine a big light on them and they'll scatter as they always do."

When asked about the sudden celebrity of Oliver North and an increase in pro-Contra support, she said, "We've got to start bringing out the fact that the junkies on the street, or even your kids, your family members are hooked because North, Secord and others are responsible for bringing in drugs."

According to Nelson, even Reagan is not invulnerable: "There is enough circumstantial evidence now to impeach, but some formidable constituency has to step out and and bite the bullet and say, 'The emperor has no clothes.'"

Noting that Americans were celebrating the bicentennial of the Constitution, she said, "our Constitution is seriously eroded. This is not some cancer on the president's nose, this is a cancer on the body politic. We have to do the surgery that needs to be done." ■

Short Takes

Trust shattered

Two hundred years ago, the framers of our Constitution provided for a more perfect union by establishing a strong national government built on a system of checks and balances. The unique genius of the American system was that by dividing power it promoted sound policy based on reasoned and open discourse, and mutual trust between the branches. The formulation of American foreign policy has always been a matter of discourse between the President and Congress... It is truly sad that such inter-branch cooperation and trust could not have been the rule today.

Sen. Daniel K. Inouye
Quoted in *The Churchman*
June-July 1987

The shortage will be divided among the peasants. **Anon.**

Alaska SDI shield?

The nuclear invasion of Alaska is underway. A month ago it was Dr. Edward Teller, one of the developers of the atom bomb. Some who accompanied him to Prudhoe Bay were struck by his penetrating questions. Not the usual scientist's professional interest. There appeared to be special agenda. That agenda surfaced at the Commonwealth North forum, where he said, "Alaska is ideal for SDI-Star Wars protective shield over the United States." As an admitted adviser to President Reagan, he left no doubt that he would be making that recommendation to the President.

Then Premier Nakasone of Japan called for missiles in Alaska to counter the Russian missiles in Siberia, to protect Japan, of course.

And now, the Trident nuclear submarine USS Alaska has nosed into Resurrection Bay. Isn't that ironic. A sub possessing weapons of devastating destruction plying the waters of a bay named in honor of the Resurrection of Christ.

All this maneuvering only begs the more fundamental question: How long will the nuclear escalation be pushed on the people of this country?

Bishop Francis Hurley
Catholic Commentary
Anchorage Times 6/26/87



"Of course, money can't buy happiness. So Sheila and I have had to settle for smug."

Cracking down on Coke

There are some clear — and humorous — dangers of high technology, according to a recent book, *The High Costs of High Tech: the Dark Side of the Chip*, by Lenny Siegel and John Markoff (Harper & Row). Recently, they report, city officials in Fayetteville, N.C., were alerted by their electronic switchboard records that hundreds of calls were being made every night from two extensions in a city building. When police investigated, instead of burglars or disgruntled city employees they found the culprits to be two computerized Coke machines. The machines were programmed automatically to phone their daily sales totals to the computer at the bottling company offices. Because of a flaw in the programming, the machines were calling continuously instead of once a night as they were supposed to.

Dollars and Sense
Jan./Feb. 1987

Welcome humanity's toil

Look at the immense crowds of those who build and those who love. Over the world they toil — in laboratories, in studios, in factories — in the vast social crucible. Open your arms and your hearts, like Christ, and welcome the flood and the sweat of humanity. Accept it all, be part of it all.

Teilhard de Chardin

The Contra drug connection

Since 1985, reports linking Contra arms suppliers to cocaine smuggling have run in progressive publications and a few mainstream outlets. But CBS West 57th's well-documented segment on the CIA-Contra drug connection April 6 was the first serious network probe.

The segment featured interviews with CIA contract employees who flew weapons shipments to the Contras in Honduras and back-loaded cocaine and marijuana. Mike Tolliver, convicted drug smuggler and part-time CIA pilot, told of flying 25,000 pounds of pot to Homestead Air Force Base in Florida.

Extra (Newsletter of Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting) June 1987

Quote of note

Patriotism is as fierce as a fever, pitiless as the grave, blind as a stone, and irrational as a headless hen.

Ambrose Bierce

Gloria Brown to CHN post

Gloria H. Brown of Los Angeles, a member of the Board of Directors of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company, has been named new staff officer for the Coalition for Human Needs by Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning.

CHN is an umbrella organization through which the radical, ethnic and social issues ministries of the Episcopal Church's National Mission unit identify issues of social and economic justice affecting their constituencies. CHN is also key in helping to develop ministries and provide funding for these ministries.

The new appointee brings a solid and varied background in human services and community involvement to the post. She developed and administered the Good Shepherd Center for Independent Living in Los Angeles, a congregation-based center which specializes in rehabilitative services for the aged and disabled in the inner-city. An at-large member of the CHN Commission from 1980 to 1982, she was a member of the planning committee for the National Conference on Racism which the Coalition sponsored during her tenure. She has also served on several diocesan and national church committees and task forces.

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