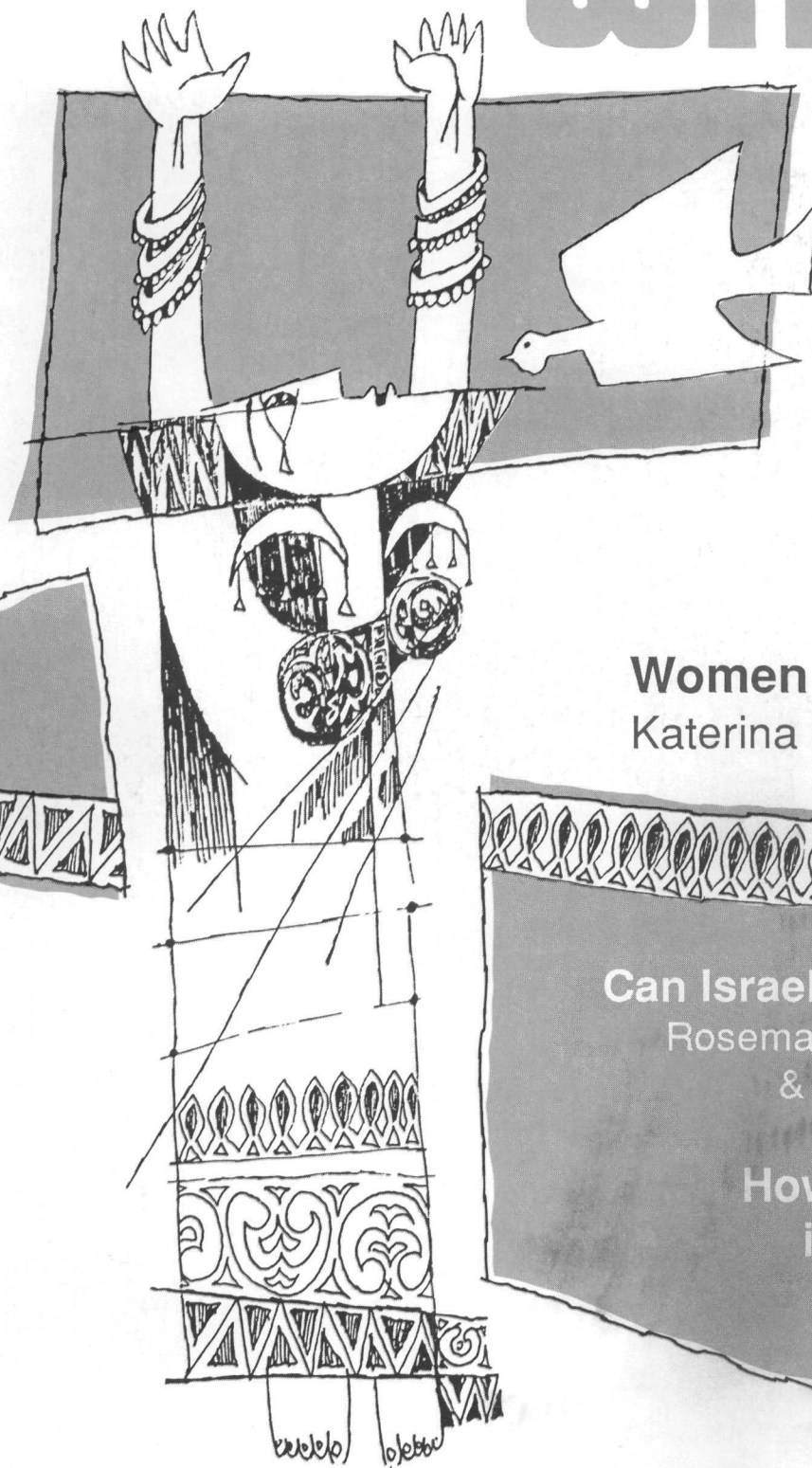


VOLUME • 72 NUMBER • 5 MAY 1989

# THE WITNESS



## Women of the *intifada*

Katerina Katsarka Whitley

## Can Israel save its 'soul'?

Rosemary Radford Ruether  
& Herman J. Ruether

## How ECPC invests in social change

Chris Weiss

# Letters

## Article hits home

Aurora Camacho de Schmidt's article, "Battling unjust immigration laws," (March WITNESS) was a solid, to the point, and long overdue analysis, as well as an advocacy piece for immigrants who are steadily being squeezed right out of society like a wrung wash-rag.

The new immigration law, while providing for some at long last a leg to stand on, has major flaws, as Camacho so ably points out. One of its worst aspects — which many national religious bodies have protested to no avail — is the separation it forces upon families. At Immanuel Church, El Monte, where I work along with my friend and colleague Maria Cueto, 70% of our Spanish-speaking parishioners have been undocumented. Through the tremendous effort of Maria Cueto and others in the church, they were processed along with about 600 families, given their temporary resident alien cards, and are now into the second phase of amnesty.

But many are still left behind. For example, one of our parishioners from Guatemala qualified, but her two daughters who came here after January 1982 did not. At ages 17 and 21 they look to a bleak future. Unable to work at any but exploitative and clandestine jobs, they are unwilling to return to Guatemala where they have no immediate family and where economic, social and political conditions are in a state of permanent deterioration. These young women, having lived and gone to high school here, feel like they belong to this society; yet there is no way they can survive unless the law is amended to include family members in its coverage.

The larger task for the church is to be much more insistent and forceful in dealing with the major policy question behind the immigration issue; namely, how our wealthy and powerful nation is going to address more justly the economic and social deterioration of Mex-

ico and Central America — which is causing the sharply increased influx of folk here through sheer desperation to survive.

American industrial and agricultural private investment in those countries, international debt repayment to U.S. banks, and a history of paternalistic diplomacy are intimately related to immigration problems in the United States. The gross injustices of our policies toward El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala must continue to receive our attention, but the larger economic and social conditions in the region — especially Mexico's — should be better understood and addressed.

**The Rev. Richard W. Gillett**  
Pasadena, Cal.

## Second suit against INS

Thank you for Aurora Camacho de Schmidt's powerful article about the new immigration law and the negative impact it has on the refugee community. The employer sanctions provisions pose a moral dilemma for all of us. We have reflected on this with our members — more than 40 Catholic religious orders of women and men, as well as administrators of their institutions, and have chosen, like the Friends, to challenge the law in the courts.

On May 1, six members of our Center filed suit against the INS because to comply with the employer sanctions would be to violate the basic tenets of our faith.

We are now in process of asking Catholic institutions, organizations and orders to join us as a "Friend of the Court."

We are grateful to all who are giving effort to this serious situation.

**Darlene Cuccinello**  
Intercommunity Center  
for Justice and Peace  
New York, N.Y.

## Lobbies with WITNESS

Just after reading the article by Katerina Katsarka Whitley, "Chicken kingdom maiming workers" (February WITNESS), a story appeared in our local newspaper about how repetitive motion trauma has become the second leading occupational injury in North Carolina.

I will turn our copy of THE WITNESS over to one of our state legislators, who is a committed Christian and lector in our parish. I'm sure she will be interested.

Thank you for continuing to spur our imagination and concern even when we do not follow up with action.

**Lucy T. Fletcher**  
Asheville, N.C.

## Zealot forgotten

The excellent Letter to the Editor by Abbie Jane Wells (February) is not entirely accurate. One of the original Twelve had what might be considered doctoral degrees in finance, business administration, and political science, as well as the Bronze Age equivalent of honorary degrees, special grants for advanced study, etc. He came from a prominent family.

The young man was a Zealot, one of those who wanted to prepare themselves for throwing off the Roman yoke, destroying the despoilers of the Temple, and otherwise restoring the Chosen People to the glory they had enjoyed in the days of David and Solomon. He was not one of the most prominent members of the Twelve, but the type of work he was doing — finance and politics, as well as purchasing supplies and distributing alms — meant that he was not

### Correction

An author's name was misspelled on the cover of the March issue. He is James Mitulski, not Mikulski. Sorry!

around with the others on some of the more memorable occasions. There is nothing to indicate that he was distrusted, although there is a possibility that his superior background might have roused some feeling of envy.

There is some evidence to suggest that he regarded himself as one to "help the Master" with the practical matters for which He had no training. This man becomes better known toward the close of Our Lord's earthly ministry. He was Judas of Kerioth.

**Pauline Shortridge**  
Hopwood, Pa.

## Kudos from prison

I don't know how you came to send me your magazine, but I appreciate the in-depth articles and the resultant consciousness-raising. My address has changed to federal prison and we await word on whether the government will go for a fifth trial in Philly for the Epiphany Plowshares action.

After a short seven weeks here, new friendships are forming with an Iranian who helped others enter the United States, a resident of China during the Cultural Revolution, a Philippino who speaks of U.S. imperial influence, a subscriber to the *Nuclear Resister*, an '87 jail friend from Pennsylvania, a beginning choir, and a Scripture discussion group. The international presence here is partly due to an Immigration center for deportation hearings.

May the struggle for justice overturn the structures of death.

**Greg Boertje**  
Oakland, La.

## Correcting herstory

Monica Furlong's January editorial speaks of "thousands of women throughout Europe and America who were burned as witches." I know of none in this country who were burned. In Salem

in 1692, 19 women were hanged and one man pressed to death for witchcraft. I want to set the record straight since I ponder often on the three of my foremothers who were tried there, one of them being among the hanged.

Does this matter at all? Somehow I feel it honors them to recall the shameful occasion accurately.

**The Rev. Dr. Anne C. Garrison**  
E. Lansing, Mich.

## Sends support

Magazines such as yours should be supported. You aren't the big circulation commercial magazines.

You present ideas big magazines often avoid. They have these big business advertisers, you know. So here I go subscribing.

**Gordon Harrison**  
Bellevue, Ohio

## Rejects 'heretical rag'

I do not want to subscribe to this heretical rag. It has utterly confused the zeitgeist with the Holy Spirit and given the church in America its full schism in the person of Mrs. Barbara Harris.

**The Rev. Canon David L. Bristow**  
Fort Worth, Tex.

## Boswell tape available

We certainly appreciated Sue Pierce's article on Professor John Boswell's presentation at General Convention: "1500 Years of the Church Blessing Lesbian and Gay Relationships, It's Nothing New." THE WITNESS was the only publication that acknowledged that the Integrity luncheon occurred. Indeed, *The Episcopalian* apparently decided to avoid all reference to it since they had requested photographs of the event from us. My only disappointment about THE WITNESS article was it didn't mention that a video tape of the speech is avail-

able from Integrity for \$29.95. Orders can be sent to P.O. Box 19561, Washington, D.C. 20036-0561.

**Edgar K. Byham**  
Guttenberg, N.J.

## Needs address

A recent WITNESS article by Parker Rossman, entitled "Trafficking in human lives," refers to the Anti-Slavery Society in London and says that few Americans contribute to it. Would you please print the address of this group?

**Madge Askonas**  
Winnetka, Ill.

*(Anti-Slavery Society, 180 Brixton Road, London SW9 6AT, England. — Ed.)*

## Shell takes issue

As a long-time Episcopalian and professional journalist, I am deeply bothered by your February article in THE WITNESS on the Shell boycott.

To begin, you quote James Motlatsi, President of the National Union of Mine-workers, as saying "Shell isn't interested in democracy . . . They don't have respect for human dignity . . ." Shell South Africa has publicly called for economic, social and political reforms, including effective political participation for Blacks, universal citizenship, an end to forced removal of people, and the further development of a free and independent trade union movement.

Further, you say that "Shell operates South Africa's largest oil refinery . . ." Not true. The Durban refinery, one of four refineries in South Africa, is a 50/50 joint venture of Shell South Africa and British Petroleum.

You say anti-apartheid activists have pointed out that Shell has been the only major international oil company to continue supplying oil to South Africa. This is categorically untrue. No Shell company is selling or shipping oil directly or

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## THE WITNESS

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# THE WITNESS



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# Editorial

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## Shell shock and other '815' surprises

Social activists who are "815" watchers — monitoring the moves of the Episcopal Church Center in New York — had reason in recent weeks to rejoice and to rue. Surely Presiding Bishop Ed Browning scored high points for joining Archbishop Desmond Tutu and other prelates in an impressive Anglican visit to Nicaragua and Panama in March. Excerpts from their joint statements about social justice concerns and U.S. involvement there appear in this issue.

But two other recent eyebrow-raising revelations gave pause:

1) The Executive Council vote in February to consider a moratorium on the 19 publications put out by the Episcopal Church and to merge them into one big periodical — posing a threat to minority interests and running the danger of becoming a house organ, and

2) The emergence of the shocking news that fully nine months after General Convention passed a resolution that the Episcopal Church join the boycott against Shell Oil, the Church Pension Fund owns 150,000 shares — more than \$6 million — in Shell stock.

Executive Council's vote concerning the future of communications in the Episcopal Church sent up flares in publishing circles, and caused no little trauma among minorities in the church.

A Diocesan Press Service release cited that some 10% of the \$1,250,000 annual publications budget at the Episcopal Church Center is the estimated amount needed for the transition to a single pub-

lication. But ethnic constituencies are protesting that their concern is *inclusiveness*, not budget cuts. They are complaining that they had little prior knowledge of the resolution, much less time for discussion before its introduction to Executive Council. And at that time, the thrust of the debate turned from the issue of amalgamation to whether the Council had trust in the Presiding Bishop to deal fairly with those groups affected by the merger, ending in an emotional unanimous vote.

The Diocesan Council of New York quickly passed a resolution expressing opposition to the proposed moratorium, followed in short order by a similar motion from The Consultation, the coalition of 12 church-related justice and peace groups. The Consultation, while affirming the need for a comprehensive strategy for communications in the national church, went on to say:

*We call attention to the incontrovertible fact that national church publications such as **Ikhana**, **El Informador Episcopal**, **Linkage**, the **Jubilee Journal**, the **Journal for Women's Ministries**, **Asia-America News** and other strategic periodicals serve as invaluable evangelism and empowerment tools in addition to being educational and informational materials, broadening the vision, horizons and partnership role of diverse people in the church. We are deeply concerned over the Executive Council's February vote to*

*fold these publications into a single house organ — and how that change will affect the integrity of such publications, and the in-depth coverage of the particular areas of interest and concern they serve.*

*We therefore call upon the Executive Council to rescind the moratorium on ethnic and other publications while a long-range strategy for communications is being developed. And we urge all other concerned Episcopalians to join us in expressing opposition to the moratorium.*

As a participating member, the Episcopal Church Publishing Company joined the Consultation in its action.

With regard to the church owning big chunks of Shell stock — social activists at first feared recidivism to the time when the CPF operated under the principle that fiduciary responsibility overrode social responsibility in investing. ("Not even for the worthiest of causes can we be diverted from our fiduciary responsibility." *Perspective*, 4/28/86)

That stance had been formidably challenged — and turned around — thanks largely to the bird-dogging efforts of the Diocese of Newark.

So why the lamentable lapse? Well, according to Bishop Alexander Stewart, spokesperson for the CPF, the problem started when a new CPF fund manager gave a list of additional companies the church did not want to invest in to J.P. Morgan and Alliance Capital, without informing their investment managers

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An interview with Nancy Nye:

# Women of the *intifada*

by Katerina Katsarka Whitley

It was a brilliant sunny day in Washington, D.C. and Nancy Nye was homesick for the Middle East. That's how she refers to Ramallah where she worked and to Jerusalem where she lived for eight years.

She was homesick because her Palestinian husband, Mubarak Awad, was in Saudi Arabia lecturing on non-violence in Islam. Forgetting the difference in time, he had awakened her at 3 a.m. to talk on the telephone.

She was full of memories because a good friend from Ramallah had just arrived that morning and given her news of beloved friends from the place she called home for so long. It was also the anniversary of International Woman's Day, which she had celebrated in Ramallah last year.

Nye is an American Quaker from Ohio, and Awad, a Palestinian Christian born and reared in Jerusalem, is an American citizen. His deportation from Israel, where he had set up his Palestinian Center for the Study of Non-Violence, became a *cause celebre* in the summer of 1988.

Even the Reagan Administration, a champion of Israel, had protested to Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir about Awad's deportation.

To no avail. Shamir, threatened by Awad's genuine, peace-making activism, was determined to get rid of him. His presence gave lie to the Israeli protestations that "there is no one to talk to among the Palestinians."

But Shamir did not consider the conse-

quences of letting a dynamo like Awad loose in a world hungry to learn about the status of Palestinians in Israel. Audiences are fascinated by this intelligent, attractive man who can offer so many details on Israeli oppression without once resorting to anti-Jewish sentiments or self-serving propaganda.

I met Awad last fall and he told me that his first marriage to a German woman with whom he has two children had failed because she switched her loyalties from Palestine to Israel. He said that before he would marry Nancy he had sent her to the Middle East for four years to find out if she could live with the Arab language and the Palestinian culture.

Mindful of the myths husbands weave about courtship, I told Nancy this story. She burst out laughing. "Now I will tell you the true version."

A Quaker by conviction, Nye was also a teacher and high school counselor. Concerned about children who left school before graduation, she found employment in Awad's highly successful program of counseling troubled young people in Ohio.

In 1981 the American Friends Service Committee recruited her to work in Ramallah at the respected Friends Girls School there. Awad encouraged her to take the job of principal at the school, established 100 years ago by another Quaker woman, Sybil Jones.

When Awad visited the school in 1983, he asked her, "How do you like living in the Middle East?"

"It's wonderful," Nye answered, "I could live here the rest of my life."

"Good," he responded, "then we will be married."

She looks across the table at me, inside a cheerful Thai restaurant, and her dark eyes twinkle with merriment. "I didn't know then that it was a trial question."

Nye, tall and slender, speaks without hesitation but thoughtfully, giving accounts of both kindness and brutality without changing the volume of her voice. If she talks about Israeli oppression, she recounts it dispassionately, offering proof for her opinions, saying, "That caused me to conclude that . . ."

One such story Nye related happened about a year ago on International Women's Day, when the women of Ramallah decided to have a peaceful, silent march. The men and young boys looked from the sidelines, wishing to join in, but they were told, "No, this is our march, you watch." And so they did.

Nye says: "It was one of the most remarkable experiences of my life. As we marched we saw women looking on from their windows, verandas and balconies. We called to them to join us and they started streaming out of the doorways — all kinds and all ages. There were grandmothers, mothers and daughters with their arms around each other, the grandmothers encouraging the younger women. There were women in the traditional robes, others in blue jeans, professional women — university professors, lawyers, doctors and teachers — and village women.

"We maintained discipline throughout, did not break ranks. The center of Ramallah is a circle from which streets radiate like the spokes of a wheel. We had gone about two kilometers when we reached the circle. Suddenly Israeli soldiers appeared on the roofs of the houses

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**Katerina Katsarka Whitley** is a North Carolina-based freelance writer and a communications consultant to the Presiding Bishop's Fund for World Relief.

and they simply rained tear gas on us. The women tried to escape by running to the streets, only to be blocked by more soldiers throwing tear gas at them.

"Fortunately, we were very well-prepared with lemons, onions and Vicks. Every woman had something in her pocket and put it on her tongue to help her breathe."

Still many were burned by tear gas canisters and one of Nye's teachers was hit in the back of the head with a rubber bullet.

She ponders this situation anew. "This confrontation was precipitated by the Israeli soldiers. No stone was thrown that day, no one was being threatened or hurt." She concludes: "Just to express yourself causes violent oppression. You are not allowed to speak your mind; you are not allowed to say you want to be free."

Awad believes that because of the *intifada* — the term referring to the current uprising — Palestinian women will



**Nancy Nye, former principal of Friends Girls School in Ramallah**

never be the same. Their husbands will never be able to boss them again. Nye seems to think that this "steel in the spine" was always there. "Women assumed leadership not because the men are in prison; their leadership surfaced early in the days of the *intifada*." (For an understanding of the word see *Matthew 10:14*: "And if anyone will not receive you or listen to your words, *shake off* the dust from your feet as you leave the house.")

She tells of the community organizing as early as January and February of 1988. Most participants date the *intifada*, the "shaking off," from Dec. 8, 1987.

Early on women knew that they were dealing with issues of life, Nye explains. They could not tell their children not to demonstrate, but they would not let them be out in the streets alone, either. Because they cared so much, they stood by their children. Much later, the men decided they, too, would have to get involved. It was the children, and then the women who showed the way.

Before the first month was out the women started packaging first aid kits for each home in the refugee camps and the neighborhoods. At the same time they organized training programs with health professionals and assistants in each group. Both the kits and the training were very specific — antidotes for tear gas inhalation, tourniquets for bleeding, instructions for treating gunshot wounds, punctures, rubber bullet injuries.

In March and April they organized the neighborhoods. They were not just bringing in women for coffee and discussion — they took a census of the neighborhoods, found out what skills people had and what their needs were. They learned who had cisterns to clean out and fill with water, who could store large amounts of kerosene, who had a large room to serve as an alternative classroom. Then people were assigned to committees: health, food, education and protection. In the last case, the women determined which men would stay



**Mubarak Awad, the "Palestinian Gandhi"**



awake for the safety of the neighborhood.

The next step dealt with tilling the soil. In a place like Ramallah where there had been no previous food shortages, nobody gardened; suddenly, in the first *intifada* spring, there were vegetable gardens in every available space.

Awad speaks about a new generosity of spirit that sprang up because of the *intifada*. He tells of going to offer food and help to one camp only to be sent to another: "Go to our neighbors, they have a greater need."

I remembered news stories about the blockade of Kalkilya and Beita, the long weeks of curfew. Nye said that the people stored large amounts of lentils and rice, but in Kalkilya they had to burn their furniture to make a fire to cook the lentils.

Nye also relates touching stories about Palestinian women who became "universal mothers." A friend of Nye's, a college student, was being threatened by a soldier. An old woman came and stood between them. "Leave him alone," she said. "You have to beat me first." And the young man added, "I had never seen her before."

One of the admirable traits of Palestinian culture, Nye points out, is that families displaced because the Israelis blew up their homes and expelled their men are taken care of — not just by the extended family, but by the whole community. And no matter what the deprivation, she says, you cannot find a case of starvation among Palestinians. These are people who have learned to live on practically nothing.

Since I was a teacher and Nye was both teacher and principal, I asked her about education in the area. All the schools have been closed in the West Bank, and off and on in the Gaza strip. It is a strange decision by the Israeli military authorities, who claim the schools incited the kids to violence. But Nye points out the fallacy in the argument.

## Statistics on the *intifada*

— Israeli troops have occupied the West Bank and Gaza Strip for more than 21 years. The *intifada* will not end, Palestinians say, until the Government of Israel ceases its occupation and the 1.7 million Palestinians who have lived under military occupation have their own state.

— Some 75% of the Palestinian population is under 21; children of the *intifada* throwing rocks have confronted the world's fourth-largest military power.

— Most tools of the *intifada* are non-violent: tax resistance, strikes, boycotts of Israeli products, organizing and resignations of Palestinian police officers and tax collectors. With the *intifada* the movement for Palestinian liberation has shifted from armed struggle to mass insurgency.

— Approximately 500 Palestinians have died in the *intifada*, one third of them 18 or younger; 46,000 Palestinians have been seriously wounded; Israelis have arrested more than 20,000 — 5,000 without charge or trial — and have deported approximately 50.

— Palestinian refugee camps, villages, and towns have been placed under curfew or military siege for a total of more than 2,000 days.

— From Vicki Kemper's "The Road to Palestine," *Sojourners*, 4/89

First of all, closing schools allows children to be in the streets and to have plenty of opportunities to throw stones. It creates illiteracy; the little ones have already forgotten how to read. But if Israeli authorities are afraid of violence, why do they not allow the parents to teach their own children? The punishment for teaching (even one's children) is 10 years in prison, and the offender's home may also be demolished.

Nye adds: "At Friends School we were preparing educational packets for the homes, so parents could come get them at their convenience — not at an appointed time, so as not to create crowds. The military came to the school and confiscated all the educational materials. That indicates that it is *collective punishment*. The military governor asked the teachers to go to the compound and he said, 'There will be no education as long as there is *intifada*.' Of course, the affluent have sent their children away to school. But the Israelis like that; they hope the Palestinian youths will not return."

And the sorrow continues.

When asked "What do you do about your anger?" Nye tells of a time, before the *intifada*, when she had a confrontation with soldiers who had hurt people she loved. She was very angry. Awad reminded her there would be a rally in Jerusalem that night by Peace Now, an Israeli peace organization. She said, "No, I can't go. I just can't take it right now."

"Maybe you really *need* to go tonight," her husband insisted, and Nye did go.

"I've had the opportunity since that time to say 'thank you' to some of those who forced me to see that not all Israelis are cut from the same mold. You have to constantly remind yourself and you have to work very hard. I could be very angry but you must see the humanity even in the violent," said Nye.

She shares Awad's philosophy: "When you become angry, a person has provoked you, and then you have allowed that person to rule your emotions, and to have power over you. You should never let someone else's actions control your feelings." She adds: "Palestinians know





Arab teenagers from Nazareth smile for the camera.

ultimately that *they* are not in control. They believe *God* is in control. But that doesn't mean that they sit back and do nothing."

Nye told me the reason for Awad's urgency to bring about a solution: "He says, 'We have a real responsibility to solve this crisis so that children are not

deprived of their childhood.'"

I told Nye of my connection to the Episcopal Church and about my work with the Presiding Bishop's Fund for World Relief. I asked her, "What can Episcopalians do to help the Palestinians?"

She sees the greatest need and urgency

in the offering of medical and reconstructive assistance to children who have been hurt in the violence of the occupation. Many little ones have lost an eye; many have lost limbs or suffer psychological damage from beatings. A friend of Nancy's, a doctor, used to think these children should be brought to the States. Now he knows there are too many. He pleads for doctors to give a month or six weeks of their lives to go to the hospitals of the West Bank and Gaza to offer their medical services.

The Anglican Communion supports a hospital in Nablus, West Bank, and in Gaza City. The Gaza hospital (65 beds) received more than 2000 casualties during the first 11 months of the *intifada*. According to Anglican sources, 120 medical professionals in these hospitals care for an estimated 220,000 patients every year. The need is urgent.

As a mother, a woman, an about-to-be grandmother, I join the Palestinian women as they pray and plead for their children.

**TW**

### The truth about Beita

Beita is a Palestinian village of 7,000 inhabitants located 10 miles south of Nablus in the occupied West Bank.

It was the death of an Israeli settler, a young woman named Tirza Porat, that gave Beita its notoriety on the front pages of newspapers, on TV screens, in Israel and abroad, and not the death, imprisonment, or beatings sustained by Arab inhabitants of this village. Initially, the media accused the villagers of stoning Porat to death, whipping the Israeli community into a state of frenzy calling for retribution.

Before the army had a chance to conclude its investigation (which ultimately proved the innocence of the villagers,

showing that Porat was accidentally shot by Romam Aldubi, an Israeli settler carrying a rifle) collective punishments were visited on the village.

Two inhabitants of Beita were killed in cold blood and their murder was never charged or tried. Fourteen houses were demolished.

No apology or compensation was ever offered for these mistakes. Six inhabitants of Beita were expelled from the country. Even though the army investigation cleared the citizens of Beita, the village remains under constant surveillance, castigated for committing a crime of which it is the victim.

— From *Beita: Lidice Revisited*, published by ROOTS, 703 G St., SE, Washington, DC

# Can Israel save its 'soul'?

by Rosemary Radford Ruether & Herman J. Ruether

The struggle for justice and peace between Israelis and Palestinians has also become a battle within Israel between those who put territorial expansion over ethical values and those who want to give up the Occupied Territories in order to retain what they see as key ethical values and principles. This conflict is referred to as the conflict between the land of Israel and the "soul" of Israel. Those who believe that the 1967 Occupied Territories must be given up, in order to retain the "soul" of Israel, see the occupation as exacerbating to the breaking point all the contradictions that divide Israeli society.

Expansion of land means feeding the militarists who believe that Israel's security lies entirely in military power. Expansion also feeds on the religious ultraright who base themselves on a literalistic and maximalist doctrine of the Promised Land and the messianic violence against the Palestinians. Holding onto the Territories means an endless cycle of violence against the Palestinians. Because the Palestinians can neither be expelled *en masse* (because of world opinion) or enfranchised (without changing the concept of the Jewish state), they can only be repressed. Repression corrodes whatever democratic and humane values remain in Israeli culture and shapes the new generation of young people to be ever more hardened to their

task of beating, gassing, and shooting Palestinians.

Holding onto the 1967 Territories also means increasing inflation, indebtedness, and dependency of the Israeli economy upon foreign, especially American, aid. This makes Israel not just the puppet state of American interests, but a conspiratorial ally; the tail that wags the dog of American imperialism. Continued military occupation of conquered territories, land confiscation, and settlements thwart, indefinitely, peace negotiations with the Arab world. It also earns the opprobrium of Third World nations.

Many Jews are wont to claim that the Arabs are moved by an irrational hatred and desire to destroy Israel, and so there can be no peace with them. But this absolutizing of Arab enmity refuses to see that this enmity is rooted in concrete political conflicts that are capable of amelioration. Surrounding Arab states certainly harbor little good will toward Israel at this point. Security issues are real and will continue to be for some time. Arab enmity is rooted in objections to Israel as a Jewish state and as a colonial settler state created by Western imperialism. But it has also been exacerbated by 40 years of warfare in which the surrounding Arab nations have suffered enormous losses of life and property at the hands of the Israeli military.

Anger fueled by this loss of life, land, and property will not disappear in the foreseeable future. But it can be significantly ameliorated by political negotiations that recognize Palestinian national rights. The readiness of the Palestinian and Arab world for this solution to the Palestinian component of the Middle

East conflict has been available for 15 years, since 1973. It is Israel and the United States who are the primary impediments to these negotiations.

When pressed to move on this issue of Palestinian rights, Zionists tend to see themselves as embattled by a universal hatred. The claim that "the whole world is against us" has become part of the Israeli national mythology. But as far as the Western Christian world is concerned, in fact, Israel continues to enjoy uniquely favored status. There is a great willingness among Christians to believe that Israel has a divinely given "right to exist" and that it is a land of superior social morals. When this latter belief is unmasked by negative realities, this is not welcome news for most Christians. Many translate this bad news into a worried concern that indicates their continued good will. In short, Christian criticism of Israel has been based primarily on the discovery of historical facts, not

## Resource

The Ruethers are co-authors of a new book, *The Wrath of Jonah: The Crisis of Religious Nationalism in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*, just out by Harper and Row, (\$19.95) from which the accompanying article is taken.

*The Wrath of Jonah* analyzes the crucial connections underlying Jewish, Christian and Arab relations in general, as the Ruethers define the political, theological and biblical issues that have arisen as three monotheistic peoples laid claim at various times to the same land. They then examine the moral and political dilemmas facing Israel today.

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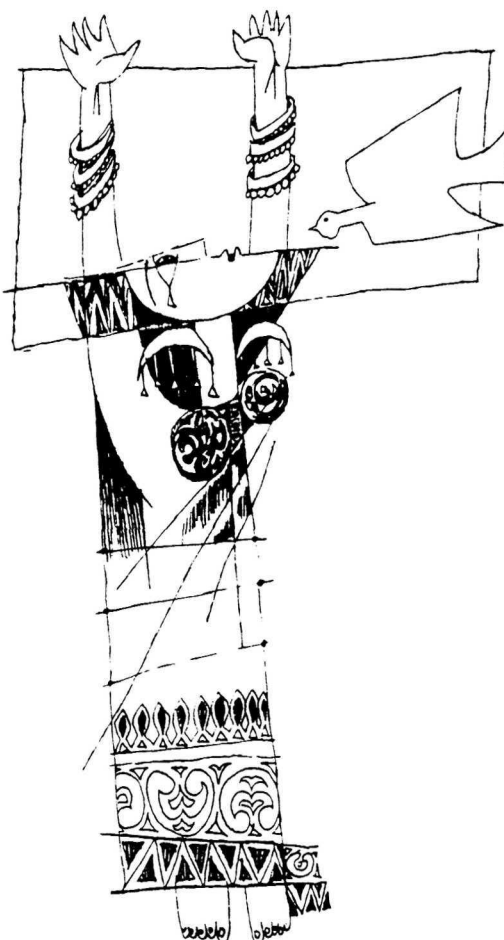
Rosemary Radford Ruether, noted feminist author and theologian, is professor of applied theology at Garrett Theological Seminary in Evanston, Ill. Herman J. Ruether is a political scientist and former acting director of the Palestinian Human Rights Campaign.

an a priori malice.

One has to ask whether part of the intransigence toward territorial compromise among Israeli leaders does not lie in the need to maintain a perceived threat of the outside Arab world in order to paper over internal conflicts within Israeli society. Maintaining the crisis psychology of war for survival silences the divisions between religious and secular Jews, Ashkenazi and Oriental Jews. Fomenting new dangers, planning new wars of "survival" against the Arabs, prevents Israel from flying apart from internal conflicts.

If this is true, then trading the Territories for peace also would mean facing these internal contradictions. If peace were made with the Arab world, the size of the present military and secret police establishment would lose its justification. Many of their practices would become questionable. It would become necessary to reshape the Israel Defense Forces into a normal army of national defense, not a warrior cult engaged in covert expansion and violent repression of non-citizens. This would also mean facing the militarization of the whole of Israeli society, the virtual autonomy of the military from the civil government, and the domination of the economy by military production. One would also have to curb the expanding secret intelligence services, the *Mossad* and *Shin Bet*, which threaten to make Israel a police state for Jews, as well as Palestinians.

Such reshaping of Israeli society offers many promises. Israel could reconstitute its relationship with the Arab world as a partner in Middle East development. It could cease to be so dependent on American aid and cease to be called in as arms trader and trainer of mercenary armies to bring down popular Third World revolutions. It could also pursue a more positive foreign policy with Third World nations. Also, on the domestic side, it could cease to starve its welfare budget to feed its warfare budget. This



would allow it to address the growing economic gap between wealthy, mainly Ashkenazi, and poor, mainly Oriental, Jews, which threatens to turn into inter-cultural class warfare. Finally its democratic institutions and humanist values could be reclaimed and redeveloped.

But the decision to make peace by ceding the Territories will not succeed if it is undertaken as a misleading charade, or a new scheme to keep the land while ceding the Palestinian residents to the political control of Jordan. The "peace" proposals of the so-called moderates (Peres) and hardliners (Shamir) have fallen into different versions of this scheme. This 'Jordanian Solution' may no longer be available, since the July 31, 1988 announcement by King Hussein

that Jordan no longer claimed legal or financial responsibility for the West Bank. There must be some genuine recognition of Palestinian political autonomy and self-government within at least a mini-region.

The claim that this would create an intolerable "security danger" is questionable. Demilitarization of the Palestinian region can be part of the autonomy negotiations. This might begin by the replacement of Israeli troops with UN troops to assure there are no armed incursions across the borders. This, of course, means not simply that Palestinians could not send armed men across the border but that Israel could not send its armies into Palestinian territory. The Israeli military would have to accept a limitation of its aggression into Palestinian or other Arab lands, which Israel has never accepted since 1948.

The phobia against Palestinian autonomy in a region next to Israel is fed by a self-terrorization of Israeli people, convinced that its Arab neighbors desire its annihilation. This has become increasingly unreal, as both the Arabs and the Palestinians have indicated their willingness to settle with Israel on the basis of a territory restricted and defined by 1949 borders. The power of the Israeli military, including its possession of nuclear weaponry, means that no Arab state seriously wants to go to war with it, despite posturing rhetoric aimed at placating militant elements in Arab societies.

Moreover, with the Palestinian issue settled, much of the impetus for this rhetoric would also decline. Israel might even become, as some of its early binationalist thinkers had hoped, a part of the Arab League, defined as a Middle Eastern or "Semitic" league. It could then trade with Arab nations as a partner, rather than being a pariah nation in the Middle East. The increasing proportion of Oriental Jews in Israeli society, who will eventually assume the leadership of

*Continued on page 22*

# Critical remembrances



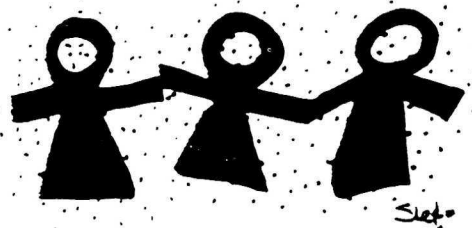
## Mother's Day Prayer

The National Council of Churches is urging places of worship to commemorate Mother's Day — May 14 — with the inclusion of a prayer for mothers and children living in poverty in the United States. The text reads:

"Today, we remember the women who brought us into the world. Mothers and children stand together to celebrate life. But there are those beside us, in the shadows, who weep. They are the mothers of America's 13 million children living in poverty. Now is the time to make our hearts vulnerable, to listen, to open our eyes.

"Loving God, give us the light to see our sisters and their families who live in poverty. Give us the compassion to hear their stories. Give us the arms to reach them, the love to hold them close. Give us the courage to take a stand, make a difference and work to eliminate poverty in our time. We pray together for the hope that only you can give."

In the articles at right, two WITNESS authors offer poignant reflections about how their mothers influenced their lives.



In retrospect, 1943 was a critical year in Indonesia. We were a country at war and under Japanese occupation. A year earlier, my father — a Protestant minister fresh out of seminary and in his first parish — had been taken prisoner for allegedly organizing resistance against the Japanese.

My mother decided to move my sister Martha, my brother Peter, and me to Bogor — a town about 30 miles from Jakarta — to live with our maternal grandparents as she actively pursued ways to seek my father's release.

I remember the house, the biggest on the block, located in a narrow side-street off the main thoroughfare. There were only six smaller houses on that street. A school compound across from us encompassed almost half the block.

**The Rev. Max B. Surjadinata** is coordinator of the Community Care Program, a project of the Urban League of Westchester, and pastor of Mt. Vernon Heights Congregational Church in Mt. Vernon, N.Y.

I attended kindergarten at that school. The only vivid recollection that remains with me to this very day is that each morning we had to stand in formation to salute the Japanese flag as it was raised, while also singing the Japanese national anthem — the first two lines of which I still remember.

Despite living in such critical times, and missing my father, it was a meaningful, indeed, a happy year — principally because of my mother's active, loving care and protection, her strong faith and commitment.

She provided both the text and the context of a lived faith, for her children's physical, spiritual and moral growth. I recall those happy bedtime moments, when we would gather around her to listen to Bible stories.

I recall how my eyes became wet with tears and how my young sister laughed at me because I so identified with Joseph when his brothers threw him into the empty pit. I remember the deep sadness I

## A mother's silence

She is dead now, resting beside her mother in the place that was reserved for her. But when I think of Sarah Leah, my mother, I think of another place, another death — the death of her mind, for which there was no burial.

I think of her in her bed in the Queens nursing home after she suffered her stroke. She had for years been senile, but on occasion, in between periods of mis-

taking a son for a brother, a configuration of elements in the air for her mother, she would make an apt comment, tell a good joke, even remember that she once used to type my articles. The woman curled between the silver bedrails had lost the power of speech, what was left of her memory, plus the ability to recognize her family.

When I came to visit, I would kiss her and whisper my name, first in Hebrew, then in English. Her only response was the occasional bewildered frown that labored up and down the blank landscape. Here, I had to navigate without names, without words, except for those I used to

**Robert Hirschfield**, a free-lance poet and writer who lives in New York City, is a frequent contributor to THE WITNESS. The above article appeared in the *Women's American ORT Reporter* and is reprinted with permission.



## by Max Surjadinata

felt as I heard how Esau sold his birthright, how moved with fear I was upon hearing the story about Abraham being asked to sacrifice his son, Issac.

We heard stories about Jesus and his disciples, Jesus in Gethesemane praying until his tears turned into blood, about the events that led him to the cross.

She also told stories about the persecution of early Christians, about the strong faith of Jesus and His followers.

I now believe that what became formative throughout my life was my mother's care and nurturing love — particularly those prayers which she taught us all to pray: for an end to the war, for those in difficulties, for my grandfather (who was an alcoholic), for the release of my father — always concluding with the words, "if it be your will, O God, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Thus, even at an early age, I received what I now know to be an historical sense of faith that became very decisive throughout my life: an understanding of

faith referred to by theologian Richard Niebuhr as a primal force "in a completely central and powerful way, from the very beginning . . . a universally operative force that is seeking proper objects, definitions, form, shape, people" and as "dependence on a value-center and as a loyalty to a cause."

My mother's basic trust, her centering on meaning and values, was revealed to us as children in simple gestures such as saying grace before meals. Mother used to express thanks to God for tiny portions of rice allotted to us, augmented by one fried egg, sprinkled with soy sauce, and divided among five people.

I believe humor played a significant role in my life. An ironic sense developed within me — even at the age of five — as we prayed over those skimpy, crummy offerings; and as afterwards I joyfully joined the older boys from the neighborhood in search of food in the nearby soldier's camp, scrounging around in garbage cans.

I now realize, as I look back, saying grace before meals — even though that meal was scarce — and scrounging for

food afterwards were efforts to make sense of the world.

Also significant, it seems to me, was the fact that although I deeply felt my father's absence (he used to take me to church — I remember standing beside him afterwards as he greeted parishioners — and he used to drive me in his Model-T Ford), I continued to live with a hopeful trust. This stems, I now believe, from the fact that my mother provided what Erik Erikson describes as "trustworthy contemporary surroundings; and an all-enveloping world image tying past, present and future into a convincing pattern of providence."

Therefore, although childhood was full of conflicts — the Japanese occupation, the loss of my father, even the witnessing of stark brutality, cruelty, killings and public executions — it was in a strange sense a happy and peaceful time. I believe that my mother set the stage for tranquility and happiness amidst nightmarish and turbulent realities. I learned from her exemplary life to internalize my own faith and confidence in the future — despite an uncertain present. **TW**

## by Robert Hirschfield

try to comfort myself.

Speech was one of my mother's great delights. Conversations with friends and sons, with shopkeepers and strangers, were saved inside her head the way a child hoards sweets. Her stories of the dreaded visits of the Czarist police to her father's *heder* in her native Plonsk followed me from childhood to middle age. Whenever I objected to their repetition, which was often, she would say, "You will miss these stories one day." And I would just laugh and dismiss her prophesy with the wave of a hand.

The decay of her mental and physical condition transpired in drawn-out stages,

to each of which I had a chance to adjust. But her silence descended upon me almost without warning. It was there one day like a border that was impossible to cross. The bridge of words had been cut. I was banished to my desert, she to hers.

Her room became my Sinai. Wandering around it, everything I came across looked bleak, parched, as hard as stone. I found myself sometimes having to escape to the nurses' station. "Is there a chance her speech will return?" I once asked one of the nurses. She just shrugged, shook her head. My mother was 83 and considered pre-terminal. After exchanging a bit of small talk with the nurses, I would return to her room where small talk, all talk, was useless. The truth was always there to greet me

beneath the glacial crispness of the sheets. Walking away from it did not diminish it. Trying to ignore it only seemed to enlarge it. That meant sitting still and trying to escape the present through the exit of the past. A difficult task. Memories of walks taken together would appear, then quickly disappear into the silence that swallowed up time and events like the sands that swallowed up Korah.

To see that body in which I took root waste and wither, features defaced by a nasal gastric tube, was to see a once-marvelous tree cut down by a conspiracy of seasons. There she lay, mother and stranger both. The mystery had come full circle: Sinai was not just silence, Sinai was revelation. **TW**

# How ECPC invests in social change

In Massachusetts, a revolving loan fund lends money to a forge threatened with a shutdown. The union has decided to assist the workers in purchasing the company and the fund helps them with the capital to purchase shares. In Alabama, small community development credit unions are assisted by a cooperative to maintain their financial stability. In North Carolina, a woman expands her home-based business through a loan from the development credit union where her savings are invested.

What do all these community-based institutions have in common? They are all recipients of investment capital from religious institutions — churches, religious orders, and the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

Yes, gentle reader, the Episcopal Church Publishing Company does more than publish THE WITNESS magazine. Years ago, the ECPC Board made a decision to invest 10% of its endowment in “alternative investments” to benefit the community. Over the years, some mistakes have been made but rewards have been garnered and lessons learned.

ECPC joins hundreds of other religious institutions in taking a portion of its endowment, bypassing certificates of deposit and treasury bills and placing approximately \$150,000 in seven alternative investments. Four of these are intermediaries in the United States, institutions that, in turn, lend money to compa-

nies or individuals they have screened and provided with technical assistance in business planning. The fifth is an international development intermediary associated with the World Council of Churches. The sixth is a housing corporation associated with a church in a major U.S. city, and the last is a direct loan to a small worker-owned manufacturer in the South.

The ECPC alternative investment policy is coupled with a membership in the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR). This membership and the purchase of small numbers of corporate shares from time to time gives ECPC a voice, through ICCR, on such corporate resolutions as investment by major corporations in South Africa, a ban on products that have potential to injure women and babies, and corporate policies that discriminate against women and minorities.

## Activist investment growing

This activist investment policy is not unusual for religiously-based institutions, but it is gaining more attention as community-based economic development and socially-responsible investing become more popular and well-known. The record shows that these alternatives can be as profitable as mainstream investments.

In a recent article appearing in ICCR's *The Corporate Examiner* the author states that “evidence indicates socially-screened portfolios perform as well as or better than traditional portfolios. Although cutting out companies doing business in South Africa reduces the universe from which to select investments, this reduction does not necessarily re-

duce the profitability of the investments.”

Alternative investments can be made in at least three ways:

- The most traditional one, for both individuals and institutions, is to choose an investment firm that specializes in investments that do not support anti-social activities, such as war and racism. *The Corporate Examiner* listed some of these firms in its December 1988 issue. Other guides to such firms exist as well. As stated, these “socially-screened” companies can provide the investor with a return just as profitable as a more conventional investment firm.

- The second, requiring a little more time and study by the investors, is to deposit money in credit unions or revolving loan funds which have a good track record of investing in community-based development projects. Generally referred to as intermediaries, these investment options offer a range of risk to the investor, from credit unions, which are federally-regulated and insured, to worker buyouts, which are riskier. The advantage that the intermediaries have is that they provide technical assistance to the business in question, requiring a thorough screening for the business concept and the individuals involved. This reduces risk for themselves and the investors, but does not eliminate it entirely.

A good example of an intermediary is the Center for Community Self-Help in Durham, N.C. This organization operates a credit union and provides loans and technical assistance to workers in North Carolina who want to prevent plant closings by buying and owning the

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**Chris Weiss**, an ECPC board member, is founder of Rural Strategies, a West Virginia-based management and consulting service specializing in economic development for women in rural areas.

by Chris Weiss

plant themselves. The Center assists workers with making decisions about ownership and is in a position to lend them money if they decide to own and operate the company. The Credit Union is affiliated with the State Employees Credit Union, which has 56 branches around North Carolina. This greatly increases the access of the Self-Help Credit Union to its members.

Many religious institutions, when they invest in such credit unions, choose to take a lower interest on their capital than they might get in the general marketplace. Thus, ECPC elected to accept a 5% return on its investment when it placed some of its capital in the Self-Help Credit Union, allowing the Center to invest the money for the best return. The "spread" is then available for more loans, or for administrative costs.

- The third, and riskiest, way to invest is directly in community-based ventures. These can be worker-owned companies, housing projects, or cooperatives. This strategy requires that someone or several people in the investor pool be able to analyze business plans and make a judgement about the potential for repayment by the business enterprise. If this choice is made, it is best for the investor to have a relationship of some kind with the project so that there is a partnership (in effect) created between the money provided by the investor and the "doer" of the project.

### Housing good example

A good example of this strategy is ECPC's investment in the Church of the Messiah Housing Corporation in Detroit. The capital is invested in an alternative investment fund. Another investor in this

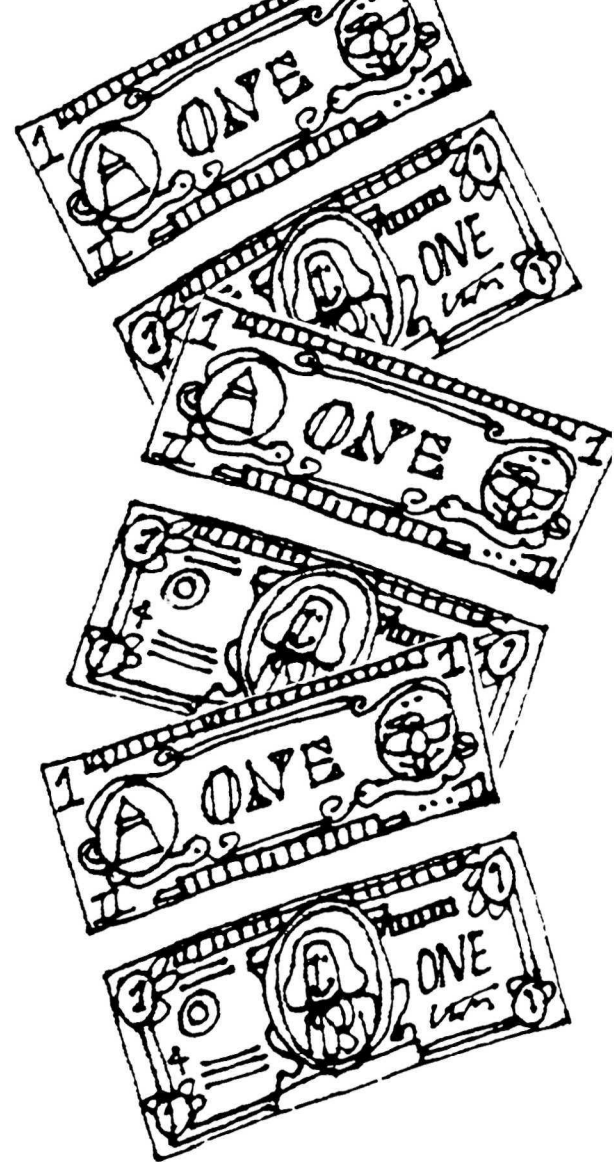
fund is the Episcopal Diocese of Michigan. The Housing Corporation has been active in rehabilitating St. Paul Manor, an apartment building that was turned into a cooperative for low-income people. Tenants of the building have been taught cooperative principles and home maintenance so that they can keep up and regulate their own building.

Some ECPC Board Members are from Michigan and have a relationship with the people who operate this housing corporation. They have confidence in the group's leadership, and this community-based development corporation has a record of achievement.

Socially-responsible investing is a trend that is still being explored for the potential it might have in this country. A look at the larger picture is instructive in examining what the future might hold for this use of accumulated capital.

The movement for socially-responsible investing grew from two different needs in the investing community. The first was for ways to make a statement about how American corporations did business in the wider world. Individuals and groups wanted to be empowered to use their money to say "no" to racism, or "no" to a company, for example, that campaigned to substitute its product for breast feeding in Third World countries. Investors have achieved this collectively through stock-holder resolutions or through investing in funds that have guidelines with which they agree.

The second goal was to be able to provide a source of capital to communities of need. In the last few years, people have begun to create alternatives to the commercial banking industry. Commer-



### Resources

*A Socially Responsible Financial Planning Guide* is a useful reference and workbook which helps people incorporate social criteria into their financial decisions, whether they have a large income or live on limited resources. A comprehensive listing of socially responsible financial products and services. 20 pages. Available for \$5 from Co-op America, 2100 M St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20063 (202-872-5307).

*Shopping for a Better World* rates the makers of over 1300 brand name products on 10 crucial social issues, and helps shoppers cast their "economic vote" in the supermarket, health food store and gas station. Order for \$4.95 from Council on Economic Priorities, 30 Irving Pl., New York, N.Y. 10003.



## Back Issues Available:

• **Healthcare in the 1990s — Who can afford it?:** A penetrating analysis by hospital chaplain Charles Meyer, showing how seven recent changes have sent healthcare prices soaring, making it unavailable to the poor, the elderly, the medically indigent. Highly recommended by Maggie Kuhn of the Gray Panthers as a resource. Includes guidelines on how churches can deal with ethical and technical implications. Also in this issue: Roberta Nobleman's account of incest, "Call it not love," a social problem largely ignored by the churches.

• **God and Mother Russia:** Episcopal priest William Teska interviews Konstantin Kharchev, USSR Councilor for Religious Affairs, on how *perestroika* affects religion; major articles by Sovietologist Paul Valliere, Bill and Polly Spofford, Mary Lou Suhor on their visits to the USSR; statistics on major religious bodies in the USSR; Dr. John Burgess' assessment of the 1986 Human Rights Seminar sponsored by the National Council of Churches in Moscow. (28 pages)

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- ☐ Healthcare in the 1990s  
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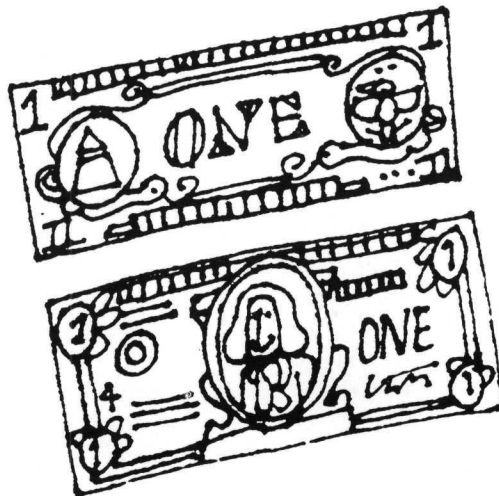
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cial banks are reluctant to lend to non-profit groups, to micro-enterprise entrepreneurs, and in some cases have "red-lined" minority communities to restrict loans for housing or commercial needs.

In addition, during recent years, the banking industry has changed, consolidating into a few holding companies concentrated in urban centers. As a result, community people in low-income and rural communities are concerned



that capital for housing, small businesses, and all aspects of community-based economic development will disappear.

Credit unions, revolving loan funds, and guarantee funds are all ways that groups such as women's organizations, or low-income and rural people have developed to fill the need for access to capital in their communities.

Religious institutions have begun to form partnerships with non-profit organizations working to preserve housing and jobs in their communities, and to dedicate capital to community development projects.

The fact that this kind of partnership is not well understood, at least by the federal government, is illustrated by a recent article in *The Appalachian Reader*, a quarterly newspaper from Kentucky.

According to an article in the winter edition, "a recent ruling by the National Credit Union Administration has dealt a severe blow to credit unions that serve low-income members." The agency ruled that no more than 20% of credit union deposits could be held by non-members. According to the manager of the Central Appalachian People's Federal Credit Union "this ruling will have a devastating effect on our ability to serve the financial needs of our low-income members."

Efforts to get the ruling overturned are being made by the National Federation of Community Development Credit Unions. The purpose of this ruling was to restrict credit unions from recruiting and offering incentives to out-of-state investors. The effect is to limit the choices religious institutions have when they decide to invest their money.

This kind of barrier, along with lack of information on alternatives for religious institutions and other individuals, restricts the amount of capital currently available to community-based development. The new Implementation Committee created by the resolution on economic justice at the last Episcopal Church Convention in Detroit will look at some alternatives for institutional investing, as well as alternative funds.

In the last analysis, the movement for socially-responsible investing is all about choices and money. The decision is to be deliberate about investment strategies, to spend some time investigating corporate practices, to get to know some of the local players in community-based economic development. It is "putting our money where our mouth is."

The power to affect people's access to capital can be ours if we so choose. How we decide to control money for the greatest social good can be more than a choice for the greatest return on our dollar. The return can come in improving people's lives.

TW



# Short Takes

## Option for the poor

An editorial entitled "Fifty Hours for the Poor" which appeared in both the Journal of the American Medical Association and the American Bar Association reads in part:

"The privilege to practice law or medicine has carried with it the obligation to serve the poor without pay . . . We believe that all doctors and all lawyers as a matter of ethics and good faith, should contribute a significant percentage of their total professional efforts without expectation of financial remuneration. We believe that 50 hours a year — or roughly one week of time — is an appropriate minimum amount. In the church this is called stewardship. In law, it is called *pro bono publico*. In medicine, it is called charity. In everyday society, it is called fairness."

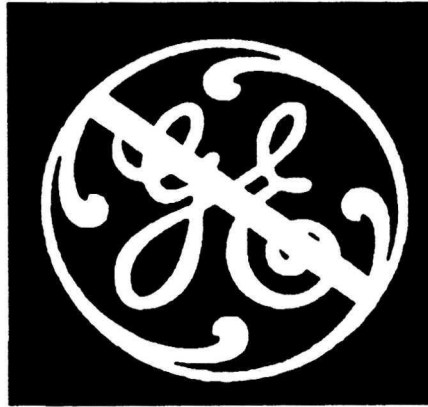
*Initiatives*, published by the National Center for the Laity, pointed out in publishing this data recently that some fascinating conclusions can be drawn from the editorial. Among them:

- The normal work week for doctors and lawyers is 50 hours.
- If the ABA and AMA would heed the above advice, the nation's poor would have at their service the equivalent of 13,000 full-time doctors and lawyers, giving their time and skills personally and without pay.

And, *Initiatives* asks, will other professional bodies follow suit — such as the American Institute of Certified Public Accountants, the National Education Association, etc.?

## Receives Langston award

The Rev. Robert Warren Cromey, rector of Trinity Episcopal Church, San Francisco, was awarded the Dorothy Langston Human Rights Award given to a straight person who has rendered outstanding service to the cause of gay and lesbian rights at the Annual Cable Car Awards Ceremony recently.



## GE — third largest in weapons

The boycott of GE products organized by INFACT to protest GE's emergence as the U.S.'s third largest weapons producer and its involvement in preparation for nuclear and non-nuclear war, is growing day by day:

The city of Berkeley, Cal. officially joined the boycott by unanimous vote of its city council;

The UCLA student organization endorsed the boycott and within a week student stores had pulled all GE products from the shelves and donated them to charity;

Following endorsement by the Leadership Conference of Women Religious, a Catholic health system in Illinois switched its million dollar purchase of new CAT scanners to a GE competitor.

Amidst the rhetoric about an "outbreak of peace" GE is still receiving \$16 million of the public treasury each day for weapons production. The GE boycott is also exposing the trail of radioactive waste that nuclear weapons leave across the land.

For further information: INFACT, 256 Hanover St., Boston, MA 02113.

## With justice for all

The nuclear bomb is an equal opportunity destroyer.

Ron Dellums

## Planetizing nonviolent action

So many of Latin America's problems have roots in the United States of America that we need to form a solid, united movement, nonviolently conceived and carried through, so that pressure can be brought to bear on the capital and government power structures concerned, from both sides of the problem at once. I think that may be the only hope for a nonviolent solution in Latin America today; and one of the most powerful expressions of nonviolence may come out of that international coalition of socially aware forces, operating outside governmental frameworks. Although it is obvious that nonviolent movements for social change must internationalize, because of the interlocking nature of the problems they all face, and because otherwise these problems will breed war, we have hardly begun to build the skills and the strategy, or even the commitment, to planetize our movement for social justice.

Martin Luther King, Jr., 1967

Canadian Broadcasting Massi Lecture

## Quote of note

The best art is political and you ought to be able to make it unquestionably political and beautiful at the same time.

Toni Morrison

## Vulgarization of faith

One is embarrassed to be called religious in the face of religion's failure to keep alive the image of God in the face of man . . . Little does religion ask from contemporary man. It is ready to offer comfort; it has no courage to challenge. It is ready to offer edification; it has no courage to break the idols, to shatter the callousness. The trouble is that religion has become "religion" — institution, dogma, securities. It is not an event any more. Its acceptance involves no risk, no strain. Our greatest danger is not lack of faith, but the vulgarization of faith.

Rabbi Abraham Heschel

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# 'Sweating' together for purification

by Mark Hulsether

The conference entitled "Dialogue on Lakota and Christian Spirituality" began not with a speech — as most ecumenical dialogues do — but with a traditional Lakota purification ceremony, or "sweat." Two dozen of us donned gym shorts and towels in an outdoor changing booth. Then we entered a small igloo-shaped, canvas-covered structure called a sweatlodge. Inside the sweatlodge we were led in prayer by Rudy Runs Above, a traditional Lakota spiritual leader from Rosebud, S.D. "Sweating" for purification was more than a figure of speech, as water was poured over red-hot rocks specially prepared for the ceremony. All participants — Native American and White, clergy and laity — prayed to God in their own way, using two different languages and many different words. But a strong theme of unity came through the prayers, and many commented on the strong sense of spiritual power they experienced through the ceremony.

The entire two-day conference — held at Mazakute Episcopal Church in St. Paul, Minn. — emphasized experiential learning like the "sweat" instead of academic discussions of conference reports. And throughout the sessions, the major emphasis was the continuing power of traditional Native American spirituality — both for Lakotas raised as Christians and now reintegrating traditional prac-

tices, and for White Christians who are interested in learning from Native American spirituality.

The end-of-year conference was organized by Mazakute Episcopal Church — a predominately Native American congregation — and the Minnesota Committee on Indian Work, a ministry based in the Episcopal Diocese. Participants included traditional Lakota spiritual leaders, or medicine men; an Episcopal bishop; many Lakota people who had participated in traditional Lakota religious ceremonies; and numerous Christian clergy with diverse experience in Lakota communities. Around 60 people attended; the group was half Native American and half White. The majority were Episcopalian or Roman Catholic, reflecting their dominance in Lakota country. There were a handful of people from other Christian traditions.

Conference sessions focused on personal experiences of Lakota religious ceremonies, especially the vision quest and the sun dance. Invited speakers and audience members testified to the power of Lakota spirituality, often in moving ways. Because traditional Native American culture has been harshly suppressed in the past, speaking about Lakota spirituality in public was a bold and difficult move for many Lakotas.

Doris Leader Charge, a faculty member at Sinte Galeska College in Rosebud, S.D., told about growing up on the Rosebud reservation during a time when the practice of Lakota religion was illegal. People were jailed for going to healing ceremonies. (Indian freedom of religion

was not guaranteed by law until the 1970s.) Even the Lakota language was forbidden. As a 5-year-old on her first day at school, she was punished because she spoke Lakota to translate her teacher's command for her cousins who could not speak English.

Later, at an Episcopal boarding school, she was not only forbidden to speak her language, but was taught that Lakota religion was devil worship, and was threatened with excommunication if she prayed in traditional ways. Many participants told similar stories. Robert Anderson, bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Minnesota, formally apologized for the role of Christians in this history.

The main point of the stories, however, was not to criticize past abuses but to speak about the continuing importance of Lakota spirituality. During Doris Leader Charge's Christian experience, which included memorizing the Book of Common Prayer, she also went to traditional ceremonies. When this was impossible, as it was at boarding school, she thought about the ceremonies and hoped her people were praying for her. When she was able to practice her religion openly, she did so.

Today she continues as an Episcopalian. "The Lakota religion and Christianity both pray to the same God," she said. "They are not in conflict." But she confessed, "The Episcopalian religion doesn't mean as much to me — maybe because I *had* to learn it." Lakota religion, in contrast, is a way of life. "It is something I live 24 hours a day," she said.

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**Mark Hulsether** is currently a Ph.D. candidate in American Studies at the University of Minnesota. The above article appeared earlier in *Soundings*, the publication of the Diocese of Minnesota.

"All my life," said the Rev. Virgil Foote of Mazakute Church, "I had been told that being an Indian was not good." But in a dream he was told to stand up and be proud of his heritage and to go on a vision quest for self-understanding. As he participated in the vision quest and sun dance, the Bible came alive for him. He perceived that God, the Creator, acts in all creation, and all creation is good, including the Indian part. He came to believe that the spirit messengers in Lakota tradition were no different than angels in Judeo-Christian tradition.

Foote also told of witnessing many examples of the power of God's spirit. In one case, he told how a parishioner was healed after a prayer service which used both the pipe and the eucharist. Thinking about the "rightness" of a Christian using the pipe, he had often thought about the biblical story in which the disciples asked Jesus whether they should stop someone from healing, simply because the healer was not from their group. Jesus replied, "Anyone who is not against us is for us." (*Mark 9:40*)

No one at the conference disputed the importance of Lakota people overcoming the shame they had been taught and recovering the power of their traditional spirituality. But some questioned if Lakota and Christian practices should fit together. Given the long history of suppression, it is not surprising that fear and division persist. According to Dr. Howard Anderson, past president of the Native American Theological Association, every Lakota congregation has tension between those who feel there is too much integration of traditional practices and those who feel there is too little. This remains true despite a trend toward greater openness to tradition.

The Rev. William Stolzman, S.J., spoke against blending two powerful traditions, not because either was illegitimate but because either could lose its uniqueness and integrity. This was the conclusion of a lengthy dialogue be-

tween Christian and traditional spiritual leaders on the Rosebud reservation — a dialogue he participated in and described in his book, *The Pipe and Christ*. Other participants were suspicious of sharing the most highly revered aspects of Lakota spirituality, especially the pipe, with Whites who might misunderstand, abuse, or trivialize them — in short, co-opt them and undermine their power.

Another sore point was the exclusion of menstruating women from Lakota pipe ceremonies. According to Doris Leader Charge, this practice is often misunderstood by Whites as implying that menstruation is dirty. In fact, she said, it honors the special power of women. Nevertheless, the prohibition implies serious problems for blending traditions if it implies excluding menstruating women from Christian services where a pipe is used.

Although no one disregarded such concerns, most of the speakers stressed a need for *more*, rather than less, blending of traditions — especially for Native Americans raised in both traditions, for whom combining beliefs is most natural and the issue of cultural identity is most acute. For Whites, the question was more complicated, since most were not concerned about Lakota religion. They were usually interested in gaining deeper insight into their own Christian tradition through learning from traditional Lakota ways.

The Rev. Steve Charleston, director of Cross-Cultural Studies at Luther Northwestern Theological Seminary, predicted that North American Christianity is on the verge of a new reformation, and that insights from Native American traditions will help Christians rethink and revitalize their faith.

In keeping with the conference's emphasis on experience and practical unity, participants worshipped together at the close of each day, blending traditional Lakota and Christian worship styles. For many, the emotional highlight of the

conference occurred on the first night, when Rudy Runs Above led a healing ceremony centered on the ceremonial pipe and traditional Lakota drumming and singing. To close the conference, the Revs. Virgil Foote and Harold Eagle Bull led a Christian worship centered around the eucharist and hymns.

In both services the traditions blended in a way that seemed natural for most participants. At the healing ceremony prayers to God were addressed both through Lakota words such as *Wakan Tanka* (Great Spirit) or *Tunkasila* (Grandfather) and in terms more familiar to White Christians like "Creator" and "Holy Spirit." During the final Christian liturgy, Galen Drapeau led the congregation in prayer using the pipe.

In the closing session of the conference, Bishop Robert Anderson expressed strong support for the dialogue. "We saw powerfully in the (healing) ceremony that the spirit won't be contained; the spirit will blow where it wills," he said. Anderson stressed that Christianity is not a fixed and unified package of doctrines, but a tradition which is always in a process of change as it responds to new situations. He saw the current dialogue as part of this process. Although there were White sins to confess, Lakota fears about co-optation, and important differences between the traditions, he believed that conference participants had a fundamental sense of common humanity before God and a powerful experience of the presence of the Holy Spirit.

To express this sense of unity, Anderson described a circle of diverse people at prayer, not necessarily *praying together* — in the sense of making their traditions indistinguishable — but *praying before God* together in their different ways, so that a new kind of unity is created by their action.

Most who attended the conference went away feeling that they had experienced this kind of unity, not simply talked about it.

TW

# God's people have suffered enough!

*As Christians around the world prepared for Holy Week, an international delegation of four Anglican bishops traveled to Central America where the suffering exemplified by Christ's journey to Calvary is part of every day life. Building on friendships forged at the international gathering of Anglican bishops at Lambeth, Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning of the U.S. Episcopal Church, Archbishop Desmond Tutu of Southern Africa, Archbishop Michael Peers of the Anglican Church in Canada, and Archbishop Orland Lindsay of the Anglican Church of the Province of the West Indies, visited Nicaragua along with Bishop James Otley of Panama, who hosted the group during their stay in his country.*

*The primates, guided by Bishop Sturdie Downs of Nicaragua, visited the hurricane-devastated Atlantic Coast and saw evidence in all parts of the country of the destruction wreaked by the contra war. In Panama, the delegation saw clear evidence of how U.S.-imposed sanctions, intended to force Gen. Manuel Noreiga's ouster, have caused great hardship to Panamanians.*

*After a tour of each country, the primates issued a joint statement. Following are excerpts from those documents:*

## Statement on Nicaragua

This historic gathering of bishops is reflective of the full concern of the entire Anglican Communion for peace and reconciliation in [Nicaragua].

It is significant to note that we come at the beginning of Passiontide, the most sacred period of our church calendar. This was not an accident. The Nicaraguan people have described their life and spiritual journey as a constant passion — they live each day as a *via crucis*. Our presence is a show of solidarity and a demonstration of a faith in a loving and reconciling God.

God's people have suffered enough!

One cannot visit the country without being overwhelmed by the toll on life and property caused by a chain of events — the oppression of the Somoza regime, earthquake, hurricane, an agonizing civil war, and forest fires — to name the most devastating.

We are especially moved by the enormity of the destruction on the Atlantic Coast — in Bluefields.

The suffering of mothers who have lost their children, children who have lost their parents, families divided through civil strife is all too apparent.

Nicaragua suffers from the international debt crisis affecting many Latin American and other developing na-

tions . . .

We have, during our visit, felt deep distress and anger when we have seen the intense suffering inflicted on the people of Nicaragua by the "contra" war — a war financed by people sitting in the safety of foreign capitals.

Our Nicaraguan experience has given us a new sympathy for the view of great numbers of people in the developing world that U.S. administrations have been prepared to subject entire peoples to the ravages of war to pursue their economic interests and because of objections to the ideological complexion of their governments.

We have heard the U.S. government justify its refusal to impose further sanctions against apartheid in South Africa on the grounds that they would cause suffering. We find this argument to be in total conflict with the U.S. government's willingness to impose sanctions on Nicaragua and Panama and to inflict the evil of war on the people of Nicaragua.

We affirm the right of the region to determine its own future. We urge the governments of North America and Europe to support the implementation by Central American nations of the Esquipulas II peace process.

We have heard reports from human rights agencies in Nicaragua that

have documented abuses and violations committed by both the Sandinista government and the counterrevolutionary forces. We denounce all such violations and urge both the government and contra forces to respect the basic human rights of the people of Nicaragua.

Our witness to Nicaragua's physical devastation causes us to urge our government to respond to the overwhelming need for development assistance, especially in the Atlantic Coast area where reconstruction assistance is needed to aid in the recovery from the effects of Hurricane Joan.

We support the prophetic witness of the Episcopal Church in Nicaragua and that of the ecumenical community in their efforts to be peacemakers and reconcilers, and we will urge our churches to be fully supportive of the Episcopal Church and its mission and ministry.

## Statement on Panama

We have come to rejoice in the courage and liveliness of the people in the face of great difficulties and to be a witness to do all that we can to assist in the struggle of all people for justice, with a hope that their differences can be reconciled.

We have been informed by various



groups and organizations of the disastrous effects of U.S. sanctions against Panama. These sanctions have led to the destruction of the country's economy, caused immense suffering of the poorest of the poor, increased unemployment, and aggravated social problems. It is also apparent to us that the government of Panama uses the effect of these sanctions to rally nationalist support against the United States. This paralyzes many people, who, like the majority of Panamanians, are opposed to sanctions, but who are restricted from speaking out for fear of being labeled in favor of General Noriega. We can therefore say that these sanctions inflict a double oppression on the citizens of Panama.

We believe that these sanctions, opposed by the general population, and inflicted by the United States in an attempt to force the ouster of General Noriega, must cease. The U.S. policy has failed, and their continued imposition helps the government to direct attention from the real, serious internal economic and political crisis. We call upon the U.S. government, therefore, to immediately end the sanctions placed on Panama, so that unjust suffering can be alleviated and so that the overwhelming domestic problems can be brought to light and addressed by the people of Panama, as a sovereign independent nation, without external oppression and interference.

During our visit, we heard allegations of serious human rights abuses perpetrated by the government. . . We call for the release of prisoners held without trial and for an end to persecution of opposition party members.

We have also heard that newspapers, radio stations, and a television station had been closed and that those still operating were subject to censorship. . .

We believe the media should be allowed to operate freely.

We commend the holding of the

general elections set for May 7, 1989.

They are a sign of hope for the society, and the fact that all Panamanians have been promised the right to vote is one of the reasons we can oppose the implementation of sanctions on Panama while supporting them against apartheid in South Africa.

However, their legitimacy will be open to question both in Panama and in the international community if they are conducted with the media restricted and in the absence of credible international observers. We therefore urge the government of Panama to lift all restrictions on the media. . .

Arising from discussions at our meeting with General Noriega, we as Primates of the Anglican Communion intend asking the world church community to appoint a delegation to travel to Panama and observe the elections on our behalf.

One cannot visit Panama without reflection on the canal and its history as it has been a source of great opportunity and great dismay. As a matter of fact, the Anglican-Episcopal Church came to Panama to minister to many of the workers who had come from the Caribbean Islands at the time of its construction.

We have visited with the churches and heard their concerns and hope and agree that, if the church is to help bring about peace and reconciliation between brothers and sisters in Panama, between opposition and government differences, it is necessary to work without taking partisan positions in the political arena. Trust needs to be planted, so that reconciliation can be attained.

We commend and encourage the work being done by the Christian churches together in their effort to attain this reconciliation and peace among the Panamanian family. And we will urge our churches to be fully supportive of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Panama in its mission and ministry. **TW**

**Editorial . . . Continued from page 5**

that this list was an *addendum* to an already lengthy list of banned corporations, not a *replacement*. The investment managers carefully adhered to the new list but ignored the previous one.

Accordingly, in late June or early July, 1988, the Shell shares were purchased and now the CPF is trying to divest with all deliberate speed.

Perplexing questions remain. Why did the mistake take so long to surface? It seems no copies of the list and the correspondence to the investment firms had been circulated, and the people responsible have since left the CPF, and a recent board meeting dealt mostly with orientation of new members, and apparently the purchase did not come to light until March of this year and, and, and ... As some might say, the dog ate my homework.

Further, although the CPF has made a clean breast of its mistake, peacemakers are concerned about what it means for a pension fund worth \$1.5 billion to give *witness* in the '90s. Might this involve more than occasional proxy voting on shareholder resolutions and quiet divestment in the dead of night?

What about taking more seriously social justice issues such as the nuclear arms race, and examining the CPF portfolio for companies that make nuclear weapons — like GE?

And what about corporations that claim to have pulled out of South Africa and Namibia when they have set up a subsidiary to deal through? And companies like IBM and Hewlett-Packard which provide computers for the South African military?

It is one thing to correct an administrative error. But the CPF Board could witness to the world in its future meetings that it wants to be a major force in changing the direction of the Fund. A clear policy statement to that effect would be a welcome step in the right direction. **TW**

**Ruether . . . Continued from page 11**  
its government, would also make it seem more acceptably part of the Arab world, rather than a "colonial settler state" of Europeans. Without giving up the advantages of Western education and skills, these Oriental Jews could relearn Arabic and reintegrate their Arabic cultural roots into their Israeli identity as an advantage, rather than a disadvantage, in dealing with their Semitic cousins.

Limiting Israel's territorial claims and allowing it to redevelop its culture and institutions in this direction means giving up three cherished Zionist myths: (1) that Jews have an a priori right to the whole of Palestine, (2) that the other people resident there historically, the Arab Palestinians, do not have a parallel claim on the land as a national community, and (3) that Israel must be an outpost of European people and culture, not a part of the "Levant." It is these three Zionist myths that have walled Israel into a segregated, hostile, and violent relationship to the rest of the communities that live around it.

Giving up these three myths would demand a fundamental shift in the understanding of Jewish identity, or, rather, a decision in favor of a pluralist, rather than an ethnocentric, understanding of Jewish identity. We have suggested throughout this study that there are two different ways of construing the relationship of the particular and the universal. Both of these ways have existed in the Jewish tradition. One of these ways is to construe one's particular identity, in this case as a national, ethnic, and religious community, as unique and incomparable with the particularity of any other community. One's particularity separates this people from all other people and calls them to special obedience to God. This separation from other nations is construed as conferring a special holiness on the Jewish people. The gift of the land is seen as giving Jews a priori rights to the land that supercedes

that of any other people.

These ethnocentric views of election misconstrue the religious idea of election by transferring it to superior innate qualities of Jews themselves. The religious idea of election does not claim any innate superiority for Jews but only a calling to be faithful to God by observing the commandments. If they do not do this, they are no more holy than any other people and their land is as unholy as any other land.

The universalist tradition affirms Jewish particularity in solidarity with the particularity of other people. Concern for Jewish distinctiveness grounds an equal concern for the rights of other people to exist in distinct ways. Human beings must limit the claims of their own distinctiveness in order to accommodate themselves to the rights of others to live, side by side, with themselves. This is the fundamental biblical ethic of "loving thy neighbor as oneself."

This ethic of mutual solidarity does not mean an anonymous universalism. Anonymous universalism generally conceals a hidden agenda of one group to set itself up as the "normative universal." This was the false universalism of Hellenism and of Christianity, which demanded that Jews stop being distinct in order to merge into a Greek or a Christian-defined "universal humanity." This type of false universalism has rightly been resisted by Jews through the ages. Rather, mutual solidarity means pursuing that mode of being for oneself that obliges one, at the same time, to be for others. This is the authentic ethic of mutuality that both Jewish and Christian

ethics have sought, the one tending to err in the direction of ethnocentrism and the other in the direction of an imperialist false universalism.

To love one's neighbor as oneself means also that one cannot love everyone "equally." Human beings and cultural communities are finite. The ability to imagine and relate to infinite varieties of people is limited. Real uniqueness in persons and peoples is not affirmed by a generic diffuseness, which has no real content. Rather one must locate it in the concrete relations between different people who are actually called, either by choice or by historical circumstances, to live side by side with each other. The quest of Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs for a just and peaceful coexistence is an instance of the difficulty and challenge of that ethical commandment.

The struggle of Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs to find a way, personally and politically, to live together in one land reflects a worldwide dilemma and challenge. Is not, in fact, every land, every nation today a microcosm of many nations, many peoples? The nationalist myth of one land, one state for each ethnic, racial group has evaporated in the reality of global migrations and settlements of human groups. The task of creating justice and peace between Israelis and Palestinians, as two people claiming one land, mirrors the task of creating justice and peace between all peoples on one earth.

If we are to claim that God is the God of all nations, this can no longer mean a demand that all nations convert to one religion but a recognition that there is one ultimate unity behind the many names for divinity. We must see ourselves as children of the one God from whom all peoples spring. People have shaped themselves into distinctive historical communities. We are summoned to become sibling people to one another and caretakers of the one earth we all share.

**TV**

#### **MOVING?**

**Keep THE WITNESS coming by sending a corrected mailing label from a recent issue to: THE WITNESS, P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Please send it at least six weeks before you move.**

**Letters . . . Continued from page 3**  
indirectly to South Africa.

You say Shell was anything but a benign employer at the Rietspruit coal mine, of which it owns 50%. During the 1985 Rietspruit incident, you claim miners were ordered to return to work at gunpoint. Absolutely not. Those desiring to work were provided with an armed escort to protect them from those who threatened assault and intimidation.

You go on to say that after the incident, union membership at Rietspruit dropped to 18%. Actually, Shell South Africa was instrumental in ensuring that the recognition agreement with the National Union of Mineworkers was maintained, despite the fact that union membership had *fallen below* the threshold level. As a result, union membership rose from 20% in March 1985 to 73% in March 1986.

You list the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church as supporting the boycott. Not true. Finally, we remind you of the important distinction made by the House of Bishops when it approved the "redrafted" boycott resolution, which differed from the Executive Council's original action. As you know, the House of Bishops added "we call for expanding of this boycott to include all international oil companies doing business in South Africa: Mobil, Chevron, Texaco, British Petroleum and Total."

It is disturbing to see the focus of your article, as well as that of the Peace and Justice office of the Episcopal Church, single out Shell and none of the others listed in the resolution.

**H.R. Hutchins**  
Houston, Tex.

*(Information in the Shell boycott story came from a resource packet distributed by the Peace and Justice office of the Episcopal Church and also from data supplied by the Interfaith Center for Corporate Responsibility. H.R. Hutchins is correct in one instance — the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church was mistakenly included as a boycott supporter. It was one of the few mainline Protestant denominations that did not do so. THE WITNESS, a social advocacy*

*journal, stands by its story supporting the Shell boycott. Those interested in ascertaining how Shell is a friend of unions and a foe of apartheid in South Africa may write H.R. Hutchins, Public Affairs, Shell Oil Co., One Shell Plaza, Houston, TX 77252. — Ed.)*

## Japan's other minorities

Your article "Confronting racism in Japan" (January) was a delight to read after my return from three years in the Orient. I spent a year in Japan and two in Taiwan and China.

I saw the discrimination against any who were not "pure" Japanese. However, the article left out two other important groups: the *Ainu* and the *Eta*, against whom there is also strong discrimination.

**Deam Hunter Ferris**  
Independence, Mo.

## Outsider

The speaker is Asenath,  
Egyptian wife of Joseph — Gen. 41:50

In a land of straight lines,  
columns, narrow-windowed stone,  
we calculate the hours, and angles  
of the sun to every star,  
when Sirius will rise, what height  
the river floods. All that we need  
we make, or move by our machines.

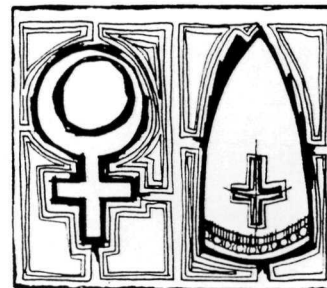
I became wife, to bind to us  
the reader of dreams, a foreigner.  
While my father taught him signs,  
scripts, formulas of politics,  
mother and I interpreted  
our manners, the weave and weights  
of linens. He learned quickly.

Our polish could not straighten  
his slant toward an alien god.  
When seventy Hebrews brought  
their curling dance into my front yard,  
translation failed to name away  
a force that spiraled in and lodged  
like a pellet near my spine.

I have two sons, one stout as stone  
one lean and lively like his father.  
Between them I walk cautiously.  
That curved god tips the pavement,  
turns up my nation's seams: Egypt  
and empire show the ragged edge  
where the threads unravel.

**Ellen Roberts Young**

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**The Rt. Rev. Desmond Tutu**

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