

# THE WITNESS

## Winning youth from war

Jim Lewis

## Death row must go

Joe Ingle

## Tax resister's diary

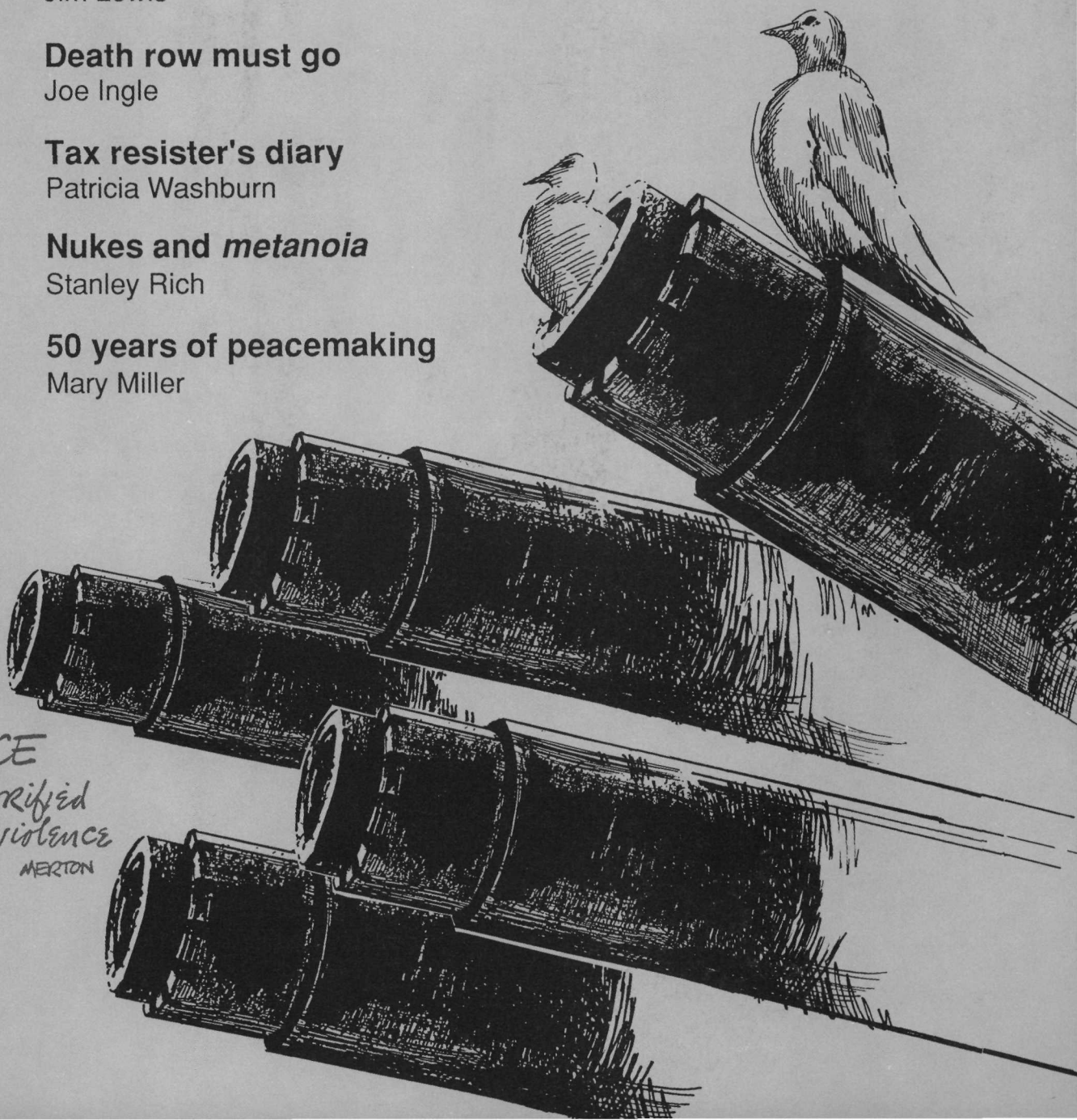
Patricia Washburn

## Nukes and *metanoia*

Stanley Rich

## 50 years of peacemaking

Mary Miller



The  
God of PEACE  
is never glorified  
by human violence

MERTON

# Letters

## Israel story distorted

In "Can Israel save its 'soul'?" an excerpt from *The Wrath of Jonah* by Rosemary and Herman J. Ruether (May WITNESS), the authors present an exercise in "selective history writing" which seriously distorts the realities in the Middle East today.

Out of these distortions comes their surprising thesis that "it is Israel and the United States who are the primary impediments to . . . negotiation since 1973." In making this judgment, the Ruethers give no acknowledgement that for 40 years the underlying problem throughout the region has been the Arab world's campaign of hate and war against the Jewish state, which continues unabated despite the ambiguous recent concessions by the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The article neglects to give the Jewish state credit for signing, with U.S. encouragement, the Camp David Accords, the only peace treaty ever negotiated between Israel and an Arab power. Nor do the writers note that Egypt was ejected from the Arab League and the President of Egypt assassinated for this courageous step. The Ruethers might have shown Israel's willingness to give up "land for peace" — including ceding to Egypt nearly the whole Sinai with its precious oil fields. Significantly, in that same treaty, the Jewish state committed itself to a future similar pact respecting the West Bank and Gaza whenever the appropriate Arab powers in the region would come to the negotiation table. That offer still stands. Thus far, however, no Arab government has responded with any counter-proposal. Only the PLO has signified a willingness to talk.

In the light of such Arab intransigence, it is strange for the Ruethers to suggest that American imperialism is the villain — aiding and abetting the Israeli ultra-right's desire to retain the Occupied Territories permanently and for ideological

reasons. The truth is that only a minority of Israelis seriously want to retain the West Bank permanently. Their reasons have more to do with national security than with dreams of a "Greater Israel."

I am saddened that the authors speak only of the enormous Arab losses with hardly any hint of what Israeli Jews have suffered as a result of four Arab-initiated invasions since the United Nations partition decision in 1946. Nor is there any acknowledgement that terrorist acts launched from Lebanon and Syria, with funding by Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Libya, still continue to plague Israel.

The Ruethers make light of the Israeli contention that as a people they are "embattled by a universal hatred." The authors omit, however, any recognition that 20 centuries of anti-Semitism by Christians and Muslims, culminating in the Holocaust, may still play a role in Jewish uneasiness.

The majority of Jews, both here and in the Middle East, support some form of self-determination by Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza. Palestinian leaders in the Territories who dare to advocate direct negotiations with Israel are subject to brutalities and often murder by their fellow countrymen.

It is greatly to be hoped that a continued consideration of the Shamir peace plan will survive both the complicating qualifications imposed on it by the Likud Party and undermining by hostile Arab states. Americans can help this process not by hurling verbal stones at one side or the other, but by showing both sympathy and understanding for those trapped in age-old enmities who must eventually sit down at the peace negotiating table.

**The Rt. Rev. John H. Burt  
Marquette, Mich.**

## Ruethers respond

Bishop Burt says we don't give the Israelis credit for their willingness to ne-

gotiate, but his letter is replete with assumptions, unsubstantiated by evidence, that the Israelis really do want to negotiate. He intimates that the Israelis are somehow more irenic than the Palestinians, that "only a minority of Israelis seriously want to retain the West Bank permanently." How do we establish that? With what proof, what data?

We are also puzzled by the bishop's reference to a "Shamir peace plan." There is no significant public pressure in Israel today for a peace plan. Any real peace effort would provide that the Palestinians through some process, could designate its spokespersons, and Palestinians in the Occupied Territories as well as outside have long overwhelmingly affirmed that the PLO is their legitimate representative. Since last November, the Palestinians and the PLO have made significant concessions in the hope that the United States would urge Israel to negotiate. The Israelis have a major incapacity to look at things anew.

Bishop Burt reflects a certain Western mindset that wants to admit that Israel is totally virtuous and that the Palestinians lack any integrity or even political pragmatism to be able to work out a solution to the present conflict. Christians, in the face of the Holocaust, have been persuaded to justify every action — even the most dastardly acts — of the government of Israel. If we readily admit in this country that police brutality exists in our major cities, why can't we admit that 20 years of Israeli occupation, with no guidelines for the military, can end in excesses?

For 17 years the United Nations has regularly criticized Israel for breaking international law and protocols. It was the Israelis who invaded Lebanon. It was the Israelis who recently kidnapped a sheik, a form of terrorism. Yet history has shown that military commanders need not fear criticism from Israeli courts.

Clearly, no excerpt can do justice to all the themes and arguments in our book. But we appreciated the space, as well as this section of THE WITNESS which provides the bishop an opportunity to express opinions which are hardly unique to him. And because these issues are so important, it is imperative that all of us concerned with justice and peace have an opportunity to air them.

**Herman and Rosemary Ruether  
Evanston, Ill.**

### CPF 'facts' wrong

As both a deputy to the 1988 General Convention from the Diocese of Newark and a member of its Diocesan Investment Trust Board, I was dismayed — and angry — over the misrepresentation of facts concerning this diocese in the letter from two members of the Church Pension Fund printed in the September Letters to the Editor.

Contrary to their statement, the Diocese of Newark owns no shares of Royal Dutch Shell and has not owned any since the summer of 1988. This diocese takes seriously the resolutions passed by the General Convention. The dog did not eat our homework!

**Marge Christie  
Franklin Lakes, N.J.**

### Stirring up hornets

There are some hornet nests comfortably tucked away in obscure corners about my porch. As long as I leave them alone, all is well, which reminds me somewhat of the Episcopal Church's D-120 Resolution on Health and Human Affairs. As long as we leave this resolution in the file to gather dust, and no one presses too persistently for its implementation, all is well.

Dr. Louie Crew, the founder of Integrity, tells us in the September WITNESS that he dared poke around a bit to test the sincerity and integrity of this resolution by contacting every parish in the

diocese where he lived asking if they would "please" suggest dates, and a format for serious face to face dialogue between gay and non-gay church members. The most positive response to his request was "Give us a couple of years, and perhaps then our congregations will be more amenable."

Scripture has something not too complimentary to say about those who find it easier to procrastinate and shilly-shally around than to make clear-cut decisions and act forthrightly on issues. "I wish that you were either hot or cold, but since you are lukewarm I intend to spit you out of my mouth" (Rev. 3:15).

All that Dr. Crew and his Integrity group are asking for is a fair, open, friendly dialogue. Is this request so horrendous and difficult to honor that the authority of a bishop (William Beckham in this instance) had to be enlisted by those who felt threatened, to allay their own panic, and perhaps intimidate those requesting such a meeting?

Homophobia might loosen some of its hold if we would occasionally remind ourselves that gays and lesbians are already everywhere around us, some declared but most, and justifiably so, not. This is true even of our clergy and the membership of our churches, our neighborhoods, yes, our friends; and these persons for the most part function as responsibly as those around them who just happen to be more consensually favored.

Jesus spoke no words of harsh criticism against outcasts, and he never even mentioned homosexuals. What stern disapproval He did show was reserved for the self-righteous, the proud, the hypocrite, and those who lacked compassion.

What a day of rejoicing it will be, when all Christians place at the center of their hearts and creeds: "By this shall men know that you are my disciples — if you have love, one for another."

**The Rev. John Manola  
Wilmington, Del.**

### Opening windows

I feel compelled after reading the September issue of THE WITNESS to say how encouraged I am to discover your focus on people who would not ordinarily be found in the average Episcopal church on a Sunday morning. I refer specifically to the folks on the bus ("Bishops, buses and the Bible" by William B. Spofford); political prisoners ("Reflections from a prisoner's journal" by Sam Day); those involved with abortion issues (Jan Nunley's interview with Sarah Weddington); and homosexual persons ("Integrity dialogue hopes thwarted" by Louie Crew).

There are times when I wonder what I'm doing in this very respectable and no doubt typical Episcopal parish church on a Sunday. Thanks again for opening up windows on what's really going out there among the "unchurched." So my question becomes, What is "church" anyway? And what is my role, if any?

**Carolyn W. Reynolds  
Santa Rosa, Cal.**

### Outrageous rag

Please cancel my subscription to your outrageous rag.

**Col. Edward L. Bela, Jr.  
Vadito, N.M.**

### A-hem

To my mind, THE WITNESS is the only church magazine worth reading.

**The Rev. Robert H. Platman  
Syosset, N.Y.**

### Kudos for September

Thanks for those wonderful articles in September; i.e., Jim Lewis on Libya: America's No. 1 scapegoat; Ann Robb Smith on the crucified people of El Salvador; and the words and experiences of Sam Day in and out of jail — what a courageous man. Some of us had a bit of

*Continued on page 11*

## THE WITNESS

Editor Mary Lou Suhor  
Assistant Editor Susan E. Pierce  
Promotion Manager Lynne Hoekman  
Editorial Assistant Susan Small

Sr. Contributing Editor Robert L. DeWitt

Contributing Editors Barbara C. Harris  
Carter Heyward  
James Lewis  
Manning Marable  
J. Antonio Ramos  
William W. Rankin

Publisher Episcopal Church Publishing Co.

## ECPC BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Chair J. Antonio Ramos

Vice-Chair Carman St. J. Hunter

Secretary Gloria Brown

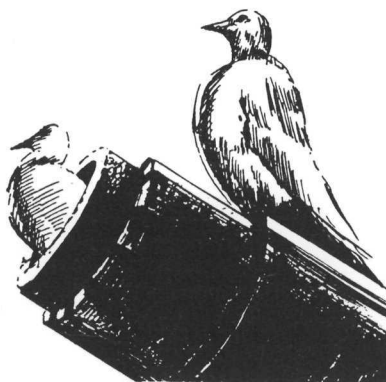
Treasurer Robert N. Eckersley

John H. Burt  
Alice Callaghan  
Otis Charles  
Migdalia DeJesus-Torres  
William R. MacKaye  
Nan Arrington Peete  
William W. Rankin  
Chester L. Talton  
Chris Weiss

THE WITNESS (ISSN0197-8896) is published monthly except July/August by The Episcopal Church Publishing Company. Editorial Office: P.O. Box 359, Ambler, PA 19002. Telephone (215) 643-7067. THE WITNESS is indexed in *Religious and Theological Abstracts* and the American Theological Library Association's *Religion Index One Periodicals*. University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106, reproduces this publication in microform: microfiche and 16 mm or 35 mm film. Printed in U.S.A. Copyright 1989. SUBSCRIPTIONS: \$20 per year, \$2.50 per copy. Foreign subscriptions add \$5 per year.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS: Please advise of changes at least 6 weeks in advance. Include your label from the magazine and send to: Subscription Dept., THE WITNESS, P.O. Box 359, Ambler PA 19002.

# THE WITNESS



THE WITNESS is grateful to Contributing Editor Jim Lewis for assembling the articles and writers for this issue celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship. Lewis not only quarterbacked the issue but contributed a number of articles himself. He serves on the National Executive Council of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship and is a longtime member. Happy Birthday to Jim and all our EPF colleagues in the struggle for peace and justice.

## Table of Contents

6 Justice, not vengeance: Death row must go  
Joseph B. Ingle

10 Winning youth away from war  
Jim Lewis

12 The dark night of tax resistance: Inviting the IRS to dinner  
Patricia Washburn

14 Episcopal Peace Fellowship: Fifty years of peacemaking  
Mary H. Miller

18 Transformation of society is goal of activist  
Interview with Anne Rowthorn by Jim Lewis

22 Nukes and *metanoia* in South Carolina  
Stanley Rich

24 Anglicans ambivalent about peace  
Nathaniel W. Pierce

**Credits** Cover graphic, Sister Helen David, design, TSI Visuals; graphic p. 9, courtesy *Rural Southern Voice for Peace*; graphic p. 10, Lee Miller; photo p. 12, Tom Strickland; photo p. 14 courtesy *Fellowship* magazine; graphics pp. 15, 19, Sr. Helen David; photo p. 18, Jim Thrall; photo p. 26, Episcopal News Service.



## Celebrating the peacemakers

Years ago, THE WITNESS used to devote one issue a year to particular concerns of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship (EPF) — a social justice group which this month celebrates its 50th anniversary.

In honor of that event, this issue is dedicated to EPF and to the peacemaking work it continues to do around major issues such as conscientious objection, war tax resistance, nuclear disarmament and peace in Central America.

Articles herein by Mary Miller and Nat Pierce offer historic focus. Other pieces point the way to present-day struggles around peacemaking. Included in this collection: an article by a Nobel Peace Prize nominee challenging the church to work at abolishing capital punishment in the United States; the diary of a tax resister; observations about the increased militarization of our children; an article about the Savannah River nuclear plant, and an interview with a bishop's wife who has done civil disobedience.

Tucked away in the midst of it all is the keynote address given by the late William Stringfellow when he was honored 10 years ago in Denver at the John Nevin Sayre Peace Award dinner. His words are as prophetic today as they were then.

In gathering together this special issue we have been struck by a thread that runs through the entire fabric of these articles.

It is the blood-red thread of scandal.

Anne Rowthorn, arrested at the Electric Boat Shipyard in Connecticut says

it's a scandal to build the Trident submarine while there is so much poverty in our midst.

We join her in that cry.

- It's a scandal to pay taxes to subsidize arming the world and financing killing done by repressive governments in places like Central America.
- It's a scandal to teach our children that violence is a way to solve problems. A double scandal that we do not teach them the historic roots of civil disobedience, resistance, and the long history of nonviolence.
- It's a scandal to see our criminal justice system give second-class treatment to the poor on their way to being warehoused in prisons and executed on death rows across the nation.
- It's a scandal, as Bill Stringfellow reminds us, even to have an EPF. Isn't the entire church called by God to be passionate peacemakers?
- It's a scandal the way we have refused to challenge the greed and idolatry inherent in our militarism.

Ironically, the scandal of the world caught up in violence as a way of life can be met and matched by another more powerful scandal — that of Jesus Christ.

The scandal of the world rooted in misguided power and violence and represented by the cross on Golgotha is matched definitively, for all times, by Jesus, who transforms that tree of derision into a powerful symbol of inspiration and love, active nonviolent love.

Those who read this issue carefully will be distraught by the fact that some Episcopal churches have no room in their inns for peacemaking. Tragically they are the rule rather than the exception. These churches have chosen to embrace the scandal of the world rather than that of the cross.

Jesus has a word for such a swap. He said it to Peter, who was the cornerstone yet stumbling block of the church when he tried to keep the Prince of Peace from confronting the idolatry of violent power residing in Jerusalem.

"Out of my sight, Satan! You are a scandal (stumbling block) to me. You think as men think, not as God thinks." (Matt. 16:23)

The scandal of the cross is blood-red in the history of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship and of all the individuals who make up the ongoing stream of resisters.

THE WITNESS says *Happy Birthday* to the Episcopal Peace Fellowship and to all peacemakers. Blessed are the peacemakers down through the ages and into today, for you are the children of God. You are heirs of God and co-heirs with Christ. Sharing God's suffering, you also share God's power and glory (Rom. 8:16-17). — J.L.

(As THE WITNESS was preparing to go to press with this issue, we received word of the tragic loss of the Rt. Rev. John T. Walker, Bishop of Washington — a noted peacemaker in his own right. His funeral took place in Washington Oct. 5. We expanded this issue to celebrate his life. — Ed.)

# Justice, not vengeance: Capital

The Judeo-Christian heritage has been consistent over the centuries in teaching that murder is an immoral act. A consensus has emerged among every major religious body which has a position on the issue that the death penalty contravenes this tradition and should be abandoned. Thus the religious community has coincided with the official position of every Western democracy — except the United States — in moving towards an abolition of the death penalty.

One of the reasons for the Judeo-Christian anti-death penalty tradition has been the realization that each person is a child of God. If each soul is endowed with the image of God, then society would do well to respect such a reality and not destroy it through the process of state-sanctioned killing.

The problem of modern society is that it is now possible to destroy human beings with a rapidity and effectiveness unknown in human history. The discussion becomes one of how to implement the method, and not whether such action should be taken.

The state assumes its morality from being able to accomplish the act. This places the state in the incongruous position of arguing murder is a moral act, so long as it is the state committing the murder and it is done for the good of the people.

It is clear that if any individual endeavored to recreate the state's mecha-

nism for killing, that person would be charged with premeditated and cold-blooded murder. The thought of removing a fellow citizen from the community, confining this person in a closet-sized area for years, informing the individual when and how death will occur, then carrying out the killing, strikes most citizens as an outrageous horror. Yet this is precisely what the state does with the death penalty.

Such an action performed by the state is just as immoral as one taken by a citizen. Sanitizing the process, labeling the killing an execution does little but obscure the reality that murder is being committed.

The death penalty is not an act of restoration. It does not bring back the life of the victim. Rather, it adds one more victim and family to the grieving circle.

There is nothing inherent in the act of murder which demands vengeance by taking the murderer's life. Indeed, the Bible shows us that some of the most favored people of Yahweh were murderers, from David to the apostle Paul. The Bible teaches God has always been able to separate the act from the person. This is clearly shown in the fourth chapter of Genesis, the account of the first murder, when Yahweh punished Cain with exile for the murder of his brother Abel.

When the state's cloak of morality is removed and the politics of the death penalty are revealed, it becomes clear that the only way to avoid catastrophes such as Auschwitz is to prevent the state from taking human life.

Once the state begins to play God and determine who lives and who dies, mass slaughter is lurking around the corner. The state, by its nature, cannot be the arbiter of life and death without wanton

abuse and discrimination because of the manner in which it functions.

As someone who has worked with 18 individuals who have been victims of state-sanctioned killing, I have found in the machinery of official killing in this country some God-awful scenes of suffering. One which haunts me to this day was Tim Baldwin's electrocution by the state of Louisiana on Sept. 10, 1984.

Baldwin had been convicted of murdering Mary Sue Peters, an elderly woman who was the godmother of one of his children. Already marked by police in the small town he came from because of his record as a petty criminal, he was accused on the strength of fingerprints found at the victim's home, where he had visited frequently. Unable to afford a good lawyer, his case was stymied by poor legal representation and he ended up on death row.

About 9:15 on the night of his execution, the death squad arrived to barber and diaper him for killing in the electric chair. As we observed the seven men enter the walk and proceed toward the cell, Tim remarked, "They're big enough, ain't they?"

Chuckling at Tim's humor, I noticed each man looked like a retired professional football lineman. The contrast between the men of the death squad and Tim, who was all of 150 pounds and small of stature, was striking.

During the 15-minute head shaving ritual, I was in a large room outside the cellblock. As I paced back and forth, I was approached by a guard.

The man asked, "Will you take a message to Tim for me?" Struck speechless by the request, I nodded.

"Tell him I'm just doing my job. It's nothin' personal."

---

**Joseph B. Ingle** is the Director of the Southern Coalition on Jails and Prisons (P.O. Box 120044, Nashville, TN 37212). A long-time advocate for abolition of the death penalty, he recently was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for his work. This article is a portion of a book on the death penalty which will be published in 1990.

# punishment must go

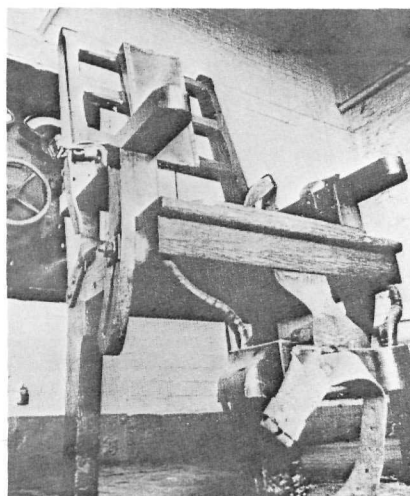
by Joseph B. Ingle

As I gazed into his troubled eyes, I realized how utterly bizarre this entire process was. Here was a guard, one of Tim's keepers and killers, asking me to deliver a message so he could be absolved of his deeds. And the terrifying aspect of the guard's remarks was that they were true! He was just doing his job. He probably liked Tim personally and wanted Tim to know that only because of his job was he in the death house that night. He wanted Tim to understand, and perhaps to forgive him.

Other guards approached me with similar requests, desperately seeking to justify their actions.

As the death squad exited the walk I returned to Tim's cell, bracing myself for his appearance. I found him gazing into the mirror over the toilet, his back turned to me. As I saw the reflection, his vulnerability and helplessness were revealed in a glance. We both felt imminent doom.

Tim turned and came back to sit on the bed. The throwaway diapers peeked above his hips.



"They put two big Huggies on me," he said, forcing a smile at the ludicrous situation. A grown man stripped of his dignity in preparation for his killing. The state was transforming him into an infant, bald and diapered, ready to be disposed of.

We finished going over his final statement. As the reality of his killing neared, his naive belief that the United States criminal justice system would not really kill an innocent man dissolved. Less than three hours from his death, the awareness of it all overcame his faith in our system of justice. Although he maintained a sense of humor to the end, he was a bitter man.

"You know, Joe," he said, "I guess I should count myself lucky. The governor has decided he's against the death penalty, the attorney general is against it, four of the five members of the clemency board are against it. What more could a man ask for?"

Tim had placed his finger on the strange nature of his fate. All those individuals were against the death penalty yet they were going to let an innocent man die. The emotional rollercoaster of the last month, which culminated in Governor Edwin Edwards meeting with Tim in the warden's office and his denial of clemency a week later, had been a numbing experience. The scenario had been too much for any of us to comprehend. We just endured and fought desperately to keep Tim alive. Now we knew the fight was over.

Until 11 p.m., Tim and I talked. He was concerned about his family, friends, and me.

"Joe, you should be home. You can't keep doing this. What does your wife think?"

"Tim, I wouldn't want to be anywhere else right now except with you. God knows I wish we weren't here, but Becca and I both strongly feel I am in the right place. We love you, Tim."

A Catholic priest came in for last rites and Communion. I walked to the far end of the cellblock and talked with the young guard who had been stationed there throughout the evening. Since I knew Tim had no prior relationship to the priest, I hoped he would be brief.

At 11:30 I observed the priest returning his rosary beads to his pocket. I walked up to the cell, standing behind the priest's left shoulder. I saw him smile at Tim and remark, "You know, my son, it won't hurt."

Enraged by the comment, I had to restrain myself from lifting the man up and throwing him against the bars and shouting: "It won't hurt! How can you say that! If it won't hurt, maybe we can have you take Tim's seat in the electric chair!"

Sensing my anger, Tim ministered to me: "Don't worry about it, Joe. He was just trying to say something comforting."

The words brought me up short and I understood. All night long this man before me had been humiliated and demeaned as he was prepared for killing. Yet he not only understood those whose actions were directed against him, he forgave them. In his last half-hour on earth, his concern was for those around him — priest, guard, warden, friend. Although bitter at the state for killing him, an innocent man, he had transcended his feelings in a manner that, while not denying them, did not allow them control over his behavior.

At midnight Warden Blackburn appeared. "It's time, Tim," he said.

Tim stepped through the open cell door, hobbling down the corridor with manacled feet and hands. I followed behind as Tim, accompanied by the death squad, crossed the foyer. He was marched through a large room crowded with people, then proceeded to the death chamber.

The warden positioned a microphone before Tim. Looking out through the glass at the witnesses, Tim remarked: "I was afraid I would be too nervous to say anything. But I do want to say something. I am an innocent man. You are putting an innocent man to death. It takes a special kind of person to live with themselves to do that."

I prayed a prayer of thanksgiving as Tim spoke. He had been so concerned he would be unable to do so, and now he spoke flowingly, eloquently. I watched them escort him to the electric chair. It stood on a raised platform, like a throne, one established for the king of death who welcomes another sacrifice. As he stepped up, I called out, "I love you." I wheeled and left the room with the sound of the generator rising in my ears.

When I think about that September night in 1984, I wonder where was the church? Not only was it absent for the condemned man but also for the guard. The moral message challenging his job of killing people, the comfort for him as he sought to wrestle with his actions, where was it? The sad truth is that the moral challenge of the churches to the death penalty rests in a few written lines of statements opposing the death penalty. I am waiting for Sunday school curricula to focus on the issue, for sermons to be continually preached, for congre-

### Resources

*National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty*, 1419 V St. NW, Washington, DC 20009, (202) 797-7090

*Legal Defense Fund*, 99 Hudson St., New York, NY 10013, (212) 219-1900

## The Death Penalty: A human rights issue

- Percentage executed in the U.S. (1976-1988) for crimes against whites: 85
- Percentage executed for crimes against blacks: 11
- Number of black homicide victims in the U.S. vs. white victims: Roughly equal
- U.S. states that have executed more than 10 persons since 1976: Texas (31), Florida (21), Louisiana (18), Georgia (14)
- The two countries cited by Amnesty International as exemplifying racism in the application of the death penalty: South Africa and the United States
- Number of juveniles executed in the U.S. from 1977 to May 1, 1988: 3
- Number of mentally handicapped executed since 1984: at least six
- Number of U.S. states that permit the execution of pregnant women: 10
- Number of innocent persons executed since 1900: at least 23
- Countries that have used the death penalty over 50 times from 1985 through mid-1988: Iran 743+; South Africa 537+; China 500+; Nigeria 439+; Somalia 150+; Saudi Arabia 140; Pakistan 115+; U.S.A. 66; U.S.S.R. 63+; Malaysia 52+
- Number of U.S. states that have reinstituted the death penalty since 1976: 36

— Compiled by Steve Rendall, *Extra!*

Sources: Amnesty International, *National Catholic Reporter*

gation members to raise their voices and stop this ritual slaughter upon which society has embarked.

As of Sept. 1, 1989, there are 2,210 people on death row. Since 1977, 118 have been killed by the state. And the numbers climb — during all of 1988 there were 11 executions. This year, to date, there have already been 14. Our society is doing its best to speed up the killing process through legislation and judicial action. Yet the church remains on the sidelines, occasionally murmuring a pious statement. Isn't it about time we went to the death houses, the legislatures, the public forums and began to witness to the truth of Christian love regarding the death penalty?

No one, not you or me or the most brutal murderer, is beyond the love of God. As the apostle Paul put it so well: "What then shall we say to this? If God

is for us, who is against us? . . . Who shall bring any charge against God's elect? It is God who justifies; who is to condemn? It is Christ Jesus who died, yes, who was raised from the dead, who is at the right hand of God, who indeed intercedes for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? As it is written, 'For Thy sake we are being killed all the day long; we are regarded as sheep to be slaughtered.' No, in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him who loved us. For I am sure that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor anything else in all creation, will be able to separate us from the love of God in Christ Jesus our Lord."

TV



# Short Takes

## Peace quiz

In the belief that peace can always use a few more makers, I have been teaching for the past five years courses in the practice, theory and history of nonviolence. The initial moments of the first class are a spot quiz.

Who are the following?

1. Robert E. Lee
2. Jane Addams
3. Ulysses S. Grant
4. A. J. Muste
5. Dwight Eisenhower
6. Adin Ballou
7. George Patton
8. Jeanette Rankin
9. William Tecumseh Sherman
10. Dorothy Day

Most students, whether in high school or college, know the five generals. Who can't identify Lee, Grant, Eisenhower, Patton and Sherman?

The other five are unknowns. Addams, Muste, Ballou, Rankin and Day were advocates of nonviolence who took personal and professional risks because they believed the force of nonviolence is more effective, moral and enduring than the force of violence.

**Colman McCarthy**  
*Washington Post*

All oppression creates a state of war.  
— **Simone de Beauvoir**

## Taking a stand

I believe that only through those who will pay the price of war resistance can the power of Jesus most surely operate tomorrow, if not today. God forbid that any of us should minimize the difficulties, logical and spiritual, in such a conviction. God forbid, too, that there should be any self-righteousness in it, or any shadow of condemnation for Christians who take a different attitude. But there are times when the future must be saved by those who are willing to be a remnant, and by those who take the position which to the majority may seem not only irrational but hateful, because they are constrained to say: "Here I stand. God help me, I can do no other."

**Dr. Walter Russell Bowie**  
From an early EPF pamphlet



## Breaking the circle of evil

The pacifist is convinced that when Christ went to the cross, He introduced to the world a new and revolutionary ethic of meeting ill will with good will and so broke the vicious circle of evil, and being in turn answered by more evil, *ad infinitum*. The pacifist believes that love, as Jesus Christ taught and practiced it, is the only power that can overcome the evil of the world, and that Christ's followers must reveal and use this force constantly and with faith.

The Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship exists because certain people — not very many — within the Episcopal Church, who have these common convictions feel the need of the support and comfort and courage that such fellowship provides. It exists to bear witness and testimony to others within and without our church as to what pacifism stands for and is trying to accomplish. It exists because some of us believe that the fact that we cannot reach perfection is hardly a sufficient reason for not striving to move toward it; that we cannot and must not wait for the world to become Christian before we apply and practice Christian ethics.

**The Rt. Rev. W. Appleton Lawrence**  
Founding member of the EPF

## The wages of war

The United States may owe Nicaragua billions of dollars due to the Reagan administration's support of the Contras. The International Court of Justice found the United States guilty of financing and supplying Contra forces in violation of our international obligation not to intervene in the affairs of another state.

**William G. Stothers**  
*The San Diego Union*  
6/19/89

## Lesson for all

For me, the one abiding memory of Tiananmen Square is of one anonymous young man. Our television screens showed him completely alone, standing, almost dancing, in front of a column of tanks. A mass of military might was unable to pass because of the peaceful stand of one very brave man. It has often been said that those committed to peace should be prepared to make the same personal sacrifice as those who go to war. This was one such man, and he is a lasting example to us all. The chances of this man being Christian are slim, yet surely we can see God at work in a man who shows the world the rightness of love and non-violence. I am reminded of a quotation from Zechariah, "Not by might, not by power, but by my spirit, says the Lord." This a lesson for us all.

**Clive Barrett**  
*Challenge: Newsletter of the Anglican Peace Fellowship 7-8/89*

## Resource-ful items

The 50-year history of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship plus other valuable publications related to conscientious objection are available from the following addresses:

*The Episcopal Peace Fellowship*, 620 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003, (202) 543-7168. *THE VOICE OF CONSCIENCE: A LOUD AND UNUSUAL NOISE? The Episcopal Peace Fellowship 1939-1989*, is available for \$6 a copy; 5 or more, \$5.

*The Episcopal Church Center*, 815 Second Ave., New York, NY 10017, (800) 334-7626. Free copies of *Military Service and the Young Episcopalian* are available from The Registrar for C.O.s. The Peace and Justice Office has free copies of *To Make Peace*, reports of the Standing Commissions on Peace; for other resources, contact Public Policy Network.

*National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors*, 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW #750, Washington, DC 20009 has an information packet for \$3.

*Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors — Western Region*, P. O. Box 42249, San Francisco, CA 94142

# Winning youth away from war

by Jim Lewis



**A**n Army recruiter sits in his office in a West Virginia city, feet up on the desk, and reads a professional journal that's just been delivered by mail.

The publication is the *Recruiter Journal* and the article that gets his attention is titled "These Tough-Nut Recruiters Are Experts at Breaking and Entering."

Inside the story, the local recruiter discovers how to "break and enter" the "closed to Army schools," that resist efforts to recruit their students.

The article gives him tips on how to be persistent and never take "no" from a school principal. New ways to get the recruiter's foot in the door are explored. The story concludes: "These approaches to cracking tough-to-enter high schools are only the beginning."

Many of us don't realize the amount

of money and effort that goes into convincing young people that the armed forces is the only option for a graduate to "be all that you can be."

The military spent \$1.8 billion in 1986 to recruit American youth. In 1987, the advertising budget alone was \$219.2 million. Based on those figures, the military spent an average of \$4,000 per recruit. In a poor state like West Virginia that is a striking contrast to the yearly average expense of \$2,584 per student for education.

Military recruiters cast their nets wide. This past summer the Boy Scouts of America held their annual Jamboree at A.P. Hill Military Base in Virginia. For a solid week Boy Scouts pitched their tents as guests of the U.S. Army.

While at the Jamboree the young people were engaged in traditional scouting efforts, such as learning about conservation of nature, camping, fishing and participating in merit badge activities. The friendships built and the les-

---

**The Rev. Jim Lewis**, guest editor for this issue, is Director of Social Ministries for the Diocese of North Carolina and contributing editor to THE WITNESS.

sons learned about the links between nature and human beings were outstanding. These interests, at the heart of scouting, have been prime reasons for countless numbers of churches to sponsor scout troops and encourage God and Country programs down through the years.

But something else was offered at A.P. Hill this year. The scouts were surrounded by military hardware. Tanks and planes were there to be crawled over and touched. Recruiters from all branches of service, as well as the military academies, were there in spit-and-polish fashion to offer their wares.

At one point the scouts were treated to a military display of top-gun jets. F-14 Tomcats flew over, Army personnel parachuted into a demonstration area and military bands as well as a fireworks display were on hand to dazzle the scouts.

Church leadership, clergy, parents, directors of Christian education, teachers and students must be awakened to the fact that our children are being fed a militarized message. This is happening

in school, on television and in such places as a Boy Scout Jamboree. And the nonviolent alternative is not being made available in school or church.

Last month I spoke with a youth group in Raleigh, N.C. about violence. It was a rare opportunity to teach them about the role of the church in civil disobedience down through the ages and conscientious objector options open to them.

Sadly, I had to inform them that recently the North Carolina General Assembly had passed a law enabling the state to punish anyone failing to register for the draft by denying them a state job and access to state-supported scholarships or loans for post-secondary education.

These students were eager to hear the message that they don't have to take up arms and that the Episcopal Church can assist them in their resistance. They wanted to know more about the history of non-violence and civil disobedience. It is a rich history and needs retelling, especially as the level of violence rises

in our nation.

The covenant in the Episcopal service of baptism requires that we "seek and serve Christ in all persons, loving your neighbor as yourself."

Where does it call us to blow our neighbor away with a gun or bomb a country into submission?

A man in a diocesan leadership position recently asked me, "What is this peace work in our diocesan budget?" He had no idea that the Episcopal Church has supported nonviolence through General Convention resolutions, the long-time work of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship, and many individual acts of civil disobedience.

Our children and adults must hear sermons on resistance and non-violence. Church school curriculums must reflect a commitment to peace. The local parish must see itself as the guardian of that tradition and realize that withholding it from parishioners, particularly from youth, will do irreparable damage to them. **TW**

### Letters . . . *Continued from page 3*

experience similar to Sam's in demonstrations at the Nevada nuclear test site. I recall my feeling when I, age 80, was arrested and handcuffed (I was as nervous as a newlywed on the wedding night). Nevertheless, I survived and felt good and stronger in my convictions.

**The Rev. V. Louis Livingston**  
Portland, Ore.

### Studying the options

I would like to order a copy of the June WITNESS on Reproductive Freedom. This is an issue I struggle with frequently.

As a family physician, I believe women need to be informed of and counseled regarding all their options, but as a Christian, I feel uneasy about abortion. However, I feel even more uneasy seeing victims of child and domestic abuse and neglect when women carry

through with unintended pregnancies. Thus, abortion seems almost like the lesser of two evils. I look forward to hearing your views.

**Dorothy Himes**  
Keams Canyon, Ariz.

### Healthy coincidence

I hope that you'll find a program to be enacted here in Oregon reflects a healthy coincidence. Your July/August issue carries the Rev. Scott Arnold's report on the "quiet" racism currently practiced in his town of Pulaski, Tenn. with his comment: "It has been my experience that

white Christians manage largely to avoid their black brothers and sisters, and thus fail to see the dilemma which Southern blacks face every day. Clearly, the church in the South needs to build strong, highly visible bridges between blacks and whites."

On the third of that month, this program was suggested for Eugene: "One project that would increase this area's better understanding of multicultural values that could enrich all of us is a program, to begin in the fall, of "choir exchanges," always followed by a coffee hour at the churches, in which the comingling of parishioners with the visiting singers is most important." It should be noted that the groups visiting the so-called white hosts include Hispanics, Orientals, and Native Americans as well as blacks. Choirs from Jewish temples would be welcome guests, too.

**James Heermance**  
Eugene, Ore.

### 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.

The dark night of tax resistance:

# Inviting the IRS to dinner

by Patricia Washburn



Pat Washburn

*"I live in a tension between wanting to be faithful to my commitment as a citizen, and wanting to be faithful to God's call in my life. I find that I can no longer in conscience voluntarily pay that portion of my federal tax which goes to support death and destruction . . . For the sake of my four children and my grandchildren, I can no longer participate in this madness which, in the words of Dwight Eisenhower, is "spending the sweat of our laborers, the genius of our scientists and the hopes of our children."*

— *Portion of a letter from Patricia Washburn to the Internal Revenue Service, revealing her decision to become a tax resister when filing her 1987 return.*

The following are some "markings," notes made for several days beginning on Sept. 21 of this year. They are my way of sharing the story of my journey through the dark night of resistance, to encourage others to consider sharing the journey.

## September 21, Feast of St. Matthew

Today's Gospel is the wonderful story of Matthew's call and of Jesus breaking bread with tax collectors and other "outcasts." As I walked home from 7 a.m. Mass, I mused about Jesus' admonition,

Patricia Washburn is Program Associate in Racism and Reconciliation with the American Friends Service Committee in Denver and Consultant for Peace and Justice with the Iliff School of Theology. She is a member of the Episcopal Church's Standing Commission on Peace and the Episcopal Peace Fellowship.

"I have not come to call respectable people but outcasts." I wondered what had happened to my own attempt to witness to the powers and principalities in the form of the IRS. Perhaps they had lost me when I left academia here in Denver. I had not heard from them since November 1988 when they had sent a "request for payment" to which I had responded:

*I continue to believe that God calls us to seek security in the love of Christ and not in gods of metal. It is a violation of the law of love to build and use weapons of destruction in the name of national security. Our souls are hungering for a Spirit of Love, not of violence and destruction of God's creation . . . Therefore, with all due respect, and in fear and trembling, I return your form without payment. I can do nothing else and remain true to my conscience and my vocation to be a peacemaker.*

To be perfectly honest, I hope they don't find me for a while. Polly is in her last year of college and Cory has just begun. I am feeling quite stretched by the move to Denver and the reduction of my salary to half of what it was in academia. But that was a conscious choice, to simplify my lifestyle and thus not be as financially liable to the IRS. Anyway, I wonder what my friendly IRS agent would do if I invited him to dinner in the same spirit with which our Lord sat down with Matthew and his fellow tax collectors.

## September 22

*This is your final notice. Your full payment of the 1987 federal tax shown be-*

*low still has not been received. If full payment is not received within 10 days from the date of this notice, additional interest and penalties will be charged. A notice of federal tax lien may be filed, which is a public notice that there is a tax lien against your property. As provided by section 6331 of the Internal Revenue Code your property or rights to property may be seized. This includes salary or wages, bank accounts, real estate and personal property such as automobiles (which) may also be seized and sold to pay your tax.*

I had a sinking feeling yesterday when I came home to find the notice of a certified letter in my box. I joked with the man at the post office, saying that I figured only the IRS would want to make sure that I got my mail — he grinned and said, "You've got it!"

And so here it is sitting in front of me, the formal "Notice of Intention to Levy." I remember the panic and fear I felt as I brought the letter home. I took it into my prayer corner and centered a bit, asking God to be with me as I opened it — with penalty and interest I now owe 25% more than I did a year ago. I breathed a small prayer of thanksgiving for the War Tax Resisters' Penalty fund created by the Fellowship of Reconciliation to help those of us who reach this place. But I knew the moment had come to decide how much further I wanted to carry the witness.

I began my morning with prayer, and the lesson was another from Matthew (5:13-16): "You are like salt for all. But if salt loses its saltiness, there is no way to make it salty again . . . your light



must shine before people, so that they will see the good things you do and praise God."

I wish I did not have to be so visible sometimes. I resonate with the words of Jim McGinnis in his new book, *Journey to Compassion: A Spirituality for the Long Haul*, in which he reflects on that passage from Matthew:

*We are to shine before all, to be placed on a mountain top for all to see. But we are tempted in two quite different ways to deny the reality of who we are. The first is to want to remain hidden, not quite so noticeable in our peacemaking work. I don't want the IRS to come after our family or institute, so I am tempted to compromise my opposition to paying for war. Have you ever found yourself not wanting to jeopardize your reputation, job, and other projects by being too public?*

Oh, yes, friend James.

I pick up the phone and call him but he has not yet come into the center which he runs in St. Louis. I know I need help and call my fellow tax-resister Ben Richmond in Indiana. In a recent conversation with Bill Ramsey of the American Friends Service Committee office in St. Louis, he told me the only way he had been able to maintain his witness was with a good support committee. I realize at this moment that mine is scattered around the country. I wish there were people close at hand to hold me and pray with me as I wrestle with my decision.

Ben suggested I contact Peter Goldberger, who has consented to be a legal advisor to us, and who is the author of "Options and Consequences," a section in *The Handbook on Military Taxes and Conscience*, published by the Friends Committee on War Tax Concerns. Peter had met with a group of us in Richmond, Ind. a year before during a consultation of the three peace church traditions, which had inspired me to go forward with my witness. I realized how much I

wanted the Episcopal Church to provide the same sort of support I received from my Quaker, Mennonite and Brethren colleagues. Maybe when this ordeal is over, I will try to organize such a network.

### September 23

Time is passing and I must decide whether to pay or continue to resist. I was grateful for the ministry of Leroy Moore of the Boulder Peace Center yesterday who gave me the names of several local resisters to contact for support. He thanked me for my witness which he said was important, and painful. What am I to do? This morning I called my friend in Baltimore who had been a resister years before and she told me a wonderful story of the IRS man coming to visit her mother and asking "Why is a nice Jewish girl like you doing this sort of thing?" When my friend spoke to the agent on the phone, she countered with "What is a nice Jewish man like yourself doing this for?"

There are many stories in the resister community of conversations with IRS folk, some companionable and many hostile. But as yet I have not heard of any dinner parties. I wish I had the name of my agent. All I have received are printed forms, like Publication 586A, Rev. 7/89 — The Collection Process: "This pamphlet explains your rights and duties as a taxpayer owing a bill for taxes. It also explains the legal obligation of the IRS to collect overdue taxes, and how we fulfill this obligation. It is not intended as precise and technical analysis."

So I sit down with the *Handbook on Military Taxes and Conscience* and read Peter Goldberger's section on "What do War Tax Resisters do about forced collection." The lines that jump out at me state, "Individuals employ a wide variety of responses to levy and sale by the IRS. Some find that submitting without resistance to enforced collection does not

violate the conscientious scruples that required them to resist voluntary payment. Others believe that collection must be resisted by every available means consistent with principle."

I remember my Baltimore friend saying, in response to my question of whether I had kept faith, that what I had committed myself to was refusing to voluntarily pay the tax — in effect, telling the IRS to come get it. Whether I write the check myself "under protest" or whether they levy my account is my choice. I have been faithful with the process up to this point.

### September 24

Today's lessons are about greed, which seems appropriate. Amos asks: "When will the Sabbath end, so that we can start selling again? Then we can overcharge, use false measures, and fix the scales to cheat our customers?" Does this sound like the Pentagon dealing with suppliers? And what of Luke 16:1-13: "The people of the world are much more shrewd in handling their affairs than the people who belong to the light."

The task this morning is to ask which master I am loyal to. "No servant can be servant of two masters . . . You cannot serve both God and money." I am aware that in the most recent surveys of the federal budget, "defense" spending has ranged from over 50 to 61% of the budget. According to the Womens' International League for Peace and Freedom, the U.S. government spends \$300 billion a year on atomic, biological/chemical and conventional weapons, and military forces. It spends only \$20 billion a year on education. One nuclear test at \$12 million could pay 500 teachers' salaries for a year. Another way to shorthand this data is to say that 60¢ of each dollar goes to financing foreign intervention while 2¢ goes toward education, and at a time when the U.S. Department of Education estimates that one-

*Continued on page 17*

# Fifty years of peacemaking

by Mary H. Miller

For the last year, as the Episcopal Peace Fellowship has looked forward to celebrating its 50th birthday, several of us have been sorting papers, memories and connections. Our primary goal is the printing of a small history in celebration of half a century of work and witness. As this is written, the not-quite-so-small-as-we-planned work has gone to the printer and we have a little space to ponder the history, the present, and the future.

The Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship was officially founded on Armistice Day, 1939. The original group included John Nevin Sayre, founding member of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) and brother-in-law of President Woodrow Wilson's daughter; Katherine Pierce, member of the National Council of the Episcopal Church and the first woman elected to a New York City vestry; W. Appleton Lawrence, Bishop of Western Massachusetts; Paul Jones, once Bishop of Utah until he protested the First World War and was forced to resign; other laywomen and men, priests and bishops.

Within a few months the EPF rolls grew. More than a few early members are among us still and we are blessed by their companionship: Dan and Elizabeth Corrigan, Bill Davidson, Reuben Lee, Arpad Fazakas, Winslow and Anna Ames, Corrine Rosebrook, Sam McCain, Florence Lichtenberger, Charles Rehkopf, Margaret Miller, Charles and William Finch, Alice Brooks, Philip Steinmetz, Margaret Sherman.

The immediate work of the Fellowship was to urge the Episcopal Church to activate the register for conscientious ob-



Robert "Cuba" Jones, left, and John Nevin Sayre leading 1927 Quaker/FOR delegation into Nicaragua for meeting with Sandino re ending U.S. Marine occupation.

jectors which General Convention had authorized in 1934, and to urge Congress to extend the privilege of conscientious objector status to members of non-historic Peace Churches. EPF supported Episcopal COs during World War II financially as well as morally. Thus began what has been the core of EPF's work: support of those who in conscience cannot participate in, or prepare for, war or the use of violence to settle conflict, and to persuade others that such a position is not a daydream but a necessity — and possible.

When the atomic age arrived, it was natural that EPF would oppose The Bomb. Questions arose: Why was the first bomb called Trinity? How could we celebrate the Feast of the Transfiguration after Hiroshima? Clearly the work was going to be long and hard. The hearts and minds of human beings needed to change, and the pacifists held to their course with an essentially unaltered mes-

sage. It meant they were a minority within a minority of those urging caution about the new "cold" warfare.

For EPF the years after World War II were ones of concern for the new-born United Nations, pamphlet writing and preaching, works of reconstruction and relief, and searching for ways to influence the church at least toward a "cross before flag" position. In these years, too, THE WITNESS offered its pages for an annual EPF issue, a practice that continued under editor William Spofford until 1965 with only one year excepted. This present issue is a birthday gift with antecedents.

Some of us are members of the so-called "silent generation" that came of age in the 1950s. In the church it was the time of the Seabury Series in Sunday School, the family service, Canterbury Club and peace, as well as Korea, Joe McCarthy, "duck and cover" drills and the first U.S. involvement in Indochina.

Mary Miller is Executive Director of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship.

EPF was small, about 800 faithful souls, and it remained so into the 1960s. Its membership was chiefly northeastern. It was a period of inner rather than outer strengthening for what was to come. The cold war ran warm and hot by spells and pacifists were often ostracized for their beliefs. In the later years of the decade there was more secular than religious peace activity, if one may divide the world that way. SANE was born in the anti-nuclear movement of those years, joining pacifist and non-pacifist supporters of a test ban treaty. Today the national SANE/Freeze office is just a block away from EPF's, on the far side of Capitol Hill.

One of EPF's traditions is concentrated activity related to General Convention. It started in 1961 with preparing resolutions on support for conscientious objectors and those facing the draft, and on the Berlin Wall crisis. There was also a request that the House of Bishops speak to the church theologically and practically about the perplexities of international relations, and what an Episcopalian might believe and do in response to the world situation. With the help of national church staff and a representative group of church members, the end result was the 1962 statement of the House of Bishops on War and Peace, which said: "At all levels of its life, the church must charge its people with the insistent duty of working with all their strength for the prevention and elimination of war." The 1964 Triennial Meeting of the Women of the Church endorsed the statement; the General Convention apparently thought it unnecessary to do so. EPF and others took the statement to heart and pursued it over the years until, in 1979, it became a key point of reference for the establishment of a Joint Commission on Justice and Peace. The pages of commended actions shape a remarkable agenda for the 1990s.

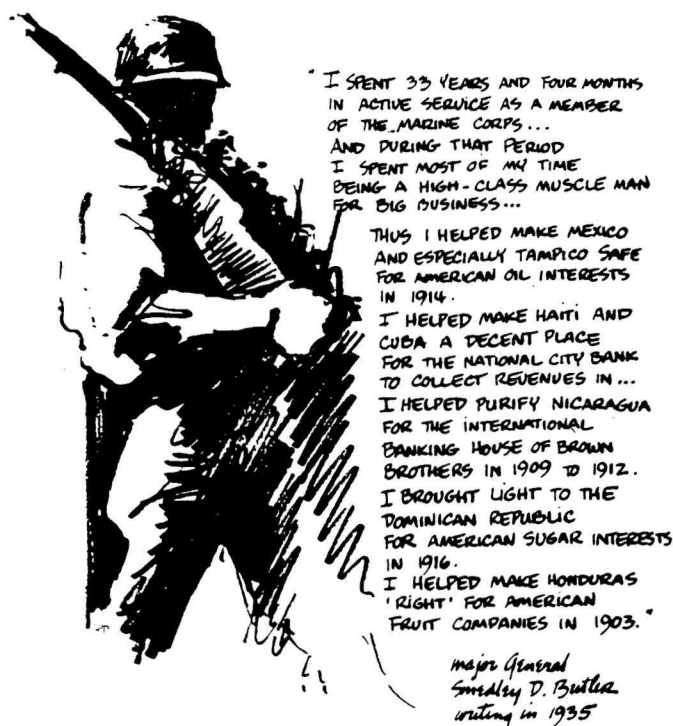
EPF works with national and diocesan

structures, sometimes in mutual support, sometimes as loyal opposition, sometimes alone, but more frequently in coalition with other progressive membership groups in the church, such as Coalition E and Issues. The representative group which was gathered to formulate the questions — and some "modest answers" — for the bishops in 1961 called itself "The Consultation." Twenty some years later the same name was chosen (without knowledge of its history, so far as this writer knows) by the coalition which was midwived by the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

A number of us made our way to the peace movement through the civil rights movement, helped by prophets Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X who made the necessary connections and named the demons. Those who leaned toward non-violence as a way of life, either by conviction or yearning, listened to King as he spoke against the war in Vietnam and shuddered. Blacks said to whites: "It's your war; you made it, you fix it; we have other business to take

care of." It was painful but perhaps necessary, and in the long run many of the ties that bound us together before the split proved strong enough to bring us back together for later work.

In the meantime, EPF had been an eastern establishment sort of group for 25 years. A conscious effort was made to reach out to the West Coast and talk began of funding and finding a full-time staff person. In 1966 Tom Hayes became the first Executive Director, charged with traveling, preaching, establishing cells of EPF around the country. Before he was done, the ministry took him to Sweden to be with American exiles from the Vietnam War. The war was escalating and the response was a growing flood of new members. A decade later, with the war officially "ended," membership declined, and some of us muttered about "summer soldiery." Yet the thing that made growth possible was a not-so-simple change of name. In 1966, by postcard vote of all EPF members, "Pacifist" became "Peace" and the Fellowship was opened for full membership



to those who could not take the absolutist position. It wasn't the first time the issue had been raised; nor would it be the last. It comes back again and again, challenging us to be clear about what we really believe and how we really live.

Special Conventions, Pentagon Masses, protest demonstrations, rallies in Washington, San Francisco, Chicago and everywhere imaginable, endless rounds of strategy meetings with a growing agenda took their toll. Burn-out was a problem then and we only hope we learned enough to avoid it now. Part of it certainly is learning to curb our compulsive tendency to change the world by our own hand.

The 1960s and early '70s were incredible. We learned to mourn fallen leaders and student friends. We rejoiced in being in the streets together in newfound people-strength, and learned again that we do not live by bread alone, but if you

haven't got real bread then the rest is a distant second. Maybe most of all, we learned to mistrust official leadership and have never forgotten that lesson. What it does now mean to have Episcopalians in the White House and the State Department who say there will not be another Vietnam in Latin America, or to hear the old tapes about family, constructive engagement and human rights? Clearly the work of truth-telling in the public arena and the church takes imagination, faithfulness and a whole lot of energy.

If symbolism and persistence count for anything, the article in this issue by Nathaniel Pierce lays out another "the work is not yet done" issue — the matter of the office of Suffragan Bishop for the Armed Forces. Is it a small matter, of concern to only a few? Is the question too subtle to be understood? Are the cross and the flag in contention for our

loyalties? Is it a question of the church cleaning up its act, being clear about Who we serve and Whose we are?

And so it goes. In 1927 John Nevin Sayre led a Quaker/FOR delegation to Nicaragua to search for Sandino and work together for an end to the U.S. Marine occupation of that country. The photograph of Nevin on horseback, doing the work of reconciliation to the best of his ability, is as much a symbol as the peace cross of what we are about. Both say "no" to business as usual and death, both say "yes" to justice, peace and life. The 1980s have been almost as confusing as the '60s, though many people believe these years have been quiet, even narcissistic. But they haven't been paying attention. As the 1990s come and the millennium draws near, there is work to be done.

Happy birthday and many happy returns!

TW

## THE EPF COMMITMENT

EPF membership includes those who, whether or not they consider themselves pacifists, commit themselves to the following statement:

*In loyalty to the person, teaching and Lordship of Jesus Christ, my conscience commits me to His way of redemptive love; to pray, study and work for peace, and to renounce, as far as is possible, participation in war, militarism and all other forms of violence.*

*In fellowship with others of like mind, I will work to discover and practice alternatives to violence in the resolution of conflicts.*

*As a member of the Holy Catholic Church, I urge the Episcopal Church, in accordance with our baptismal vows, "to renounce the evil powers of this world which corrupt and destroy the creatures of God," and to wage peace across all boundaries, calling upon people everywhere to repent, to forgive, and to love.*

## EPF Membership Application

Please enroll me (us) in the Episcopal Peace Fellowship. I (we) accept the commitment printed above.

Name \_\_\_\_\_ (Home) \_\_\_\_\_ (Work) \_\_\_\_\_  
Telephone \_\_\_\_\_

Address - Street, City, State, Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Parish \_\_\_\_\_ Diocese \_\_\_\_\_ Congressional Representative \_\_\_\_\_

I (we) enclose annual membership dues for the year 19\_\_\_\_

☐ \$20.00 for an individual

☐ \$30.00 for a couple

☐ \$ 5.00 for those with limited income

☐ In addition to dues, I wish to contribute \$ \_\_\_\_\_

☐ In addition to dues, I pledge \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for 19\_\_\_\_, of which \$ \_\_\_\_\_ is enclosed

☐ Please send me information on the EPF Chapter nearest me.

☐ Please send me information on the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Mail to EPF, 620 G Street SE, Washington, DC 20003. Contributions are tax-deductible.



IRS . . . Continued from page 13

third of American adults are functionally illiterate. No one can serve two masters.

After Mass I share with my friend Sally Brown, a deacon and also a staffer for U.S. Representative Pat Schroeder, that I need prayer support since I must write the IRS today. She agrees and then adds with a smile, "By the way, I'll pay for breakfast next week when we meet."

One more phone call to Mary Miller, EPF's Executive Director. She asks wisely, "Where is the Spirit leading you?" And she also reminds me we all have choices to make. At this point, with penalties and interest, I owe the IRS the equivalent of my daughter's next tuition payment at college. How much is enough?

And so I will contact the IRS. And then I will wait for the next round — non-payment of military taxes for 1988. In all of this I am also heartened by Nat Pierce's words in the Standing Commission on Peace's report to General Convention:

*As we struggle to develop the work of peace and justice within the Episcopal Church, I believe that we are in fact dealing with not only the soul of our church, but our souls as well. Progress can only come as inner transformation, nurtured by the Holy Spirit, changes us. For Christ came into the world "to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, and to guide our feet into the way of peace." (Luke 1:79)*

Now I am ready to write.

To: Lawrence B. Gibbs, Commissioner of Internal Revenue

Dear Mr. Gibbs;

I would like to invite you to dinner. This is not a glib offer, but it comes after much prayer and listening to the leading of the Holy Spirit. Let me try to explain.

As you will note by the returned form, I am a war tax resister based on my religious conviction that in a nation where we spend 60¢ of every dollar for military intervention and maintenance and only

2¢ per dollar for the education of our children, this is an act of idolatry. We have become captives to gods of metal and have failed to heed the Gospel imperatives of love and peacemaking.

Your notice arrived on Thursday, September 21, which in the Lectionary is the Feast of St. Matthew the tax collector. The Gospel appointed for the day says:

*Jesus left that place and as he walked along, he saw a tax collector named Matthew sitting in his office. He said to him, "Follow me." . . . While Jesus was having a meal in Matthew's house many tax collectors and other outcasts came and joined Jesus and his disciples at the table. Some Pharisees saw this and asked his disciples, "Why does your teacher eat with such people?" (Matthew 9:9-13)*

If you are familiar with the text, Jesus responds by saying, "It is kindness that I want . . . I have not come to call respectable people, but outcasts." I cannot help but wonder if with all the current adverse publicity about the IRS, whether you sometimes feel like an outcast. I would like to be able to converse with you, while breaking bread, as a way of showing the sort of kindness which the Gospel requires.

After much prayer I have decided to pay the amount owed — *under protest*. I do not do this voluntarily, but am aware in the course of a year the amount owed has increased from \$1,301 to \$1,723.57. This is over 25% more than I initially withheld. At this point the witness becomes no longer "cost effective." I continue to believe that paying this money is wrong, that it makes me complicit with the powers of violence and darkness. But I am also aware that I choose not to have the IRS levy my employer, or place a lien on my bank account. That seems like a form of violence to those who are not involved in this witness. But I want it clearly understood that the choice to comply with the "Notice of Intention to Levy" is one of resistance, a

form of "going limp" in the face of violence. It in its own way is an honorable form of "turning the other cheek," of speaking the truth to power.

Never, in the entire time I have been withholding this money, has anyone deigned to speak with me either in person or on the phone. I have only dealt with a computer. That, in part, is the reason for my invitation. I would like to be in dialogue with you or some designated agent about this witness. We are both children of God, and I do not personally perceive you as my enemy. Shalom!

Patricia Washburn

*(Epilogue — As THE WITNESS went to press, Patricia Washburn reported she "never had a response" to her letter. She wants to set up a support network of others interested in war tax resistance. Her address is 2318 Bellaire St., Denver, CO 80207.)*

### Resources

*Committee on Home Ministries*, P.O. Box 347, Newton, KS 67114-0347, publishes *God and Caesar*, newsletter on war tax resistance.

*Conscience and Military Tax Campaign*, 4534½ University Way NE, Seattle, WA 98105, publishes a journal, *Conscience*.

*Friends Committee on War Tax Concerns*, P.O. Box 6441, Washington, DC 20009, publishes *The Handbook on Military Taxes and Conscience*.

*Institute for Peace and Justice* (Jim McGinnis), 4144 Lindell #122, St. Louis, MO 63108.

*Peacemakers*, P.O. Box 627, Garberville, CA 95440, publishes *Handbook on Non-Payment of War Taxes*.

*War Tax Resisters' League*, 339 Lafayette St. New York, NY 10012, (212) 228-0450, publishes *War Tax: A Guide to War Tax Resistance*.

*War Tax Resisters' Penalty Fund*, c/o FOR, N. Manchester, IN 46962

*Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*, 1213 Race St. Philadelphia, PA 19107, (215) 563-7110.

# Transformation of society

*Anne Rowthorn, a lecturer at the Hartford Seminary in Hartford, Conn., has done civil disobedience twice this year. She is the mother of three children and the wife of the Rt. Rev. Jeffery Rowthorn, Suffragan Bishop of Connecticut. On Martin Luther King Day, Jan. 16, she was arrested at the Electric Boat Shipyard in Groton, Conn. On Good Friday she was arrested at the U.S. Submarine Base in Groton along with 16 others, including her son, Perry.*

*Rowthorn is the author of *The Liberation of the Laity*, and in October, Morehouse will publish her new book, *Caring For Creation: Toward An Ethic of Responsibility*. She is one of the founding members of the New Haven Deanery/Berkeley Divinity School Episcopal Peace Fellowship.*

*The Rev. Jim Lewis interviewed her recently for THE WITNESS.*



Anne Rowthorn

## **W**hat kind of civil disobedience did you take part in?

I live in eastern Connecticut, what you might call "nuclear Connecticut." No more than 10 miles from my neighborhood is the Electric Boat Shipyard, a subsidiary of General Dynamics Corporation, where Trident submarines are made. The Trident is designated to carry a new class of deadly accurate first strike weapons, 24 D-5 missiles, each of which are capable of carrying up to 12 nuclear warheads. Just one Trident submarine has as much destructive power as 25 World War II submarines.

On Martin Luther King Day, I was a part of an affinity group of Witness for Disarmament members arrested outside the gates of the Electric Boat Shipyard. We gathered to pray for the conversion of that company to a peaceful industry.

Electric Boat Shipyard workers don't see themselves making anything deadly. They don't make missiles or any deadly machines. They make "components."

## **What was it like to be arrested?**

It is a very sobering experience. There were helicopters flying above us, and guard dogs, police and handcuffs. But strangely enough it is not only intimidating but empowering. To do civil disobedience is to put your body on the line.

It's no armchair experience of your faith. It's where you actually unite your faith with your actions.

Being arrested, you learn about the power of the state. The challenge is to see the police as human beings. That's important.

## **How did your family respond to your arrests?**

My family and friends have been most supportive. My husband Jeffery has been supportive for years.

I remember back in 1978, on Good Friday, walking out in the middle of the three-hour service. Good Friday is about confronting sin and it just seemed to me that the church service was irrelevant in its avoidance of sin and redemption.

So I went home and Jeffery called me from Yale Divinity, where he was teaching at the time, and he had some of the same feelings. Together we drove to Groton to take part in a demonstration.

Back then Jeffery wasn't an American citizen. He was British and carried a green card. That was risky.

When I did my civil disobedience for the first time back in January I was concerned about what it might mean for him, as suffragan, to have his wife arrested. We talked about it and I decided to issue a statement giving a clear mes-

sage just what this action was all about.

The children all felt good about what I did. When I was arrested this past Good Friday, our son Perry was arrested with me.

As far as Episcopalians are concerned, they haven't said much to me about it. Episcopalians are a polite lot — you don't have many Episcopalians involved in this sort of action.

## **Why do Episcopalians have such problems with civil disobedience?**

I don't know. I used to get angry because I couldn't get Episcopalians in my deanery involved. I had to let go of that anger and get off their backs. I've learned to work with members of more active churches, a lot of United Church of Christ folks and Roman Catholics.

During the Holy Week walk prior to our arrest at the Naval Base I tried to get Episcopal churches along the way to open for us, particularly for the Maundy Thursday foot washing. The priests and vestries said no. You have to understand, they have parishioners who work for the defense industry. We wound up meeting at our house. It almost seemed like a subversive activity.

I have been invited to speak in Episcopal churches about all kinds of things, but I haven't been invited to speak about

# is goal of peace activist

the arrests. When I go with Jeffery on visitations people are polite and speak to me about my book. Someone did say to me, "Thank you, you do it for all of us." I wanted to tell her, "No, no, you must act on behalf of peace for yourself."

The idea of demonstrating nonviolently, peacefully, is very important to me. Given the opportunity, I talk with people about that, those from Electric Boat, people from the military. It's not always easy. I need some more work on that because I understand that they too are human beings. But they just see things differently than I do.

## What motivates you to do civil disobedience?

Look around. We've had eight years of Reagan — he almost destroyed the social infrastructure. It's a scandal we have homelessness in this country. It's a scandal to have so much as a society and yet not be able to feed everyone. Our relationship with the Southern Hemisphere is a scandal. It's a scandal that Connecticut has the highest per capita income in the country and yet we have poverty.

What's at the heart of this? Greed and idolatry. The social consequences are devastating.

We've put so much of our faith and security in weapons. They have become gods of metal. So much of our life is tied up in the war industries, there's no alternative but to act against this kind of idolatry. I just can't sit still.

## What influences shaped your life?

I'm really a very ordinary human being and Christian. I've been fortunate to have lived with a good mix of people and to have traveled.

As a young person I lived among the Sioux in South Dakota. I discovered, through them, how much people with

very few material possessions have to teach us.

I am particularly grateful to those people who taught me to hear the Gospel in a social way and not just individualistically. I learned to see the need for nations to be healed as well as individuals.

Looking back I see myself acting out of the tradition of civil disobedience participated in by other wives of Episcopal bishops, Mary Peabody and Esther Burgess, when they were arrested for civil rights in Florida years ago. They've

given me and other Episcopalians a role model, and I admire their loving and faithful action.

**You've been denied access to Episcopal churches on your march, worship is often out of touch with your witness, and Episcopalians are few and far between when it comes to being supportive. Why do you stay in the Episcopal church given that reality?**

I know what you're saying. In a way the church has been good to me. I've



## 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)

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

Yes, please send me the back issues I have checked at \$2.00 each. (Pre-paid orders only.)

- ☐ Healthcare in the 1990s  
☐ God and Mother Russia

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

Zip \_\_\_\_\_

worked in and for it. I've got two close Episcopalian friends who were arrested with me. It doesn't take many to feel support. I continue to think we can make a difference by being hopeful. I draw hope from Archbishop Tutu and our church in South Africa.

The government in South Africa is arresting them for going into the church to plan activities. They are even arrested at funerals. They are in an enviable position. They are like Mark's Jesus, on the fringe, renewing and transforming the social order. I'm proud to be in the same church.

In our church we need to learn to focus away from inner problems in order to focus on the world Jesus came to save. As Christians, we must be involved in the major social issues of our communities.

As long as we are dealing with whether we're allowed to have a woman bishop or a breakaway synod in Texas, we are avoiding the social issues where Christ calls us to do the work of transforming society.

### What's next on the agenda for you?

Well, today I'm going to court to support four people arrested on Hiroshima Day. I also intend to work hard on figuring out ways to dialogue with parishioners working at Electric Boat and the U.S. submarine base. Another big concern is getting an economic conversion bill passed in Congress. We must support legislators working on programs which convert military industries into businesses which provided life giving products.

I am in this for the long haul. It has occurred to me that to be faithful to Christ in our age I'll probably have to spend the rest of my life shuffling between the nonviolent vigil or action outside the armaments factory or military base and the courthouse and jail. There is no romance about this. It is personally costly and it is difficult. I am saddened

when I think of so many friends who have gotten worn out working on peace and justice issues and have dropped out. Lack of focus, fragmentation, burn-out and becoming strident and shrill are the risks that walk with peacemakers. I've known many whose lives have become the movement, and I know just how easily I too could lose perspective. It's very hard to keep both self and the movement together and at the same time to retain a sense of humor and a joyful spirit.

It is important to remain in touch with the nurturing and renewing power of family and friends and to keep grounded in the spiritual direction afforded by both liturgy and nonviolent civil disobedience (or divine obedience as I like to call it).

I would dearly love to do it all — to be active in the host of other justice causes because I am sensitive to them all. But I am learning to say "no" to many requests so that I can continue to direct my energies to the nuclear issues. We've all got to find our own place in the struggle. I've found mine. **TV**

### Barbara Harris: Bishop

Order a copy of the historic issue of THE WITNESS commemorating the consecration of the first woman bishop in the Episcopal Church and the Anglican Communion.

1 to 5 copies: \$3.00 each  
6 and over: \$2.00 each

Enclosed is a check for \$\_\_\_\_\_.  
Please send \_\_\_\_\_ copy/ies of the April WITNESS to:

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State \_\_\_\_\_

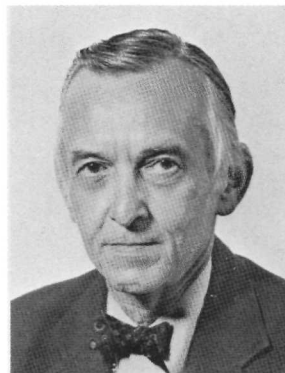
Zip \_\_\_\_\_



# The witness of a remnant

by William Stringfellow

*The late noted theologian and attorney William Stringfellow gave the following keynote address at the Episcopal Peace Fellowship's Award Dinner during the 1979 General Convention in Denver. Stringfellow's life was devoted to combatting racism, sexism, and militarism in church and society. He was arrested in 1970 for hiding the fugitive Catholic peace activist Daniel Berrigan in the home he shared with poet Anthony Towne. He died in 1985 after a long and debilitating illness. This address, delivered 10 years ago, shows how little has changed and how sorely his prophetic voice is missed.*



William Stringfellow  
1928-1985

To me, it seems a fit occasion to consider the remnant status of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship in this church, in this society.

I know that there are some who take pride in being a remnant and I realize there is an easy temptation to romanticize the role, but I would rather that there were no Episcopal Peace Fellowship. It seems essentially incongruous to me that there be a special interest group within the church concerned for peace. I am told this occasion is "sold out," but I still question, "Why isn't everybody here?" Indeed, why isn't everyone so passionate about peace issues that the parameters of that concern coincide with those of the church?

Why isn't there such a coincidence, especially nowadays when:

- the peace movement of the '60s appears to have been vindicated in events?
- the concern about peace extends far beyond the traditional bounds of ideological pacifism?

- the indivisibility of so many issues is self-evident: war and want, arms and ecology, the Pentagon budget and inflation, the threat of nuclear calamity from M-X missiles and Three Mile Island?

When peace is the only alternative to genocide, one might expect in the

church — the harbinger of the Kingdom — a manifest unity and unanimity about peace. When the very atmosphere is laden with apocalyptic apprehension, one could expect the General Convention of the Episcopal Church to be preoccupied with peace for this world and be outspoken about it.

Alas, everyone is not here. The General Convention is, on the whole, overwhelmed in pedantry, deliberating lethargy, and the Episcopal Peace Fellowship is weak, poor, powerless, pathetic — a remnant.

I think I know some of the reasons why this is so.

We who are Americans, of the church or otherwise, have been programmed for war and conditioned, for half a century, for living in a society in which the commerce of war and the redundant, indefinite, profligate arms race is the predominant economic and political reality. We do not really know how to live any other way. We cannot imagine earning livelihoods in any other structured society. We suppose the gross overdependence of this economy on the military enterprise to be normative.

So we cling to what is familiar, including the mythology, wrought in the Second World War, of "national secu-

rity," and we yield, upon that excuse, to a military technology which has achieved the preposterous contradiction of weapons systems so devastating that they cannot be used without self-destruction. And thus we have reached the point, as Vietnam verified, where the immensity of American power has been rendered totally impotent.

I have come to regard the Second World War as the war we lost. I remember those few, including Bishop W. Appleton Lawrence of the old Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship, who forewarned of that outcome. The spirit that was evident in the Second World War was one which claimed that American power and determination could accomplish anything. But that spirit became transliterated in the war and its aftermath to a triumph of indiscriminate technology and the totalitarian ethos which the mindless implementation of technical capability engenders because human discretion is abdicated or otherwise atrophied.

Hiroshima is the grotesque symbol of how we lost that war.

Meanwhile, the Episcopal Church has suffered comparable and related change.

This church no longer has leadership: the church has management. Manage-

*Continued on page 23*

---

# Nukes and *metanoia* in South Carolina

by Stanley Rich

“But I don’t make bombs!” my friend declared emphatically. This statement typifies the clouded moral vision of people who work at the Savannah River Plant (SRP), a nuclear materials processing plant near Aiken, S.C. In the early 1950s, when the Atomic Energy Commission built the vast, sprawling plant to produce nuclear materials for the hydrogen bomb, people in the area had varied responses to the Hydrogen Bomb Plant, as it was then called.

The residents of Ellenton, S.C., a town displaced by the plant, had mixed emotions about abandoning their historic home. In a memorial tribute to old Ellenton, one woman attempted to boost the morale of her neighbors: “Rejoice, friends, rejoice. Your sacrifices have laid the foundation for a mighty protector — the hydrogen bomb. It is being made to defend us — to preserve American ideals, traditions, civilization and the opportunity to be the Christian salvation of the world.”

But by the late 1950s, one long-time Aiken resident said, “Though unwanted and resented by most of the natives of the area, it has aided materially in the civic, cultural and religious life of the vicinity. The employees of the Savannah River Plant, as it is now called, are men of learning, men of culture, and men with a deep sense of civic duty. They have joined with the Aikenite of long residence in building up Aiken County.”

---

**Stanley Rich** is a member of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Pax Christi USA, and is Associate Professor of English at the University of South Carolina at Aiken.

As the years passed and “the bomb plant” added to the economic prosperity of the area, local residents less frequently named the SRP for what it is — a nuclear weapons production facility, its reactors designed to produce plutonium and tritium for nuclear weapons. The old-timers who unequivocally call it “the bomb plant” are now few in number. Many area residents, glad to have a good job in construction at the plant, have no idea of the real nature of the SRP.

Today, the new contractor, Westinghouse, has euphemistically renamed the whole operation the Savannah River Site and call it a “National Environmental Research Park,” a label designed to fool gullible people. Jobs there are now described by Westinghouse as “environmentalist” in nature, an intentional public relations strategy and part of the “New Day” motif at the plant. The deception, couched in Orwellian double-speak, becomes even more insidious.

Psychological denial continues. My friend who asserts he does not make bombs does not want to see his work in moving nuclear materials inside the reactors as an integral part of the long, geographically dispersed process of making bombs. He is concerned, understandably so, about providing income for his family. He does not want to admit the larger moral, planetary issues involved. So in our friendship we often stand at an impasse. And this story is repeated many times in Aiken where friendships and other human relationships are lived out in an arena of dishonesty and silence, where everything may

be intimately discussed except that subject.

A related area of denial, difficult to document, occurs in the intimacy of marital relationships. In a typical scenario, the husband works at the SRP and the wife silently questions or opposes the SRP. What quiet tensions must exist in such a relationship? And most private of all is the silent denial of many SRP workers who, because of economic concern for their family’s welfare, may never express to anyone questions about the moral nature of their work. One SRP worker recently told a friend that he sleeps better at night since he has been transferred from a reactor operator job to one in environmental cleanup. What does this unexpressed inner anguish do to the spirit? And some who declare themselves to be “anti-nuclear” work at the plant because they say they have no other choice but to accept a good job with the SRP. What divided psyches!

In the fall of 1988, an opinion poll was taken in Aiken to determine community attitudes toward the SRP. The survey results were enlightening: There existed a greater resentment against the SRP than had ever been suspected. The poll results were then purchased by the local newspaper, which is primarily an unpaid public relations arm of the SRP, and the information was subsequently suppressed. Inquiries as to why the information has not been published have been met with stony silence. Thus the denial continues to protect a flourishing local economy.

In December 1988, ABC Evening News sent correspondent Barry Serafin and a television crew to Aiken to inter-

view me about my publicly expressed moral stance against the SRP. After an extended interview, what actually appeared on national television was a brief clip of an impromptu interview with a local woman who said, "I like the SRP. It means good jobs for Aiken." Here, at the national level, was more denial, by not giving a local dissenting voice access to a larger public.

And now major university campuses in South Carolina have become involved with the SRP. The chief administrators of the University of South Carolina, Clemson University, the Medical University of South Carolina, and South Carolina State College have formed a consortium to work with Westinghouse in scientific research. Faculty and students concerned about the moral and academic compromises inherent in such a union are told that this consortium will benefit the advancement of science, add to the material prosperity of the schools involved, and enhance the national image and prestige of the schools. The result is the suppression of academic freedom and a refusal to deal with the basic issues of nuclear weapons production. All of these goals are being aggressively pursued in a time when the Soviets are making overt gestures towards ending the Cold War.

With such glossing over of the basic truth of the plant's operation, how can people who are eager to have high-paying SRP jobs ever face up to the reality of their work? Is it even possible for them to admit their involvement with the nuclear arms race and with environmental contamination?

And how do local residents who are morally opposed to the SRP live lives of integrity in affluent Aiken's atmosphere of psychological denial? Noted Roman Catholic author and peace activist Joan Chittister, OSB, offers some advice to the community of resistance: "Victor Frankl, the Jewish psychiatrist and survivor of German concentration camps, said

that in time of crisis people do one of three things: they deny it . . . they despair . . . or they commit themselves to ask critical questions. Perhaps you and I, being who we are, cannot really do much, but we can at least give the gift of Christian discomfort. By knowing enough to say no, we can make it impossible for anyone to make war easily. And we can give others the knowledge it takes to say no too."

In the late 1980s this "gift of Christian discomfort" is being realized in Aiken in small ways. After more than 30 years of a twin conspiracy of silence and secrecy about the SRP, a few people are raising their voices against the status quo.

A Prayers for Peace group has been meeting weekly for over five years in a public park to pray for a conversion from the nuclear culture that has such a grip on Aiken, and for justice and peace in our world. Composed of about 12 regulars, this little community offers moral and spiritual support to resist the conspiracy of silence and denial and plant seeds of justice and peace in the local community. In small ways this group and allied friends have offered words of challenge and "discomfort" to local residents in hopes of *metanoia* — conversion — occurring in their hearts and minds. When one member wore a "Bread Not Bombs" button to an Episcopal church choir rehearsal, the immediate response from an SRP worker (one of many who dominate the local parish church) was, "Oh no, not one of those!"

The not-altogether placid retort was, "Well, I believe it to be Jesus' way." The result was a standoff for the rest of the evening.

Several members of the Prayers for Peace group have been quietly giving away copies of the Pax Christi USA booklet *Peacemaking: Day by Day*, and slowly a few others are talking about issues of violence and non-violence.

More than two dozen people spoke at the Department of Energy's 1988 and

**Remnant . . .** *Continued from page 21*  
ment, in principle, is indifferent to any issues except that of the survival of the institution *per se*. When institutional management displaces leadership in the church, what emerges is a church without a sense of vocation.

This is a church locked into the society it emulates, with heavy investment — both directly and indirectly, intentionally and ignorantly — in the military commerce of the American economy through guilty relationships with banking, finance and industrial principalities. Moreover, this becomes a church so subsidized by the regime through tax privilege that it is incapacitated to speak critically, much less prophetically, to the regime. That is why I have called upon the American churches to renounce tax exemption, for only upon that condition can the churches be freed to engage, as institutions, in tax resistance.

Meanwhile, the Episcopal Peace Fellowship does have a witness — as a remnant — scattered, meek, powerless, steadfast, foolish in the eyes of the authorities, whether political or military or ecclesiastical.

In the circumstances, brothers and sisters, I bid you to be patient until the coming of the Lord. **TW**

1989 Scoping Hearings, calling for a proper Environmental Impact Statement before restarting currently idle SRP nuclear reactors. Though the local press publicized the views of the few SRP proponents at the hearings, and largely ignored the opposition majority, the public heard that the Aiken area is not unanimous in its views of the SRP. While it was not easy to appear before an often hostile public, the opposition was able to speak directly to the consciences of a national audience.

Bombs, denial and *metanoia*. In the midst of a nuclear arms culture, can there be an inner transformation of mind, heart, values and the will? **TW**

# Anglicans ambivalent about peace

by Nathaniel W. Pierce

**T**he *Lambeth Daily*, the official publication of the 1988 Lambeth Conference of worldwide Anglican bishops, reported that the arrival of the Anglo-American Peace Pilgrimage at Canterbury Cathedral on the opening day of the conference was greeted with cheers, and the pilgrims were "then politely escorted by the efficient vergers to the Great Quire for Evensong."

The reality, however, was somewhat different. Even though arrangements had been made with the cathedral staff to coordinate our arrival, we were prevented from entering the cathedral by "the efficient vergers" until just before the Evensong began. Then, since the Great Quire had filled with tourists, we were shunted off to a side chapel where we could not see or be seen. The service of Evensong proceeded; there were no words of welcome, no special prayers for peace. The worship went forward as if nothing had occurred, as if no one special had arrived, as if we were not there at all.

This event pointed to a deeper ambivalence that lies at the heart of the Anglican tradition. Lambeth 1988 had some token words of support for peace, such as: "This conference pays tribute to those who in recent years have kept before the world the growing threat of militarism." But on the critical issue of using violence to achieve social change, the bishops convened for Lambeth

seemed to be thoroughly confused. First they said: "This conference understands those who, after exhausting all other ways, choose the way of armed struggle as the only way to justice, whilst drawing attention to the dangers and injustices possible in such action itself."

The IRA in Northern Ireland thanked the Lambeth Conference for its sensitive understanding of their cause. The Church of Ireland bishops were appalled. The *London Times* carried a memorable editorial on the resolution with the title "Insult to Christians." And so, in response, Lambeth passed an emergency resolution which said in part: "In the circumstances of Northern Ireland [this conference] condemns all violence."

But that's the rub, isn't it? One person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter. Were the citizens of Boston, who 200 years ago dumped tea (private property) into Boston Harbor (it has been polluted ever since), terrorists or patriots? It all depends on who is writing the history.

The root problem is the use of violence. Regardless of how noble the cause, the use of violence corrupts the perpetrator and demeans the cause. Meaningful and lasting change can only come about through nonviolence. That is, after all, what the cross is all about, and what Jesus lived and died for. I asked Bishop Tutu last January at a symposium in New York City about Lambeth's legitimization of "good" revolutionary violence — he was one of the primary advocates of this resolution. He responded by reminding me that was a somewhat hypocritical question for a white, American male to ask. I grant his point, but questions remain: Can we as

Christians legitimize violence? Where does it stop? Who decides between "good" revolutionary violence and "evil" revolutionary violence? The Anglican Church has depended from its very beginnings on a symbiotic relationship with the state and its armed forces. As the British empire spread, the church followed. Each served the other's purposes. Our church has a long history of blessing violence when carried out by a duly authorized military for purposes the church, in its own limited wisdom, deems to be good.

Who can ever forget the immortal words of the Lord Bishop of London during WW I: "Kill Germans — to kill them, not for the sake of killing, but to save the world, to kill the good as well as the bad, to kill the young men as well as the old, to kill those who have shown kindness to our wounded. . . . As I have said a thousand times, I look upon it as war for purity, I look upon everyone who dies in it as a martyr."

But the problem for Anglicans goes even deeper than this vicious need to kill the enemy. Clifford Longley stated this dilemma perceptively in a column in *The London Times*, July 25, 1988:

*One significantly Anglican blind spot is evident from the current state of the argument at the Lambeth Conference as it enters its second week. There has been a good deal of theology about the ordination of women, and even more about the principles of authority in the Anglican Communion. All aspects of the matter are being examined theologically, it seems, except the notion of the 'national church' and its claim to autonomy. That is taken for*

---

**The Rev. Nathaniel W. Pierce** has served as National Chair of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship (1976-1979), as a member of the two Joint Commissions on Peace created by the General Convention of the Episcopal Church (1979-1982 and 1982-1985), and as Chair of the Standing Commission on Peace (1986-88).



granted. It is fenced off from critical theological examination by the ideology of nationalism. American Anglicans are American first, evidently, and they are not alone in such an attitude. . .

Most provinces follow political boundaries, and the national church is normative in Anglicanism. . . A theological critique of provincial autonomy would start by asking whether and to what extent it serves the purposes of the Gospel, and whether it leads to confusion of national identity with Christian identity, a potentially dangerous ideological corruption of Christian faith.

The independent nation-state may be the dominant political idea of the latter half of the twentieth century, but nationalism does not deserve to be deified. It can in certain circumstances be a source of great evil. It erects barriers between peoples, and generates dangerous feelings of national and racial superiority, which are often unconscious. Autonomous Anglican churches organized on a basis of national identity are bound to be seen as part of all that, helping to strengthen and perpetuate it, condoning and sanctifying it.

Over the course of the last 200 years the Episcopal Church has deified nationalism more than most provinces of the Anglican Communion. For some the Civil War was a crusade to abolish slavery; for the Episcopal Church, it was an opportunity to demonstrate "unflinching allegiance to the government."

The Rt. Rev. Paul Jones, fourth Missionary Bishop of Utah, was forced to resign by the House of Bishops in 1918 in part because he, as a pacifist, condemned the First World War and our participation in it. A Committee of the House of Bishops summarized the disagreement with Jones this way:

*The underlying contention of the Bishop of Utah seems to be that war*

*is unchristian. With this general statement the commission cannot agree, and, specifically, it thinks that the present war with Germany in which our country is involved, being, as it is, for liberty and justice and righteousness and humanity among nations and individuals, is not an unchristian thing. This church in the United States is practically a unit in holding that it is not an unchristian thing. In the face of this unanimity, it is neither right nor wise for a trusted bishop to declare and maintain that it is an unchristian thing. If the compelling force of conscientious conviction requires such utterances, fairness demands that it not be made by a bishop of this church. The making of such an Episcopal proclamation should be preceded by the withdrawal of the maker from his position of Episcopal leadership.*

During WW II and Vietnam the Episcopal Church supported those in military service in a variety of ways, not the least of which was through military chaplains. Its pastoral ministry to conscientious objectors in both wars reflected a strong negative prejudice. This unholy combination of nationalism and theology found its fullest expression, however, in the creation of a unique office in the Anglican Communion. In 1946 the General Convention established the office of Suffragan Bishop for the Armed Forces. The position was not filled until 1964, when the Rt. Rev. Arnold Lewis, Bishop of Western Kansas, was translated to this post. During the height of the Vietnam War, Clarence E. Hobgood, then an Air Force Chaplain, was elected by the House of Bishops to this office; he was consecrated in February 1971 at the National Cathedral. He retired in 1977, and Charles L. Burgreen was chosen as his successor. Burgreen retired this year, and the House of Bishops elected Navy chaplain Charles Keyser to the post.

No other province of the Anglican Communion has such a position. The Church of England, for example, assigns this ministry to a Diocesan Suffragan. Further, as designed by General Convention, it is an episcopal ministry that crosses diocesan, and even provincial boundaries. It is a position not unlike what the Fort Worth Synod has requested for Episcopal congregations who wish to have an Episcopal Visitor, although they might call such a person the Suffragan Bishop for the Apostolic Faith.

And then, of course, the election itself was somewhat irregular. Only bishops voted; there was no vote given to lay persons or to clergy. And, in a survey, the military chaplains themselves were clear on the issue of gender: 96% wanted the new bishop to be a male with previous experience in the military. Disciples of Bishop Paul Jones need not apply.

Mind you, the issue is not whether the men and women serving in our Armed Forces need a pastoral and sacramental ministry; they do. Nor should there be any question as to the church's response; we do have an obligation to provide for this ministry, but not at the cost of our own integrity.

The needs of the military chaplains for episcopal oversight can be met without creating a special office of Suffragan Bishop, and the structure of the church might be reorganized so as to reflect a stronger commitment to peaceful reconciliation.

This office of Suffragan Bishop for the Armed Forces is a scandal to the Gospel. It reinforces the deification of nationalism which runs through the heart and soul of Anglicanism, while condoning and sanctifying some of the worst elements of the American psyche. It is not the first time that the way of nonviolent change, which is the way of the cross, has been sold out, nor will it be the last, as the recent Lambeth Conference reminds us.

TW

# Requiem for a common man,

Thousands of mourners, including President and Mrs. Bush, Jesse Jackson, dignitaries from Congress, the diplomatic corps and the District of Columbia packed Washington National Cathedral to say goodbye to the Rt. Rev John T. Walker, Bishop of Washington, at a Memorial Service Oct. 5. Archbishop Desmond M. Tutu of Capetown joined Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning and the Rt. Rev. Ronald H. Haines, Pro Tem Bishop of Washington, as concelebrant of the Eucharist.

Walker died Sept. 30 in Georgetown Hospital at the age of 64.

Bishop of Washington since 1976, he was widely known and loved for his leadership in civil rights and community affairs and carved a niche in the church as a pioneer:

- First black student at Virginia Theological Seminary;
- First black rector of St. Mary's Church, Detroit;
- First black master at St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire;
- First black bishop of Washington;
- First black bishop to be nominated for the office of Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church;
- First president of the Interfaith Conference of Metropolitan Washington, whose members include Christians, Jews, and Muslims;
- First chair of the Urban Bishops Coalition, and on and on . . .

Commenting on Walker's role at the cutting edge, the Rev. Dr. Edgar Romig, homilist, pointed out, "Because of his composure, grace, charm and gentleness, perhaps we thought that being such a pioneer was easy. I know it was not. The stress was often enormous."

That stress took its toll as John Walker was confined to Georgetown Hospital in

mid-September. He died within two weeks, of cardiac arrest after triple bypass surgery. Present at his bedside were his wife, Maria; and three children, Thomas, Ana Maria and Charles.

When Walker came to Washington in 1966 to work in a program in the city's poorest neighborhoods, there was only one integrated Episcopal Church in the city and few black priests. Today there are a dozen integrated parishes, a score of black priests, one Hispanic priest, and 25 women priests. Walker is credited with making those changes without some of the controversy experienced in other quarters of the church because of his quiet but persuasive style of leadership.

An editorial in the *Washington Post* after his death said:

*Washington Cathedral is the great symbol of the Episcopal Church's presence here, but the nature of that symbol has changed over the years. There was a time when a bypasser could have been forgiven for thinking that the Cathedral on its hill seemed to look down on the city with the disdain of accustomed wealth and social position. Today it sends a different message, one of concern for the city and an active involvement in its daily life. That change owes much to the remarkable man who was the bishop.*

Dr. Romig pointed out that "John Walker had a universal kind of caring, which led him to a double commitment: the commitment to struggle for the liberation of the poor and the oppressed in our own country, and the commitment to love and serve our brothers and sisters overseas, as he did so faithfully in seminary teaching in Uganda and through a rich ministry in Costa Rica."

Walker also traveled extensively in



The Rt. Rev. John T. Walker

Africa, and as chair of Africare, a relief organization for self-help development programs, observed firsthand, projects in Zambia and Zimbabwe. Closely identified with Archbishop Tutu in protesting apartheid in South Africa, he participated in demonstrations at the South African Embassy in Washington and was one of the first church leaders arrested there.

"Our bishop did not sleep very much," Romig observed in his homily.

The funeral service for John Thomas Walker proceeded in memorable fashion, while the Bishop's ashes lay in state in an urn on the High Altar.

But it was on the eve of the funeral, in the modest little church of St. Margaret, that friends from all walks of life gathered in a more informal manner to pray, pour out their grief and tell favorite stories about their bishop. A Eucharist with an interfaith delegation present opened the vigil, with the Rev. Vienna Cobb Anderson, rector, serving as host. She

# an uncommon bishop

by Mary Lou Suhor

explained that Maria Walker wanted to have a wake, where people could share stories about her husband, but her living room was too small. St. Margaret's was made available for the event, and tapes were made to present to Mrs. Walker and the children.

The emerging portrait portrayed a prince of the church who never forgot his Barnesville, Ga. roots, where his great-grandfather founded an African Methodist Episcopal church, and who always had time for "ordinary" folks as well as for the powerful in his District of Columbia flock. Following are some testimonies typical of the evening:

John Walker was a pioneer with magnificent grace and strength. My grandmother used to tell me to live in such a way that "when you die you can meet your slave ancestors, look them in the eye and tell them you used your freedom well." John used his freedom well.

— **George Haley**

I asked him once, how did you know you were called to the priesthood? He told me his mother was going to name him Thomas. But about one minute after he was born his grandmother appeared on the scene. She insisted, "This child has to be named John 'cause he's the apostle Jesus loved the most." That kind of story tends to haunt you, he said. . . Then when we were having lunch at Germaine's, the subject turned to where our minds gravitated most when reading the Bible. He said, "For me, it's the story of the Prodigal Son. Most people miss that the center of the story is the father — the father's pain and hope." He was not only shepherd of the diocese, but shepherding his children through teenage years at the time.

— **John Wheeler**

I'm a United Methodist musician, and I sometimes worked at St. Mary's. He visited while I was there, and what most struck me were his eyes and sense of humor. He was so relaxed with us, and I felt free to laugh and cut up and act silly — and even to share the nickname we called him — Johnny Walker Black.

— **Charlene Cooper**

I remember a time when his eyes were not twinkling. I had been gathering facts about the pain and injustices suffered by women in the church, before they were allowed to be ordained. After my report he said, "I have been brought way back to old pain and old hurt. Nothing on your list is not understood by blacks." It was then I truly bonded with him.

— **Joan Bowman**

When he was my dorm master, I asked him how he himself had juggled his social life and studies at college. He told me it wasn't a problem because he didn't need a lot of sleep. "I could party until midnight, study till 3, and get up at 6. I also had a photographic memory." With typical 14-year-old arrogance, I opened a book at random and said, "I'll give you five minutes to look at this page." He did, and returned it. I began a paragraph — and he finished it.

— **Unidentified former student**

I used to work in Church House and decided to quit working to stay home and be with the children. I have four of them with me tonight. When I left, Bishop Walker had a long talk with me about my decision and wished me well. He exuded love.

— **Mattie Sullivan**

He confirmed me, and when I looked at him, his eyes spoke more to me than what he said. When I learned about his death on the news I was at college in

Baltimore. I called my mother, who had not heard. Something in me made me come home to be with her and with other people who feel about him like I do.

— **Kamillia Smith**

I want to thank especially his wife Maria and the children for "loaning" us John Walker. I had wandered from being a "social Episcopalian" into Unitarianism and then back to the Episcopal Church, confessing to him that I still had doubts. He reassured me, "A doubter believes, but simply has some more questions."

— **Lee Adams**

I am a Quaker, who testified before the Urban Bishops Coalition hearings in Washington, after Bishop Walker asked me to research the problem of hunger in the District. He never forgot a face. Long afterward when he met me on the street, he called me by name. And after the hearings, through the Presiding Bishop's Fund, he enabled us to start a D.C. Hunger Action Coalition. He never forgot anybody, and he never forgot the hunger in Washington, either.

— **Pat Kutzner**

The Rev. Vienna Anderson ended the memorial service with a story of her own: "When Bishop Walker was in the hospital under visiting restrictions, I went to his room and the nurse asked me, 'Are you family?' He replied before I could, 'Yes, she's family.' The nurse looked at me, (a Caucasian with red hair) and asked, perplexed, 'Are you a nun?' Bishop Walker said, 'No, she's a priest, and I ordained her.' 'What do I call you then?' the nurse asked me. 'Vienna is just fine.' The nurse looked at her patient. 'And what do I call you?'

"'John,' he laughed. 'But some call me bishop.'"

**this Christmas  
send three  
gifts for  
the price  
of one!**



Spread the word this Christmas  
with gift subscriptions to:

- A friend
- A relative
- Your church or library
- A colleague
- A student

Save yourself time, energy, and money, too. No need to rush all over town or stand in long lines at the cash register. Order three gift subscriptions, which may include your own renewal, for the regular price of one — \$20. Take care of your gift list and help THE WITNESS at the same time.

Your gift subscriptions will be announced by attractive cards, hand-signed exactly as you instruct us, and mailed to the recipients.

To order, use the handy postage-paid envelope in this issue. If you need more room enclose an additional sheet of paper.

Orders received by December 20 will begin with the January issue.

**THE  
WITNESS**

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

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