THE UU IT I 1990

Liberation Philosophy for Retirement • Parker Rossman

Saying 'Yes' in a 'No' world • Verna J. Dozier

An interview with Maggie Kuhn • Anita Cornwell

Carter Heyward on Nicaragua Paul Washington on Israel

Copy

Letters

Unprecedented effort

The decision to devote virtually the entire March issue of THE WITNESS to Cuba, and the sending of a team of writers to obtain a firsthand picture of the situation there is, to my knowledge, unprecedented in contemporary journalism. As each day brings new evidence that the Bush administration is beginning to mount a massive campaign of disinformation regarding Cuba, comparable to that carried out by the "Office of Public Diplomacy" during the Reagan administration against Nicaragua, the need for such in-depth, honest and detailed reporting becomes more obvious, and those who decided to produce this issue deserve great credit.

I find it difficult to single out any one article, for the rich variety of perspectives provide us with a multi-dimensional picture documenting the results of the Cuban revolution in areas of life seldom discussed even in other sympathetic publications.

For example, as someone deeply involved in issues of sexism, homophobia, and reproductive rights in this country, I found Susan Pierce's article an excellent antidote to some of the false reports circulating here about what was happening in these areas, and Margaret Ferry's reporting of the amazing achievements in education and health care reminded me of similar programs I had observed in Nicaragua, many of which had received help from Cuban doctors and teachers.

Perhaps the most difficult thing to understand after reading the articles by Tony Ramos, Mary Lou Suhor, Jim Lewis and Alice Hageman is why, despite the long history of close collaboration between the churches and the forces of imperialism and repression, Castro is willing to trust and work with these institutions. If the Cuban churches were able to be "born again" to rediscover the Gospel message of God's concern for justice, perhaps there is even hope for the Protestant Episcopal Church, U.S.A.

In the past, the churches have reacted, albeit usually feebly, after our tax dollars have been used to invade Latin American or Caribbean countries or to subsidize terrorist groups such as the contras. But widespread distribution of the March WITNESS now, before the planned invasion begins, could stimulate the organization and growth of a grassroots movement to prevent such an action. I hope that many of your readers who wish to continue to be kept up to date on this situation and be part of such a movement will contact the Hands Off Cuba Coalition, 104 W. 14th St., New York NY 10011, (212) 246-3811, ext. 890.

> The Rev. F. Sanford Cutler New York, N.Y.

Rumania dept paid?

From everything I have ever read, Rumania was the only Eastern European country that had paid up its debt, due to the terrible austerity program of the late Ceausescu.

Alice Hageman's article on Cuba, "Doing theology in a Marxist ambience," lumps Rumania in with Poland and Hungary. Please check this out.

Rose Touralchuk Buffalo, N.Y.

Hageman responds

According to figures from the World Bank's World Development Report, 1989, reader Touralchuk is correct in that Rumania was recognized in the international community as a "responsible debtor" for staying current with its loan payments. Among countries cited, Romania's debt was 12 to 15% of its Gross National Product, while Poland's debt was 55.7% and Hungary's, 63.5% of their GNP in 1987. The social cost of this to Rumania is implicit in Ms. Touralchuk's letter — political repression and enormous restrictions on consumer spending and internal investment. Meanwhile, Poland and Hungary have joined Mexico and Brazil as major debtor nations. Eastern European nations now face the challenge, in economic restructuring, of how to maintain health, education and employment standards while at the same time trying to pay off their debts and incorporate a free market economy.

> Alice Hageman Jamaica Plains, Mass.

No positives about Cuba

With regard to your Cuba issue: Without going into details, it surprises me that there are still individuals or institutions in the United States that find any positive things about Cuba.

In 1989, according to the Washington Post, over 370 Cubans were picked up by the U.S. Coast Guard trying to leave Cuba. Why are these people leaving? Why are Cubans willing to die to leave Cuba?

One of the articles in this issue said that Cuba was not East Berlin. Time will prove you wrong. You will soon see the smiles on the faces of young Cubans (as you did in East Berlin) when the corrupt and repressive Castro government is toppled.

> Silvio Canto, Jr. Dallas, Tex.

Hit a bullseye

What a bullseye, that issue on Cuba. Cuba needs support now more than ever. Our media is impossible; even letters to the editor are hostile.

We wish we were younger, more effective. But we go on. Bless you and your great work.

Rita and Dick Post Newtown, Pa.

Lists three resources

Congratulations on the WITNESS issue on Cuba. Cuba is not the most popular issue these days, so here's a long distance toast to your courage to inform your readership.

Perhaps we were negligent in sharing with you some of our more recent efforts at The Circus, an ecumenical center for social justice and international awareness. We have opened a small publishing company, and have three books on Cuba among our titles. We would like to call them to the attention of your readers: The Church and Socialism: Reflections from a Cuban Context, by Sergio Arce; Evangelization and Politics, edited by Oden Marichal and Arce; and Christian-Marxist Unity, by Raimundo Garcia Franco. All are readily available in paperback from The Circus, P.O. Box 681 Audubon Station, New York NY 10032. The Rev. David Kalke New York, N.Y.

Pack of lies

As a postscript to your visit to Cuba issue of THE WITNESS, in November of 1987, I attended *el Synod de Iglesia Episcopal de Cuba* as part of the Diocese of Florida's companion relationship. During the convention, I carried with me and was reading Frei Betto's book, *Fidel and Religion*. While some of the clergy were excited about the volume, I must report that many laypersons approached me quietly and said, "It is a pack of lies."

> The Rev. Robert M.G. Libby, Publisher, The DIOCESAN Jacksonville, Fla.

Evangelize with care

The March WITNESS on Cuba is a superb issue — as always — especially the article "How not to evangelize." Except at home, we should not spread the word "to those who have not heard" as long as American Christians act as if they never heard it yet themselves!

I love the quote from Daniel Berrigan in the editorial. I've been reading Hammer of Justice: Molly Rush and the Plowshares Eight, as a discipline to get me in shape for the Plowshares Eight resentencing on Passover. I am hoping for a sentence of "time served" for all of them. Oh Lord, let it be that!

Abbie Jane Wells Juneau, Alaska

(As THE WITNESS went to press, the Plowshares Eight — eight religious activists arrested 10 years ago for damaging two nuclear warheads with hammers and pouring blood on documents at the General Electric Aerospace plant in King of Prussia, Pa. — were sentenced to the time they had already spent in jail while awaiting trial in 1980 and during the decade-long appeal process, and put on 23 months' probation. — Ed.)

4 decades of madness

I have absolutely *no* interest in your publication whatsoever. If memory serves me correctly, THE WITNESS has stood for, and backed everything that has diminished the Episcopal Church over the past four decades. In fact, statistically speaking, the Episcopal Church is one of



THE WITNESS will now accept manuscripts on computer disks, either 3 1/2" or 5 1/4" floppies. The word processing program must be MS/DOS compatible. **Do not send original disks**. We cannot be responsible for damage in transit. Send a copy and a hard copy print-out. the fastest dying churches on the U.S. scene, thanks to the sort of madness which the magazine espouses.

Were I to seek the truth, the last place I could find it is in the pages of THE WITNESS. While Ms. Barbara Harris is no longer your executive, I sincerely doubt that your direction has changed appreciably. Now that Marxism is rapidly going out of vogue in Europe, I would be curious to learn what naive idealism you will look to next.

The Rev. Theron R. Hughes Quincy, Ill.

In tune with Gospel

As a line from Robert DeWitt's quote in your last Advent letter seems to suggest, your greatest service is your writers' ability to articulate theologically and/or politically "uncomfortable" positions. Your critical responses to many of the day's problematic issues, while being assailed from many quarters - religious and secular alike — as too intolerable, implausible or even too nonconformist or idealistic, do indeed strike a resonant chord with me and other like-minded Christian friends (Episcopalian and otherwise) who find your arguments more in tune with the Gospel than most of what the "status quo" have to offer.

Like the U.S. government, the church (again, Anglican and otherwise) has its own share of "bad records." We can never undo forever the centuries of oppression and injustice committed in the name of Christ. But maybe by shining God's light constantly on the evils being perpetrated today — and often blithely accepted or ignored — there may still be hope for overcoming and even eradicating them.

Keep up the wonderful work and God bless you throughout the year.

Thomas C. Lissey Brookline, Mass.

THE WITNESS

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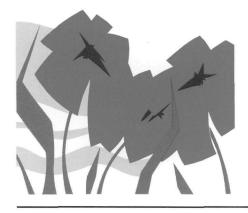


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Editorial

Preparing for a *real* ratings war

he winding down of the Cold War has its good points and its bad points. It's a good deal in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, because the United States need no longer spend so much money on defense and it opens a whole new market for fast food franchises. The bad part is that many covert action devotees have been cast into the peace wilderness and are looking for new battlefields. Unfortunately, the cold warriors have turned their attention to the Third World. The Bush administration, buoyed by its recent "successes" in Panama and Nicaragua, is now aiming to give Cuba the traditional pummeling to prepare it for a "democratic transition," rather like a piece of meat is beaten with a mallet to make it tender for the grill.

Bored with firing on Cuban trawlers which persist in carrying mundane things like fish or magnesium instead of weapons, frustrated that a decades-long economic embargo has hampered but not destroyed the Cuban economy, the U.S. government has turned up the volume on the propaganda front. The new weapon is TV Martí, the technological descendent of Radio Martí, which has been beamed at Cuba since the mid-1980s.

TV Martí is named after Cuba's national hero, Jose Martí, a 19th century poet and revolutionary — a further insult to Cubans. TV Martí began transmitting recently from an Air Force blimp tethered 14,000 feet above Key West, Fla. It cost \$7 million dollars to develop this system which will broadcast, according to a report in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, "news, game shows and replays of such U.S. entertainment programs such as *Kate & Allie* and *ALF*, translated into Spanish."

In most developing countries, a TV blitz would be a waste of time, because only a fraction of the population has TV sets. However, the Cuban government made a push early on to provide as many households as possible with televisions and refrigerators. Havana and the countryside bristle with TV antennas. Quite a contrast to such places as South Africa, which until recently severely restricted access to TV sets and limited broadcasts for fear raciallymixed programs would be shown.

But this technological openness makes Cuba a good target for a U.S. communications invasion. What is puzzling is that Cuba already imports and shows a good deal of U.S. television, and is negotiating with CNN's Ted Turner for more. However, despite the absurd spectacle of millions of dollars being spent so Cubans can watch sitcoms, TV Martí is an illegal intrusion on the sovereignty of Cuba's airwaves and breaks three international conventions. The Cubans immediately jammed the attempt electronically, and have the means to retaliate with powerful transmitters that could disrupt AM radio broadcasts as far west as Utah and as far north as Canada.

The United States, miffed with Cuba's refusal to be invaded ever since the Bay of Pigs, reportedly has plans for a military strike if Cuba responds to the communications invasion. The April 2 issue of The Nation reports that Cubans have detected new U.S. military exercises in which fighter aircraft fly across the Straits of Florida and peel off just before reaching Cuban airspace. The flight paths are headed toward the transmitters. And in 1983, The New York Times reported that "surgical removal" of the offending Cuban transmitters was among the active options being considered by the Reagan administration.

Cubans are aware of the shortcomings of their country and know they face an uncertain future. But they also have the right to decide their own fate, without a propaganda barrage backed by the ugly threat of military muscle. The United States has no cause to be pouring millions of dollars into this pointless venture when it has neglected its commitment to those in need at home. And its present policy has the potential of jeopardizing U.S. and Cuban lives as a possible climax to this continuing TV saga. TW

Liberation philosophy for retirement

by Parker Rossman

My wife and I were surprised a couple of years ago by an unexpected visit from friends in Sweden who were on their "50-year sabbatical." Margareta and Lars Inglestam explained that it is becoming a custom in Sweden to take 12 months off from work during one's 50th birthday year to re-examine one's life and work, to decide how one should live during the later part of one's life.

By age 50, Margareta explained, most people's children are educated and grown, and careers have matured to success. So there is no reason why many cannot turn to new avenues of service, perhaps to work at dreams they had when young and had to shelve as too idealistic at the time. Margareta has had a broadcasting career in Sweden; and her husband, Lars, is a university mathematician who has also served Swedish society as a futurist, heavily involved in government and private agency planning to assess what a quality life in Sweden ought to be, and how it might be achieved.

A sabbitical of this sort is particularly easy for Swedes, because most of them, like the Inglestams, live very frugally and all their medical expenses are taken care of by an extensive national health care system, which Swedes fund with a high percentage of their tax dollars.

I first met Margareta and Lars — who has also served as moderator of his congregation and denomination — when they were selected in the early 1960s to represent the Free Church of Sweden at a World Council of Churches conference in Germany on the "Life and Mission of the Church." Two thousand young people from all over the world came for training to be future ecumenical leaders. It would be interesting to follow up on the other 1,998 of them to see what roles they have played in the church and to learn if Lars and Margareta are typical. Their lives and careers have shown the worth of that training program, which was itself a dream of World Council of Churches leaders.

Later during a year of study in the United States at Yale University, Margareta and Lars joined a local house church. That experience led her to purchase a big house upon returning to Sweden, where in addition to her career, she could provide a housing ministry to those who were homeless or disabled.

She also wrote an outstanding 1977 book, Whither Video, about the impact of American films and TV programs on Swedish culture. She was concerned that only about one percent of music on sale in her country was Swedish; and only ten percent of films, records, tapes and so forth. She worried about homogenization, passivity and dehumanization, and even that the Swedish language might disappear. On the positive side she was a pioneer in predicting that videotape recorders could give power to individuals which might end "passive television" and its domination by foreign entertainment companies. She anticipated what has since become a popular alternative to TV, checking out videotapes from a library, and she proposed a plan for funding educational videotapes.

So in the 1980s, after this sort of career and the making of many documentaries, Margareta and her husband set out on a world journey, a sabbatical in which they would distance themselves from their own community, their jobs, their country. Thus they could reflect on what they had accomplished and make new plans for the latter years of their lives.

Any of us who consider doing the same thing ourselves would, I think, wonder where we should go and what we should do during such a future-planning sabbatical.

Margareta wanted first-hand experience in places of special need in the world. As Christians, she and her husband wanted to look at communities that were engaged in dealing with crucial human problems, such as world peace and feeding the hungry. So where did they go? To Nicaragua, Guatemala and El Salvador, as well as to the Sojourners community in inner-city Washington D.C., the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in Cambridge, and the Kirkridge Center in Pennsylvania.

They did not discover some exciting new career, as some people do on their 50 year sabbaticals. Instead, they went home after their journey of exploration with greatly enriched new perspectives on the jobs they had held for many years.

In Guatemala they sought out the Peace Brigades' international office to interview some of the staff for Margareta's radio program. The Peace Brigade volunteers from Europe, Canada and the United States organize personal escorts and nonviolent defense of people who are known to be in danger of arbitrary arrest or "disappearance." These volunteers play an important role in assisting

Parker Rossman, a free-lance religious journalist from Niantic, Conn., is co-author with Gaylord Noyce of *Helping People Care on the Job* (Judson Press).

the wives and mothers of people who have disappeared, and in helping defend their right to protest and petition the government without reprisals.

When she found that the Peace Brigades were also at work in Nicaragua, Margareta became interested in possibly making a film about their efforts to protect villagers from attack. She was moved by the commitment of those involved in the iglesia popular, and their efforts to organize water and agricultural projects to help ordinary people improve their lives; and in the work of Swedish government and church projects supporting human rights in Nicaragua. One of their Swedish hosts, Bengt Kjeller, who helped them see how U.S.-backed contras were hindering development, was later selected in Sweden as the "foreign aid worker of the year." The Inglestams were also pleased to find Swedes involved in helping bring books into Nicaragua to create more adequate libraries because such resources were meagre.

During a trip to El Salvador, Margareta was especially moved by her visit to the women's prison in San Salvador where she found 41 children under seven years of age living there with their mothers.

A lawyer took Margareta to visit one young woman, a political prisoner, whose two-year-old son Malcolm, born in prison, was eager for a chance to look through the gates at the world outside. He was mentally retarded, probably because his mother had been beaten by soldiers when she was pregnant. "I lived in a hacienda where they fed bowls of meat and milk to the dogs, and my children, who had only a few scraps to eat, died for lack of medical care. You will never understand violence," she told Margareta, "until you watch your children slowly dying from hunger."

After she had been home for a few months, remembering such people as little Malcolm, she and Lars resolved that in the future their concerns for peace and justice had to be kept close together. True security, they decided, can come only through disarmament. Coming from a small country like Sweden led them to have a special concern for the integrity and self-determination of other small countries. When they visited Nicaraguan refugees in Costa Rica, Margareta noted there, as she had in her own country the dominance of American television.

What could she do? At one time, Margareta wrote, "Sweden nurtured the brutal Vikings who waged some of the most terrible wars in Europe," priding itself on its great warriors. Sweden was arrogant and expansionist. Now, she wrote,

Without responsibilities to employers and children, for example, senior citizens should be able to act on major social issues — such as disarmament — with greater boldness. With the right preparation, freedom from work should come as a kind of authentic liberation.

"Sweden is a rather peaceful and even peace-loving country, trying to solve both national and international conflicts by mediation and conciliation, without violence."

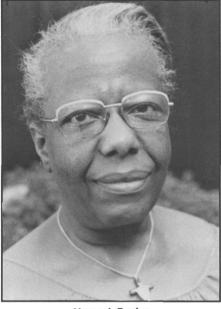
How did this transformation happen? As a result of her "sabbatical journey," she helped start a study group to seek answers to that question and to explore the idea of establishing an Institute for Reconciliation and Mediation. It was seen to be a timely idea as the Swedish government was considering for the first time the establishment of a non-military style of defense.

As people get older and more of them undertake such sabbatical journeys to make new plans for their later years, many Christians will find a certain freedom. Once on pension the prospect of losing one's job as a result of an unpopular action is no longer a worry. Without responsibilities to employers and children, for example, senior citizens should be able to act on major social issues such as disarmament — with greater boldness. With the right preparation and attitude, freedom from work should come as a kind of authentic liberation.

Perhaps Christians need a new "retirement philosophy," with churches offering to commission people who wish a new kind of service career in the early years of retirement. Even suggesting the idea could cause many people to consider doing things that otherwise might never have occurred to them. But if such a plan is considered at age 50, rather than 65, many could make far more significant plans for using the strength and resources they have in retirement. If challenged, would more people give a retirement year to an adventure like the Peace Corps, as President Carter's mother Lillian did in India?

Such a retirement philosophy would point out that there can be a Christian calling or vocation in retirement as well as in youth. For example, one couple moved into an intentional community for the mentally retarded when they retired, offering their services gratis to that village. Many retired persons plan overseas travel, and some of them now do so to learn about major social problems, so they can come home to work more effectively in solving them.

Others, as Margareta Inglestam proposed, have helped develop exciting new projects like an electronic creativity workshop based in a kind of play to show people how to develop their creativity and new alternatives to commercial TV and films. Senior citizens today tend to have more strength, more education and ideas, and more possibilities to do interesting things than ever before.



Verna J. Dozier

Saying 'Yes' in a 'No' world

by Verna J. Dozier

I'm me I'm good 'Cuz God made me And God don't make junk.

L see that motto every day of my life. It hangs in my bedroom beside a small chest of drawers. It is spelled in different colored letters on burlap.

I grew up black in a world in which white was right. I am female in a world in which male is the currency of power. I am old in a culture that idolizes youth.

I'm me

I'm good

'Cuz God made me

And God don't make junk.

This is a faith statement.

For all who believe it, it is the Judeo-Christian declaration of independence from every tyranny of the demeaning estimates of the world.

But it is a faith statement. Faith is something I live by. It is a decision to risk that this is the way God meant the world to be.

In a world that exalts whiteness, maleness, youth, I live by the faith that whiteness, maleness, youth is not the best part of reality — nor the worst either — but only part of reality and indeed, without blackness, femaleness, age, a very incomplete part.

In strange ways that only the faithful know — and I cannot articulate — faith is not only the decision to risk; it is also the power to make that decision.

It is the courage to be, to affirm yourself in the face of all that denies you.

To be able to say YES to yourself when all the environment is shouting NO, but to be able to listen to that NO and hear what message it is sending from which you can profit — in my experience, that is certainly beyond the possibility of fragile human beings. That takes a leap of faith. That takes a religious dimension.

I was taken on a tour of Ethiopian museums a few years ago by a bitter, hostile youth. He said to me as he proudly showed off the figures of Ethiopian kings in all their splendid regalia, "I do not see why they always picture us as naked savages. We have always worn clothes." I wondered why wearing clothes was to him such a sign of worth. In the Genesis story nakedness was a sign of innocence. Human beings only felt the need for clothing when they felt the need to hide. But obviously my young dude was taking his signals from another drummer, and not necessarily the drummer of his fathers.

Verna J. Dozier, noted educator and author of numerous books and articles on the importance of lay ministry, is on the board of the Alban Institute in Washington, D.C. and adjunct professor at Virginia Theological Seminary. This article is adapted from a talk given at the Women's Interfaith Prayer Breakfast in Orlando, Fla.

With sublime arrogance, Sir Kenneth Clark writes a book about a small part of the world and calls it *Civilization*, and even proud blacks who would protest it most fall unwitting prey to the stance.

Out of scores of definitions for "black" in the Oxford English Dictionary, only a few are not pejorative. Black hearse, black days, black moods. Black is bad. White is good. Howard Thurman noted that *Moby Dick* is the only instance in American literature where white is a sign of evil.

So blacks follow that example. If blacks have been condemned by whites, blacks will condemn whites. You hate me, I will hate you more.

The response was inevitable, since we all, I believe, participate in fallenness, but there is no redemption in the response. If I have to say a death-dealing NO to you in order to say YES to myself, you still have power over me. I am still bound by the model you set. There is no freedom for me in that. I cannot point the way to a new reign of God that way.

Living by the death of the other, however, not only characterizes the relationships between the races; it characterizes the relationships between the sexes.

Women the world over are struggling to find a new definition of themselves, and their big handicap in the struggle, as I see it, is we have no model but the male one. Kill or be killed, win or lose, YES to me, NO to you.

Western civilization said NO to the black. East and West said NO to women. But the United States has written its own unique chapter in human history in its disparagement of the aging.

Dourness about growing old is not, of course, unique in America. Ecclesiastes warns, "Remember now thy creator in the days of youth, while the evil days come not nor the years draw nigh when thou shall say, I have no pleasure in them." Then the old preacher goes on to paint as grim and realistic a picture of aging as you will find anywhere:

... and the keepers of the house shall tremble, and the strong men shall bow themselves, and the grinders cease because they are few, and those that look out of the windows be darkened ... And also they shall be afraid of that which is high, and fears shall be in the way ...

In our country the picture is grim. This is a young country, and we have always worshipped at the shrine of youth. Old and ugly companion each other in our thoughts like apple pie and cheese.

"What's new?" is the classic American greeting, and growing old is a fate worse than death. Our folk heroes are those who lived hard and fast and died young. The specter of turning 40 traumatizes the nation. Mid-life is a crisis. Robert Butler aptly titles his book about growing old in America, Why Survive? And the question is not lightly asked. Our culture writes the aging off. We can look forward to victimization by young hoodlums in the decaying neighborhoods to which our lowered earning power condemns us, and victimization by our government because we are increasingly powerless and dependent.

Our wrinkled skin and slowed movements are too-vivid reminders to the young of the fate that awaits us all, and they would just as soon forget it.

The good news for me in growing old is that the old have the possibility of breaking that vicious human history of living by the death of the other. Older people have an invaluable gift to bring to the world — the gift of reconciliation. I have always been responsive to the Native American saying about not passing judgement on another human being until vou have walked a mile in his/her moccasins. It occurs to me that therein lies the possibility for a holy gift the old can offer our increasingly polarized society. Blacks have never been white — a white reporter tried to be black once, but the catch was that he could never really understand what it was like to be black with no escape hatch. Women have never been men. Men have never been women.

Older people can model a kingdom-of-God way for the opposing camps in our society. We have known what it is to be young and angry. In our time we have raged against the tyranny of *our* elders. We have walked that mile in another's moccasins. We have another life to remember. We have another word to say.

How often the NO is said to those who look different. You can't be the same as I. You look so different. From there it is a short step to, "You can't be as good as I. You are inferior."

In the face of that NO, I, for my soul's sake must do two things. I must first affirm myself, affirm the very realities the other denies.

Yes, I am black and blackness is good. Yes, I am a woman, and womanhood is good.

Yes, I am old, and age is good.

Ultimately, I can only do that by the power of a Creator who is for me. "If God be for us," says St. Paul, "who can be against us?"

And that trust brings me to the second thing I affirm in the face of the NO against me.

You are white or brown or copper, and any color is good.

You are male, and maleness is good.

You are young, and youth is good.

The Creator is for all creation. "And God saw everything that God had made, and behold, it was very good. And the evening and the morning were the sixth day."

That is my faith. And that, to me, is the new possibility for a new humanity, every man, woman and child saying YES to themselves and YES to every other human being.

We're us We're good 'Cuz God made us And God don't make junk!

TW

Make a better world for young and old,

When Maggie Kuhn organized the Gray Panthers in 1970 to combat stereotypes about the elderly and to advocate for their rights, she did so out of sheer frustration after having been forced to retire at age 65 from a job with the United Presbyterian Church that she enjoyed. Today, the Gray Panthers not only embrace the old and young, but reach out to the poor, to minorities, and to those languishing behind prison bars.

Born in Buffalo in 1905, Maggie Kuhn came to Philadelphia in 1930 when she transferred from the YWCA in Cleveland. A great believer in the grass-roots approach for effective social change, she has said that most people do not seem to realize the power they posses when they organize. Also, she told one interviewer, "I'd love to see . . . cadres of think tanks of radical, older people who could delve into public policy."

Undoubtedly, her great sense of humor has also helped in her unceasing efforts to bring about change for the better for all those in need.

She would like her epitaph to read: "Here lies Maggie, under the only stone she ever left unturned."

Free-lance writer Anita Cornwell recently interviewed the 84-yearold Maggie at her home in the Germantown section of Philadelphia, where she lives with several housemates and two very inquisitive cats. Kuhn gave the impression of a woman filled with caring and friendliness, as well as a powerful impatience with injustice.



Maggie Kuhn

Do you still believe the best strategy for obtaining the Gray Panther goal of national health insurance is to pursue it on a state-by-state basis?

No, not anymore. We think the time is at hand to move on a national level. We still have well over 30 million people who cannot afford health insurance, and the big corporations are cutting back on insurance for their workers. I think it is going to come. The American Nurses Association and the Medical Students' Association are in favor of it. And last year the New England Journal of Medicine reported that 150 physicians have gone on record as supporting a national health insurance service.

This is a big priority with us. We are

going to take our petitions to the House of Representatives this spring. We plan to make a house call on the House.

What are some of the alternative health care methods available to the elderly that are being overlooked by the medical and health care industry and the government?

One of the things I have been helped with is physical therapy. The problem is there are not enough therapists, and you have to be assigned to one by a physician. It is just another way in which the doctors maintain control. But in some states you do have direct access. You can call a physical therapist without a doctor's order. Is it somewhat like the doctors trying to get rid of mid-wives? Exactly!

Are the minority elderly worse off in terms of health care?

The minority elderly are really much more endangered. So many public hospitals and emergency rooms are closing, there is no place for poor people to go. One of the things we need is to have consumers on some of the boards that provide health care.

Many of the things that were available once upon a time disappeared under Ronald Reagan. Also, we need more home health care workers so we won't be so dependent on hospitals.

says Gray Panther leader

by Anita Cornwell

How can older people organize effectively to lobby for changes in the health care system?

As I've said, grass-roots organizing is absolutely essential. We are going to petition the system and challenge its budget priorities.

A big question is, how will we pay for a national health care plan? I feel very strongly that we do not need to spend all those billions for defense. Look at "Star Wars." It's nothing but a boondoggle a mess! There is an interesting boycott underway that began a few years ago. A Japanese physicist at City College of New York began this boycott, and several thousand scientists have joined in saying *no* to Star Wars' research money. They say it is never going to work anyway. The Pentagon is very shook up about this.

In one interview, you said the three major problems with our health care system are that it is too costly, it is inaccessible, and there is too much emphasis on technology. Do you believe the situation has improved any since that time?

No, I don't, because the hospitals are buying into the system. And although there are more women in medical schools today, they are programmed to act like men. As I mentioned to that interviewer, "To get along in a man's world, a woman has to dress like a lady, look like a schoolgirl, think like a man, and work like a horse."

What do you think of the right-do-die movement?

I have supported it, and I have spoken in favor of it. We have worked for establishment of the Living Will, which I have signed. How it works is that it is signed by you, your physician, your spiritual advisor, and your lawyer. You agree that you, the patient, do not want any extraordinary means to prolong your life, that when your time comes, you want to die with dignity. I hope that when my time comes there will be friends and care-givers with me who will understand and respect my wishes.

What role can the churches play in working with the elderly and advocating for them?

I think the churches should be in touch with the elderly in their areas. Of course, many elderly people for various reasons do not attend church anymore. And ministers and priests often do not visit people. The church is one of the main institutions that could fill this role of looking in on the elderly at home.

A young friend lived with me the entire time she attended Princeton University Seminary. One of her projects was a study of the course offerings and catalogues of 125 seminaries. Ten percent of them did not have any courses on the elderly. Many of the ministers said, "If we just have a lot of old people, we have a dying church." I believe we need both, the young and the elderly. But the fact is, many of the ministers are uncomfortable with old people.

I believe the churches and the seminaries should make it a practice to visit retirement communities and make a point of getting old and young people together. I think the religious community has a tremendous opportunity in bringing these groups together. The church has a great challenge facing it today in relation to the very young and the very old.

How is your work with prisoners at the State Correctional Institute in

Gratersford, Pa., coming along?

Very well. That is a big story. Gratersford Prison is so crowded today. It has more than 5,000 prisoners, including a large population of very old prisoners. Many of them are lifers. We organized a Gray Panthers chapter there.

Some of those lifers have been in prison for over 40 years. Many of them don't want to come out even if they could because they have no place to go. They would not know how to live in the outside world and that world has no place for them.

Many prisons seem more geared to punishment than to rehabilitation. And there seems to be a great deal of antagonism between the younger prisoners and the older ones. We are trying to bring the two groups together so they can help each other.

Another thing we would like to see them do is set up a gardening system. The Morris Arboretum in Philadelphia is very much interested in helping establish such a program at Gratersford. We have lots of work to do. We also want to go to the state women's prison in Munsey, and start doing work there.

What do you think about the government using the Social Security surplus to pay off the federal deficit?

I think it's awful — totally wrong! It's a violation of the basic agreement the government made with working people. Fifty percent of every tax dollar goes to the Pentagon. If they would cut down on that bloated defense budget, they would not have to tamper with Social Security funds.

How do you feel about the way the government and people in general Continued on page 22

The forgotten people of El Toro

by Carter Heyward

Although the outcome of the Nicaraguan elections has long been known, with Violeta Chamorro toppling Sandinista favorite Daniel Ortega, THE WITNESS thought that this dramatic account by contributing editor Carter Heyward, an election observer, needed exposure. Heyward tells how she and Brian Grieves of the Episcopal Church Center were caught up in an unexpected and frightening turn of events at a rural polling place in contra territory. Names in this account have been changed, at the discretion of the author.

E1 Toro (the bull) is not on any map of Nicaragua I have seen. It's a spot in the Atlantic Territory, a scattering of dirtfloor houses, a road and several paths winding over a mountain and through a tropical forest. El Toro is an hour and a half drive southeast from Rio Blanco, which is three hours southeast of Matagalpa, the largest city nearby. One can travel to El Toro from Rio Blanco on an army truck converted to public transportation or by milk truck, jeep, or horse, though hundreds of Nicaraguans walked a couple of days to El Toro for the Feb. 25 elections. The entrance to El Toro is marked by a wood and palm arch over the dirt road.

When we mentioned we had been assigned by Witness for Peace to El Toro to observe the elections, a shopkeeper in Matagalpa shook his head and remarked, "Why would anyone go to El Toro?" Later the same day, a worker at Sandinista headquarters rolled her eyes and crossed herself when Brian Grieves, peace and justice officer at the Episcopal Church Center, and I noted that we'd be in El Toro. "It's not a place I would spend the night," she said.

Witness for Peace long-term volunteer Patricia Westwater, Brian, and I spent

the day and night before the elections in El Toro. We had learned during our briefings in Managua that El Toro was contra country and, for that reason, a spot occupied by the Nicaraguan army. There had been some mention in the Witness for Peace correspondence that we might be going into dangerous territories, which, in my head, had translated into places where the contra might be. From my sabbatical residence in Deer Isle, Maine, this possibility had struck me as interesting. On the back of the public transport, bumping along the narrow dirt road to El Toro, it hit me in the stomach: I felt expectant, and scared.

We arrived at about 11 a.m. on Feb. 24, a hot day. Juanita, a woman we had met in Rio Blanco, and her small daughter were with us. Brian and I had stayed with Juanita's sister Maria and her family in Rio Blanco. Maria was a big Sandinista supporter, and we had some spirited conversations about the elections, Daniel Ortega, Violeta Chamorro, and what seemed to us all to be at stake. Juanita had been present for these conversations, though she had said little. When we got to El Toro, she invited us to come spend the afternoon in her home.

For the next hour, Brian, Trish and I followed Juanita and the child up a path, across a field, through a forest, over a mountain, down a meadow, until we came to her house, which sat in an orchard of bananas, mangoes, and cacao. Juanita introduced us to her husband Carlos and their other children, including a draft-age son. She then disappeared into the house as Carlos showed the orchard, offering us fruit and telling us how much this land meant to him. Then he escorted us back to the house which he himself had built.

As Juanita brought us food — soup, chicken, rice, beans — Carlos regaled us passionately about Nicaragua, the Sandinistas, the army and the elections. The Sandinistas had brought the country to ruin, he said. Never had he and the others been so poor. It was hard to keep going. The army was omnipresent, menacing, harassing, accusing him and his neighbors of being contras, stealing their chickens, threatening to draft his son.

"Had the revolution done anything good for him and his family?" we asked. "No, the Sandinistas do not care about us. We are a forgotten people," he responded. "Maybe in the city, there has been some improvement, but not here."

What did he think would happen in the elections? Who did he think would win? "There will be fraud. If not, the UNO coalition would win 80% of the vote. That is why it is important that you are here," he told us, "because maybe there will be less fraud. It is good for us that people like you have come to help try to make this election fair."

The Rev. Carter Heyward, Professor of Feminist Liberation Theology at the Episcopal Divinity School, has made several trips to Nicaragua.

Later in the afternoon, Carlos helped us back down the mountain, holding our arms so we would not slip in the mud, and wielding a machete in case we ran into snakes. I wondered if, possibly, this hospitable, caring man was a contra? Along the way, we stopped at each house we passed. At one, we were given a live chicken for our supper; at another, grapefruit off a tree. In each case, we were given things by people who clearly were suffering extreme poverty and who, like Carlos, were lively in their condemnation of the Sandinistas and in their praise of the UNO.

When finally we reached the road that was the heart of El Toro, we said goodbye to Carlos, Juanita and their children and headed for the one-room school-

house which was to be the election polling place the next day. We were looking for the official appointed by the Supreme Electoral Council to oversee the polling. We found him outside the building, talking with some other men.

Since neither Brian nor I had much Spanish, we were largely dependent on Trish to provide our ears, voice and, at times, our interpretive judgments. Without Trish, Brian and I knew that we would be adrift in a sea of confusion. Trish talked for a few minutes with the election official, and then informed us that there was a problem: The election materials - ballots and voting booths - had not arrived and the last transport of the day had come and gone. We were stunned. Had someone, somewhere, forgotten the people of El Toro?

We walked through a crowd of about 100 voters who had already arrived and headed toward the place we were to spend the night. It was a small house by the road, the first of several located by the arched entryway into El Toro. This house, it seemed, was the only one in town occupied by a publicly pro-Sandinista family. Sandinista campaign materials were posted outside the house, making it clear that the inhabitants, and perhaps their visitors, were friendly to the ruling party.

Brian and I sat over our supper in the dark, crowded space and spoke quietly of how we understood what was happening. We felt confused, worried and, if the truth were known, a little apprehensive about sleeping in this house filled with occupants and visitors we had not met. All conversations around us in the two adjacent rooms were in whispers and, of course, in Spanish. Otherwise,



Frustrated voters in El Toro, waiting to hear if the polls will open, hold up their voter registration cards.

there was just the clucking of chickens, whimpering of dogs, and grunting of pigs, which from time to time would brush against us as they passed through the room.

We slept in hammocks we had brought with us, which we hung from the rafters. Very early in the morning, well before six when the polls theoretically were to open, Brian and I woke up, got dressed, and headed to the schoolhouse to begin our election-watch duties.

My Spanish was barely adequate for the situation. No, we were told by the election official, election materials still were not there. His face sad and uncertain, he wondered if maybe the materials would arrive with the milk truck at 7 a.m. So we waited. But what arrived in-

> stead was a note from the president of the regional UNO coalition, which the official read to the several hundred people waiting to vote. Trish, who had joined us, translated the note. It said that the Electoral Council in Rio Blanco had decided for security reasons not to open the polling station at El Toro. The UNO coalition was trying to get the decision reversed, and people should wait until 10 a.m. for further word from the UNO about what to do. The tension in the crowd began to simmer. Some faces reflected bewilderment; others, anger. Many looked blank, as if this were just another day in El Toro, another non-event.

> As it happened, two other election observers, Bob and Judy from the World Council of Churches, had come in a jeep to El Toro the night before. When we all realized on Sunday morning that there was a serious problem, Bob and Judy decided to drive into Rio Blanco to find out what they could and, we

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hoped, bring election materials back to El Toro. Taking four men with them to help push the jeep if it got stuck in one of the streams it had to cross, Bob and Judy left for Rio Blanco at about 9 a.m.

Trish, Brian and I milled, together and separately, among the gathering crowd, listening even when we did not understand, speaking even when we were not understood, trying to convey our concern and our hope that the polling place would yet be opened.

Until that moment, it had not occurred to me that something very big, something very bad, might have happened. I thought: What if there is no election happening anywhere? It had never dawned on me that the Sandinista government might cancel the elections. I knew this could not be. But were we in imminent danger? If so, from what or whom? Was this moment a small, searing flash in the gut of what it is like to be a forgotten people? Were Brian, Trish, and I, together with close to 1,000 Nicaraguans gathering to vote, being sucked into the belly of a beast bred and fed by the CIA?

Brian and I had not a clue as to what might happen next, but we sensed it would not be good. All we could do was wait, showing the Nicaraguans, as well as we could, that we cared.

After a while, we returned to the house where we were staying and sat together for about a half an hour, sharing suspicions and fears and then suddenly launching into a conversation about the Episcopal Church! This came to an abrupt halt when we heard the jeep approaching. We hurried to meet it. Brian went around to the driver's side. Bob spoke quietly to him, then drove away toward the schoolhouse. Brian told me that Bob had instructed us to pack our things immediately and be prepared to leave at once. When Brian had asked why, Bob responded that he couldn't tell us at this point, but that the situation was grave.

We went into the house and packed. I headed out the door for the woods to answer Mother Nature's call. Then Brian looked up from his packing as three soldiers suddenly appeared in the doorway. He said immediately, "Con permiso" (excuse me), and walked past them to join me. We took off for the schoolhouse. As we approached, we saw it was surrounded by a large and growing throng of voters. They cleared a path for us instantly and directed us toward the door. Once inside, we found Trish engaged intensely in conversation with the election officer. Bob and Judy were with her.

"What's going on?" I asked Judy.

"We can't tell you, but we are in an enormously dangerous situation. Your friends want you back very badly. Trish is trying to tell the man we can do more good for El Toro in Rio Blanco than we can out here. Just pray, Carter." Then she began with the words, "Come, Holy Spirit..."

"She's here," I responded quickly, assuring myself as well as Judy, who smiled and nodded.

A moment later, Trish finished speaking and the man seemed to agree with whatever she had said. She then turned to us and spoke emphatically: "Go immediately to the house, get your stuff and get in the jeep. Do not stop. Do not speak to anyone. Just go. Now."

And we did. We walked rapidly, without looking up, right through the crowd, who cleared a path for us. We went into the house, picked up our bags, said good-bye to the soldiers who were sitting there and the woman whose home it was, walked out the door, down the path, climbed into the jeep and sped away, leaving behind the forgotten people of El Toro, including those who hosted us, fed us, and gave us gifts. No thank you's. No good lucks. No farewells. Nothing. The rage and sorrow of the people rose behind us, barely audible, as the election official began his grim announcement that there would definitely be no voting in El Toro.

Several minutes down the road, our jeep was stopped by a band of men on horseback who asked where we were going. It was not clear whether they were armed. Several were looming over the car. It was obvious that they were drunk and, it seemed to us, belligerent. We told them we were election observers headed from El Toro to Rio Blanco. With some apparent reluctance, they let us pass. We suspected that they were contra headed to El Toro to vote.

And what grave danger had we been in? I pressed Judy and Bob for an answer. They said that the election officials in Rio Blanco simply had been adamant that as election observers our lives were in great danger in El Toro and they had been instructed to get us out of there and tell us nothing about why. That was all we were able to learn.

In El Toro, we met the evil of the Reagan-Bush doctrine of low-intensity conflict. We encountered the terror and the chaos generated by this conflict. In El Toro, we met the danger, we met the enemy, and it was us. It was our own nation's fear and confusion unleashed among the Nicaraguan peasants, a fear and confusion a few of us shared with them one day in February. But we could flee the violence of the evil we have wrought. And they cannot.

CORRECTION

The article on the Nicaraguan elections in the April WITNESS listed Episcopal election observers and several names were omitted: Jeffrey Penn, New York, N.Y., was a member of the Witness for Peace Episcopal delegation. Patti Browning, New York, N.Y. and the Rt. Rev. Frank Griswold, Chicago, Ill., were members of the Witness for Peace Opinion Leaders delegation.

Short Takes

45% of workforce female

Most women in the United States today work because they have to, and young women now expect to work outside the home most of their lives. Forty-five percent of the workforce is now female, and 7 out of 10 women in the 25 to 54 age group are now in the labor force. By the year 2000, only 15% of new entrants into the labor force will be white native-born American males.

Encouragement by the arbiters of social acceptability for a woman to work for money outside the home did not include provisions for the care of her children, and this remains a particularly urgent problem. The answer cannot be found and should not be sought in the return to the isolation of the kitchen and dependence on some man's handout. There are other answers beyond token childcare programs that the political establishment is making noises about. They can only be found, however, if human welfare is seen to supercede the profit motive.

Ruth Berman Monthly Review 11/89

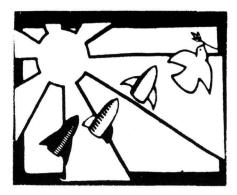
Strength does not come from physical capacity. It comes from an indomitable will.

Mohandas Gandhi

Christians almost 1/3 of world

With more than 1.7 billion believers, Christians make up almost one-third (33.1%) of the world's population, according to figures released in the latest Annual Statistical Table on Global Mission. Christians are the largest religious group in the world. Muslims come next, totaling 17.5%, while non-religious people comprise 16.4%. And although neither Hindus (13.3%) nor Buddhists (6.1%) engage in evangelism, both groups attract a substantial following.

NCC's Ecu+link 1/90



Taxing thoughts

In January 1990, President Bush proposed a federal budget of \$1.23 trillion for FY '91 . . . about \$5,000 in taxes for every woman, man and child in the United States [if] each of us paid an equal share of the budget.

Most Americans would gladly pay 1.3 cents per dollar, or \$65 per \$5,000 as the federal share of education and employment programs. Many would be willing to pay three cents per dollar, \$145 per \$5,000, for housing. To put things in proportion, it might help to realize that the average American spent \$45.63 at McDonalds in 1988 (\$11.4 billion total), \$84 on toiletries (\$20 billion in 1984) and, if over 18, drank 32.8 gallons of beer.

Few Americans would volunteer to spend 52 cents per dollar — \$2,600 per \$5,000, for present and past military expenses; or a quarter of their taxes for interest on the national debt — a figure likely to continue rising.

> Dick Hoehn Blueprint for Social Justice 4/90

Same middle name

Amy Jobes, a student at the School of Theology of the University of the South wrote a poem called "John the Baptist and Winnie the Pooh Have the Same Middle Name" in the recent St. Luke's *Journal of Theology*.

The price of oppression

Dr. Yehuda Hiss, the director of the Israeli government's autopsy institute in Tel Aviv, warned recently that the *intifada* has had a damaging emotional effect on soldiers who serve in the West Bank and Gaza. "A person who lives in an atmosphere of such violence several months a year changes his behavior and acts in a way in which he previously would not have dreamed of acting," Hiss told the Israeli press. He said that he could trace the escalation of violent behavior by Israeli security forces from the condition of the Palestinian corpses on which he performed autopsies.

> Al Miskin Middle East Report 3-4/90

How do you see things?

The world is seen differently by the colonized than by the colonizers, by minorities than by majorities, by people of color than by whites, by Eastern peoples than by Western peoples, by the South than by the North.

Theologian Larry Rasmussen Christianity & Crisis flyer

The art of living

The trick of being alive is to be able to do two things at the same time. One is to honestly see that everything we are and everything we do, everything we believe is ultimately hopeless meaningless. We are all going to die, and the earth on which we live will burn out and fall into the sun . . . On the other hand, today I am free to make my life and the world in which I live as meaningful as I wish, as I am capable . . .

I tend to live my life on that, 'in the meanwhile' . . . And what gives my life movement, what gets me up and going and not stuck there — is laughter.

Robert Fulghum Gray Panther Network 3/90

Not yet a time for peace in Israel

We are all caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied to a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly. Martin Luther King, Jr.

We live in a global village. No one of us is an island unto himself or herself. I am involved in humanity — when the bell tolls, it tolls for me. That is why this past winter I spent two weeks in Israel and Palestine as part of the Palestine Aid Societies' delegation to participate in "1990: Time For Peace." We joined 1,200 Europeans and hundreds of other Americans for three days of meetings, cultural events and political demonstrations organized by European non-governmental groups as a way of showing support for the Palestinian uprising, or *intifada*.

During a Christmas visit to Jerusalem, South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu pointed out strong parallels between the repression of Palestinians under Iraeli occupation and black South Africans under apartheid. I remember during civil rights days in the United States — the "Black Uprising" — there were millions, including untold numbers of Jews, who suffered with us blacks. I felt that if I did not go to Israel and identify with another oppressed people, I would be like the drowning man who, having been rescued by an outstretched hand, will not reach out to save another by Paul Washington

from drowning.

Our 16-member delegation was intereverything; inter-ethnic, interfaith, intergenerational and interdenominational. The capacity of each person in this group to understand, respect and accept the others was the incarnation of peace and harmony in diversity.

Soon after we arrived in Israel, we walked alongside 6,000 women from the United States, Canada and Europe, who ioined their Israeli and Palestinian sisters in a Dec. 29 march in Jerusalem. It was sponsored by "Women in Black," a group founded in 1987 by Israeli -Jews and non-Jews - and Palestinian women to protest the occupation. The women wear black in mourning of Palestinian deaths and the disruption of Palestinian lives and hold weekly Friday vigils in Israeli cities. I was close by when a Palestinian woman marcher unfurled a Palestinian flag. Immediately Israeli soldiers advanced into the crowd of marchers, breaking us up, and the march ended in violence.

On Dec. 30, I was a link in a human chain of 25,000 to 30,000 Palestinians, Israelis and foreigners which completely encircled the walls of old Jerusalem. We stood hand-in-hand saying, "It is time for peace." But we got another message from the Israeli security forces: With Palestinians, there will be no peace. The army and police attacked, using rubber and plastic bullets, tear gas, water cannons and clubs. There were 78 arrests and over 60 were seriously injured, including an Italian woman who lost an eye. The chain was torn asunder, but not before we had stood at the religious center of the world calling for peace.

Our delegation visited many cities in the West Bank and Gaza, areas heavily occupied by Israeli soldiers. We saw Israeli settlements being built where Palestinian homes had been demolished. We visited Palestinian hospitals and care-

The Rev. Paul Washington, left, joins human chain encircling the walls of old Jerusalem.



The Rev. Paul Washington, rector emertius of the Church of the Advocate, Philadelphia, Pa., is chaplain of the Advocate Community Development Corporation.

fully-hidden factories where Palestinians are illegally making their own products so they can boycott Israeli goods.

We were on a street in Nablus when a boy picked up a stone and threw it in the direction of some soldiers. We pushed and struggled to get out of the way as the soldiers pursued him with guns drawn, ready to shoot.

We visited Palestinian refugee camps and the homes of families who had lost members because they had either been killed for suspected subversive activities or deported. We helped a Palestinian farmer plant olive trees on his land, because the Israelis take any land that is not in use. I hope that the trees we planted will keep his land from being confiscated, but I have heard that many times such trees are simply bulldozed to make room for Israeli settlements.

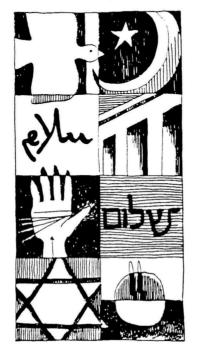
The delegation had many meetings with leaders of the *intifada*. These were people from all walks of life — professionals, public servants, laborers and committed community people. They made it clear that the *intifada* is not about stone-throwing, but is instead about organizing "non-cooperation with the oppressor," and planning and preparing for the day when there will be a Palestinian state.

At present Israel spends \$200 million a year trying to put down the uprising. My feeling is that, contrary to the rhetoric of their leaders, the Israelis will soon get tired and the fighting will be over, because the oppressed never tire of struggling to rise. Events in South Africa, Eastern Europe, Ireland, Central America and even the United States have made this clear.

When Senator Bob Dole proposed a 5% cut in the \$3 billion in U.S. aid to Israel, Prime Minister Yitzak Shamir cautioned the United States that it needs Israel, because the Soviets are still pouring aid into Libya and Syria. But Shamir does not seem to be reading the signs of the times. Reagan's "Evil Empire"

seems to be piling up olive branches rather than ICBMs. How much longer will the American people feel that we must have a strong military ally in the Middle East at the cost of \$3 billion a year?

The State Department said U.S. money should not be used to build Jewish settlements on the West Bank and Gaza. Shamir responded that Israel will hold on to the occupied territories be-



cause they are needed to build settlements for the influx of Soviet Jews. For him it is unthinkable to even entertain the thought of a Palestinian state. Does he mean that the Jews, once homeless, will now make 2 million Palestinians homeless? Where will those people go? Would Shamir build the ghetto which will one day rise up and explode? It was a Jew who said a couple of thousand years ago, "He who seeks to save his life shall lose it."

Israel has three prominent allies — the United States, Britain and South Africa — but perhaps it should go back to Isaiah, who warned, "Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help and stay on horses and trust in chariots because they are many, and trust in horsemen because they are strong, but do not seek the Lord."

Egyptians are human and not God, and their horses are flesh and not spirit. When the Lord shall stretch out his hand, both he that helps shall fall and they that are helped also shall fall. They shall both fall together.

Amos Oz, Israel's best-known poet and novelist, writes, "What worries and preoccupies me is the increased polarization within Israel, a decline of mutual trust and confidence, a growth of intolerance and arrogance." Not unlike America during the Vietnam era.

A very good Jewish woman friend and I had a reunion in Jerusalem during the "Time For Peace" witness. One afternoon she said to me, "Paul, twice in my life I have feared for the life of my people. The first time was when Hitler was trying to destroy us. The second time is now — we are destroying ourselves."

I think hers are prophetic words, eternal words — as you do unto others so shall it also be done unto you. The young men and women of Israel conscripted to suppress the Palestinians' struggle for self-determination today will be Israel's "Vietnam veterans" of tomorrow.

I wholeheartedly agree with Archbishop Tutu's statement that there must be a Jewish as well as a Palestinian state. and that Jews and Palestinians must forgive each other. An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth means only that one day they will both be blind and toothless. Israel ought to stop and think for a moment. It is biting with borrowed teeth, \$3 billion dentures granted by the United States. As for the Palestinians, they have no teeth. They can only persevere in their suffering, but it may be a suffering that will redeem them as God has so often redeemed the children of Israel. TW

The COCU Consensus A single seamless garment

by John H. Burt

Does belief in the Christian God automatically make a difference in how Christians treat their neighbors? Does faith in Jesus as Lord and Saviour necessarily affect the way a person witnesses to social justice?

Theoretically, yes. But in the long history of Christian theology, the answer is not very reassuring. Great belief does not necessarily translate into a compassionate lifestyle — either by Christians or their churches. It is Christianity's greatest embarrassment.

Happily, today a new dimension is being added to the way historic biblical theology is crafted. Although known all too little by people in the pew, it is nonetheless an emerging reality. It is also a cause for rejoicing by any who feel that religion should constantly be relevant to the great human issues in every generation.

This new dimension is being stimulated largely by today's ecumenical movement with its insistence that the drafting of theological definitions can no longer be confined to the halls of academia, or to the insights of a single Christian communion. To be authentic, theology must not only draw on biblical roots and the historic catholic/reformed heritage, but must emerge ecumenically from the encounter of a variety of Christian traditions. And it must reflect ethical perceptions and social justice insights born from people's experience of struggling in the marketplace. Moreover, these insights must be woven into the fabric of the texts of the new theological statements themselves and not be pinned on at the end as an appendix to or as consequence of biblical doctrine.

The most notable example of this new development is the experience of the U.S. churches which are the current partners in the Consultation on Church Union. Their document, *The COCU Consensus*, is being offered to us as an official theological foundation on which to establish a fresh way into Christian reunion through a style they call "covenanting." The eminent scholars who drafted *Consensus* had to learn the hard way the necessity for re-casting its theological conclusions.

The struggle began in 1962, after a sermon preached in Grace Cathedral, San Francisco two years earlier by Eugene Carson Blake, the Stated Clerk of the Presbyterian Church. In that sermon Blake challenged the churches of America to make a new attempt at healing their divisions. With the Episcopal Church and the Presbyterian Church taking the lead, 10 major communions eventually set about designing a way to merge. The negotiators found few obstacles in establishing common agreement on major theological doctrines. But the operational styles and special traditions of the participating communions resisted homogenization. In the end, none of the candidate churches found the 1970 proposed "Plan of Union" attractive enough. Eventually, it was scrapped.

During a lapse of several years, it began to dawn on ecumenical enthusiasts that the life-styles of the partner churches and their differing experience of God's world had been treated too cavalierly. Too little attention had been given to what were called "non-theological factors" that were, in reality, churchdividing issues with profound theological significance. This led the partners in COCU, now nine in number, to seek a different style of union — one that called for communio in sacris (unity in sacred things) but that respected and even rejoiced in the riches of the different traditions. Unity was to be found in a covenanting relationship that would not obliterate any of those traditions, styles of life, methods of church government or liturgical expressions which presently characterize the life of the various partners. There could be unity in baptism, theological affirmation, church recognition, sharing of the Eucharist, ordination and common mission witness without institutional merger. But such unity could certainly not be achieved at the cost of neglecting the sociological and institutional sins that characterize much of our church division.

As a refocused COCU began its work, agreement was quickly reached on the commonality of "one baptism." At a 1974 plenary session, delegates proposed to the member churches a "Mutual Recognition of Members in One Baptism." This action subsequently was ratified by the highest decision-making bodies of each partner church. There was no real theological or inter-church dispute with respect to Christian initiation.

When the drafting of a new statement of common theological agreement began, however, the way ahead was not so easy. Initially, the COCU Committee on

The Rt. Rev. John H. Burt, retired Bishop of Ohio, is a Board member of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.

Theology focused on the historic differences between the churches as they sought common understanding — the classic disputes in relation to scripture and tradition, the faith, sacraments, and ministry, especially as these revolve around the difference between Catholic and Protestant emphases. Episcopalians were pleased that the four affirmations of the Chicago-Lambeth Quadrilateral were, in effect if not by title, accepted as a pattern for the overall design. But the theologians soon encountered sharp challenge from those who came to the negotiating table from the three black communions - the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church and the Christian Methodist Episcopal Church. The black members insisted that any statements about the meaning of God, the personhood of Christ, the role of the Holy Spirit and the nature of the church which avoided racism as a major church-dividing issue would not garner the support of their communions. This prompted similar challenges from others who saw deep theological implications in the church's historic denigration of women, its insensitivity to those with physical handicaps, and in the way institutionalism, classism and congregational exclusivism have torn the church asunder down through the centuries.

When the theology committee made its report to the XIV COCU Plenary in January 1980, it sought to be sensitive to challenges by appending to its document "An Emerging Theological Consensus" four separate "alerts" on racism, sexism, institutionalism and congregational exclusivism. Though welcomed by the delegates, as appendices they were not sufficient. A motion subsequently passed by the delegates said, in effect: The substance of these alerts must be rewoven into the very fabric of the basic theological document. Appendices or afterthoughts, they warned, can easily be lost or forgotten - or seen as of minor importance. They insisted these alerts be truly theological in that they deal with sins that distort God's plan "to bring all creation together, everything in heaven and on earth, with Christ as head" (*Ephesians 1:10*). The absence of these four sociological issues in COCU's basic theological document would bring into question more urgently than ever

Church-dividing issues

Unity today is a task that requires resolution not only of old but also of new divisions . . . there is need for a reconciliation of long-standing estrangements in the church . . . between sexes, and among races, cultures, classes, political opinions, and visions of the meaning of justice.

Where racism is concerned . . . why ought we expect to be brothers and sisters of equal status in the Church of Christ Uniting when members of the majority refuse to live next door as neighbors? How can we have brotherhood and sisterhood without "neighborhood"?

COCU's task in relation to sexism is urgent because . . . growing numbers of men and women who are committed to liberating styles of human partnerships are becoming unable to participate in the life of the churches as they now exist. The Consultation may live its way toward union only to discover in five or ten years that many of its members have been so alienated that "unity" has become a gentleman's agreement within the dominant group, rather than an agreement of partners who have struggled together toward true mutuality in every expression of their personal and institutional lives.

- from The COCU Consensus: In Quest of a Church of Christ Uniting. Available for \$1.25 plus postage from Consultation on Church Union, Research Park, 151 Wall St., Princeton, NJ 08540-1514. whether the Church of Jesus Christ can indeed be the sign and the sacrament of the future unity of humankind.

Many who were present at that COCU plenary wondered whether the redrafting assignment given to the theology committee could really be done. In the history of theology, this conjoining of Christian doctrine and ethics into a single seamless garment had seldom been tried before. The historic creeds do not do it. Not even the celebrated "Baptism, Eucharist, Ministry" (B.E.M.) document of the World Council of Churches attempted it. But by 1984, the seemingly impossible had been done. The COCU Consensus, which implemented the Plenary XIV directive to merge the alerts into the doctrinal commentary, was adopted unanimously by the XVI COCU Plenary and has now been ratified by all nine of the COCU partner churches (though the Episcopal Church at its 1988 General Convention did so conditionally pending some clarifications which seem likely to satisfy).

The implications of the Consensus as amended have, in turn, now been woven into COCU's implementing plan for reunion, the Churches in Covenant Communion: The Church of Christ Uniting document which was adopted unanimously by the December 1988 plenary. Thus, the consultation has now spelled out how the nine COCU communions, plus others that may wish to join, can begin theologically, sacramentally and ecclesiastically to live as one - sensitive to the social as well as the doctrinal sins that have so long divided Christians. When this covenanting document is finally ratified by the partner churches at their national assemblies over the next few years, our generation in America will have given the world one more exciting sign that Christians in our day can be obedient to God's call that God's church, ethnically sensitive and committed to justice, once more can reflect the unity for which Christ prayed. TW

Evangelism in the '90s What 'Good News' is good?

by Robert Beasley

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he 1990s Decade of Evangelism for the Episcopal Church responds to an urgent need. So many people in so many places want to hear good news from God and the Episcopal Church. However, all that Christians have shared under the banner of good news is not necessarily so. As each of us individually and our congregations corporately prepare to share the good news, it would help our efforts to remember the ethical dimensions of deciding what is good news and to whom such news is good.

Important questions confront our evangelism efforts: What are the results supposed to be? When we have shared the good news, what is the congregation supposed to look like? Toward what vision of our community do we strive?

In terms of ethical decision making, let's challenge ourselves with four questions about evangelism efforts.

• First, will our evangelism overcome or foster racism?

In the South where I live, our congregations are black, or they are white. Very few are both black and white. Defensively, we may say people choose to worship and praise with their own, that there are different cultural expressions,



but this separation began because of racism, not by choice. Does our evangelism overcome this racism or does it consciously or subconsciously choose not to invite certain people into a community of the good news?

Congregations develop ways of screening out people who do not fit the group. Does our congregation, our evangelism, screen out those whose skin color is different because it is too controversial to share the good news with them?

If coming together at the Lord's table in all the beautiful colors God has given us is what the kingdom of God is supposed to be, will our evangelism result in that kind of community or will we still see people broken and separated by the color of their skin?

• Secondly, will our evangelism overcome or foster sexism?

Some evangelism openly espouses the domination of men over women. Other evangelism is more subtle. It's language is usually about men. The leaders are men. Even the good news is couched in exclusive male-God imagery. Therefore, this evangelism fosters oppression of women by failing to embrace their liberation. In a never-ending cycle it attracts those women and men who want to continue a dominant-male, subjectedfemale church. They attract others . . . who attract others. Those who want a liberated church do not hear good news.

Will our evangelism foster the good news of the equality of women or will it present a picture of subordination for women? When the vestry has listened to us sharing the good news, will they be as likely to call a rector who is female as well as one who is male?

• Thirdly, will our evangelism overcome or foster imperialism?

The church has served the interests of the conquerors of this world. We have

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helped subjugate indigenous peoples for exploitation by white Europeans and Americans. We have heralded landstealing as divine destiny and we have built beautiful churches from the gifts of conquerors. If we scratched deep enough, we would find the blood of slaves and native Americans transubstantiated into profits and donated in the bricks of our beautiful church buildings. We have also assumed that other cultures had no right to their religious expressions and their beliefs and practices had no value or truth. Thus we have fostered the idea of one nation over another and we have engaged in religious imperialism. We label people real Christians, nominal Christians, and ungodly heathens.

Will our evangelism foster the domination of American values and views? Will our evangelism assume that we have most of the right answers? Will our evangelism generate tolerance and respect of different expressions of the religious life?

• Finally, will our evangelism overcome or foster classism?

Someone once said, "When Methodists change denominations, they attend the Presbyterian Church. When Presbyterians change denominations, they attend the Episcopal Church. When Episcopalians change denominations, they attend the country club." We reek of caste and class. Does our evangelism intend to cross those lines? Will it help our church overcome class separation and domination or will it foster the coming together of the "right kind" of people? Will we consider many deserving of our charity but not of passing the peace?

Study of the Bible, our beliefs, and our history are alive today among Christians

who see life with God from the underside, who do not have white American or European views. They tell us that we see the world from a position of wealth and power, and the good news we share is often better news for us than them, because it justifies our continuing domination. Remaining on the bottom is not such good news for the oppressed and poor.

Jesus preached good news to the poor. His good news was not, "Enjoy being poor." Instead, he spoke of justice and liberation. When the poor heard this, they rejoiced. When the rulers and the rich heard this, they shuddered and killed him.

If evangelism efforts produce a bigger group of upper-income, white, powerful, dominant males, it will certainly be a good party with ample food and beverage. All those who make the grade will rejoice at this good news. However, many will have heard bad news. The vast majority of human beings will continue to toil outside the walls of this country club, praying for the Messiah to liberate them with the good news for all people.

The good news must be more than Jesus saved us from our sins so we don't have to feel guilty about allowing or causing hungry, oppressed, and poor people to live as they do. The good news many await is that God has changed us into people who no longer wish to oppress and exploit but intend to liberate and respect; a miraculous conversion has produced a radical change in our lifestyles.

As the decade gives rise to evangelism efforts, please consider the ethical dimensions, so that we share good news that liberates and does not dominate — the kind our Lord shared with us.

Back Issues Available:

• Our church has AIDS: Features a theological reflection: "AIDS and the survival of the fittest" by the Rev. John Snow; welcomes Bishop Barbara C. Harris back into THE WITNESS pages with her article on "The politics of AIDS"; includes touching vignettes of people with AIDS by a nurse who tends them; critiques by blacks and Hispanics of racist approaches to dealing with "the viral holocaust." December 1989.

 Justice and Peace: A special WITNESS devoted to issues addressed by peace activists. Joseph B. Ingle's penetrating article, "Death row must go," describes his experiences with prisoners facing the electric chair; Jim Lewis addresses how the U.S. Army is recruiting youth for war in high schools and even at Boy Scout Jamborees: Pat Washburn describes her dark night as a tax resister, and Anne Rowthorn her struggle against Trident missiles in her neighborhood: Stan Rich deals with nukes and metanoia in South Carolina. Produced in conjunction with the Episcopal Peace Fellowship on its 50th anniversary. November 1989.

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Our church has AIDS
Justice and Peace

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Leader ... Continued from page11

have responded to the problem of the homeless?

There has been a lot of compassion, but they are going about it the wrong way. We need a new federal conclave. Once upon a time, we put a lot of money into public housing. Some of it was good, and some of it was terrible.

We have a lot of temporary shelters now that are not helping anybody. Many of them are perceived as being dangerous. In North Philadelphia we have hundreds of boarded-up old houses that could be turned over to the homeless. I guess it is too sensible for them to go that route.

One remarkable woman, Rachel Bagby, and her husband have rehabbed 50 houses here in Philadelphia. Also, I would like to think that we could have cooperative houses.

The Gray Panther office moved recently, didn't it?

Yes, it moved to Washington, D.C., and I was very sad when they closed up in Philadelphia. But this is where I still do my work, with the help of my assistant, Marilyn Vowels, who has been with me for six years.

In 1979, when Garson Kanin interviewed you for *Quest* magazine, you seemed very optimistic about reaching your goals of making this nation a better place for the young, the old and the poor. Are you still that optimistic? Yes, but I underestimated the time that would be involved. We are also putting more emphasis on our environment now. It is so endangered. But I believe we are really going to make it.

MOVING?

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Sacred Places

Oh where, oh where has my little lamb gone?

Out of nowhere my imagination placed me at the foot of Thomas Merton's grave.

Without warning I was standing in a whirlpool of grief I never knew I had.

The vortex inhaled me to other places, an unknown gorge of brokenheartedness: Kent State, Dallas, Soweto, My Lai, Buchenwald, Memphis, San Salvador, Wounded Knee, Mobile.

Places and places and places of irreparable wrongness. I didn't know pieces of my heart were scattered around the world.

Oh where, oh where has my little lamb gone?

In that vortex, I also found unknown and unfelt rage.

I hate us white Christians. We so conveniently dismiss those sacred places with facile words: "guerrilla, rebels, insurgents, leftists." We are glad it is them, not us. We delight in the suffering of other people; it makes us feel safer. We profit from their misery, debate it, justify it, but never, never touch it. I hate us for our indulgence.

Oh where, oh where has my little lamb gone?

Maintaining this lily-white illusion has been the source of my greatest loneliness

We shall not be human until we fall into the vortex of suffering.

I would like to know, where are the pieces of your hearts?

Michael Dwinnell

Farewell to former WITNESS author

by William B. Spofford

The Rev. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., a leading Episcopal Church liturgical scholar, ecumenist, and educator and a long-time contributor to THE WIT-NESS, died recently in Sacramento, Cal. at the age of 76. William B. Spofford, retired Bishop of Eastern Oregon and son of William B. Spofford, Sr., editor and publisher of THE WITNESS from 1925 to 1972, wrote the following tribute to his friend "Shep":

Someone once said that a person could be counted lucky if, during a lifetime, he or she had five great teachers. When I went to Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge in the early 1940s, the faculty line-up was comparable to that of the 1927 New York Yankees heavy hitters "swaggering" for truth.

Angus Dun was dean and theologian; Sherman Johnson was holding down the New Testament spot; Charley Taylor was the Old Testament whiz; Joe Emrich was expounding ethics, the Niebuhrs and Baron von Hugel; Jamie Mueller was teaching Reformation history and canon law; "Daddy" Hatch was teaching Greek and St. Paul's Epistles, and Adelaide Case was making sense of it all in the Christian Education courses. Then out of Cincinnati came Joe Fletcher to teach applied Christian sociology.

But I have not mentioned one other member of that ETS faculty — a tall, cadaverous being named Massey Shepherd. His eyes were penetratingly dark (during beer-drinking sessions in Harvard Square pubs, we used to call him "Bambi") and his knowledge was broad and great.

During his career at ETS, and subsequently for an extended decade or two at Berkeley, "Shep" was perhaps the leading liturgical scholar and teacher in the Episcopal Church. His energy and insights informed the church during the development of the 1979 Book of Common Prayer. His meditations to the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies at General Conventions enriched the spirit with the power of the Spirit.

For me, he is surely one of the teachers for whom I count myself lucky. He taught pre-Reformation history, the life and witness of the Primitive Church, the works of Origen, Athanasius, Augustine, Ambrose, the monks and the hermits, right on up to the explosions of the 16th century. He also taught us the history of Hebrew and Christian worship, an area for which he later became noted.

His lectures were jewels of composition and clarity, and his examination questions were often functional and exploratory. For example, he would have us develop liturgies for varied age groups and church settings, or ask us to relate the ideas and power of worship to the front pages of the old *Boston Herald*!

All during this time, he was writing regular columns on liturgical matters for THE WITNESS, which were later published as a book called *The Living Liturgy*. For many readers, his columns were the first thing they turned to when THE WITNESS arrived in the mail.

Massey's greatest written work was undoubtedly his Oxford American Prayer Book Commentary. He left his greatest institutional legacy as chief founder of Associated Parishes, an organization devoted to the liturgical movement, and as "godfather" of the 1979 Prayer Book. In his own way, he probably did as much to keep the Episcopal Church in the 20th century, and get it ready for the 21st, as any other person. He also helped to moderate divisions between the Anglo-Catholics and the Evangelicals.

Shep used to say that when he was ordained by the Bishop of South Carolinas, the bishop preached, "Remember, Massey, the only people Jesus ever had any trouble with were the religious people . . . and, also, they were the only ones He could never help."

As we give thanks for the life and witness of a splendid WITNESS columnist and a great teacher, we can only say, contrary to the thoughts of that South Carolina bishop, "You gave us much, Shep, and you probably made us stronger religiously by seeking for truth, centering the altar and tying the actions of the Eucharist to the realities of the *Herald*'s front page!"

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