

# THE WITNESS

## Statement on the Persian Gulf

The Episcopal Peace Fellowship calls on the U.S. government to cease the deployment of military forces to Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf, withdraw those forces that have already arrived and instead work toward an internationally negotiated settlement, addressing both the present crisis and the underlying, unresolved problems that precipitate war.

Further, as a major arms supplier to the region, the United States has contributed to the militarization of the Middle East, encouraging a "might makes right" attitude, and insuring that any conflict could easily escalate into a conflagration . . .

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### Capitalism's fate

Philippines: Chris Cobourn  
Brian Grieves

Mexico: Matt Witt

Germany: Dorothee Sölle

### Mideast challenge

William Rankin  
Pat Washburn

. . . and more

# Letters

## Infertile need coverage

In his "Ethics of embryo freezing" (February), Charles Meyer shows himself to be informed and thoughtful about the serious issues facing infertile people and their doctors. As a veteran of the infertility wars — including four failed IVF attempts — I, too, am troubled by the apparent headlong rush to cryopreservation of embryos.

Meyer misses the mark, however, when he suggests that "in a world teeming with babies in need of nurture," there is a question whether more ought to be produced through such treatments as IVF — and, indeed, by extension, that perhaps such care ought to be rationed.

One reason for the low success rate of IVF and its high cost in this country is a failure of will at the national policy level to help the infertile, who by a conservative count number 2.5 million couples of childbearing age. One emblem of this failure is a more than decade-long refusal by the government *against its own mandate* to reconstitute an ethics advisory board in the Department of Health and Human Services to rule on the acceptability of IVF research, effectively banning all federal funding — the lifeblood of all scientific study in this country — for that purpose. Were money to be made available, advances in IVF research could increase its effectiveness and reduce its cost to the patient.

In countless other areas related to reproduction — the unwillingness to fund a national prevention program for sexually transmitted diseases, a factor in an alarming rise in infertility among 20- to 24-year-olds, and to support contraceptive research — America betrays its squeamishness about anything having to do with sex.

It is all too easy for the fertile majority to suggest that, simply because we cannot reproduce as easily as you, infertile people should therefore resign ourselves to our fates. But we the infertile are not

selfish to consider ourselves entitled to at least reproduce ourselves! The loss of our ability to do so and to carry on our genealogical lines strikes deep to the core of our very humanity, and is a grievous loss that should be mourned and addressed not just by us, but by society as a whole.

Practically nobody questions that pregnancy care should be part of any reasonable system of medical coverage. Many of us believe that infertility is a *pregnancy-related problem*, and thus deserving of coverage for all treatments — including IVF — that a specialist deems to be appropriate, *to the same extent* that a system provides for maternity care. Anything else is simply discrimination against the infertile.

Wendy W. Contos  
Conshohocken, Pa.

## Meyer responds

In her thoughtful reply, Wendy Contos is right on target regarding the need for the redevelopment of the federal Ethics Advisory Board and a national prevention program for sexually transmitted diseases. But 37 million Americans are medically indigent, our healthcare system is on the verge of economic collapse, access to care (particularly emergency care) for the poor and elderly is daily diminishing by the closure of inner city, rural and teaching hospitals, and we are 21st in the world in infant mortality (behind Spain, Japan and Costa Rica). Choices must be made regarding who gets care, how much, who pays, when it is appropriate or required to stop treatment, and when or in which cases treatment should not be begun — or even be available.

It is a decidedly Western, industrialized luxury that we can even *discuss* the issues of IVF/cryopreservation, along with organ transplants, treatment of futile illnesses, resuscitation of under 600 gram birthweight babies and other di-

lemmas resulting from our technological lavishness. In the world community, such issues are last priority behind immunization, refrigeration, potable water, nutrition, pre/postnatal care and simple disease prevention.

Even if we myopically exclude the rest of the world's needs, the United States will have to ration healthcare in this decade in order to bring under control the upwardly spiraling percent of our GNP consumed by medical costs. There is no right or entitlement to reproduce one's genes any more than there is a right or entitlement to demand an organ transplant, or futile chemotherapy, or respiration/hydration/nutrition for a brain dead person, or 24-hour home nursing care for AIDS patients, stroke patients, accident victims — all of whom (including the infertile) have drawn a deficit in the physical lottery.

One can and does feel sympathy for all of the above groups and others. But until we have an equitable distribution of healthcare resources (nationally and globally), the use of such resources for the expensive (cryopreservation) treatment of such a non-life threatening occurrence as infertility must be considered an unwarranted extravagance.

The Rev. Charles Meyer  
Austin, Tex.

(In the November WITNESS Charles Meyer writes about "The Afterlife": *Is it a place? Do children who die "grow up" in the next life? Can spirits mature there as bodies do on earth? Are suicides treated differently? Meyer explores the questions most commonly posed to him as a hospital chaplain and medical ethicist. Don't miss it! — Ed.*)

## Cites 'three errors'

Harold J. Dwyer, in his article on drugs in the June WITNESS perpetuates three errors which frequently surface whenever the drug problem is addressed.

1. *Drug abuse is specifically con-*

*nected to poverty.* The use of hard drugs reaches into every level of U.S. society. If the much-needed social programs — affordable housing and health care, equitable wages and employment opportunities — were to be put into place tomorrow, the drug problem would not go away, although it might become less visible. In fact, it is the money of affluent Americans which finances the drug industry. The great majority of poor people, the very old and the very young, are not involved with hard drugs.

2. *All drugs are equally harmful.* While addiction to alcohol or nicotine is potentially hazardous and costly, most alcoholics and smokers survive into middle age, or at least long enough to seek treatment. A single hit of crack can send an 18-year-old to his grave. To equate a double martini before dinner, a pack of cigarettes a day, or a joint of marijuana on Saturday night with a dose of cocaine or heroin in a super-refined state, is to trivialize the seriousness of hard drug abuse. To point to the illegal traffic in prescription drugs as a deterrent to legalization is to lose sight of relative scale and risk.

3. *Education is the answer.* On a long-term basis, perhaps. The problem is that the target population has slipped out of the hands of the educators. The emphasis is on “perhaps.” Many states have provided sex education classes in the public schools for more than a decade; yet teenage pregnancies are on the rise.

Our goal, as a responsible society, should be to keep potentially harmful objects and substances out of the hands of children. To that end, we have enacted laws which specify the legal age at which a person can operate a car, possess firearms, buy a drink at a bar and purchase a pack of cigarettes. Corollaries to these laws regulate adult behavior.

We are able to mitigate potentially harmful situations by making them qualifiedly legal, that is by subjecting

them to regulation. Enforcement may not be perfect, but perfect enforcement of any law implies consequent loss of liberty.

If total elimination of all substance use in any human society is realistically impossible — and history hints that this is so — the next logical step is regulation. Regulation (control) is possible only through legalization (limited access).

Since all else has failed, what have we to lose except fear of the devil and some wrong-headed but well-intentioned rhetoric?

Elizabeth Hansen  
Delmar, N.Y.

## Dwyer responds

Let us, indeed, not contribute to the proliferation of rhetoric. Therefore, I offer a quick, point-by-point response.

1. I have read and re-read my article and cannot find any statement that implies a belief that drug abuse or the attendant crime problem is linked solely to poverty. However, let me be very clear. Ten years of volunteer and paid work in the fields of prevention and treatment leave me absolutely convinced that addiction is a disease, and no respecter of class, race, age or gender. More than any of the great social programs of the last five decades, this is the great equalizer. (Of course, this equality does not exist when we consider the very limited availability of addiction treatment for those without health insurance or personal financial resources.)

2. In 1987, the last year for which I have been able to find statistics, 105,000 people died as the result of alcohol abuse (*New York Times* 3/27/90). I do not believe that this number is trivial.

3. The problem with education is not that the target population has left the system; the problem has been that much of the effort for education has started too late. Effective drug and alcohol abuse education should begin in kindergarten.

We do not wait until our children are in junior high to tell them not to eat Drano. But education is not the answer. There is no single “right” answer. The problem of substance abuse is so pervasive that a significant restructuring of our society’s priorities will be required if we are to deal effectively with this crisis.

Finally, I am convinced that those who live in Christ need not fear the devil. On the other hand I would rather not tell the devil, “You are O.K. as long as you leave our children alone.”

The Rev. Harold J. Dwyer  
Coatesville, Pa.

## Kudos for ‘abuse’ issue

Thank you so very much for your July/August WITNESS on the theme, “Breaking silence.” It was so painful to read article after article about sexual abuse because it was so real. Part of me wants to scream at the injustice, part of me wants to fold under the oppression of it, and part of me rejoices at the exposure of a criminal abuse of God’s most intimate and creative gift: our sexuality — our human identity — our very souls. Keep telling the story!

Deborah Johnson-Elder  
Alexandria, Va.

## Willing to risk

The July/August WITNESS hit on a topic that is very current in our diocesan life. Thank you all for “breaking the silence” and affirming what we’ve been learning through the national network on abuse. It’s wonderful to know you are there as a resource and willing to risk exposing the “incest”-like attitudes that exist in our church family.

I would like to share copies of the entire magazine with others. Would you please send 10 copies?

Mic Pickard  
Chester, N. J.

*More Letters on page 21*

## THE WITNESS

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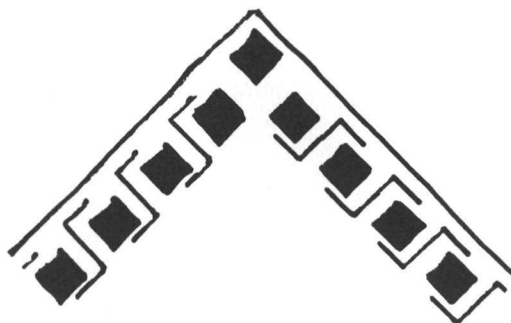
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# Editorial

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*Continued from cover*

The presence of U.S. troops will serve to exacerbate long-held Arab resentment of Western colonialism and Western policies insensitive to the cultural and religious values of the Middle East.

From a moral viewpoint, it is wrong to block the shipment of food and medical supplies to the innocent people of Iraq. Our mandate from our Baptismal Covenant is to "strive for justice and peace among all people, and respect the dignity of every human being." This applies not only to North Americans or Episcopalians, but to every human being, since all have been created and made in God's image.

We will continue to pray for the President of the United States, the President of Iraq, and for a peaceful negotiated settlement to this latest conflict. We especially pray for the U.S. troops, for their families, and for the people of the Persian Gulf. We urge our members in their respective chapters and congregations to participate in prayer vigils asking God's guidance for those in authority and for the nations of the world. May we all be instruments of God's peace.

## Executive Committee, Episcopal Peace Fellowship

Statements against U.S. intervention in the Persian Gulf from groups such as the Episcopal Peace Fellowship (above) are not likely to earn headlines in the mass media, revved up to support White House policies. We deplore the absence of such strong condemnations from heads of major religious denominations, who could best command prime space.

Failure of Presiding Bishop Edmond L. Browning to speak out is instructive in this regard. At a press conference during the House of Bishops meeting in Washington, D.C., he said that on this issue, he has chosen not to be "in an adversarial relationship" with President Bush, an Episcopalian, but rather "in partnership" with him.

THE WITNESS applauds Bishop Orris (Jay) Walker of Long Island for warning the House against "the shallow patriotism of the Bush White

House" and "wrapping ourselves in the flag."

Longtime policies of the Reagan and Bush Administrations, abetted by wimpy Democrats, have set the public up for the present crisis. "March for peace and vote for war, and you get war," author Lenni Brenner reminds us (*The Nation* 9/24/90). In Congress, only Rep. Henry Gonzalez of Texas has called for debate about Bush's flagrant violation of the War Powers Act. (Gonzalez twice introduced legislation to impeach Reagan after the Iran-Contra scandal.)

Further, if the United States continues to consume 30% of the world's oil, filling the coffers of the oil magnates, we will continue to be called upon to fight rich men's wars "to protect our vital interests."


U.S. citizens are now beginning to make connections between wars of aggression, the Third World debtor

nations and our own deteriorating economy, the global environmental crisis — and who wins, who loses as the "Haves" are pitted against the "Have-nots."

Grass roots groups across the country are rapidly mobilizing around the Gulf intervention. A mass demonstration is planned Oct. 20 in New York. For further information: Mobilization for Survival, 212-385-2222.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation is exploring the possibility of U.S. "witness for peace" volunteers going to Iraq: FOR, P.O. Box 271, Nyack, N.Y. 10960.

The American Friends Middle East Peace Education Program is preparing resource literature, speakers for events, information for Persian Gulf teach-ins, etc.: AFSC, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102.

In other words, for those seeking involvement, help is on the way. 

# The struggle to save the Philippines

by Chris Cobourn

**T**he mountains around us are barren, save for patches of scraggly corn and an occasional clump of banana trees. We can see the village of Midsalip in the distance, the steel metal roofs twinkling in the early morning sun. It was a 30-minute walk across rice fields and up steep paths to reach the reforested hillside. Jun Balayon, our guide, is pointing out the different hardwoods and fruit trees which the members of Midsalip's ecological group have planted on the five hectare (11 acre) site. After two years, the trees are six feet tall, and the ground is thick with vegetation. Jun says the people of Midsalip hope tree-planting like this will help to stop the six-month-long droughts and the starvation which results.

Residents of Midsalip hit the headlines three years ago when they set up a human barricade to stop illegal logging in the surrounding forests. Sunville Logging, the company operating in the area, was in gross violation of Philippine regulations. The environmental group — the People Power Picket Movement of Midsalip (PPPM) — grew out of strong basic Christian communities in the local Catholic parish. Residents guarded the road day and night for five months, despite harassment by the loggers' armed goons. Finally, the group succeeded in having the logging conces-

sion in the area cancelled.

The battle to save the forests of Midsalip is being repeated throughout the Philippines, as communities seek to preserve what remains of a badly damaged ecosystem for their children. The church is key in many of these educational and organizing efforts. In 1988, the Catholic Bishops of the Philippines issued the first pastoral letter on the environment, entitled "What is Happening to Our Beautiful Land?" In it, the bishops decry the pervasive despoliation of the land, seas, air of the Philippines:

"We often use the word 'progress' to describe what has taken place over the last few decades. There is no denying that in some areas our roads have improved and that electricity is more readily available. But can we say that there is real progress? Who has benefitted most and who has borne the real costs? The poor are as disadvantaged as ever and the natural world has been grievously wounded. We have stripped it bare, silenced its sounds and banished other creatures from the community of the living. Through our thoughtlessness and greed, we have sinned against God and God's creation."

The Philippines has a primarily agrarian economy, with well over a third of its population (some 39 million people) engaged in agriculture-related activities. Rice is an important crop, and its cultivation is now heavily dependent on irrigation. Fish and other seafood provides 54% of the protein consumed by the average Filipino household. Many coastal families rely on fishing for their livelihood.

Yet the resource base on which these

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**Christina Cobourn** is a staff member of the Columban Peace and Justice Office in Washington, D.C. An Episcopalian, she served as a Mennonite Central Committee volunteer in the Philippines from 1983-86, and has returned for extended visits, most recently in August and September of this year.

vital economic activities depend is seriously threatened. Since World War II, rapid deforestation has degraded many of the country's vital watersheds. Logging concessions were a source of quick and easy wealth for the elite, and a rich font of patronage for the politicians who granted the concessions. Failure to reforest was overlooked. But today, the effects of that deforestation are being felt with a vengeance. Sharp climatic swings from heavy rainfall to drought have caused crop failures and destroyed rural infrastructures.

Forest destruction is fast approaching the level of irreversibility. In a tropical environment like the Philippines, soil on the steeply sloping hillsides washes away easily once the trees that held it in place are gone. Massive erosion of the topsoil has led to the silting-up of river beds, irrigation systems, estuaries and coastal areas. The mud flowing into the sea smothers nearby coral reefs, choking marine life, and destroying one of the breeding grounds for fish. The fish population has also suffered from unrestrained fishing by commercial trawlers, illegal dynamite and cyanide fishing, and environmentally unsound fishing practices of small fishermen deprived of their traditional catch.

The rapid destruction of coastal mangrove swamps is another serious threat to the health of Philippine fisheries. Mangroves serve as protective nurseries

for young fish and supply 78% of the breeding grounds for important species of marine life. Despite this, nearly 80% of the country's original 450,000 hectares of mangrove swamps has been destroyed; 60-65% of this destruction is reportedly due to fishpond construction.

Prawn farms have been the prime culprits in recent years. Commanding a huge price in Japan, prawns have been touted as a miracle crop, and the rich have rushed to profit. Dole Philippines was actually granted a four-year tax holiday to encourage the development of prawn farming in southern Mindanao, and the sugar barons of Negros saw the large shrimp as the answer to declining world sugar prices. Yet prawn ponds are environmentally dangerous even after

they are built. Large quantities of fresh water are pumped continually into the ponds, which require a delicate mix of salt and fresh water. The heavy demand in western Negros already has depleted the fresh water supply, causing wells on which people once depended for drinking water to dry up. The poor are now forced to buy water, which they can ill-afford.

This rapid environmental destruction is rooted in an economic system which benefits the few (consumers in the North and the elites in the South) at the expense of the many. It is also based on a vision of continual economic growth which fails to take into account environmental costs, and assumes that the earth can sustain increased consumption.

Multilateral and Western aid agencies base their development policies for Third World countries on a model of export-oriented industrialization which seeks to provide cheap consumer goods to Northern markets, while providing jobs for the poor. But, while some jobs are created, wages are extremely low, and there is little connection with the agrarian economy. Many factories are simply assembling parts already manufactured elsewhere. An ecologically sound "food first" development policy would benefit both people and the earth.

Consumer demand for wood and other



**WE HAVE BECOME SQUATTERS ON OUR OWN LAND**

natural resource products, tropical fruits, cheap industrialized goods, and the powerful, "efficient" corporations which supply those goods are part and parcel of a way of life we accept as normal. Yet the ecological destruction about which Western democracies are now so concerned is intimately bound up with our economic demands and the "security" policies pursued by our governments.

Since the turn of this century, when the United States seized the Philippines from Spain, the country has been governed by a relatively small number of families who control the majority of land and domestic corporations. The system of skewed land ownership and wealth was established under Spanish colonial rule, but was never challenged by U.S. colonial administrators. If anything, the dominance of these families was strengthened, and efforts to redress the severe inequities were firmly suppressed. American corporations entered the Philippine economy in a massive way, linking up with domestic firms to make profits in the exploitation of the country's forests, mineral resources and agricultural potential.

While corporate interests are strong, the more important U.S. interest in the Philippines lies in the presence of strategic military installations. President Marcos assured the continued presence of U.S. military bases, particularly Subic Naval Base and Clark Air Base, after the imposition of martial law in 1972. This factor became primary in the determination of U.S. policy toward the Philippines, despite the clear evidence of Marcos' corruption, gross manipulation of the domestic economy, and crude use of military force to suppress internal dissent. Even the Carter administration's vocal opposition to human rights abuses was muted by a fear of losing the bases. The United States abandoned Marcos only when it was obvious he could no longer govern. In addition, his replacement, Cory Aquino, was not only popu-

lar, but also sympathetic to a continued U.S. economic and military presence.

U.S. military aid covers 83% of the procurement, operations, and maintenance budget of the Philippine military. Last year, as part of the Military Bases agreement, the United States provided \$200 million in military aid, and an additional \$160 million in security-related economic support funds. Development assistance, by contrast, amounted to only \$55 million.

After three weeks of meetings with church workers and people involved in grassroots development efforts in Negros and Mindanao, two islands to the south, a consistent theme emerged. Efforts by ordinary poor people to form self-reliant organizations through which they could improve and gain some measure of control over their lives are being labeled subversive.

Cooperatives, through which farmers could get a decent price for their corn and rice, have been destroyed by a military threatened by organizations not under their control. Efforts by the church to form strong base Christian communities are denounced by the military in anti-communist seminars, and attacked with bullets at night. Even planting trees in

some areas is suspect, particularly if an organized group is involved. Exposure of illegal logging or denunciation of corruption invites threats or violence and retaliation.

Yet it is precisely these strong, organized communities which are needed for people to improve their lives economically, to begin to repair the damage done by generations of poverty and lack of self-esteem, and to escape from the pervasive sense of fear engendered by unrestrained militarization. Organization and hope are also essential ingredients for communities working to prevent the environmental destruction which is threatening their very survival.

Reforestation has become a popular concept throughout the country, but the actual work of replanting and tending the remote, denuded watersheds is hot and difficult and requires sustained commitment. The monitoring of municipal fishing waters to prevent commercial trawlers from illegal overfishing, and the guarding of forests against illegal logging can only be done by concerted community action.

It is a tribute to church workers and members of non-governmental organizations and others that, despite militariza-





tion, they have continued working to transform the passivity engendered by poverty into a "joyous noise." Increasingly, this cry of the poor has included the pain of the earth, for environmental issues are increasingly linked to survival.

Basic Christian communities have been at the center of many of the successful efforts to protect the environment and to develop alternatives. Church-based organic farming and ecology seminars have provided essential training for farmers and development workers. Those most deeply involved in grassroots environmental education are seeking both an appropriate spirituality and a new vision which incorporates the deep respect for nature still felt by tribal peoples. In most communities, ecological liturgies which celebrate this interrelation of people and the earth provide a spiritual basis for continued action.

Today, members of the environmental group in Midsalip with farms in the surrounding hills guard against illegal logging by reporting to the local police. They have given up trying to get action from the corrupt local forest guard, and have petitioned the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) for his removal. They are suggesting instead that members of the community be appointed forest guards.

In another part of Mindanao, members of the San Fernando parish basic Christian community succeeded, after several years of picketing and hunger strikes, in obtaining a ban on logging in the province. They have paved the way for other groups to take similar action. Presently, a church-based group from central Luzon is fasting outside of the DENR in an attempt to have the logging concessions in their area cancelled.

In western Mindanao, another parish team is working to establish an ecologically sound farm, and to reforest the nearby watershed area. Small organized communities throughout the country are replanting mangroves, regenerating coral

reefs, and through community pressure, trying to stop destructive fishing practices.

These efforts are small, but each time a group or program succeeds, others are encouraged to follow their example. There is a growing excitement around environmental work, in part because it is life-giving and creative.

Americans can join Filipino communities working for peaceful economic and social development by promoting sensible changes in our own patterns of consumption, and by protesting U.S. policies which are not life-giving. The continued flow of military aid is strangling the efforts of ordinary Filipinos to change their lives for the better. Representatives and senators need to hear from their constituents about the fundamental contradictions of U.S. policy.

An organized lobbying effort against the continued provision of military aid is being coordinated by the Church Coalition for Human Rights in the Philippines, an ecumenical coalition based in Washington, D.C. A separate, but related coalition of environmental, development and religious groups called the Philippine Development Forum has joined with Philippine NGOs to promote an agenda of participatory, sustainable and equitable development. The PDF critiques U.S. AID policies and programs and is promoting alternatives suggested by Philippine NGOs.

The Philippine bishops stated in simple but profound terms both the challenge and the promise: "The task of preserving and healing is a daunting one given greed and the relentless drive of our plunder economy. But we must not lose hope. God has gifted us with creativity and ingenuity. He has planted in our hearts a love for our land, which bursts forth in our songs and poetry. We can harness our creativity in the service of life and shun anything that leads to death."

## Back Issues Available:

• **Breaking silence:** Articles dealing with the long-hidden issue of sexual abuse in the church and society. Includes Mary Meader's moving personal account of a survivor's healing process; Faith Evans on his struggle as an African-American man to bring the shameful secret of his childhood abuse into the light; and Carter Heyward's meditation on "the unforgivable sin" of disconnectedness. Also includes articles by Lindsay Harding on clergy and sexual abuse, Lawrence Lack on death squads in Guatemala, and stories about activists challenging U.S. foreign and domestic policies. July/August 1990

• **Cuba:** THE WITNESS went to this island nation to get the real story behind the U.S. propaganda wall. Featuring Sam Day on Cuba's political challenges; Dr. Margaret Ferry on the country's love affair with children; Alice Hageman on religion and socialism; Bishop J. Antonio Ramos on how Cuba's situation differs from that of Eastern Europe; Jim Lewis and Mary Lou Suhor on the role of the churches; and Susan Pierce on the women's movement. March 1990

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# Philippine church: 'Close U.S. bases'

by Brian J. Grieves

Declaring that "sovereignty is God's endowment to every nation and should not be mortgaged for a pot of porridge," the Philippine Episcopal Church called for the closing of U.S. military bases there. The unanimous vote took place May 2 at the first synod of the newest Anglican province. Prior to the synod, the PEC had been a part of the U.S. Episcopal Church.

The U.S. church's Executive Council passed a companion resolution in June. However, the Council amended the proposed resolution to take note of U.S. willingness to accede to the wishes of the Philippine government. To some observers, the church's message translates as, "It's O.K. with us if it's O.K. with Uncle Sam."

Many Filipinos deeply resent U.S. insistence on defending its national interests on Philippine soil. The year 1998 will mark a century of U.S. colonial and neo-colonial domination of this island nation. The American psyche is so deeply rooted in Philippine life that it is a widely-held view that true sovereignty for the Philippines will never occur until the bases are closed.

U.S. and Philippine negotiators are now discussing an extension on the current bases agreement which expires Sept. 16, 1991. Mass demonstrations in Manila and other areas calling for closing the bases have been frequent enough in recent months to win even the attention of the U.S. media.

On my first visit to the Philippines last year, I asked people how they felt about continuing the bases agreement. The an-

swer always came down to this: "It doesn't matter what we think. The United States will do what it wants. Your country holds the cards."

One priest complained of America's messianic complex, that America always knows what's best for others: "We have been made second-class citizens in our own country."

However, on a visit earlier this year, I noticed both a growing opposition to the bases and an increasing sense of empowerment among the general population. The Episcopal Church there has moved from being divided over the issue to calling unanimously for closure.

This maturing attitude towards genuine sovereignty is a dramatic shift. A U.S. soldier on the streets of Manila once commanded the envy of many locals, who offered cheerful greetings to "Joe." Now G.I.s are not allowed off base in uniform and are often confined to base for their own protection.

Several U.S. military personnel have been killed by members of the New People's Army (NPA), an insurgency movement committed to removal of U.S. social, economic, and military dominance. Communist-influenced, the insurgency grows out of the poverty and displacement of the people. It is a response to the same old story of alliances among multi-national corporations, the U.S. government and Philippine generals and oligarchies.

The Aquino government is committed to total war against the insurgents. The U.S. government provides covert assistance and financial resources to arm the counter-insurgency campaign.

The NPA is targeting military bases during the period of negotiations. Should the bases agreement be renewed, vio-

lence against the U.S. presence will no doubt escalate, as will U.S. covert operations. The Philippines are at war and the United States is in the middle of it. Meanwhile, the masses suffer.

The U.S. position towards remuneration for the bases is perhaps the best indication of the attitude which infuriates Filipinos. The United States insists that the bases exist not only for U.S. security interests, but for the security of the Philippines as well. Several years ago, then-Secretary of State George Schultz was appalled at the Philippine suggestion that the U.S. government should pay rent. Doing so would clearly imply that the United States is only a guest and not a co-government, a hard thing for a former colonial master to accept. Thus the insistence on the co-dependent need for the bases.

There is, perhaps, a co-dependency between President Corazon Aquino and the bases. During the coup attempt against her government earlier this year, Clark Air Base provided firepower to help bail out her tottering government. This action may have saved Aquino for the moment, but it also further fueled resentment against U.S. intervention.

Ironically, those segments of the Philippine military who attempted the coup find themselves on the same side as the NPA in calling for closing the bases. Add to that the 11 senators who oppose the bases — whose votes could veto a new agreement — and one wonders how the Aquino government can continue to support a U.S. military presence.

In addition, the Philippine constitution contains a nuclear-free provision, which in itself would seem to negate a new agreement. But to avoid this, the United States invokes its long-held policy of

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The Rev. Brian J. Grieves is Peace and Justice Officer for the national Episcopal Church.



never revealing the whereabouts of its nuclear arms.

There is quite genuine fear among Filipinos that closing the bases will have a terrible economic impact on the country. This concern is strongest in places like Olongapo, home of Subic Naval Base and Angeles, host to Clark Air Base. Aside from the jobs the bases provide, the bases also support a thriving sex industry involving women and children. AIDS is a growing reality and drug abuse is a fact of life. Outrageously, U.S. officials blame the prostitutes for passing the AIDS virus to U.S. personnel.

I was introduced to this "hospitality world" one evening when my hosts took me to one of the many bars in Angeles where I was treated to an hour of women's boxing. It was a bizarre and distressing sight to see Philippine women whaling away at each other with oversized gloves while American servicemen whistled and cheered between gulps of beer. Apparently the "boxers" were available later for other entertainment.

Another social dimension of the military bases is found in Baguio, formerly a ranching area. The United States bought the land, although the agreed-upon price

was never paid. Under the Burnham Plan of 1909, the area was converted into a city designed as an R & R center for U.S. military personnel, because the weather there is delightfully cool.

The city was planned for a population of 30,000, with Camp John Hay covering one-third of the land area, and 14.4% of the rest set aside for local residents. But because of the lure of new commerce from the base, and deteriorating conditions in the rural areas, including displacement from the land, migrants flooded in, expanding the population to 100,000. Today, without enough land to support the population, most of the migrants have become urban squatters, living on land they cannot own. The poverty is devastating. One group lives on top of a garbage dump, eking out an existence by sifting among the refuse.

But the adverse social impact of the bases is not addressed by U.S. policy makers. They invoke national security as the reason for keeping the bases. Now that the United States has imposed itself into the latest Middle East crisis, it will want the bases all the more, because naval vessels in the Persian Gulf are serviced at Subic.

Adversaries of the United States logi-

cally perceive the Philippines as supporting U.S. military adventures, thus making Filipinos a potential target of those who have their sights aimed on the bases. It is hard to promote sovereignty when one plays host to the world's most powerful military.

Yet the United States insists that what's good for it is good for the Philippines. Properly interpreted, that means if the Philippines want to keep the money pipeline from Washington open, there had better be a new agreement. In October 1988, the United States promised \$481 million in assistance during 1990, only to have that unilaterally reduced by Congress to \$96 million. But even that amount is more than what will be offered if the bases are phased out. In that case, financial aid would likely be channeled instead to development in eastern Europe.

In calling for closing the bases, the Philippine Episcopal Church is not asking that the United States simply leave. In place of the bases, it is calling instead for "a general treaty of friendship and cooperation based on equality, non-interference and respect for sovereignty . . . in order to strengthen traditional relations of friendship."

That new relationship would need to include U.S. economic support. The support would not be charity, but restitution. Resources from Philippine land have flowed to Western markets for years, depleting its forests of trees and its earth of copper, gold and minerals. Yet the Philippines finds itself deep in debt to Western countries and Japan, the burden of which is carried on the backs of the poor.

The United States would require a great change of heart to move towards closing the bases and opening a new and just relationship with the Philippines. But such a change holds the promise of a new relationship between the United States and all Third World countries, and that is a goal worthy of pursuit. rw

# Hearing two voices in Mideast strife

by William W. Rankin

Following an itinerary designed by both the pro-Israeli American Jewish Committee and the pro-Palestinian Middle East Council of Churches (MECC), I was in the Middle East this summer with the Episcopal Church's Standing Commission on Peace. We visited Israel, the Occupied Territories and Jordan, trying to gain a deeper understanding of the burning issues between Israelis and Palestinians.

The historic roots of the conflict became apparent soon after we arrived. The road from Tel Aviv's Ben Gurion Airport to our hotel in Jerusalem was marked by wreckage from the 1948 War; military vehicles destroyed in battle had been painted with rust-resistant paint. Near each vehicle was a sign in Hebrew, reminding people of the cost of Israeli statehood and the need for continuing security.

The Rev. Mark Brown, who works for the MECC, met us in Jerusalem. He told us he lived across the street from a Muslim private school for girls 7 to 14 years old in Arab East Jerusalem, and that lately the school got tear-gassed about once a week. However, the parents still sent their children there, and they went happily. When asked why tear gas was used, he said he couldn't be sure — maybe the army suspected one or more parents of wrong-doing.

We visited a Palestinian village on the West Bank and met with a number of faculty members of Bethlehem University, now shut down. Each told how oth-

ers had been "detained" — that is, arrested and held without charge, usually for six months, but more recently for up to a year. Only one professor claimed to know his offense, which was, he said, teaching the people how to plant home gardens. We heard that 600,000 Palestinians had been imprisoned since 1967, which is apparently nearly a third of the Palestinian population.

As we moved through the region, we learned about the complicated system of license plate colors which enables everyone to identify where vehicles come from — Israel, the West Bank, etc. To a significant degree, this indicates which cars are owned by Jews, which by Arabs, which by other groups. Our bus bore "Arab" plates when we traveled through the occupied territories. A large sign in the front window written in Arabic was designed to deter rock-throwers.

We traveled to Bethlehem to meet with its mayor, Elias Freij, who gave us figures highlighting the Palestinians' plight. Wages for Palestinians are about one-third those for Israelis, he said. In the Gaza Strip there are 25,000 people per square kilometer, "equal to the highest population concentration anywhere in the world," he noted.

"The future leaders of Palestine and Israel are growing up to hate each other," he continued. "I declare my mistake in forbidding our two children to emigrate to the United States, where their children could have gotten jobs, homes, education. Here my grandchildren are taught to hate."

Mayor Freij believes that the *intifada* is reaching a suicidal level because suffering has reached a suicidal level.

"The United States gives Israel a \$4

billion blank check every year," he added. "For this there are no conditions, no accountabilities, no requirements for moral or legal justice." He told us that as U.S. citizens we could ask Congress to put some human and civil rights strings on our aid money.

On Sunday, we worshipped at St. George's Cathedral in East Jerusalem. The service was mostly in Arabic, though the preacher gave his U.S. visitors a brief summary of the sermon: When Jesus told the disciples to launch out into deep water he meant that people should dare to risk, hope, persevere despite the dangers and their fears. His Arab congregation, a fraction of the 3% of Palestinians who are Christian, got the point.

After the service we connected with a Palestinian woman who told us her teenage sons are afraid to leave their village homes because Israeli soldiers pick up young males, frequently beating them and breaking bones.

In the afternoon our Israeli guide took us to Yad Vashem, the Memorial to the Holocaust Martyrs and Heroes. The Holocaust, and the philosophy of Zionism, are crucial for understanding the Israeli people. We entered the memorial by walking down the Avenue of the Righteous Gentiles, lined with trees planted as memorials to Gentiles who risked or gave their lives to save European Jews.

Inside the memorial are photos of European Jews and what the Nazis did to them. Among the visitors to Yad Vashem are young Israeli families with small children. Would I take my young children to see these photos? I don't know.

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**The Rev. William W. Rankin**, rector of St. Stephen's Church, Belvedere, Cal., is on the board of the Episcopal Church Publishing Company.



On the way out of the complex was the recently completed children's memorial. This honors the 1.5 million Jewish children killed in Europe. Author and Holocaust survivor Elie Wiesel once said that if the names of all the Jewish children killed in the Holocaust were read aloud everyone in the audience would be dead of old age before the recitation could be completed. Not all the names are known, because frequently no one was left to report who had been killed.

The children's memorial was quite dark, lit only by tiny candle flames multiplied seemingly a million times by mirrors, twinkling like stars in an immense blackness. Playing in the background was a man's voice chanting a lament in Hebrew, as a woman's voice recited in English the children's names, their age, and country. This experience was infinitely poignant and unforgettable. I wish that all the people of the world — no matter what their politics or nationalities — could visit this place, and gain a better perspective on the urgency of making peace.

Later, at the Israeli Foreign Ministry office, we met Uri Gordon, shortly to become Israel's ambassador to Turkey. Gordon, a Harvard Ph.D., gave us the official line of the Shamir government. He said Israel refuses to talk to the PLO because they are terrorists. A rising tide of Islamic fundamentalism is sweeping over the entire Middle East, he added, including the administered territories of Israel and taking hold in the refugee camps there. Therefore, he said, Israel needs all the territory it can get to provide a security barrier against "Arab fanatics."

He described Palestinian children as tragically "abused" by their parents, and, behind the scenes, by the PLO. "It is child abuse to exploit those children, making them the front rank of the *intifada*," he said.

We found all this increasingly frustrat-

ing, and tried to raise other points with him: The PLO recently accepted the right of Israel to exist; why not talk with them, since the Palestinians have said that only the PLO represents them, and since any presumed settlement without PLO concurrence would be no settlement at all? Why not talk with the PLO all the more if there is a trend toward Islamic fundamentalism? Wouldn't it be even harder to talk with fundamentalists later than with the PLO now? Isn't shooting children also a form of child abuse?

One of our group said to Gordon, "I have studied the Holocaust carefully all my life, read thousands of pages, and seen the pictures. I am ashamed of what Christians did not do to help the Jews of Europe, and I am afraid of my own cowardice if I should ever be asked to do the sacrificial thing for my Jewish sisters and brothers. I and most of my friends have been among the strongest supporters of Israel all our lives. But the treatment of the Palestinian people by this present government is wrong and unjust. Israel is now in serious danger of losing the approbation of me and many like me

in the United States and elsewhere."

Our next meeting was with Danny Ben-Simon, a reporter for an Israeli newspaper who briefed us on the political and economic aspects of the *intifada*. He conceded that the government's treatment of the Palestinians is immoral from a human rights point of view.

"The only hope for a solution," he said, "would be for the United States to force talks between Israel and the PLO toward the establishment of a demilitarized Palestinian state to include the West Bank and Gaza. Jerusalem should remain an open city. Israel is enormously dependent on the United States; it will do what the United States wants."

We visited the Knesset — the Israeli parliament — and had a private interview with Lova Eliav, a Knesset member from the Labor party. Eliav was born in Moscow in 1921. His parents brought him to Palestine in 1923, as they fled the Bolsheviks. He met his wife, whose entire family had been killed in the Holocaust, when he commanded a blockade runner bringing refugees into British-mandated Palestine in 1946.

During the Second World War, Eliav served with the "Jewish Brigade" of the British army in the Middle East and in Europe. His resistance and regular army records are impeccable from a Zionist and military point of view. An outstanding diplomat and author of 12 books, in 1988 he was awarded the "Prize of Israel," the highest civilian honor.

Eliav stated about the situation: "Israel must talk with the PLO. Israel can settle its many immigrants in southern Israel without using the occupied territories for the purpose. There can well be a demilitarized Palestinian state in the West Bank, and this would be infinitely better for Israel's security than hostile posturing against the Arab world, which has intermediate range rockets in Baghdad



*Continued on page 22*

# Germany: Unification or *Anschluss*?



*Given the current interest in German reunification and the decline of socialism, THE WITNESS contacted noted feminist theologian Dorothee Sölle at her home in Hamburg for responses to the questions which follow. Sölle holds graduate degrees from the Universities of Gottingen and Cologne and has taught philosophy, literature and theology at several universities, including Union Theological Seminary, New York. She is the author of *Revolutionary Patience, Suffering, Of War and Love*, and *The Window of Vulnerability*, the latter to be published this month by Fortress Press.*

Some time ago, you wrote an article entitled, "On being Christian and socialist." Given the recent vast changes in Eastern Europe in general and East Germany in particular, how does one go about being Christian and socialist in Germany today?

Christianity has persecuted, tortured and killed Jews, "faggots," "witches" and others in the name of faith, and yet, I am a Christian who trusts in God's freeing and healing love. Socialism has persecuted, tortured, and killed peasants and bourgeoisie, dissenters and other innocent people, and yet, I am a socialist who hopes for an economic world order with less hunger and injustice. *Abusis non tollit usum* — (misuse does not abrogate use) and Stalinism does not abolish socialism.

**Can East and West Germany unite the best qualities of both societies to produce a more just and humane social order?**

I read this wonderful question to several groups I worked with; all agreed that one needs some distance from the European context to ask so. Our sense here is that the goal is not "to produce a more just and humane social order" but to increase political power by annexation. People talk about "*Anschluss*," (referring to Hitler's takeover of Austria in 1938), rather than of unification, in which both sides would give their best.

Our minister of interior recently remarked that the GDR (East Germany) has nothing to offer that might enrich the process. The constitution of West Germany will be imposed on East Germany, although the minorities on the left still

hope for a new common constitution which would include ecological and pacifist principles and advocate the human right to employment. (*Recht auf Arbeit*).

**What do you see as the role of the middle class in today's social upheavals, in Germany in particular?**

The "new social movements" are to be understood in the tradition of civil rights movements. Their objectives are: the integrity of creation, equal rights and equal chances for women, peace instead of more enforced militarization, rights for minorities, and solidarity with the oppressed in the Third World. These movements are basically formed from lower strata of the middle class, people who know more than they can put to use and have little access to the ability to protect themselves and neighbors, earth and wildlife, from being squashed.

These carriers of liberation in today's industrialized parts of the world seem to be "overeducated" and "underpowered" at the same time. They have been instrumental in bringing about change during the recent decade in West Germany. Right now in the process of reunification they are much less visible, though. When NATO decided to take over East Germany without more than cosmetic change for its own role, there was no public outcry. Some claim the movement to be dead, but as a believer in the Resurrection, I do not.

**Is there a danger of resurgence of German xenophobia and anti-Semitism because of reunification?**

Xenophobia, yes; anti-Semitism, less so. The new outburst of anti-Semitism is stronger in France on the one side, Poland

on the other. In West Germany, I am more afraid of national triumphalism, going along with the envy of Polish and African guest workers who receive unemployment benefits. In the former GDR, racism was, for good or ill, along with other forms of liberal self-expression, strictly forbidden. There was only *one* official opinion, strictly opposed to racism, fascism, revanchism, the exploitation of the female body in ads, etc. Now with the breakdown of the old order, all those feelings and mindsets creep into daylight once again.

**In capitalist terms, a unified Germany with 78 million people would have a Gross National Product (GNP) about 45% larger than France and almost 70% larger than Britain, according to a recent *New York Times* report. In that same article, the director of a 22,000 employee, state-owned *kombinat* in East Germany said that he would have to cut his work force by 30 to 40% and raise sales by 50% to enter the capitalist era. What will happen with such high unemployment?**

The enormous economic power of a reunified Germany is threatening to many European countries, and to many groups of the opposition inside of both Germanies as well. The non-violent revolution of November 1989, was made by a civil rights movement with many Christians in it. "In October we went through the Red Sea and escaped Pharaoh," a pastor in East Germany remarked, "but in November we knelt down in the desert to adore the Golden Calf." Who, then was the God who led them out of Egypt? And in whom are we going to trust in the future? The eco-pacifist groups, or the bankers and real estate speculators?

**Some are portraying events in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union as the triumph of democracy, in the best sense, and others as the triumph of capitalism and individualism in the worst sense (i.e., the yearning for color TV sets, designer clothes and rich people's toys at the expense of creating an underclass). How do you read the changes?**

I shared this question with some folks in a recent conference "for an emancipatory political culture." I think it is not possible to consider it as an either/or. On the one hand, I see the victory of capitalism with all its cultural destructiveness. Experts estimate that 60% of all bookstores in the former GDR will close down. East German publishers cannot compete with West German giants. Organ concerts which took place in small towns are cancelled this summer. Moreover, it is the political culture which finally becomes "Westernized" and de-solidaritized, of course (*Entsolidarisierungsphanomene*). More competition, more performance pressure, less interhuman consideration, a different sense of time will be features

of the future GDR. There is a lot of fear among the elderly, the handicapped and the many who were not too efficient and competent.

On the other hand, it would be misreading reality to trivialize the desire for more democracy in those enormous changes. It is true that a majority voted for the Deutsche Mark, symbolized in Chancellor Helmut Kohl, but we have no right to forget one of the most remarkable phrases in German history, coined last fall by those resisters who forced the authoritarian and blind old government out of place: *Wir sind das Volk!* "We are the people" — a slogan that follows the plebian-democratic traditions, of people over against governments and rulers — and not so much the nationalist-militaristic tradition, concerned with national unity and defense against other nations. But what happened was that "We are the people" became "We are one people."

I see a certain danger in the cynicism of the Left; under its spell people do not recognize the democratic element of the change and read it only as the final victory of capitalism. This perspective is the rabbit's view of the serpent; it destroys our capacities to counteract. The exclusively economic view leads to a reduction of awareness, and an all too reductionist understanding of history. Our task will rather be to find out about the democratic elements inside of capitalism; we need to reflect on the historical fact, that democracy has joined with capitalism, not with state socialism. It may sound strange, but in the last months or so I felt forced to use the term, "democratic capitalism" — not one of my favorites! Yet, it clearly expresses the enormous tension we live through. Is it possible that the tail wags the dog — and democracy runs capitalism?



In a previous article, you pointed out that there were class struggles “from above” and class struggles “from below.” What did you mean by that? How does the situation in Germany differ from the struggle in Nicaragua in that regard?

In Nicaragua, class struggle from above shows in the restrictive measurements of the Chamorro government against the poor, such as closing down of worker owned cooperatives, firing of public workers, etc. The Sandinista opposition responds to these threats by traditional means, basically the strike.

In both Germanies, the class struggle from above is much more bridled through legal restrictions. The transition into the capitalist market, though, will exact its price, especially in unemployment. The idea of getting fired is new to people who lived 40 years without it.

The concept of “social market economy” as opposed to both brutal earlier forms of capitalism and a centralized planning economy has created much wealth and satisfaction in West Germany. Some people fear that this concept will lose its “social” quality and become more “Americanized,” that is, bringing joblessness, homelessness, lack of public health, pauperization of the elderly.

You once wrote, “to see with the eyes of the victimized is the way Christ looked at the world,” and the Gospel does not allow neutrality. Who are the victimized in today’s world? Who are the oppressors?

From a biblical perspective, the victimized are “the poor,” not in a spiritualized sense, but in a material sense. Social scientists identify them as “marginalized” in diverse forms. The breakdown of the “Second World,” which presented an alternative to the capitalist economic order, is seen by many observers as a catastrophe for the poor countries. Not only did their — sometimes doubtful — political allies disappear, but also their indigenous attempts to keep their own pre-capitalist forms of production and search for a “third way” between the superpowers. The victory in the Cold War signifies the defeat of those hopes. The citizens of Third or Fourth world countries become increasingly “expendable people.”

At the World Council of Churches meeting in Vancouver in 1983, you used the parable of the rich young man in your theological reflection. As the next meeting of the WCC in Australia nears, do you think the world has progressed or regressed in terms of justice issues? Where do you now find hope and a vision for the future?

I am not too optimistic, but rather feel that my people have moved directly from Egypt into Babylon. There was almost

no time to root ourselves in freedom’s land. I saw two young women in the yet East Germany putting a pretty obscene ad on a wall. They have not yet lived in a world where female bodies are “used” to make the economy run. They smiled because they didn’t know what they were doing, here in Babylon. We live in exile here, in the imperium of wealth. Sometimes I see God’s people coming close to the situation of early Christianity, being a tiny minority under an almost perfectly structured system of power, luxury and destructiveness. What French philosophers call “post-histoire” signifies the end of the struggles for more justice. A post-metaphysical compensation. Recent events have not expanded this ideology, but challenged its validity. Will the thirst for justice die in our world? My prayer these days is “Keep us thirsty, God of the living water. Make us thirstier.” TW

## Blind man at Bethsaida

*I see men, but they look like trees walking.*  
(Mark 8:24)

He spit on my eyes and laid  
his hands upon me. The first time  
this is what I saw:

A hoar-headed patriarch  
awakening, waving the flowery rod  
of Aaron into springtime wind —  
the almond tree. I saw  
a sacred circle, oak and terebinth  
moving, dancing  
around an ancient sacrifice.  
I saw the acacia spread  
her hard thorny limbs, I saw the red  
black heartwood of the ebony.  
Tall righteous cedars strode  
into the sun.

And then beyond, I saw  
the slender branches of a thousand  
thousand palm trees strewn on a road  
before a king passing on a borrowed colt.  
I saw all that, and that was a mistake.

He touched my eyes a second time.

I saw real men of normal size  
crowding around, some with limbs  
gnarled or withered, waiting  
to be healed. I saw women  
stooped and bleeding. And beyond  
I saw three bare trees  
against a cold sky.

— Anne Carroll Fowler



# Short Takes

## Political witness of the church

The posture of the Christian is inherently and consistently radical. The Christian is perpetually in the position of complaining about the status quo, whatever it happens to be. His or her insight and experience of reconciliation in Christ is such that no estate in secular society can possibly correspond to or much approximate the true society of which the Christian is a citizen in Christ.

The Christian is, everywhere in every society, an alien . . . always, in any society, in protest. Even when a cause which he or she has supported prevails, the Christian will not be content, but will, so to speak, be the first to turn around and say — "That's fine. We have now done this or that, but it is not enough."

**William Stringfellow**  
*THE WITNESS 12/3/64*

## Rated 'S' for smoke

Since the Public Health Cigarette Smoking Act of 1970 prohibited tobacco ads on American radio and TV, the tobacco industry has turned to another medium to promote its wares: movies. The National Coalition on Television Violence recently reported that 89% of R-rated films, 100% of PG-13 films and 87% of PG films contained at least one smoker.

Cigarette companies cough up big bucks to have their brand names go up in smoke.

Joe Tye, editor of *Tobacco and Youth Report*, calls the practice "an unfair and deceptive way for tobacco companies to attract children." The editors of the *Wellness Letter* are more blunt. They call the practice "murderous."

**Dollars & Sense 6/90**

## Why troops still in Korea?

What is going on when we are maintaining 43,000 troops at a cost of \$2.6 billion to maintain the defense of a nation that is twice as big as its neighbors, has an eight times bigger economy and which has a \$10.6 billion trade deficit against Uncle Sam? It does not make sense.

**Sen. Dale Bumpers quoted in**  
*The Defense Monitor No. 2, 1990*



## Counseling youth re military

During 1990 the Pentagon will spend over \$2.2 billion to attract new recruits. It will target teenage youth, who will be promised adventure, travel and education by fast-talking recruiting sergeants. But for many the military will be the wrong choice. They need facts.

Young people only a year or two out of high school were part of the invasion of Panama. U.S. troops in the Philippines, Korea and Central America are in the midst of violent revolutions where youth understand little about the nature of the conflicts, yet pay dearly when bombs are thrown or shots fired in rage against the occupying U.S. forces. Anyone thinking about enlisting would be wise to think about what he or she is getting into.

For directories listing military, draft and pre-enlistment counselors and activists, and films, comic books and other material which addresses the questions of human ethics and values for young people, the following resources can be helpful:

Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 2208 South St., Philadelphia, PA 19146, tel. (215) 545-4626.

Episcopal Peace Fellowship, P. O. Box 28156, Washington, D.C. 20038.

Twenty-seven years ago when I went to jail I had no vote. I have come out and I still have no vote.

**Nelson Mandela**

## Justice delayed in El Salvador

One of the barometers of the current reality [in El Salvador] is the process of investigation and prosecution in the case of the Jesuit murders. The international pressure to bring the killers to justice is intense — and everyone is aware that continued U.S. military aid hangs on this. But the case itself proceeds very slowly; the chief aim being to appear to be doing something to placate the North Americans while not in fact doing anything which would offend the military.

The most recent development is that the case is about to be transferred to the jurisdiction of another judge which should slow everything down for a few more months while the new judge and court familiarize themselves with the case.

The Jesuit provincial and the rector of the Jesuit university have said that they are satisfied that the cases of those who have been charged with the murders are proceeding in a legally correct manner, but that they and everyone else know there are others much higher up who made the decision to kill the priests and that nothing is being done to bring them to justice.

Both President Cristiani and the chief of the Military High Command have admitted signing the order to search the houses and offices of the Jesuits three days before their murder, which certainly opens up the possibility of their complicity in the murders.

**Josie Beecher**  
*Carta de La Gracia 7/90*

## Keep the pressure on apartheid

Wherever I went [in South Africa] people told me that it was economic sanctions that had forced the white government to make concessions. Apartheid's rulers didn't just become nice overnight and decide to release Mandela. Nothing happened until they couldn't get any more U.S. bank loans and all new American investment was banned. Everyone I talked to kept saying the same thing: "Keep up the sanctions."

**Dumisani Kumalo**  
*The Africa Fund 5/90*

# Mexican unions seek jobs with justice

by Matt Witt

Faith and anger, mixing together like fire and kerosene, burned brightly one evening in the main square of Juchitan, a small town in the southern Mexican state of Oaxaca.

A young man active in his church had been called upon to give the invocation as part of a commemoration of the assassination of Emiliano Zapata, leader of Mexico's peasants during the revolution early in this century.

*Campesino* men with sandals and straw hats, and women with embroidered blouses and flowery dresses listened intently as the young man spoke:

"God, make it clear that it is an injustice that a rich man has more than all the poor people gathered here in this square tonight.

"Make it clear that this is not because you want it so, but because there is a hell on earth, made by man against man.

"Make it clear that it is your wish that this hell on earth be eliminated through the struggle of the poor."

These words captured the feeling of many Mexicans that their poverty is not an act of God but is largely "Made in the U.S.A." — the result of profiteering by U.S. multinational corporations with the support of government policies in both countries.

Since 1982, daily life for most Mexicans has grown increasingly desperate as a result of the so-called "debt crisis," which has diverted billions of dollars needed for job creation, education, housing, and health care into the coffers of U.S. banks.

"The debt is one of the principal obstacles to improving the standard of living in Mexico," said Antonio Vital of the Center for Ecumenical Studies in Mexico City. "Removing that obstacle ought to be the goal of any North American who is concerned about immigration, about the movement of U.S. jobs to Mexico, and about social peace in a country which shares with the United States one of the world's longest borders."

For many Americans, the word itself — debt — defines the issue. If one has debts, it is one's duty to repay, no matter the hardship. Mexico owes the United States billions of dollars, the media reports, so Mexico has no choice but to tighten its belt.

The issue becomes clearer, however, if one thinks of other situations in which the word debt has been used. One can recall, for instance, the practices of coal companies which used to force American miners to trade at the company store. The companies set both miners' wage levels and prices at the store, with the unsurprising result that, even after 10 or 12 hours of hard work, a miner found himself "another day older and deeper in debt."

Clearly, before accepting the word debt at face value, one must identify who in Mexico borrowed the money, as well as who in the United States lent it and why.

Mexico is potentially a wealthy country, with large reserves of oil, silver, and many other minerals; ample land and a suitable climate for food production; and long coastlines for the development of fishing and maritime industries. Yet, its people have long been poor because that

wealth has been extracted, first by the Spanish and later by U.S. corporations and the tiny elite which has run the country under one-party rule for the past 60 years.

In the 1970s, that elite, like the ruling groups in other Third World countries, was encouraged by U.S. banks to take out loans worth billions of dollars. The banks needed a profitable way to lend huge sums of money deposited by oil-producing nations after the large price increases of 1973.

As a result of these loans, profits from foreign operations of the seven largest U.S. banks soared from 22% of total profits in 1970 to 60% in 1982, according to the Institute for Policy Studies.

In the early '80s, however, a series of events threatened the ability of the government of Mexico and other countries to repay the loans. Floating interest rates they had to pay soared, driven up in part by the Reagan administration's massive borrowing to cope with its simultaneous military spending splurge and cuts in taxes on corporations and the rich.

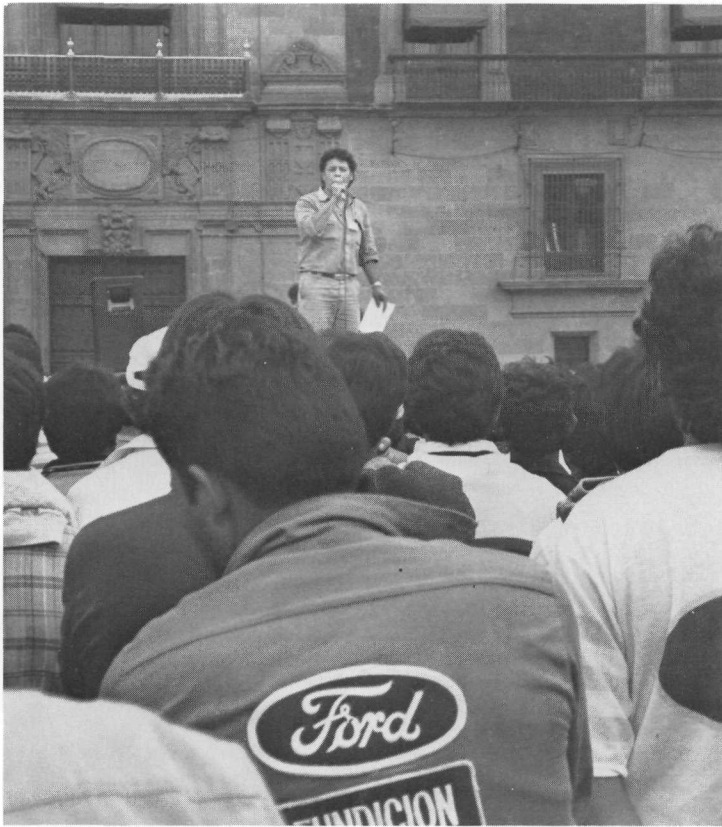
At the same time, prices Mexico received from the United States and other industrialized countries for oil and other commodities dropped sharply.

Since 1982, private banks and the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) have been making new loans to keep Mexico from defaulting on its interest payments, while the principal owed continues to grow.

In order to get the new loans, the Mexican government has had to agree to an IMF-imposed austerity program which includes a wage control program and severe cutbacks in spending on human needs. Meanwhile, more than half

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**Matt Witt** is director of the Mexico-U.S. Labor Project of the American Labor Education Center in Washington, D.C.



**Mexican workers like these Ford employees demonstrating outside President Carlos Salinas' office question whether exploitation by multinational corporations is the best route to development.**

of the government's total spending goes to pay interest on debt.

On the occasion of Pope John Paul II's visit to Mexico in May of this year, a group of 1,500 lay church members published an open letter detailing the effects of these events on the Mexican people during the past eight years.

From 1982 to 1989, they noted, Mexican workers' real income dropped by more than 60%. About half the people able and willing to work are unemployed or underemployed. Nearly half of Mexicans who do have jobs make only the minimum wage — about \$3.70 *per day*. (In Mexico City, where one quarter of the country's population lives, a pound of cheese costs about \$3.40; a pound of low-grade meat, about \$2.75.)

Low wages that mean misery for

Mexican workers spell higher profits for U.S. corporations. There are now close to 2,000 runaway U.S. factories in Mexico, taking advantage of Mexican wage levels to produce goods exported to the United States and sold at normal prices. The difference in labor costs means that each Mexican worker paid between \$4 and \$10 per day by a U.S. firm is providing that company with a subsidy of at least \$23,000 per year. Meanwhile, hundreds of U.S. communities have been devastated by the social upheaval caused by plant closings.

The laypeople's letter to the Pope also described the impact of cuts in social spending. Overcrowding and a lack of materials in the schools were aggravated in the 1980s by a 50% cut in real education spending. A similar cut in health

care spending added to the shortage of staff and supplies in hospitals and clinics. Even the government concedes that there is a housing shortage of 6 million units.

"Behind the statistics and figures, we are living through grave tragedies — as individuals, as families, and as communities," the people told the Pope. "There are the specific faces of indigenous peoples, children, *campesinos*, workers, women — all of whom have suffered severely . . ."

Yet, not all Mexicans have suffered. In a massive transfer of wealth from the lower classes to the rich, the percentage of the annual gross national product which went to owners of capital rose over seven years from 48% to 65%, while the percentage going to wage earners dropped from 41.7% to 27.7%. A national business association in Mexico estimates that 5% of the population controls 90% of total wealth.

No one has been able to fully document the amount of money loaned to Mexico which was skimmed off by the country's rulers and deposited in personal accounts abroad — often with the same U.S. banks which lent it in the first place — but some estimates put the figure at \$60 billion. A study by Morgan Guaranty Trust estimated that, without that capital flight, Mexico's debt could be \$12 billion and not well over \$100 billion.

Popular discontent with the economic policies of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) was reflected in the outcome of Mexico's 1988 presidential elections. Results collected from throughout the country by independent observers appeared to show that PRI presidential candidate, Carlos Salinas, was defeated in a three-way race by Cuauhtemoc Cardenas, candidate of what is now called the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD). After several days' delay, however, government officials claimed that Salinas had

received 50.1% of the vote and installed him in office.

Since then, PRI has used fraud and violence to overturn PRD election victories in Michoacan, Guerrero, and other states. PRD members of the Mexican congress have been attacked by police, and top party spokespeople have received repeated death threats.

The government and its affiliated labor federation, known as the CTM, have also used violence against workers' movements which challenge exploitation by U.S. multinationals. In January, a young worker at Ford's Cuautitlan plant near Mexico City was gunned down on the assembly line and eight others wounded in response to weeks of protests demanding pay illegally withheld by the company and the right to democratic union elections.

The Bush administration, while claiming great interest in democratic rights in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, has said nothing about human rights violations in Mexico. When Vice President Quayle visited the country earlier this year, he came only to praise the Salinas regime's openness to foreign investment. PRI's policies have been labeled "a model of free market economic development, not only regionally but globally" by Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher. The two governments have started the process of negotiating a so-

called "free trade" agreement which would make it even easier for American corporations to exploit cheap labor in Mexico and export products back to the United States.

This October, a broad coalition of Cardenas' supporters, lay church activists, independent unionists, and other Mexicans will take part in a national demonstration against what they see as the government's subservience to U.S. multinationals. The action is timed to coincide with demonstrations on the debt issue in other Latin American countries.

Some opponents of the government's policies would declare a moratorium on debt payments while the country uses its resources to improve its economy — the same approach used in the United States when a person or company declares bankruptcy. Others would limit debt payments to a fixed percentage of the country's export income. Still others argue that all or most of the debt is already paid. (Between 1982 and 1988, Mexico paid \$66 billion on an external debt of \$85 billion, but with interest charges the debt actually grew to \$110 billion during that period.)

"The money wasn't borrowed by the Mexican people, it wasn't used to benefit the Mexican people, and a peaceful solution to our country's problems requires that there be a limit on the sacrifices we are asked to make to pay it

back," said Alfredo Dominguez, a leader of the Authentic Labor Front (FAT), an independent organization established with support from the Christian Democratic World Confederation of Labor.

During the week of the demonstration, the Center for Ecumenical Studies (CEE), a research and education center in Mexico City funded mainly by Protestant church sources, will co-sponsor with the independent Washington-based American Labor Education Center, a conference for U.S. and Mexican labor activists to discuss common interests.

The key common interest, according to CEE's Antonio Vital, is in improving working and living conditions in Mexico. More purchasing power would allow Mexicans to buy goods that they and American workers produce, leading to more secure employment, balanced trade, and stable communities in both countries.

"It is in the interest of the United States that Mexican debt payments now being used to inflate the profits of U.S. banks be used instead for creating decent jobs in Mexico," Vital said. "North Americans should also recognize that there will not be social peace in either country until the transnational corporations respect workers' rights and both the Mexican and U.S. governments recognize the desire of our people for democracy." TW





Letters . . . Continued from page 3

## Sexuality rarely studied

I write in response to your article "Clergy and sexual abuse." I was a priest in the Diocese of Minnesota for five years, early in my ministry. I am glad that the diocese is investigating sexual abuse by the clergy.

What concerns me is the tone of the article, which is evident even in Carter Heyward's excellent piece in the same issue. The emphasis is on misbehavior and blame. Obviously the church should police its clergy when they abuse their trust. A deeper problem is the power of sexuality and its relationship to the sacred connection and disconnection about which Carter writes. It seems to me that the church has gone about as far as it can go as an arbiter of correct behavior, however that arbitration is put into theological language.

Some 50 years after Freud's death, and 30 after Jung's, the meaning of sexuality, particularly its transcendent meaning, remains as obscure as ever in Christianity. In my days at Virginia Seminary, the matter of sexuality was rarely mentioned, let alone plumbed. From what I've seen in nearly 40 years since, the situation has changed hardly at all. The divine and demonic aspects of sexuality, the power instinct has to overwhelm any human being, the sexual entanglement in all manner of life — these are legitimate theoretical and mystical concerns of the church, one would think.

Eugene Monick  
New York, N.Y.

## Victim voices pain

Heartfelt thanks for covering clergy abuse. At last, someone in our church is paying attention. When I was molested by a therapist-priest a decade ago, what carried me through a long period of in-

tense and devastating pain was support from secular agencies — a local rape-and-assault counseling group, for one. Thank God, God isn't limited to the church!

My attempts to curtail the power and influence of the abuser *within the church* were flops — even though the abuser did not deny his behavior, claiming that sex was "part of the therapy." Both the bishop of that diocese and the rector of the church where the abuser was on staff refused to remove him from his position. And, although both bishop and rector gave me sympathetic words (because I was so evidently distressed) there was no acknowledgment that the abusing priest had done anything wrong or that I had been really, and seriously, harmed.

Because I pursued a remedy through the legal system, I ask you not to publish my name or town, although I can document everything I say. Six years of *good* therapy have helped heal my wounds, though the scars still ache. It hurt so dreadfully at the time that people in Christ's church did not care what had happened to me. Thank you for caring now.

Name withheld by request

## EPF correction noted

Thank you for your continued excellence in your coverage of peace and justice issues in our church, nation and world. The July/August issue was especially exciting to me because I have had the privilege to know many of the authors. Mary Meader, Carter Heyward, and Susan Pierce were all official election observers in Nicaragua in February, and each contributed so much to our Episcopal delegation. And your article on Mary Brent Wehrli was a real inspiration to those of us who hesitate to speak out among a non-friendly or hostile group.

Thank you also for the picture and Episcopal News Service report of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship's dissent at the consecration of the bishop for the armed forces (Short Takes). We appreciated the coverage by ENS, but the way portions of our statement are quoted gives the impression that EPF feels "it is

not necessary to provide a full sacramental ministry to members of our church in the armed forces." This is not true. The men and women in the armed forces need the sacramental ministry as much as we all do. The complete statement reads: "A suffragan bishop for the armed forces is not necessary to provide" (this ministry). There is a big difference, and unfortunately because of the ENS condensation, we have received many hostile letters. Please let your readers know that a complete copy of our statement is available from the EPF national office, P.O. Box 28156, Washington, D.C. 20038.

Ann P. McElroy  
Cupertino, Calif.

## Better 'n better

The WITNESS keeps getting better and better. I treasure the time spent with it.

Pat Grimala  
Portland, Ore.

## WITNESS, no way

I am not in favor of your views, nor have I ever been, nor shall I ever be.

The Rev. Vernon F. Searfoss  
Scranton, Pa.

## Sharing vision

In contrast to those who cancel their subscriptions, I find tremendous encouragement in your publication. Were it not for THE WITNESS and similarly minded groups and individuals, I would feel I had made a great error of judgment when I joined the Episcopal Church: The conservative tide would overcome me.

Thanks to you I know I have comrades and comadres: Fellow pilgrims to share my vision and bread.

The Rev. Shari Young  
San Francisco, Calif.

## 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.

### Correction

In the September issue, the incorrect zip code was given in the address of the Gulf Coast Tenants Leadership Project. The correct zip is 70156.

and Damascus anyway.

"Yes, a Palestinian state would enact a law of return for its expatriates, like Israel did. But not that many Palestinians would return. To worry about hordes of Palestinians is a smoke screen." He concluded, "Israel's struggle over the Palestinian issue is a struggle for its own soul."

Jeremy Milgrom, a reform rabbi born in the United States who had lived most of his adult life in Israel, met with us. He served his time on active duty in the army, and serves now, as most male Israelis do, a month or so each year on reserve duty, until his 50s. He said that out of the 20 members of his high school graduating class, three were killed in the 1973 war and another was permanently injured.

A member of "Yesh G'vul," which means "There is a limit," a peace group strongly skeptical of army treatment of Palestinians, he is also a founder of both the Rabbinic Human Rights Watch and Clergy for Peace. Milgrom joined an interfaith (Jewish, Christian and Muslim) peace group when the *intifada* started in December 1987.

He used the term "outrageous" frequently to describe the army's treatment of the Palestinians, and thought it imperative for all people of good will to take significant risks for peace and justice.

We next visited Bheisheh, a West Bank refugee camp controlled by the army and served by UNRWA, the U.N. refugee organization. One of 19 camps in the West Bank, it holds over 8,000 people, refugees from the 1948 War and their descendants. One physician for the entire camp sees 120 patients a day. We learned that out of the approximately 1.7 million Palestinians living in Israel and the Occupied Territories, more than 70,000 have been detained, beaten and/or imprisoned without charges for up to

a year.

A U.N. supplemental feeding program for children provides one daily hot meal of rice and beans. When there is a curfew, which can last sometimes as long as two weeks, the children do not get their supplemental meal. Nor do sick people go to the clinic. Anyone violating curfew may be imprisoned or shot.

We didn't see any men anywhere in the camp. Some work outside, others are sick, wounded or in the hospital. Many hid inside their huts, because once a day, on average, the army sweeps through, frequently beating and breaking bones of any men or older male teenagers.

I asked the U.N. official in charge what his long-term plans were. In a monotone he said, "I cannot do this work any more than another year." He nodded slightly toward the camp and said, "This is undeclared apartheid."

In Ramallah, a politically active city of about 35,000 in the West Bank, at the law office of the organization Al Haq, we learned about the formidable task of seeking justice for Palestinians in Israeli military courts. Our interviewee said, "The worst cases we handle are the murders of Palestinians by the army. There have been over 900 of these since the start of the *intifada* in December 1987. Some 48,000 Palestinians have been hospitalized since then, newspapers and books have been censored, schools and universities closed. There are plenty of legal cases to be worked on and very few legal successes."

Jonathan Kuttub, a Palestinian human rights lawyer said, "Certainly there must be a secure Jewish homeland. But when the Holocaust is raised to the level of a metaphysical absolute, there is nothing that can come into consideration as its equal — not an appeal to justice, nothing. For an absolute, by definition, is absolute. You have seen what a terrible price is being paid by the Palestinians for this absolute.

"In truth, Israel does need security.

But Israel owns 200 nuclear devices, not to mention the unmentionable — biological and chemical weapons, too. Israel is the most completely militarized country in the world today. You think some countries are in search of a powerful army? Israel is an army in search of a country!"

Next was a visit to the infamous Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, where the *intifada* began.

Open sewers ran through the camp, which contains 70,000 people. The dirt, wreckage, garbage, and stench was almost unbelievable. The medical clinic was right down the street from the barbed wire compound surrounding the local army headquarters. Boys 8 to 10 years old repeatedly darted out from behind a building at the end of the block, throwing stones at the military installation. A soldier in a tower aimed his Uzi machine gun at the children. He was out of their range, but they were not out of his. The previous week two Palestinians had been shot here.

In the U.N.-run clinic, a physician who had been there only a few months said that 400 outpatients were treated daily except when curfews are imposed. "Yes, some die when they cannot come here. In fact some patients die when ambulances are intercepted and detained by the army. Daily the soldiers enter the clinic and harass the medical staff and nurses; sometimes they break windows here," he said.

We were shown tear gas canisters, made in Fredericksburg, Va., and Salzburg, Pa. The gas allegedly gives healthy people asthma, can kill asthmatics, and can cause pregnant women to begin labor prematurely. Some Palestinians think it is experimental gas being tested on them.

We examined rubber bullets, with metal inside. The U.N. doctor showed us a photo of an infant with one eye. The other was lost when a soldier fired a rubber bullet into a crowd.

In front of the clinic, boys started yelling, picked up stones, and ran behind the buildings. An army vehicle suddenly sped down the street, headed for the military compound. The children appeared in front of us and hundreds of stones were hurled at the vehicle. Our guide shouted at us to board our bus immediately. Later we heard the clinic area was tear-gassed.

At the Gaza Center for Rights and Law we learned that since the *intifada* began, 22 Gazans have been beaten to death by the Israeli army, and a 13-year-old was recently sentenced to six and a half years in detention.

Our last stop in Gaza was the Al Ahli Hospital, currently run by the Episcopal Diocese of Jerusalem. We were told this is the hospital of choice for 70,000 Gazans.

In one bed was a 17-year-old boy. The doctor showed us his bandaged left leg, and an X-ray showing a plastic bullet lodged exactly in the middle of the knee joint. In the next bed was a 65-year-old man, who claimed he was on his way to worship in the camp mosque when an incident arose and he was shot in the back. The rubber bullet pierced part of his liver and spleen and severed a number of blood vessels.

In a meeting with Yoav Ossiya, an army reservist representative of the Jewish group Peace Now, he used first-hand experience to explain the army's treatment of the Palestinians.

"The reserves are not trained to deal effectively with riot situations," he said. "You are thrust into all this scared, and you sometimes end up with only two hours of sleep over a two or three day period. And, yes, there are lunatics and sadists in the army, and there are the same on the other side as well. The situation is dangerous, it escalates, and finally overwhelms; then reason, logic, forbearance are swept out of the realm of possibility. You just react. That's when people end up not being themselves, and

people are hurt, or killed."

Colonel Ra'anah Gissan of the Israel Defense Force, a Ph.D. from Syracuse University, admitted there are "mistakes" in the army's treatment of the Palestinians, but insisted that complaints are carefully investigated and the guilty are punished. He believed the army was doing an unusually good job handling a complex situation.

One of our group later questioned Dr. Mark Heller at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies, University of Tel Aviv when he told us during a meeting that Israel needs the West Bank to enable early warning of attack from its many surrounding enemies.

Challenged about the necessity of this space, given advanced satellite technology and the fact that intermediate range missiles can strike as easily with or without the West Bank buffer, he conceded the point, but reminded us that a military fighter plane can traverse the narrowest width of Israel in less than four minutes.

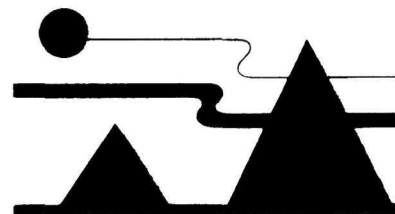
U.S. Consul General Philip Wilcox met with us a few days later in Jerusalem, and explained that U.S. policy recognizes the state of Israel and the need for a peace process, is not opposed to a Palestinian state, but is not yet on record as favoring one. He said that if a peace process results in a Palestinian state, involving the approval of the Palestinians, Israel, and Jordan, then the United States would support that arrangement.

I came back to the United States impressed with the great things Israel has done to develop its land. Convinced of the need for a secure state of Israel in a world where brutalities have historically been practiced against Jews, I was however deeply troubled by the violations of Palestinian human and civil rights by the Israeli army, and shocked by the disgraceful conditions in the refugee camps. The school closings, beatings, shootings, gassings and killings are not necessary, wise, or civilized.

A two-state solution is the only solu-

tion, and must be worked out under pressure from the United States. There is no doubt that the PLO must be included in a peace process — making peace is not a matter of talking with your friends, but with your enemies.

Concerned people should lobby Congress to put conditions on U.S. aid to Israel to facilitate the peace process. In the absence of a determined effort, there is little hope of relief for, much less an end to, the enormous and unjust sufferings of the Palestinian people. TW



### Pro-choice issue available

This issue on procreative freedom gives a comprehensive theological and social analysis of reproductive freedom. Features penetrating interviews with Faye Wattleton, president of Planned Parenthood, and Beverly Wildung Harrison, feminist theologian. Also, an African-American male viewpoint by Faith Evans, past president of the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, and articles addressing pastoral and legislative implications.

Please send me your issue on procreative freedom. I have enclosed \$2. (Prepaid orders only.)

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Send to THE WITNESS, P.O. Box 359, Ambler PA 19002.



# No taxes for Gulf war

by Patricia Washburn

**D**ear IRS,

It has become an important occasion in my life over the past few years to write on August 15, the Feast of the Assumption, and explain my position on non-payment of the military portion of my income tax. I do this prayerfully and with some regret that the world situation which led us to muse about a "peace dividend" has once again deteriorated in large part due to U.S. military intervention. I am aware that military support of right-wing regimes continues in Central America, but this year I want to focus on the crisis in the Middle East.

I have just returned from a fact-finding trip to Israel/Palestine and Jordan as a member of the Episcopal Church's Standing Commission on Peace. We left Amman, Jordan only days before the invasion of Kuwait. Thus my reflections are both current and very painful.

In the Roman Catholic tradition, August 15 is the day on which Mary was raised up to become the "Queen of Heaven." This event is one of those commemorated in the recitation of the rosary. In my own tradition we also note this day but with more emphasis on the life and ministry of Mary. Mary is seen as the healer, the reconciler, the peacemaker.

During my recent trip to the Middle East I was struck by the ways in which women, Christian, Muslim and Jewish, were attempting to live out this reconcil-

ing role, albeit at times understanding that resistance is the first step in liberation from oppression. Let me share a few of the images from my journey.

Beit Sahour is a town of 12,000 Palestinians, neighbor to Bethlehem where Mary gave birth to Jesus, upon another occasion of dealing with taxation. It is 80% Christian and many of its citizens have lived upon the land for several hundred years. The residents gained international attention when they refused to pay taxes levied by the Israeli government. A 42-day siege followed during which the women cried out, "We will not finance the bullets that kill our children, the growing number of prisons, the expenses of the occupying army. We want no more than what you have: freedom and the right to pay taxes to our own representatives." Subsequently they organized two Israeli-Palestinian gatherings of women to talk and pray. The first was held in Beit Sahour at the Greek Orthodox Church and the second on Mount Scopus in Jerusalem. The women were willing to gather together to overcome "enemy" stereotypes and work for peaceful resolution. Ironically their slogan, "No taxation without representation," was borrowed from our own period of revolution against oppression.

I also want to mention the on-going witness of the group called Women in Black, Jewish women opposed to their country's occupation of Palestine. As one of the women has written, "We felt drawn towards doing something that would express aversion to violence, our desire to end the mutual hostility . . . We started as a few women in Jerusalem, and today 100 turn out week after week. Our ranks are growing. We are young, old, middle-aged; some of us pregnant,

some carrying children."

It is the plight of children that haunts me most.

A recent "Save the Children" report states that 50-60,000 children have been treated for intifada-related injuries during the first two years of the uprising. We are complicit in those injuries since we help finance the Israeli military. The United States provides more than \$3.5 billion annually to Israel, much of which is directed to defense and security.

A recent report from the American Friends Service Committee states that any resolution of the conflict in the Middle East must begin with a reduction in the cycle of violence: "Israelis and Palestinians have suffered too long from terror, repression and war; both sides must act to end the cycle of violence. In addition nations supplying weapons to the region should take immediate steps to reverse the Middle East arms race."

We also provide \$2.5 billion annually to Egypt. It is noteworthy that the United States will spend \$10 million daily to maintain a force in Saudi Arabia. All of this arsenal of destruction is paid for at least in part by my income taxes.

This military buildup is too much for me to bear as a mother and a person of faith. I weep for the generation of children who will bear the burden of this war, and I weep for the mothers of these children. As writer Gila Svirsky says in her description of the Women in Black: "Maybe we look like witches, it occurs to me. Or like Cassandras. Seers or prophetesses with visions of doom and Armageddon . . . We are the women in black, the phantoms of your fear of death. I understand your fear. Come let us fear together. And then we will begin to reason. I shall shed my black, and you

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**Patricia Washburn**, a war tax resister and member of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship, lives in Denver, Col., and works for the American Friends Service Committee. She recently went to Israel, Jordan and the Occupied Territories with the Episcopal delegation. This piece, inspired by her trip, is excerpted from her most recent letter to the IRS.



will shed your fear. And together we shall light a small candle. And cease to curse."

I am a mother and a grandmother. I stand in prayer and solidarity with my sisters in the Middle East. Therefore as an act of conscience and repentance for the policy of the United States, I respectfully choose to withhold 52% of my in-

come tax. This amount is based on the latest estimate by the Friends Committee on National Legislation of the portion projected for military expenditures in President Bush's proposed budget.

I pray for all the mothers and children as I make this witness. I pray that God will be merciful and allow those children to grow to maturity. I know that Mary

will weep with us if we do not repent of this madness and allow the vision of the Women in Black to become a reality. Mother Teresa wrote that "Goodness does not derive from our capacity to think but to love." I pray that my witness is done in love and that it will help build a bridge across a chasm of violence and fear. TW

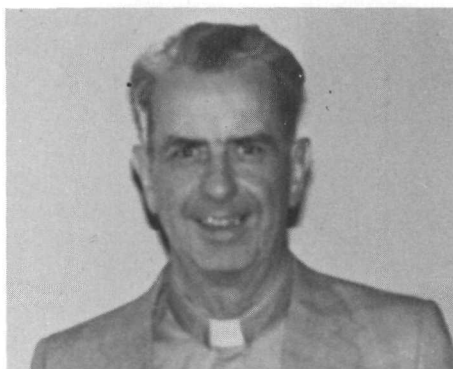
## Sandy Cutler — *Presente!*

At a 1986 meeting of the Consultation, a coalition of Episcopal Church peace and justice groups, the Rev. F. Sanford Cutler read a "Litany of contemporary Episcopal saints," a list he had compiled of the names of activists such as the Rev. Pauli Murray and William Stringfellow. As he said each name, he asked those present to respond by saying "*Presente*," a Hispanic commitment to remember the dead by pledging to emulate their lives.

Sandy Cutler, who spent his life in the church following the path of those saints as a tireless fighter against oppression, joined their company Aug. 27 after suffering a heart attack at his home in New York City.

Born in Connecticut, Cutler graduated from Wesleyan and attended seminary at Church Divinity School of the Pacific. Much of his early career in the ordained ministry was spent in Central America and the Caribbean. Before coming in 1970 to serve as rector of the Church of the Redeemer in the Diocese of Newark, he was Dean of St. John's Cathedral in Puerto Rico. Deeply concerned about human rights struggles in Central America and the Caribbean, he returned to the region many times as an official church observer.

He was a passionate believer that the church should be involved in social justice struggles and his life bore witness to his convictions.



**Sandy Cutler (1921-1990)**

Though he retired from his parish post in 1986, his work continued unabated. He served on the boards of Planned Parenthood, the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, and community housing and welfare rights groups.

There was hardly an advocacy group in the church to which he did not lend his time and talents, including the Episcopal Women's Caucus, the Oasis — a ministry to lesbians and gays — and the Episcopal Peace Fellowship.

He was EPF representative on the Consultation, and, as a deputy to General Convention, was instrumental at the church's last General Convention in engineering the passage of Consultation-backed legislation around social issues.

EPF executive director Mary Miller said, "When you say 'peace and justice,' you've got Sandy. I can't think of anything he wasn't involved in. He was

singlehandedly an EPF organizer wherever he went."

The Rev. Canon Nancy Wittig, one of the Philadelphia 11, the first women ordained in 1974 despite an official ban against women priests, recalled how Cutler, an ardent feminist, invited the women to celebrate at his church not long after the ordinations. "He was told it would ruin his career," she said.

Richard Shimpfky, a longtime colleague from Newark and new Bishop of El Camino Real, dedicated his consecration Eucharist to Cutler.

At his funeral service, the Rev. Elizabeth Maxwell, assistant at Holy Apostles Church in New York City, said she was inspired by Cutler's life-long commitment to peace, which was a costly one. Hearing his stories about being a conscientious objector during WWII and going to prison for it, she said, "helped me to realize that we're in it for the long haul."

His appearance — that of a slightly disheveled, average-looking middle-aged priest — was deceiving, said Maxwell. He was the one "to invite to the parish to talk about controversial issues. Folks never expected what he would say," she noted.

Maxwell concluded, "We are impoverished by his loss, grateful for his witness, and challenged — no, prodded — by his example. We are able to say, 'Sandy — *presente!*' " — Sue Pierce

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# All my shoes: Some reflections

Yesterday I came home with a new pair of shoes. Beautiful white Nike running shoes; nylon and leather with thick air cushion insoles and the newest anti-pronation devices. These completely high-tech shoes make my feet look like God's feet when I wear them. I love them like I loved my Red Ball Jets when I was a little girl. I believed then, as I believe now, that they could make me run faster and jump higher.

Each time I buy a new pair of running shoes it is a special occasion, marking a renewed commitment to my well-being. I buy running shoes with a sense of religious devotion, like a priest buying a new vestment.

A few years ago, after I had just been released from a week's stay in the hospital, I was walking down a busy street in New York, feeling vulnerable and small amidst the movement and noise. Then I saw a bright pair of Nike running shoes in the window of a sporting goods store. In a moment's time, they were mine — on my feet and carrying me in safety and health through the mean streets of the city.

When I go shopping for running shoes I take with me the little girl who believed in her Red Ball Jets. It is she who

puts them on and strides confidently out of the store, and then can't help but show them to everyone she sees. "Look at my new Nikes!" she exclaims proudly to every passer-by, pointing her toe daintily and with pride.

I brought them home and threw them in the closet with the rest of my shoes, which were in a disorderly tangle on the floor. Then I looked at all of those shoes, and couldn't believe I owned that many. I took an inventory and found:

2 pairs Reebok tennis shoes, one leather, one nylon

2 pairs Nike running shoes, one new, one old

1 pair black patent leather high heels

1 pair low black pumps

1 pair low navy blue pumps

1 pair low tan pumps

1 pair tan wing tips

1 pair tan open toe sandals (Which I don't wear much because they cut me.)

1 pair dark brown T-strap sandals

1 pair casual black flats

1 pair casual light brown flats

1 pair black Chinese slippers

1 pair soccer cleats

Fifteen pairs of shoes! And there were three more which I wear only in winter:

1 pair Bean gum boots

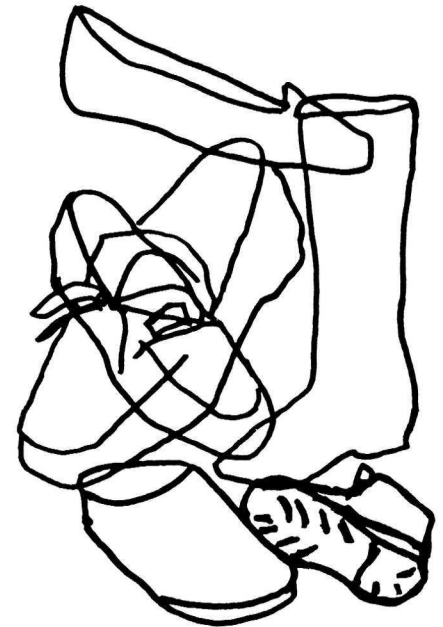
1 pair Blucher moccasins

1 pair brown tassel loafers

That brought the total to 18. I know people in Haiti who don't have a single pair. A woman I know in Louisville has over 60 pairs. She invited me over to her

house when she was cleaning out her closet to offer me some hand-me-downs. In the closet I saw shelf upon shelf of shoes, neatly placed in plastic boxes, two rows of six pairs each to a shelf, five shelves high. Incredible. The hand-me-downs I took home were also incredible — probably \$3,000 worth of silk blouses, fine blazers and a wool-mink blend suit.

The strange thing about all my shoes is that I know I have more than I need, but it seems like I do need them. The high heels are for dressy occasions (which are rare). The low black, blue and tan pumps I wear to work regularly, as well as the wing tips. The flat black



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**The Rev. Canon Whit Stodghill** is canon of the Cathedral Church of St. Mark in Minneapolis, Minn. This past summer she rode her bike across the Rockies, in sensible shoes, no doubt.

# on the sole

by Whit Stodghill

and brown casual shoes I wear with pants when I'm out with friends or on a date. The T-strap sandals and the light sandals I could give away, as I could the old Nikes and the leather Reeboks, which were given to me, and don't fit. So if I got rid of those, that would bring the total down to 14.

I am struck by how easy it is — when you are living in the upper middle class — to confuse need with want, and how difficult it is to keep one's life and possessions simple and uncluttered. There is always a sense that one could, and ought to, have more.

I went around the office asking people how many shoes they had, and looking for variations according to sex, age, income, etc. I was surprised to find that many of the men had quite a few pairs of shoes. I had figured men would own about six pairs, but most claimed 10 to 20. The people who made the least amount of money tended to have the least number of shoes. My 18 pairs was about average. The highest number was 40, owned by a man who has been heard to say that he doesn't have enough gas money to get outside the city. He's got plenty of shoes. Maybe instead of driving, he should walk.

Some were put off by being asked how many shoes they had and just gave a quick ballpark figure. Others rolled their eyes up into their heads and visually counted their pairs of shoes like an insomniac counting sheep. One woman

jotted down her shoes on a piece of paper: brown, blue, tennis, sandals, boots, etc., totalled up nine, and handed me the slip.

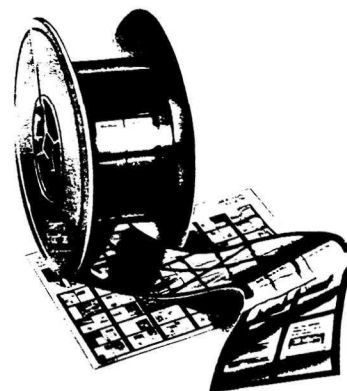
One prominent church person said after some hesitation, "Well . . . I have about 20," (a low estimate, in my opinion) and then added hastily, "But they're all very expensive shoes!" He was circumspect about the number, but felt justified in buying the best, just as long as he didn't have too many. In his home it is the same way: He does not have many things, but what he has is the best.

I have always been a person who noticed what kind of shoes people are wearing. Shoes say a lot about a person, I think.

It was fun to add that special new pair of shoes to my collection. But the purchase also brought up the larger question of the proliferation occurring on the floor of my closet: shoes multiplying like rabbits, and not only in my closet, but in many closets of the affluent.

Think about your shoes . . . how many do you have? Can you give an exact figure, or do you have more than you can keep track of? What are they for? What do they tell you about what you value? How well do they represent who you are? Do you need them all? Could someone else get good use out of pairs you are keeping, but not using? And finally, what does your shoe survey say to you about how you are relating to material possessions in general?

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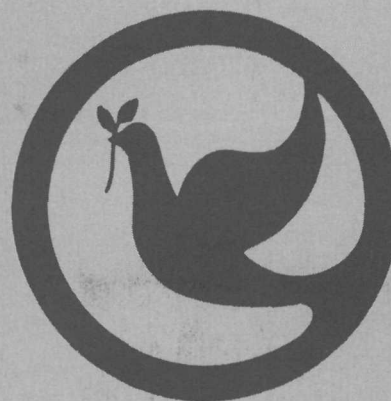
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